

Autism in the classroom:
A conversation-analytic study of lesson
beginnings in special education

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Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is my own work, and that, to the best of my knowledge, it does not contain any unattributed material previously published or written by any other person. I also declare that the work in this thesis has not been previously submitted to any other institution for, or as part of, a degree.

This study was granted approval by Macquarie University Ethics Review Committee (Human Research) (reference: 5201200879) and conducted in accordance with the guidelines stipulated. Research documents and approvals are in Appendix A.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Yeo Siang Lee', with a stylized flourish at the end.

Yeo Siang Lee

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This thesis is dedicated to all the children with ASD, their parents and teachers.

Abstract

Autism spectrum disorder (ASD) is a neurodevelopmental disorder that affects a large number of children. It is characterised by deficits in social communication, and fixated interests and repetitive behaviours. In recent years, an increasing number of studies have empirically explored how the deficits associated with ASD affect everyday communication, and participation in life activities. This study continues in this tradition, and explores how a group of children with ASD engage in classroom interactions. The primary data set of this study is audio and video recordings of classroom interactions involving three Year 5/6 students aged 11-12 years, and two of their teachers in a special education centre. Conversation analysis (CA) is employed to describe the organisation of lesson beginnings in these interactions. The analyses describe how children and teachers collaborate in this activity, and document a number of recurrent courses of action, including greetings, topic talk, and occasioning of task incipency. This study demonstrates that greetings in lesson beginnings formalise orientation between the teachers and students. Topic talk in lesson beginnings provides an opportunity to undertake talk unrelated to the lesson, and is a significant aspect of student participation. Finally, when teachers occasion task incipency, they move the lesson beginnings towards lesson tasks, and exert their deontic authority. These findings reveal how lesson beginnings are systematically constructed through specific social actions, and are oriented to by the participants. Such insights could be used to structure teacher reflection and examine their interactional implications, vis-à-vis the students' idiosyncratic interactional competencies. This study also highlights the communicative opportunities provided for in lesson beginnings, particularly spates of topic talk, during which the students undertake various complex actions in order to achieve their interactional agenda. Lastly, this study contributes to conversation-analytic research by describing how children with ASD interact in class, and more specifically emphasising their communication strengths as well as abilities.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Thesis preface

This thesis reports on a study examining how children with autism spectrum disorder (ASD) (APA, 2013) and their teachers interact in an educational setting. It contributes to a growing body of research exploring routine interactions involving people with ASD and, more specifically, how children with ASD participate in the classroom.

Since autism was first studied by Leo Kanner and Hans Asperger in 1943 and 1944 respectively, research on autism has grown exponentially in the disciplines of psychology, cognitive science, linguistics, genetics, neurology, and education, and others. Much of this work has been experimental, and has offered foundational knowledge about ASD. However, experimental studies of language and communication programmatically extract children with ASD from the people and environments they routinely encounter in the course of living their lives. Over the last twenty years, there has been an upsurge in empirical studies of language, communication, and ASD that examine how people with ASD and others communicate in the course of everyday social activities. A good deal of this research has employed qualitative, descriptive methods utilising principles and concepts derived from the discipline of conversation analysis (CA). The present study follows in this tradition. It examines how children with ASD spontaneously communicate during a key social activity: namely, schooling. With this naturalistic, qualitative approach to investigation, the present study demonstrates the practical implications of ASD for everyday life, focusing on schooling, which is of vital importance to children with ASD. In doing so, the present study contributes specific new knowledge about ASD in the classroom, and classroom interactions in general.

1.2 Background to the problem

The researcher's interest in ASD research could be traced back to a 9-month attachment with the National Autism Society of Malaysia (NASOM) in 2005. During this stint, the researcher was responsible for a pilot integration project, through which a small group of selected NASOM students attended a mainstream, government-funded primary school. The multi-faceted nature of ASD, as manifested in the idiosyncratic behavioural, interactional, and linguistic features of those children, intrigued the researcher tremendously. A small-scale discourse analytic study was hence conducted, and, based on audio-recorded data, a research report on echolalia was submitted for a Master of Linguistics program undertaken by the researcher at that time. The current study is an extension of the researcher's personal endeavour in understanding ASD, and more specifically, a scholarly contribution to the research of ASD, CA and classroom interaction.

Within the existing literature on the communicative abilities of people with ASD, the engagement of linguistic research has traditionally focused on their qualitative impairments in language, communication and social relationships (APA, 2013). These studies have extensively investigated the structural, formal properties of language impairments in children with ASD (see Chapter 2, Section 2.2.1), which have been compared against those of typically developing peers. Such studies typically draw on a controlled, experimental approach to data collection and analysis. In contrast, this present study seeks to address the interaction of a selected group of children diagnosed with ASD within a defined educational context, focusing particularly on naturally occurring talk. The way in which this study is situated views such interactions from the competence

perspective, describes what the children are able to perform interactionally, and synthesises salient findings to inform teaching practices in such a setting. Accordingly, it is argued, an analysis of the features of such interactions, using a naturalistic, qualitative approach to data collection and analysis, would serve to augment the existing pool of studies.

Further, CA, as the chosen approach to data analysis, has been an incrementally popular method of studying interactions involving people with ASD (see Chapter 2, Section 2.4). Nevertheless, there are few conversation-analytic studies that are dedicated to exploring classroom interactions involving children with ASD. Similarly, while there is a growing pool of research on educating children with ASD (see Chapter 2, Section 2.6), many centre on intervention models that address behavioural issues of these children in the classroom, and less so on their interactional practices. Therefore, the data-driven, inductive approach of CA is expected to generate in-depth discussions that could inform teaching practices involving such children.

In summary, this study adopts CA to investigate classroom talk of children with ASD—specifically in lesson beginnings—which is an understudied area, not only in ASD research, but also in CA and classroom interaction.

1.3 The present study

The present study took place in a Year 5/6 class of a special education centre in Sydney, which provides intensive numeracy and literacy programs to students with special learning needs (see Chapter 3, Section 3.3). After recruiting five teachers, four students, as well as their parents, as research participants (see Chapter 3, Sections 3.4, & 3.5), data collection took place. The main data set

comprises audio and video recordings of classroom interactions when lessons are in progress. Preliminary analysis of the data helped to identify the specific focus of this study; namely topic talk in lesson beginnings, involving only three students and two teachers during reading lessons. The relevant data were then thoroughly transcribed and subject to finer analyses (see Chapter 3, Section 3.8). Salient, recurring features of the interactions that emerged from the stringent scrutiny eventually constitute the key findings of this study (see Chapters 4, 5, & 6). Greetings, topic talk, and the enactment of task incipency are the vehicles for describing the interactional practices at this site of engagement.

1.4 Aims of thesis

This thesis aims to examine the interactions between a small group of students with ASD and their teachers in a special education classroom. It does so by describing recurring courses of action in lesson beginnings, and providing a detailed account of how the participants orient to the beginning of tasks. The findings could inform teaching practices for children with ASD, and contribute new knowledge to the organisation of classroom talk in general.

The next section outlines the contents and organisation of this thesis, before concluding this introductory chapter.

1.5 Thesis organisation

This thesis comprises seven chapters.

Chapter 1, the current chapter, provides an introductory preamble to the thesis, and the present study.

Chapter 2 reviews the body of literature relevant for the present study, encompassing ASD, CA, conversation-analytic studies of ASD, and the classroom. In doing so, Chapter 2 builds the rationales for the present study, which culminate in a series of research questions.

Chapter 3 describes the research design adopted, the research site, the characteristics of the participants, and how data were collected and analysed.

Chapter 4 is the first analytic chapter. It explores the organisation of greetings in lesson beginnings, and their role in laying the ground for courses of action to come.

Chapter 5 is the second analytic chapter. It explores how topic talk is occasioned, and how students and teachers employ it in lesson beginnings.

Chapter 6 is the final analytic chapter, and it explores how teachers and students move lesson beginnings towards commencement of lesson tasks, i.e., task incipency. As we shall see, this implicates securing student compliance. It should also be noted that Chapters 4-6 each commences with a literature review preface focused on the interactional practices to be analysed in the chapter.

Finally, Chapter 7 summarises and synthesises the analyses presented in Chapters 4-6, and discusses how these findings contribute new knowledge about ASD in the classroom, and classroom interactions more broadly. It concludes by reflecting on the limitations of the present study, while offering possible directions for future research.

Let us now turn to Chapter 2, and begin considering how ASD affects everyday life.

Chapter 2

Literature review

2.1 Chapter preface

The purpose of this chapter is to explore bodies of knowledge relevant for the present study. It begins by reviewing the nature of ASD, and its effects on language and communication. The discussion then turns to conversation analysis, and conversation-analytic studies of children with ASD. The chapter concludes by reviewing literature relevant for classroom interactions, and by positing the research questions of the present study.

2.2 Autism spectrum disorder

The Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-5), (APA, 2013) classifies ASD as one of a number of neurodevelopmental disorders. Individuals diagnosed with ASD are characterised by deficits in two domains: 1) social communication, and; 2) fixated interests and repetitive behaviours (APA, 2013). Social communication deficits may be realised as impaired social and emotional reciprocity, atypical verbal and non-verbal communicative behaviours, and decreased skills in developing, maintaining, and understanding relationships. Fixated interests and repetitive behaviours may be realised as repetitive vocalisations, repetitive motor movements, repetitive use of objects, and strict adherence to routines (and distress at their interruption) (APA, 2013).

The causes of ASD are still largely unknown despite many hypotheses being proposed. However, there is broad agreement that it is neurodevelopmental. Recent scientific evidence suggests that genetic, neuroanatomical, and environmental factors could be instrumental in causing abnormal growth in brain cells during the prenatal period. With regard to

prevalence, the latest estimate published by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention is 13.4 in every 1,000 4-year-olds (Christensen, Bilder, Zahorodny, Pettygrove, Durkin, Fitzgerald, Rice, Kurzius-Spencer, Baio, & Yeargin-Allsopp, 2016). According to the DSM-5 (APA, 2013), population prevalence is estimated to be 1%, or 1 in 100, and this figure is adopted by the National Autistic Society (2016), and Autism Spectrum Australia (2016).

Children with ASD can benefit from evidence-based interventions, such as Applied Behaviour Analysis (ABA), behaviour therapy, intensive and individualised education programs, occupational therapy, speech and language therapy, and sensory integration therapy. These approaches ultimately aim to develop children's functional independence by reducing their autistic traits, and improving their social skills, thereby maximising their potential for learning, their quality of life, and their ultimate independence in society.

2.2.1 Language and communication in ASD

There are many accounts of mechanisms underlying the deficits associated with ASD, with most focusing on its neural and cognitive bases. Current theories focused on cognition (e.g., theory of mind deficits; central coherence deficits) cannot explain all of the behaviours associated with ASD (Levy, 2007; Waterhouse, 2008). Moreover, the successful maintenance of social communication is an inordinately complex, multisystem achievement, so theories postulating a single underlying domain of deficits are likely to encounter problems (Waterhouse, 2008). Regardless, qualitative impairments of language and communication are at the centre of the symptomology of ASD. This means that coming to terms with the language and communication deficits associated with

ASD is important for understanding its nature. There is a large body of literature examining the structural features of language impairments in ASD, such as their phonological (Shriberg, Paul, McSweeney, Klin, Cohen, & Volkmar, 2001), morphological (Bartolucci, Pierce, & Streiner, 1980), semantic (Eigsti, Bennetto, & Dadlani, 2007), syntactic (Tager-Flusberg & Calkins, 1990), and prosodic (Shriberg et al., 2001) characteristics. This work, conducted over the last forty years, has employed various definitions of ASD, heterogeneous participant samples, and a variety of research methods; for the most part, experimental ones. A significant consequence for this literature is that a number of studies have arrived at apparently contradictory results and conclusions. In addition, much of this work has focused exclusively on the deficits of children with ASD, deemphasising their strengths, and ability to participate in (some) routine social activities. This chapter will come to argue, for these reasons, that descriptive qualitative investigations are required to augment, or in some cases replace, this work on the nature of language and communication deficits in ASD. Nonetheless, we shall now proceed with reviewing this body of literature.

2.2.1.1 Language and communication deficits in ASD

This section briefly outlines the findings of studies examining language and communication deficits in ASD. People with ASD are likely to have deficits affecting lexical semantics and, especially, pragmatics (Miranda-Linné, 2001). However, in the absence of broader cognitive impairments, people with ASD generally display proportionally less severe impairments of phonology and morphosyntax, which has been attributed to strengths in memory and perceptual auditory analysis (Klin, Saulnier, Tsatsanis, & Volkmar, 2005). We shall now

explore these issues further, beginning with phonology, prosody, and morphosyntax, before moving on to lexical semantics and pragmatics.

Early studies reported that phonology and prosody are relatively unimpaired among people with ASD, but that phonological development occurs more slowly (cf. Bartak, Rutter, & Cox, 1975; Pierce & Bartolucci, 1977). Later studies, however, were indicative of phonological problems in the speech of children with ASD, particularly with non-echolalic productions (e.g., Lord & Paul, 1997; Rapin & Dunn, 1997). Atypical prosodic features have also been reported, including excessive sound prolongation, atypical volume, problems with resonance, and atypical pitch contours, which may be either high-pitched, or monotonous and robot-like (Fine, Bartolucci, Ginsberg, & Szatmari, 1991; Lord & Paul, 1997; Reed, 1994). These features appear to persist through adulthood for some people, and do not see commensurate improvements with other language domains (Wilkinson, 1998; however, see Shriberg et al., 2001). Capps, Yirmiya and Sigman (1992) also found that children with ASD are less able to use prosody to resolve syntactic ambiguities, and are less aware of affect-loaded prosodic features.

The picture is also complex when it comes to the morphosyntactic abilities of children with ASD. Tager-Flusberg and Calkins (1990) proposed that the syntactic development of children with ASD follows the same path as their typically developing peers. As well, an earlier study by Waterhouse and Fein (1982) showed that early acquired morphological rules are learned as efficiently in children with ASD as in controls. There is, however, a larger body of work pointing towards problems with morphosyntactic processing. This research indicates that children with ASD are more likely to omit or over-generalise

obligatory morphemes (Bartolucci et al., 1980; Capps, Losh, & Thurber, 2000; Eigsti & Bennetto, 2009), have reduced syntactic complexity in their expressive output (Pierce & Bartolucci, 1977; Rapin & Allen, 1988), make pronoun errors (Capps et al., 2000), and use closed-class words and morphemes inappropriately (Solomon, 2001).

With regard to lexical processing, it is clear that delayed lexical acquisition is very common for children with ASD, with first words typically produced at around 38 months of age (Howlin, 2003). There also appear to be different effects across word classes, with concrete nouns being a strength for children with ASD (Menyuk & Quill, 1985), and pronouns and other deictic words a significant weakness (Tager-Flusberg, Paul, & Lord, 2005). As children with autism age, there can be persisting effects on their lexicon, and related metalinguistic abilities. Most significantly, the use of idiosyncratic and neologistic words can persist (Manolitsi & Botting, 2011; Volden & Lord, 1991). As well, children with ASD tend to use fewer words that are associated with cognitive mental states (e.g., 'know,' 'think,' 'remember,' and 'believe') (Tager-Flusberg, 1992), and are less able to describe emotion related words (Tager-Flusberg & Sullivan, 1994; see also Eskes, Bryson, & McCormick, 1990).

Finally, and most importantly, employing language in the course of communication is significantly affected for children with ASD (Fine, Bartolucci, Szatmari, & Ginsberg, 1994). More so than other linguistic domains, research on this front has been quite impressionistic, with researchers reporting a variety of behaviours including echolalia, pronoun reversal, violation of turn-taking rules, idiosyncratic word meanings, repetitive or stereotyped language, and topic perseveration, amongst others. Along these lines, Tager-Flusberg (1996)

observed that the language used by individuals with ASD tends to serve instrumental instead of social purposes, and that what is said would often be repetitive and egocentric. Other researchers have commented that it is common for children with ASD to persevere on favourite topics of conversation (Baltaxe, 1977; Mirenda, Donnellan, & Yoder, 1983). Furthermore, their conversations tend to be lopsided and lacked reciprocity because speakers with ASD refer less often to what they and their conversation partners previously talked about, and more often to physical attributes of their environment (Fine et al., 1994). Difficulties in turn taking, maintaining a conversation (Rapin & Dunn, 2003), and inability to provide adequate, relevant responses to questions and comments (Capps, Kehres, & Sigman, 1998; Tager-Flusberg & Anderson, 1991) have also been reported. Still, many of these observations and findings are driven by largely underspecified approaches to the communicative practices targeted, leaving the precise nature of the behaviours displayed by children with ASD under-elaborated.

In summary, then, it is clear that many children with ASD can present with language deficits affecting core, structural aspects of language, but deficits of language use are common across them all. These language and communication deficits are likely to have substantial implications for how children with ASD engage with their everyday environments. This is particularly the case for environments that are heavily mediated by language, such as classrooms. Despite deficits of language use and communication being central characteristics of ASD, the linguistic research along these lines has been either highly experimental, or overly impressionistic. Therefore, there is a need for empirical investigation of how these language and communication problems manifest in

everyday life (cf. O'Reilly, Lester, & Muskett, 2016; Sterponi & de Kirby, 2016). As we shall see in subsequent sections, this cause has been taken up by researchers applying conversation analysis to interactions involving children with ASD. But, before elaborating these findings, we must first discuss conversation analysis as a research method.

2.3 Conversation analysis

Conversation analysis (CA) was developed by Harvey Sacks, Emanuel Schegloff, and Gail Jefferson in the 1960s and early 1970s. The roots of CA can be traced to the work of sociologists Erving Goffman and Harold Garfinkel. CA takes the importance of face-to-face interaction from Goffman (e.g., Goffman, 1983) and combines it with Garfinkel's ethnomethodology, which is concerned with shared sense-making practices in everyday life (e.g., Garfinkel, 1967; Heritage, 1984b). CA views social interaction as an orderly, ongoing, local accomplishment. This perspective challenged the prevailing sociology of the time, which accounted for social action in a decontextualised fashion, using a priori theoretical assumptions (Heritage, 1984b). Sacks and his colleagues developed a methodological framework that could be used to discover the orderliness of interaction and social activity on its own terms. There are two key features of this project. First, Sacks did not want to pre-define the terms of this orderliness (see Sacks, 1992a, p. 484). This necessitated fine-grained methods of data analysis, in which "no order of detail in interaction can be dismissed *a priori* as disorderly, accidental, or irrelevant" (Heritage, 1984b, p. 241). Second, following Garfinkel, Sacks sought to discover how the parties involved in the interaction (i.e., "interactants") make sense of one another in situ. The

methodological upshot of these premises is an approach that is descriptive, qualitative, and inductive. In many respects, CA represents a ground-breaking way of studying social action (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998).

Ultimately, CA aims to describe the situated accomplishment of social action in naturally occurring talk, or “talk-in-interaction” (Schegloff, 1979, 2006). Hence, although language features prominently, it is not the primary object of study. The key theoretical starting point for CA is the notion of “reflexivity” (Heritage, 1984b; Garfinkel, 1967). In brief, this means that an action is shaped by what has come before it (i.e., it is “context-shaped”), but at the same time it creates its own context, and constrains what might come next (i.e., it is “context-renewing”) (see Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974). This fundamental property of social action means that interactants must publically show how they are making sense of what one another is doing, which is then available for an analyst to use in understanding what is being accomplished, and how (see Heritage, 1984b; Schegloff, 1992; Schegloff & Sacks, 1973).

Conversation analysts have developed a large body of empirical evidence concerning the organisation of interaction. This has been formalised in a series of key systems, or “organisations of practice” (see Schegloff, 2006) which are essential for the functioning of interaction. These organisations of practice include turn-taking, sequence organisation, and repair. Each of these will now be briefly discussed.

The turn-taking system governs how opportunities to participate in interaction are regulated (Sacks et al., 1974). For everyday conversation, the turn-taking system promotes one speaker at a time, and minimisation of gap and overlap. To achieve this outcome, the system has two components: one for

constructing turns, and one for allocating turns. Turns are built from “turn constructional units”. A turn constructional unit may take a variety of linguistic forms (e.g., lexical, phrasal, clausal/sentential) depending on its context. A key feature of a turn constructional unit is that it projects where it might come to possible completion (Schegloff, 1996). Possible completion is determined relative to the syntax, prosody, and action of the turn constructional unit (Sacks et al., 1974). When a turn has reached a point of possible completion, speakership transfer can take place. At this stage (or before), turn allocational rules are employed. The next speaker may be indicated by the current speaker selecting them, some other potential speaker selecting themselves, or the current speaker selecting themselves once more, and producing another turn constructional unit. Once a speaker has the floor, they have the right to complete at least one turn constructional unit. However, under certain circumstances, a speaker may gain the right to produce a multi-unit turn, and hold the floor for an extended period (Stivers, 2008).

Sequence organisation concerns how sets of turns “hang together or cohere” (Schegloff, 2007, p. 1). That is, turns can form larger courses of action, like requesting, inviting, telling stories, etc., but they need to be organised relative to one another. A basic form of sequence organisation is the “adjacency pair” (Schegloff, 1968, 2007; Schegloff & Sacks, 1973), which consists of a first pair part and a second pair part. A first pair part implicates a second pair part by making it “conditionally relevant”. As defined by Schegloff (1968, p. 1083), conditional relevance means that “given the first, the second is expectable; upon its occurrence it can be seen to be a second item to the first; upon its nonoccurrence it can be seen to be officially absent”. So, a first pair part sets up

an expectation that a particular kind of second pair part will follow, e.g., greeting-greeting, question-answer, summons-receipt. This expectation also extends to the form of the action. For example, a question formatted as a *yes/no* interrogative implicates an answering action involving a “yes” or a “no” (see Raymond, 2003). Usually, there is more than one second pair part available to the second speaker (although, see Chapter 4, Section 4.1.2). Some second pair parts will support the smooth accomplishment of the activity implicated by the first pair part. These are termed “preferred” responses, which are “aligning”. Other second pair parts, however, will impede the accomplishment of the first pair part, and delay and extend the activity. These are termed “dispreferred” responses, and are “disaligning” (see Schegloff, 2007, on the organisation of preference). For instance, the preferred response to an offering first pair part is acceptance because it supports/aligns the prior action, and brings it to a close. A declination is typically a dispreferred second pair part because it does not support the offer, and likely extends the activity (e.g., reasons are given for declining, alternative offers are issued). If a non-matching or ill-fitted second pair part is produced, or a response is simply absent, it will be viewed as a violation of conditional relevance, and the interactant responsible for the deviant action may be held accountable, and sanctioned. Speakers may also modulate the responsive pressure exerted by their turn through designing it in particular ways. Stivers and Rossano (2010) argue that actions can be made more strongly “response mobilising” by using interrogative syntax, rising terminal intonation, and sustaining gaze at the desired next speaker.

Pre-, insert, and post-sequences are types of sequence organisations which are “built on the armature of a single adjacency pair” (Schegloff, 2007, p.

12), occurring before, between, and after the base pair respectively. Pre-sequences are essentially adjacency pairs which establish the condition for a base sequence to take place, such as pre-telling/story preface, pre-invitation, pre-announcement, and pre-request. The way in which pre-sequences are designed and positioned indicate the delicacy, or significance of the base sequence that they precede (Stivers, 2013). For instance, a story preface projects a multi-turn storytelling and gauges the recipient's willingness to participate as a story recipient (Sacks, 1974; Goodwin, 1996); a pre-invitation checks the recipient's availability and helps to secure acceptance (Pomerantz & Heritage, 2013). While pre-sequences lay the groundwork for the base sequence, post-sequences are varied in their functions, as well as structural features (Schegloff, 2007). Post-sequences can be minimal, such as *oh*, *mm* or *okay*. Also known as "sequence-closing thirds" (Schegloff, 2007, p. 118), they typically indicate receipt of information and provide a response to the base second pair part. Because such response tokens or particles do not initiate a new sequence, they are closure-implicative. Contrary to minimal post-expansion, non-minimal post-expansions (Schegloff, 2007) are extended post-sequences, as in the case of repairs or topic talk. Stivers (2013) argued that while minimal post-expansions suggest sequence closure, non-minimal post-expansions attempt to seek additional information or repair, thus further extending the talk. Lastly, insert sequences or insert expansions are adjacency pairs that take place after the base first pair part. Insert expansions are generally initiated by the recipient of the base first pair part to address preference issues (Schegloff, 2007). There are two forms of insert expansions, namely post-first and pre-second, each performing a different interactional function. Post-first insert expansions look backward to address

issues in the base first pair part (e.g., to initiate repair or request for clarification), while pre-second insert expansions are forward-looking, setting the conditions (e.g., to request for additional information) before the base second pair part is issued (see Stivers, 2013; Schegloff, 1990, 2007).

Repair concerns the practices that interactants use to resolve problems related to “speaking, hearing, and understanding” talk (Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977, p. 361). Repair involves two roles, and two activities. The roles include “self” and “other”; the party who produces the trouble source, and the party who receives it. The activities include “initiation” and “repair”; identifying that there is a problem, or “trouble source”, and addressing the trouble source. Self-initiation and self-repair are the preferred modes of resolving trouble sources (Schegloff et al., 1977). Self-initiation and self-repair are typically accomplished as close to the trouble source as possible; usually, the same turn. Some practices for initiating self-repair include sound stretches, cut-offs, and non-lexical vocalisations. Other-initiation of repair is dispreferred, and typically arises in the turn subsequent to the trouble source (Jefferson, 1987; Schegloff, 1992; Schegloff et al., 1977). Other-initiations of repair vary with respect to the amount of information that they provide about the kind of trouble. “Open class” other-initiations of repair (e.g., *what, huh*) provide little explicit information about the nature of the trouble, and request that the self resolves entirely themselves. On the other hand, candidate understandings (e.g., *you’re saying it was his fault?*) clearly indicate what the trouble source is, and asks the self to simply confirm its adequacy. It should also be noted that repair initiation is optional, meaning that problems with speaking, hearing, and understanding can be allowed to pass without remark (Jefferson, 2007).

Conversation analysts have also begun to systematically incorporate socio-relational aspects of the interactional scene into their analyses of interactional practices. In particular, the role of interactants' knowledge in the selection and formation of actions has been extensively explored (see, e.g., Heritage, 2010; Heritage & Raymond, 2005, 2010; Stevanovic & Peräkylä, 2014), focusing on "the knowledge claims that interactants assert, contest and defend in and through turns-at-talk and sequences of interaction" (Heritage, 2013, p. 370). Early works by Terasaki (1976) and Goodwin (1979) showed how speakers incorporate in their tellings epistemic asymmetry between them and the recipients. Further, Heritage (1984a, 2012, 2013) postulated the notions of epistemic status and epistemic stance. Epistemic status is about the positioning of a speaker on an epistemic gradient, between "more knowledgeable" (K+) and "less knowledgeable" (K-), in relation to another speaker (see Heritage, 2010, 2012). That is, two speakers may have equal knowledge of a domain, known as AB-events, in Labov and Fanshel's (1977) classification of knowledge; or a speaker has exclusive knowledge of an event while the other has none (A-/B-events). Hence, epistemic status is about the speakers' "joint recognition of their comparative access, knowledgeability and rights relative to some domain of knowledge as a matter of more or less established fact" (Heritage, 2013, p. 558). On the other hand, epistemic stance concerns the way in which the relative epistemic advantage between speakers is realised in turns-at-talk, on a moment-by-moment basis (Heritage, 2013). It means "marking the degree of commitment to what one is saying, or marking attitudes toward knowledge" (Kärkkäinen, 2006, p. 705). Heritage and Raymond (2005), for instance, demonstrated that interactants' knowledge states strongly affect how assessment actions (e.g., *he's*

great, those are beautiful flowers) are implemented. They observed that producing the first assessment in an assessment sequence implies that the speaker knows the matters under discussion as well, or better than the other interactants. As a consequence, if there are other interactants who know just as well or better, the first speaker will implement practices to “downgrade” their assessment, such as using evidentials (e.g., *he seems great*) and tags (e.g., *those are beautiful flowers, aren’t they?*). Speakers of second assessments may also try to “upgrade” their assessment to demonstrate that they know the matters at hand as well, or better, i.e., that they have “epistemic authority”. This can be accomplished with negative interrogatives (e.g., *isn’t he great?*), or tags. So, for assessments and many other practices, interactants are paying detailed attention to who knows what, and how they know it.

Finally for this section, it should also be noted that, over the last thirty years, CA has been applied to a wide range of interactions involving people with communication disabilities. This includes interactions involving people with aphasia (e.g., Barnes, Candlin, & Ferguson, 2013; Wilkinson, Beeke, & Maxim, 2003; Goodwin, 1995, 2003), dysarthria (e.g., Bloch, 2005; Bloch & Beeke, 2008), intellectual disabilities (e.g., Antaki, Finlay, Walton, & Pate, 2008), and dementia (e.g. Mikesell, 2010; Wilson, Müller, & Damico, 2007). This work has provided novel findings relating to the nature of communication impairments, and how they affect everyday talk and life. Moreover, the findings generated using CA have been integrated into improving services for people with communication disabilities, and their families (e.g., Antaki, Finlay, & Walton, 2009; Wilkinson, 2015). As we shall see, ASD has also followed this trend, with similar benefits in mind.

2.4 CA and ASD

The preceding sections in this chapter have demonstrated that ASD affects language and communication, but that much of the research on this topic fails to capture how people with ASD communicate in the course of their everyday lives. CA offers a way of capturing the intricacies of communication in ASD, enabling researchers to map interactional patterns that are absent or dismissed in decontextualised tasks, or intuitively classified as “disordered” without detailed reflection. As we shall see, the disposition of CA has driven a small, but developing, body of research that positions the behaviours of children with ASD relative to interactional organisations, revealing their roles in the moment-by-moment creation of social action. In doing so, it has revealed how behaviours usually treated as essentially disordered, and a reflection of underlying impairments, can serve interactional functions (Sterponi & de Kirby, 2016; Tarplee & Barrow, 1999).

To begin with, a number of studies have explored practices of repetition and recurrence in the interactions of children with ASD (Muskett, Perkins, Clegg, & Body, 2010; Stribling, Rae, & Dickerson, 2007, 2009; Sterponi & de Kirby, 2016; Tarplee & Barrow, 1999). Tarplee and Barrow (1999) examined the use of echolalia routines by a young child with ASD in interactions with his mother. They observed that the child with ASD produced a series of elaborate delayed echolalia routines relating to a cartoon, which his mother also contributed to. However, when his mother failed to provide the expected response, the child pursued the “correct” part of the routine by reproducing the initiating action, or a subsequent part of the routine. Tarplee and Barrow (1999) argued that this demonstrated the child’s competence in the use of first pair parts, and sensitivity to sequence

organisation. Moreover, they suggested that these echolalic routines represented a way of shaping interactions that were typically driven and controlled by his mother. In a similar vein, Stribling et al. (2007, 2009) conducted two studies to explore the use of functions of spoken repetition and recurring topics. In the first study, an adolescent girl with ASD used repetitions of her teacher's turns, and repetitions of elements of her own turns. They identified that, with repetitions of the prior turn, the speaker with ASD was demonstrating her receipt of directions and other initiating actions implemented by the teacher. When she repeated elements of her own turn, she did so to demonstrate progress with her own ongoing non-vocal activities, and initiate new courses of action.

In their second study, Stribling et al. (2009) explored the recurrence of a topic in an interaction between a school-aged child with autism, and a researcher who was manipulating a robot. They identified a rich variety of factors in this local environment contributing to the recurrence of a topic initiated by the child—namely, the robot's problems steering—and questioned the validity of accounts that would see this characterised as a simple reflection of his deficits. Importantly, they highlighted that the researcher's minimal uptake of the child's topic initiations, combined with the limited common ground between them, encouraged the child to re-deploy the topic. Muskett et al. (2010) also focused on topic recurrence, examining how a child interacting with a speech and language therapist repeatedly returned to re-telling a favoured cartoon. They observed that, at possible junctures in the telling, when the speech and language therapist might have taken the floor, the child produced the turn *Do you know what?*. With this action, the child re-positioned herself for further speakership and, in most cases, the speech and language therapist provided a go-ahead response, allowing the

telling to recur. Combined with mild resistance towards the adult's turns, this topic persistence and apparent inflexibility successfully directed the agenda of the talk, with the speech and language therapist contributing to its recurrence. So, in sum, these studies demonstrate that forms of repetition and recurrence in the talk of children with ASD are linked with the accomplishment of social action, and are inherently collaborative, context sensitive achievements.

A second set of studies have developed accounts of the non-vocal and non-linguistic vocal conduct employed in interaction by children with ASD (e.g., Damico & Nelson, 2005; Stribling et al., 2007; Korkiakangas & Rae, 2014; Stiegler, 2007). In particular, this work has shown that unconventional, perhaps maladaptive behaviours can be used by children with severe ASD for interactional objectives. Stribling et al. (2007) examined the use of tapping by two children with ASD. They explored its use in both the home and school context, and discovered sequential positions where tapping systematically occurred; namely, when a response from the child had been made relevant. They argued that tapping might support some of the interactional work ordinarily implemented by gaze, such as displaying engagement with a conversation partner. In addition, they argued that tapping demonstrated progress towards the response that had been made relevant for the child. In another study, Damico and Nelson (2005) examined interactions involving a teenage boy with ASD and his speech-language pathologist. They identified two practices used by the boy with ASD to implement social action. The first was a loud, vocal creak which was used as a protest against unwanted activities. The second was a recurrent complex gesture involving the movements of both wrists and several fingers on both hands. This was employed to request objects, new activities or shifts in location. As well,

Korkiakangas and Rae (2014) explored the uses of eye gaze by children with autism in a classroom setting. Although gaze is often identified as a weakness of children with ASD, Korkiakangas and Rae (2014) offered evidence that their participants used gaze towards other interactants systematically. Specifically, they demonstrated that these children used gaze to carry out next speaker selection. This, they argued, was particularly useful when the linguistic format of their turn did not strongly project a response. In addition, they observed that children with ASD direct gaze at other interactants after their own second pair part actions, effectively foreshadowing the teacher's evaluative response. As can be concluded so far, there is a small, but expanding, collection of conversation-analytic studies which explore interactional features of speakers with ASD from a perspective of competence, rather than deficit. This is definitely an understudied area that deserves much research attention, and provides an avenue for understanding how people with ASD perform various social actions. This study follows in this tradition and contributes to the body of knowledge in this domain.

One practical benefit of this work is discovering ways that the communicative environment can be made more accessible for children with autism (Sterponi & de Kirby, 2016). Although work towards this end is at its very beginning, there are some concrete directions available in the current literature. Geils and Knoetze (2008), for example, observed that therapists and family members used complex utterances comprising multiple parts or abstract language when addressing a child with ASD, which then failed to elicit responses. They argued that simplification of their language, more carefully designed initiating actions, and acceptance of non-verbal responses would have made the interaction more effective. Rendle-Short (2002) also highlighted some useful

accommodations made by the classmate of an 8-year-old girl with Asperger Syndrome and the classmate's mother during a phone conversation. Both the classmate and her mother sensitively dealt with off-topic talk, were tolerant of unusually long silences when waiting for the child with ASD to respond, and avoided asking complex, off-topic questions.

In summary, it is clear that CA is a versatile, and potentially powerful tool for investigating language and communication in ASD. This work holds much promise for revealing new information about the language and communication (dis)abilities of children with ASD, with a view to "more effective ways of interacting with them, providing therapy for them, and helping them to communicate more clearly and develop more positive relationships with others" (Garcia, 2012, p. 358). So far, however, researchers have predominately focused on communicative practices in their own right. Their role in larger communicative projects, and the contributions of routine conversation partners, have received far less attention. As we shall see, the present study adds to the available evidence on this front by examining how children with ASD participate in classroom interactions.

2.5 Classroom interaction

CA draws a contrast between everyday conversations, and forms of institutional interaction. Although this distinction can be a fuzzy one at times, institutional interactions are distinguished by being goal oriented, having institution-specific constraints, and implicating institution-specific identities and inferences (see Drew & Heritage, 1992b; Heritage & Clayman, 2010). Heritage and Clayman (2010) argued that the practices employed in institutional

interactions represent transformations, or adaptations of those used in everyday talk, specific to the tasks of the social institution at hand. This will be manifested in particular patterns of, for example, turn design, turn-taking, sequence organisation, repair, amongst others. Moreover, these practices index the (often strongly) asymmetrical knowledge states, rights and responsibilities, and identities relevant for institutional talk (Heritage & Clayman, 2010).

CA has been applied to a number of different sites of institutional interaction, such as classrooms (e.g., McHoul, 1978, 1990; Mehan, 1979), medical consultations (e.g., Heritage & Maynard, 2006), courtrooms (e.g., Atkinson & Drew, 1979), and psychotherapy sessions (e.g., Peräkylä, Antaki, Vehviläinen, & Leudar, 2008). Classroom interactions set in place a variety of concrete constraints manifested in interactional practices used for this form of institutional talk, although these may vary depending on whether the lesson is more teacher-centric, student-centric, or task-based (see, e.g., Gardner, 2013). First, in most classroom, interactants in the role of student outnumber those in the role of teacher. This means that particular sorts of turn-taking solutions are required for classroom interactions to function. Second, an important objective of education is to increase the knowledge of students. The teacher is, therefore, in a superior epistemic position, and must implement practices to bring about changes in student positioning. Third, and finally, teachers and students have asymmetrical roles in terms of the regulation of the classroom, with the teacher more authoritative. These issues will now be explored in turn, focusing on primary and secondary schooling classrooms, rather than adult learning situations (on the latter, see, e.g., Seedhouse, 2004; Hellerman & Lee, 2014).

McHoul (1978) examined turn-taking patterns in a teacher-fronted classroom, and noted a number of deviations from everyday conversation. First and foremost, he showed that teachers took many more turns than students, and that teachers were the principal agents of next speaker selection. This means that the turn-taking system of the classroom has a much more limited “permutability” (McHoul, 1978, p. 189). In addition, gaps and other silences are not minimised, and overlaps between student and teacher talk are rare. This is indicative of the reduced competitive pressure of turn-taking in the classroom. With the teacher wholly implicated in next speaker selection, silences can develop within their own turns, and the turns of students, because they are not (or less) vulnerable to speaker transition. So, all in all, these turn-taking patterns represent practical solutions to the problem of regulating participation in the classroom, and heavily skewed towards the teacher in terms of control.

Teachers must also implement practices targeted at changing the knowledge states or behaviours of students. This brings us to perhaps a prominent practice in classroom interactions; namely, the initiation-response-evaluation (IRE) sequence, first identified by Mehan (1979). This three-part sequence begins with the teacher producing an initiating turn of some sort (e.g., a question, a directive); the second turn takes the shape of a candidate response provided by a student, who is typically nominated by the teacher; and the third turn involves the teacher adopting some sort of stance towards the student’s response, typically in the form an assessment (e.g., *good*, *that’s correct*). This sequence may then be repeated, with the teacher moving forward with lesson tasks with other students (Mehan, 1979). Margutti and Drew (2014) explored the practices used by teachers in third turns, observing that teachers could provide

explicit positive assessments, full repetitions of the student's turn, partial repetitions and minimal receipts, or simply moved on to the next initiation. They demonstrated that, by selecting particular evaluation practices, the teacher characterised the kind of task, and pedagogic activity underway, providing important signals to students. With full repetition responses, the teachers show that the answer selected is complete, and that the procedures students have used to arrive at an answer are applicable to subsequent responses. On the other hand, partial repeats combined with receipts, and other responsive practices can demonstrate to students that different sorts of questions will be subsequently implicated, and that teacher is developing a "line of reasoning" (Margutti & Drew, 2014, p. 448).

On the other side of the coin, teachers also implement a variety of practices in order to amend student responses in and after the third turn of an IRE sequence. McHoul (1990) suggested that much of this work involves a specialisation of the repair system, along the same lines as his work on the turn-taking system. He observed that other-initiation of repair (by the teacher) is much more common in the classroom than in everyday talk. However, the preference for self-repair/correction persists, with teachers implementing different sorts of "cluing" practices to support it (McHoul, 1990, p. 355-356). In addition, this can occur recursively, with teachers repeatedly prompting students, before eventually supplying a correction. Mazeland (1987) reported similar findings, i.e., the teacher's next-turn repair initiator technique typically began with a "weak" one, and "stronger" ones would ensue if more than a sequence was required to correct an error. The four types of repair initiation techniques, in the order of increasing "strength", were:

- 1) error-indication (an error was indicated, e.g., *There's a mistake*);
- 2) error-location (the error was precisely indicated, e.g., *You said in the Oxford Street*);
- 3) error-method (the source of the error was indicated, e.g., *You're mixing it up*);
- 4) repair-method (the teacher provided an instruction on how to correct the error, e.g., *You have to partition them*).

The first three methods were other-initiated self repairs, whereas the last one was other-initiated other repair, thus maximizing the opportunities for students to perform self repair. This is in line with the ordering of preference for other-initiation of repair, that "if more than one other-initiated sequence is needed, the other-initiators are used in order of increasing strength" (Schegloff et al., 1977).

Radford (2010) examined this topic in more detail, focusing on the practices teachers utilised when working with a small group of children with specific speech and language difficulties. She identified four types of repair initiations used by teachers when they encountered inadequate student responses: (1) non-specific (open class) initiators, (2) specific initiators in the form of designedly incomplete utterances, (3) *wh* questions, and (4) offers of candidate understandings. As in everyday conversations, these initiation techniques provide various indications of what it will take for the problems to be resolved, and various amounts of support for students to resolve the trouble. For children with speech and language difficulties, it can also be seen that these practices provide different amounts of linguistic support for facilitating self-repair. More broadly, it should also be noted that Macbeth (2004) questioned the assumptions

implicit to applying notions of repair to classroom interactions. While McHoul (1990) drew an equivalence between repair organisation and the practices involved with amending student responses in an IRE sequence, Macbeth (2004) argued that they are separate issues, with repair and the IRE sequence being managed simultaneously. He suggested that, rather than seeing attempts at amending student responses as a sub-type of repair, they are best understood as a core feature of the sequential organisation of actions in the classroom (see Macbeth, 2004, p. 723).

The role of IRE sequence was also mentioned in Markee's (2004) study of zones of interactional transition (ZITs), as a means of regaining control of the turn-taking system. Using ESL classroom interaction, Markee (2004) investigated the transitions, or ZITs, which occurred when the students directed questions to the teacher during group discussion. These transitions were sites of potential trouble because in response to a student's question, the teacher typically produced a counter-question, i.e., an insertion sequence of IRE in the form of question-answer-comment. This often led to challenges from students, hence problem during the transitional phase. Similarly, this highlights the potential trouble that could take place when a teacher initiates transitions to another phase of instructional activities as the lesson progresses, due to student resisting the lesson progressivity or challenging the teacher's deontic right.

On a slightly different note, students' displays of epistemic access have been explored by Koole (2010), as well as responsiveness/contingency in the classroom (Koole & Elbers, 2014). In the first study, Koole (2010) argued that a display of understanding and a display of knowing were two separate interactional practices, each serving a different purpose. Following a teacher's question that

acted as an “understanding check” (Heritage, 1984a) (e.g., *do you understand*). a demonstration of understanding on the student’s part (e.g. *yes*) would suffice. However, a display of knowing would be warranted when the student’s second position response was part of the IRE sequences (i.e., if the question was *do you know x*) then the student was required to not only make a claim of understanding, but also continued with a demonstration of knowing (e.g., *yes, it’s ...*). Building on findings from the previous study, Koole and Elbers (2014) examined the notion of responsiveness or contingency, and how a teacher responded to a claim of not-understanding, a demonstration of not-understanding, as well as a token of understanding/knowing. Interactional responsiveness was achieved when the teacher responded to the student’s display of not-understanding by providing explanations. However, when the teacher moved toward sequence closure following the student’s claim of understanding, without making relevant a demonstration of understanding, this constituted non-responsiveness on the teacher’s part. In summary, these two studies showed how the claim and display of epistemic access (i.e., understanding and knowing) could be applied in the classroom context, hence advancing our understanding of the learning process, via the conversation-analytic perspective.

Student agency is another key issue that will inform the analyses and discussions of findings in this study. Defined as ‘the initiation of action by choice’ (Wartofsky, 1981, p. 199), the notion of “agency”—as well as the construction of “childhood”—has been extensively studied in sociology. From an ethnomethodological and conversation-analytic standpoint, child agency is viewed in terms of actions performed by children in their lived day-to-day experiences. Traditionally, children have been constructed as passive

participants who are subject to social orders imposed and regulated by teachers (see Davies, 1982). However, inspired by a competence paradigm, which views children as competent social agents (see Hutchby & Moran-Ellis, 1998), sociological studies have suggested that children are active, reflexive actors within the social system, capable of using various courses of action to achieve their interactional agenda, as well as co-construct the interactional event at hand (cf., e.g., Gardner, 1998 on speech therapy tasks; Christensen, 1998, and Prout, 1988 on illness). The same theoretical perspective is equally applicable to students in a schooling context. During instructional activities, they should be treated as dynamic and pro-active participants who are constantly making sense of the social order in the classroom, taking charge of their own participation, and contributing to the ongoing maintenance of institutional activities. Danby and Baker (1998) studied a teacher's actions in resolving two episodes of conflict in a preschool classroom. During the teacher's intervention, the involved parties appeared to adhere to the social order enacted by her. However, after the teacher had left, the children resumed their own agenda of repair, thus treating the third-party intervention as interruption. This clearly demonstrated the children's agency in solving their problem, "as competent practitioners of multiple social orders in their relationships with each other as well as with teachers and other adults" (Danby & Baker, 1998, p. 161). Focusing on interactions among preschool children in a playground hut, Bateman (2011) also observed child agency being invoked when they actively engaged in creating complex rules for play and membership, thus contributing to the co-construction of social and moral practices in the playground. In a study on peer disputes in a Turkish Saturday School, Tarım and Kyratzis (2012) reported on agency when the eight- to twelve-

year old students negotiated with the teacher to relax the no-English rule in class. This display of agency was an embodiment of students as reflexive, competent interactants who challenged the moral order constructed by the teacher, and at the same time attempted to effect changes to the local social order in the classroom. Lastly, in relation to learning and epistemic stance in a classroom context, Melander (2012) provided strong evidence of student agency in the small group activities of six- and seven-year old girls engaged in collaborative learning. Here, one girl assumed the role of a “teacher” while the rest, her “students”. With this, they demonstrably co-constructed their social and moral identities, in accordance with their relative epistemic stance and statuses (see Heritage, 1984a, 2012, 2013). Taking this theoretical perspective of student/child agency onboard, we should keep in mind that students should be treated as independent, competent, reflexive participants in the classroom. They carry with them the social and moral orders of the educational setting. In terms of learning, they play an active and “agentive” role. That is, they are constantly making sense of the ongoing instructional actions; at the same time, they may be negotiating, challenging, or negating the teacher-constructed institutional social system, as they assert their learning agendas or preferences.

Finally, the practices discussed in this section signify the asymmetrical statuses of students and teachers in classroom interactions. That is, through the ways that teachers manage turn-taking, sequences of talk, and repair, teachers exert their rights and responsibilities to control the direction of the interaction (e.g., Margutti, 2011; Macbeth, 1991). These issues will be taken up in more detail subsequently in the thesis (see, particularly, Chapter 6, Section 6.1.2). The

chapters and the analyses to follow will demonstrate that, when students resist this authority, they risk sanction.

It should also be noted at this juncture that most of the available literature on classroom interactions using CA has, understandably, focused on the interactional management of lesson tasks. As we shall see, the present study focuses on the organisation of classroom interactions and activities anterior to them. Apart from Mazeland (1983), who studied the sequencing structure of lesson openings, literature in this area has been scarce and limited. Mazeland (1983) reported on the teacher's directive in the form of an utterance or gesture, and how the students oriented to the directive by coordinating their nonverbal reactions with the teacher's actions. Revisiting the same research area but from a different perspective, the present study contributes fresh insights of how lesson beginnings are organised, and how participants jointly orient to the incipient tasks via various actions. Interactional boundaries have proven to be important and fruitful areas for conversation analytic research generally (e.g., Schegloff, 1968; Schegloff & Sacks, 1973), and there is good reason to suspect that lesson beginnings are similarly rich. From the moment students take their seats, lay out the necessary artefacts, review previous work, to the moment students commence their learning task, there are essential features of the interactional landscape that must be set in place; participation frameworks, epistemic statuses and stances, as well as aspects of the moral order of the classroom (see Chapter 6). Negotiation of these aspects of lesson beginnings is likely to provide a rich site for student and teaching interactional engagement.

This literature review continues by providing an overview of background studies which situate ASD in the classroom setting, before the chapter concludes with the research questions of the present study.

2.6 ASD in the classroom

There is a growing body of literature on educating children with ASD (e.g., Bilaver, Cushing, & Cutler, 2016; Harrower & Dunlap, 2001; Manti, Scholte, Van Berckelaer-Onnes, 2013; Odom, Boyd, Hall, & Hume, 2010a; Odom, Collet-Klingenberg, Rogers, & Hatton, 2010b), and the management of challenging behaviours more broadly (e.g., Thompson, 2011). Odom et al. (2010a) drew a contrast between focused intervention practices, and comprehensive treatment models for educating children with ASD. Focused interventions aim to produce discrete behavioural outcomes, and include strategies like social stories, behaviour modification, communication systems, video modelling, and self management, amongst others (Odom et al., 2010b). Very generally, many of the focused intervention practices currently in use draw heavily on behaviourist principles (e.g., Harrower and Dunlap, 2001; Kerr, Smyth, & McDowell, 2003), while others also include more psychosocially-oriented aspects (Manti et al., 2013). Comprehensive treatment models, on the other hand, are philosophically-driven, integrated approaches to educating children with ASD, which are often variously branded (Odom et al., 2010a). Comprehensive treatment models are intended as stand-alone programs for children with ASD, designed to cater for all educational needs. There is a wide body of evidence supporting particular focused strategies, and some comprehensive models, although the quality of this evidence varies (Odom et al., 2010a, b).

While developing this evidence base is important for ensuring quality education for children with ASD, there is also a need for detailed study of the interactional practices of classrooms. That is, most of the interventions outlined above—even those organised at very “macro” levels—are achieved and maintained through interactions between children with autism, their teachers, their peers, and material environments. As we have seen, too, classroom interactions unfold in distinctive, and methodical ways, and the intrinsic characteristics of interactions may shape the way in which intervention or teaching practices are implemented (cf. Marlaire & Maynard, 1990). Therefore, qualitative, descriptive studies of the contents of classroom interactions involving children with ASD are likely to provide useful information for ensuring quality education.

There are few conversation-analytic studies that directly address the participation of children with ASD in institutional interactions in general (though see Marlaire & Maynard, 1990; Maynard, 2005; Solomon, Heritage, Yin, Maynard, & Bauman, 2016), and classroom interactions in particular. Even though a number of the studies reviewed above made use of classroom data (e.g., Stribling et al., 2007, 2009; Korkiakangas & Rae, 2014), the focus and findings are not strongly (or at all) focused on the tasks and activities of this context, or the practices implemented by the teacher. Two prominent exceptions are Korkiakangas, Rae, and Dickerson (2012), and Korkiakangas and Rae (2013). This first study examined how a teacher responded to vocal turns produced by a student with ASD; namely, repeating the student’s turn. Korkiakangas et al. (2012) argued that this response indexed adequate receipt of the talk, and cleared the way for the sequence to progress to other actions. In

addition, the practice provided a useful means for the teacher to demonstrate her analyses of the student's talk, which the student would then subsequently correct if the repetition deviated from the original turn. Korkiakangas and Rae (2013) reported on the ways that a teacher manipulated resources relevant for an individual lesson for a student with ASD. They argued that the ways in which the teacher manipulated various materials (e.g., pens, books, marbles) was coordinated with the gaze of the student, particularly at task junctures. These object movements were undertaken with a view to setting the scene for the object to be used in a task, and arranging the student's attention, and the participation framework that would be relevant for it. Korkiakangas and Rae (2013) argued that this seemingly small practice represented a teaching expertise particularly useful for children with ASD, who can have difficulty transitioning between tasks and stimuli.

In addition, but less directly, Radford, Blatchford, and Webster (2011) explored how teachers and teaching assistants managed classroom interactions in special education, involving some students with ASD. They described how teachers implemented practices that fostered student agency and participation, including open topic solicitations, providing prompts rather than overt corrections in IRE sequences, and opening the floor so that students could take extended turns. On the other hand, teaching assistants implemented actions that restricted student agency, and enforced task compliance. This included questions projecting single word responses, direct correction in IRE sequences, and teacher-led topic selection.

In summary, then, quality education is vital for students with ASD. However, there is currently limited evidence with regard to the organisation of

classroom interactions involving children with ASD. The evidence available is indicative of the importance of inclusive interactional practices for promoting student engagement.

2.7 Summary, synthesis, and research questions

This chapter has reviewed bodies of literature relevant for the present study. It has discussed the nature of ASD, interactions involving children with ASD, and the evidence available on ASD and classroom interactions. It is now clear that CA represents a powerful method for capturing the communicative practices used by children with ASD, and the organisation of classroom interactions. In addition, it is also clear that examining how students with ASD and their teachers manage classroom interaction will be valuable for ensuring that classrooms are readily accessible for children with ASD, and perhaps for understanding the nature of classroom interactions more generally. In the next chapter, the methodological aspects of the present study, including the site of study, the data collection tools and procedures, data sets, and data analysis procedures, will be set out. We shall see that the present study zooms in on a salient part of reading lessons involving three children with ASD; namely, lesson beginnings. We shall see that lesson beginnings are a consequential site of student and teacher activity, and are worthy of detailed analysis with a view to better educating children with ASD. All these are encapsulated in the research questions below.

2.7.1 Research questions

This study seeks to address the following questions:

- What are the courses of action that occur in lesson beginnings, and how are they organised?
- How do students with ASD participate in the courses of action in lesson beginnings?
- How do teachers participate in the courses of actions in lesson beginnings?
- How do teachers regulate the participation of children with ASD in lesson beginnings?

Chapter 3

Methodology

3.1 Chapter preface

This chapter presents the methodological approach adopted for the present study. The approach, site, recruitment strategies, research participants, and procedures of data collection will be described. The types of data collected, and procedures for selecting, processing, and analysing data will then be elaborated.

3.2 Research design

The present project employed descriptive, qualitative, and conversation-analytic methods to explore classroom interactions involving children with autism. It received ethical approval from Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC), and was conducted in accord with this approval (HREC Reference: 5201200879) (see Appendix A).

3.3 Site of research

A special education centre was the site of research for the present study. It was identified early in the development of the study as a potential data collection site due to its student enrolment criteria, small class size, and the pedagogical approaches used there. Intensive, small group teaching on numeracy and literacy skills was a principal instructional activity, involving one teacher and three to six students. This provided for ample teacher-student interactions which were crucial to this study. The centre provided Kindergarten to Year 6 education to students who met at least one of three disability criteria; namely, autism spectrum disorder, intellectual disability, and learning disability.

Students in similar age groups were divided into four classes according to their academic and intellectual status. There were between ten and twelve students, and two principal teachers in each class. The principal teachers conducted the core teaching and learning activities in Mathematics, News, Spelling, Writing, and Phonics; specialist teachers taught Computers, and Reading. Students attended lessons in small groups of three, four, or five, and the number varied according to the subject. Because the students differed academically and intellectually, each lesson involved different groupings of students, regardless of their disability aetiology. This organisation was in accordance with the “non-categorical” approach to teaching that was adopted by the centre. It was anticipated that such small class size and intensive small group teaching would engender rich interactional data suitable for the purpose of this study.

Two further features of this special education centre were its research-based curriculum, and postgraduate teaching program in special education. Postgraduate students of the special education program often observed lessons and carried out practical teaching at the centre. This centre also served as a research centre more broadly, thus the academic and research staff would regularly gather data for research and curriculum development purposes. Accordingly, observation and recording were routine practices, and teachers and students were accustomed to them.

In sum, the enrolment of students with ASD, the small group teaching methods, and teachers and students who were familiar and comfortable with research were the key factors that made the centre an appropriate site of research for the present study.

At the initiation of the present study, preliminary meetings were arranged with the centre's director and principal to discuss the possibility of conducting this study on site. Various matters such as participant recruitment procedures, and the arrangements for maintenance of confidentiality of participants' identities were discussed and agreed on by all parties. Relevant ethical approvals were then sought and granted.

3.4 Participant recruitment

To begin, the school principal recommended particular students as potential participants, and a parent of each student was invited to consider participating. Invitations to participate in the research were sent by the centre's administration (see Appendix B, Information and Consent Form, p. 312-315). Four students from the Year 5/6 class and their mothers responded to the invitation. The researcher then consulted further with the parents and students, which culminated in all agreeing to participate in the present study.

Once the student participants had been recruited, then their regular classroom teachers were invited to participate in the research (see Appendix B, Information and Consent Form, p. 316-317). All five gave their consent. Concurrently, consents were sought from other students in the Year 5/6 class so that video recording could take place (see Appendix B, Information and Consent Form, p. 318-319). This is consistent with Macquarie University's Human Research Ethics Guidelines, and the centre's requirements for research projects. Consent was necessary from non-target students because they would be recorded when attending lessons with the student participants, and during recess/lunch. Although the non-target students were peripheral to this project,

they were potential conversation partners of the student participants. All parents of non-participant students gave their consent for their children to be recorded.

3.5 Participants

The four Year 5/6 students recruited were Aaron, Ryan, Tom, and Benny¹. At the time of data collection, Aaron was the youngest at ten years old, Ryan was eleven, and Tom and Benny were both twelve. More boys appear to be diagnosed with ASD than girls, with the latest male-to-female prevalent ratio of 3.3 (Christensen et al., 2016). Sampling of male participants was not undertaken purposefully. There were more boys than girls in the Year 5/6 class under study, and it was coincidental that those who responded to the invitation to participate in this project were boys.

The parent participants were the students' mothers, and their ages fell within the range of forty to fifty years. Two parents were full-time homemakers and two were employed outside their homes. Because the data set of this study mainly consisted of Reading lessons that involved Tom, Benny and Ryan (see Section 3.8 on how this decision was arrived at), the following section on the profile of student participants will focus on these three boys.

The teacher participants², all of whom were female, comprised two principal teachers (Miss Walker, Miss Pearce), two specialist teachers (Miss Smith, Miss Craig), and one replacement teacher (Miss Johnson). Supported by a number of casual and specialist teachers, Miss Walker and Miss Pearce were

¹ All student participants' names are pseudonyms.

² All teacher participants' names are pseudonyms. The students usually addressed their teachers simply as "Miss" so this honorific was used for all.

tasked with planning and delivering the education program of the Year 5/6 class. Hence, they were the teachers who spent the most time with the student participants in class, and who taught the majority of the core subjects.

Miss Walker started five weeks of leave shortly before the commencement of the first round of data collection. Her replacement, Miss Johnson—an experienced casual staff member of the centre—was recruited as a teacher participant. As Miss Johnson had spent a considerable amount of time teaching the student participants during those five weeks, her experience and feedback were equally valuable for this study.

Of the teacher participants, Miss Pearce had the least teaching experience in a special education setting and had taught there for five years. The most experienced was Miss Smith who had been teaching in the centre for more than fourteen years. All five teachers and all parents participated in interviews conducted during the second round of data collection.

Because the interactional data selected for analysis in this study were drawn from Reading Comprehension lessons, only the interactions in Miss Smith's and Miss Craig's lessons will be featured in the subsequent parts of the thesis. Miss Craig, who was also a speech pathologist, taught Reading Comprehension to Tom, Benny, and Ryan every week, Monday to Wednesday, 11:30 a.m. to 12:00 p.m. Miss Smith taught Tom, Benny, and Ryan Reading Comprehension every Thursday and Friday, 11:30 a.m. to 12:00 p.m. Despite both subjects bearing the same name, the objectives, contents, activities, structures, modes of interaction, and relevant artefacts differed. In Miss Smith's lessons, the students engaged in independent work, and answered multiple-choice questions that were based on comprehension of short passages. The

main skills involved were reading for literal, and inferential, information. The workbooks used in Miss Smith's lessons were *SRA Multiple Skills Series for Reading Book 3*. While Tom and Benny were at Level D, Ryan was at the lower Level A. Although Tom and Benny used the same book, Tom was more advanced and completing Unit 17, while Benny was completing Unit 7. The primary materials used in this lesson were books with stimulus materials, and books in which the students recorded their work.

In Miss Craig's lessons, the three students were all reading *The Twits* by Roald Dahl, with the objectives of developing skills in reading fluency, vocabulary skills, answering literal and inferential questions, and identifying main ideas. The lessons progressed collectively. That is, the three students read a chapter as a group in each lesson. Some of the activities included discussing new vocabulary, identifying main events of the story, describing main characters or the illustrations, reading aloud, and responding to the text. The primary materials used in this lesson were the texts (i.e., *The Twits*), and exercise books in which the students recorded their work.

We will now turn to the student participants' background information and their interactional skills at the time of data collection. The information below was compiled based on the interview data with the parents and teachers, as well as recent school reports, and other relevant documentation shared by the parents. The school reports were subsequently requested from the parents after the interviews. The purpose was to ascertain the level of student participants' literacy skills at the time of data collection. All of the parents gave their consent and provided an electronic copy of the report. This contributed to a much detailed,

richer description of the boys, whose interactional practices were the key focus of analyses in this study.

3.5.1 *Benny*

Benny was aged twelve years and one month at the beginning of data collection. He lived with his mother, father, and older sister. His mother—Yvette³—was a full time homemaker, his father was an engineer. Benny was born with cystic lymphangioma in his chin and it affected his feeding during infancy. He had undergone several surgeries to remove the cyst and correct the shape of his jaw. His chin appeared to be swollen, and the intelligibility of his speech was occasionally impacted.

In the first few years of Benny's life, his parents' main concern was his medical condition, so much so that they did not focus on his speech and language development until he was three. His language development was delayed, and he uttered his first words when he was three to four years old, and used two- or three-word phrases when he was aged five. A neuropsychological evaluation when he was eight years old showed low to average IQ scores. His parents reported that he had weaknesses in social and abstract reasoning tasks, auditory working memory, concentration, planning and organisation, and fine motor skills. He attended a public school for Grades 1 to 3 but he had difficulty keeping up with peers. His parents enrolled him in the current school when he was in Year 4. He was subsequently diagnosed with ASD (DSM-V) when he was aged eleven years and nine months.

³ All parent participants' names are pseudonyms.

Benny's school report indicated that he had difficulties in understanding spoken paragraphs, and in structuring written work. Other problematic areas were receptive language, handwriting, and gross motor skills. Nevertheless, his expressive language was age appropriate; he was able to read fluently and to express ideas clearly. In terms of Reading and Comprehension, he showed independent skills in many areas such as reading fluency, use of decoding strategies to read new words, and answering literal questions about a passage that had been read to him. However, he showed partial skills in answering inferential questions about a passage, and identifying the main idea of a passage. The school report also noted that Benny was an enthusiastic communicator and adept in speaking for a range of purposes, including having conversations, delivering information, explaining, and showing understanding of a topic. However, he showed partial independence when engaging in conversations beyond his particular areas of interest.

He underwent a neuropsychological assessment during the year of his participation in the present research. It indicated that he had difficulties in his immediate attention span, and with problems recalling information delivered verbally. Other areas of significant difficulty were mental flexibility, working memory, self-monitoring, and social cognitive skills. The assessor noted that he lacked the ability to appreciate views of others, and showed little interest in others' thoughts or experiences. Benny's reading and spelling were in the high average range; his numeracy skills were borderline to low average.

According to Yvette, Benny's interests were video games, computers, and movies. He disliked outdoor activities. He was prescribed melatonin to help him to sleep. He did not attend any speech therapy or social skills programs. Benny

was socially active in his own, idiosyncratic way. He often initiated a conversation by sharing facts and figures that had attracted his attention, without awareness of whether or not his conversation partner shared the same interest. Yvette reported that Benny may ask *“Who’s your favourite rap artist?”* or *“Do you want to know who did the sound effects for the Star Wars movie in 1977?”* before presenting the answers, often accompanied by additional details. Other topics of particular interest for Benny were sensational global issues such as the September 11th attacks, the 1977 version of the Star Wars movie, the Columbine school shooting, mass murders, musicians such as Kurt Cobain and Jimi Hendrix who died when they were twenty-seven years old, and others. Miss Pearce commented that Benny’s ability to show to his peers or teachers his expert-like knowledge on specific topics was a confidence-booster for him, which also gave him his “five minutes of fame”. Nevertheless, Benny preferred talking to teachers, rather than other students, in the school setting, presumably because they were more responsive and supportive than his peers.

In terms of non-verbal communication, Miss Smith and Miss Johnson reported that Benny did not always get the right proximity with a conversation partner. At times he would stand too close, and in other conversations he would be too far away.

Another notable feature of Benny’s interaction, as reported by Yvette and the teachers, was that he often did not listen to what his conversation partner had to say. They felt this was due to him only being interested in telling others what was on his mind, and not being interested in what others had to say. The teachers reported that this lack of interest was manifested in Benny often walking away in the middle of a conversation.

Yvette recounted an incident in which Benny told a (shirtless) stranger to put on his shirt. She presumed that Benny was applying to real life different sorts of confrontations that he had watched on YouTube. While Benny subsequently retold that incident many times, Yvette said that he was never able to grasp the reasons for the stranger becoming upset and angry with him.

3.5.2 *Ryan*

Ryan was aged eleven years and eight months at the time of data collection. Ryan resided with his mother, father, and two older siblings. His father was employed as a corporate executive, and his mother—Emily—was a homemaker. Emily indicated that Ryan was diagnosed with ASD not long after his second birthday. Prior to that, Emily had noticed that he did not respond when he was called, but was otherwise developing typically. He was in a mainstream school until Year 5, when he enrolled in the special education school. The main reason for this change of school was Ryan's inability to cope academically or to focus in class. According to Emily, Ryan had the tendency to shun interaction, and let his mind drift off or "zone out." She said that he often retreated into an imaginary world of cartoons or video shows. His interests included video and iPad games, as well as animated movies.

Based on Ryan's school report, his Reading and Comprehension skills were generally in the range of average or below average. Apart from showing independent skills in reading fluently, Ryan required some prompting when reading new vocabulary, and when his reading aloud did not make sense. He displayed partial independence in making inferences and answering literal questions about the text. The report also stated that Ryan was able to perform

verbal recounts well, but he had a tendency to stop listening during oral presentations by other students. During a structured exercise that was part of a lesson focused on social communication, Ryan was able to sustain up to ten turns in a conversation with a peer on a topic not of his choosing, but his eye contact wavered. However, during News, he would normally answer one or two questions before ending his presentation.

Emily reported that Ryan attended a weekly social skills program, and that the program had helped him to develop social interaction skills. He was socially passive and seldom initiated a conversation or interaction with peers. In Emily's view, Ryan was able to use speech to communicate his needs, but his conversations with others were not very sophisticated, and had always been challenging for him. The exception would be when he was talking about his favourite topics; namely, cartoons and video games. Based on Emily's and Miss Smith's accounts, Ryan appeared to have a limited range of interests and was not inclined to engage in social interaction with others. This was also reflected in his preference for solitary activities such as watching cartoons or playing computer games.

Like Benny, Ryan had favourite topics and was capable of talking at length about his favourite cartoons, Disney movies, and video games. Emily reported that this enthusiasm could lead to inappropriate interruptions in the conversations of others, such as talking over other family members during meal time conversations.

During playtime in school, the teachers observed that Ryan enjoyed the company of girls from the Year 3/4 class who were a few years younger than him. Emily also said that Ryan loved playing chasing games with younger students.

Miss Smith felt that this was because those students were similar to Ryan in terms of their abilities to communicate and interact. Moreover, they could play simple games like chase without having a conversation, so the activity was not taxing for him.

3.5.3 *Tom*

Tom was twelve years and five months old when the data collection took place. He lived with this mother, father, and two older siblings. Tom's father worked as a medical doctor, and his mother—Madelyn—worked as a writer. Tom was diagnosed with language delay when he was aged two, and moderately to severely developmentally delayed when he was aged three. At that same age, he was also diagnosed with ASD. He had attended the special education centre since Year 1.

Tom was prescribed Ritalin for ADHD, and to help control impulsivity. When he was younger, he attended physiotherapy for motor problems and low muscle tone. He started receiving speech and language intervention at two years of age, and had been receiving occupational therapy for several years to work on handwriting, among other things. In addition, he had been seeing a psychologist for anxiety, and for help with social skills.

From Tom's school report, he was able to perform all Reading and Comprehension tasks with partial prompts, except providing the main idea of a passage, which he could not accomplish without prompts. His text reading scores reflected that he was reading at an age and grade appropriate rate. Spelling was an area of strength for Tom. In terms of communication, his school report noted

that Tom was becoming an active communicator who enjoyed talking to the teachers, and displayed “functional” receptive and expressive language.

From the interview data, Madelyn commented that Tom found it difficult to explain his thoughts, and his reasoning. That is, he could talk a lot but his ideas may not be coherently linked. She explained his difficulties as not so much a lack of willingness to interact, but more a problem with expressive language. Madelyn also said that Tom had a tendency to persevere on his favourite topics, and he could talk about them for quite a long time, to the extent of wearing his conversation partner down.

According to Miss Pearce, Tom’s idiosyncratic way of interacting was to say or do something to provoke his peers. For example, he might call a classmate “fat”, knowing that a negative reaction would ensue; he might stare at a female classmate, knowing she would complain about him to the teacher. Another idiosyncratic feature of Tom’s interaction was he tended to change the topic of conversation quickly, possibly as a means of controlling the topic of conversation and the direction of the interaction. If the conversation were to continue, his conversation partner would have to give in and “follow him down his rabbit hole of the mind”, according to Miss Pearce.

As with Ryan, the teachers felt that Tom needed to improve his eye contact and to look more directly at the person to whom he was talking. It was common for Tom to gaze around or look from the corner of his eye when he was talking. The teachers had much to say about Tom’s posture. Miss Johnson commented that Tom would rarely stand or sit “properly”; he would bend over, slouch, or sit with his feet on the chair. The teachers felt that Tom needed to either stand straight to talk or, if he must, sit with feet on the ground. On the other hand,

Madelyn had a different view about Tom's posture. She felt that Tom needed to sit down because it helped him to interact better, and that he felt more secure sitting down due to his poor muscle tone. She believed his muscle weakness was the cause of Tom's difficulty in sitting up straight.

Lastly, the teachers found the volume of Tom's speech problematic, in that he was either too quiet or too loud, with his volume especially lowered when he was reading.

3.6 Procedures and tools

There were two phases of data collection. In the first phase, video and audio recordings were made of classroom interactions involving the student and teacher participants. In the second phase, focused conversations with parent and teacher participants were conducted.

Prior to commencement of the first phase of data collection, two trial recording sessions were conducted to test equipment, and quality of recordings. Results showed that the hand-held JVC Full HD Camcorder (model number GZ-EX355) and Olympus Digital Voice Recorder (model number WS-750M) produced recordings that were of higher quality than those captured by the built-in microphones and wall-mounted cameras in the classroom. In order to make the data collection procedures as unobtrusive as possible, it was decided that the voice recorder would be placed on the side of the table, out of the way of instructional activities and materials. The video camera was positioned on a Velbon Sherpa 250R Tripod and positioned on the side of the table at a

comfortable distance from the participants.⁴ While the recording was underway, the researcher was seated at the back of the group and would take observation notes out of the students' lines of sight (see Figure 3.1 below).

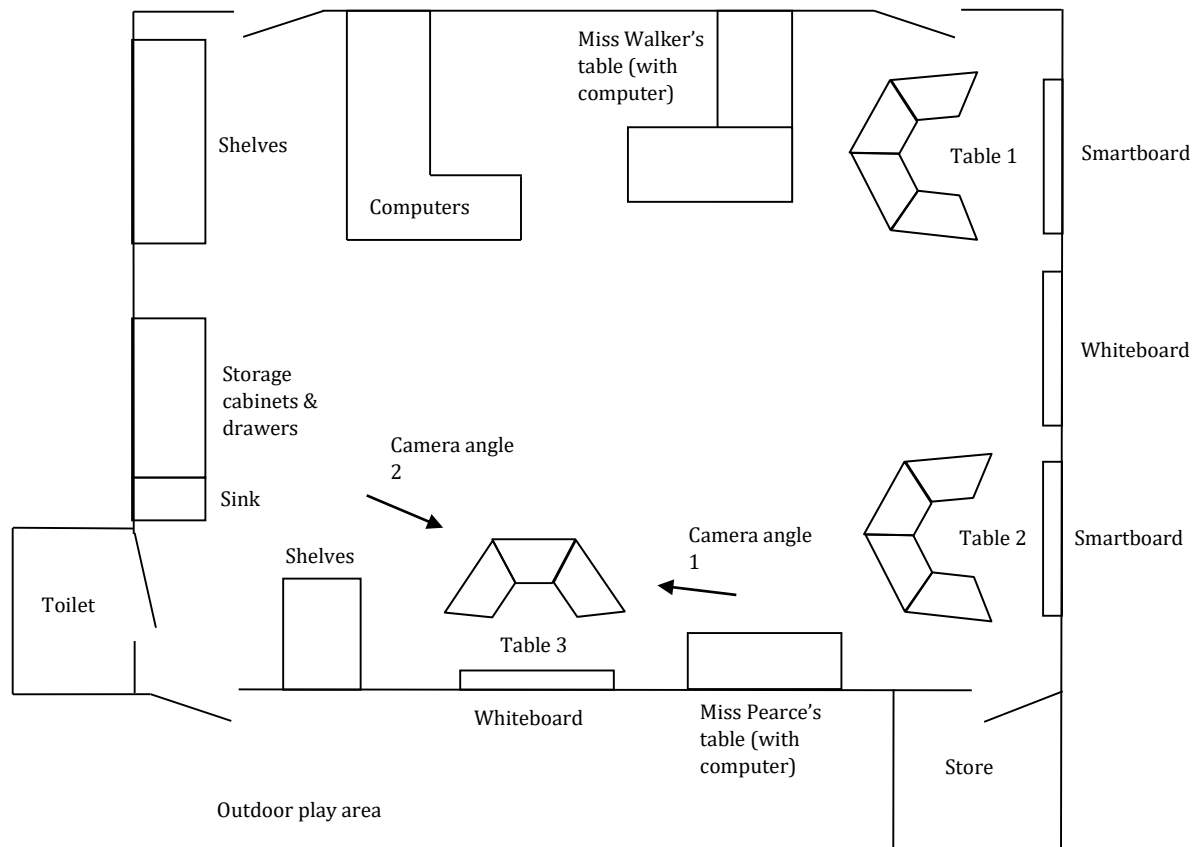


Figure 3.1 Layout of classroom, furniture, and camera positions.

Table 1 and Table 2 in Figure 3.1 were used by the principal teachers, Miss Walker and Miss Pearce respectively, leaving Table 3 for Reading and other lessons not conducted by the principal teachers.

⁴ The same equipment was used in the outdoor area for recording of interaction during recess and lunch. However, the data were not used due to the poor quality of the recording, e.g., background noise, frequent movements of the student participants, and interruptions from non-participant students.

Below is screenshot of Miss Smith's lesson at Table 3 (camera angle 1), with Benny, Ryan, and Tom in their usual seat (see Figure 3.2 below).



Figure 3.2 Miss Smith, Benny, Ryan, and Tom (from left to right).

In addition to the usual classroom, Miss Craig occasionally used the library room for her lesson (see Figure 3.3 below).

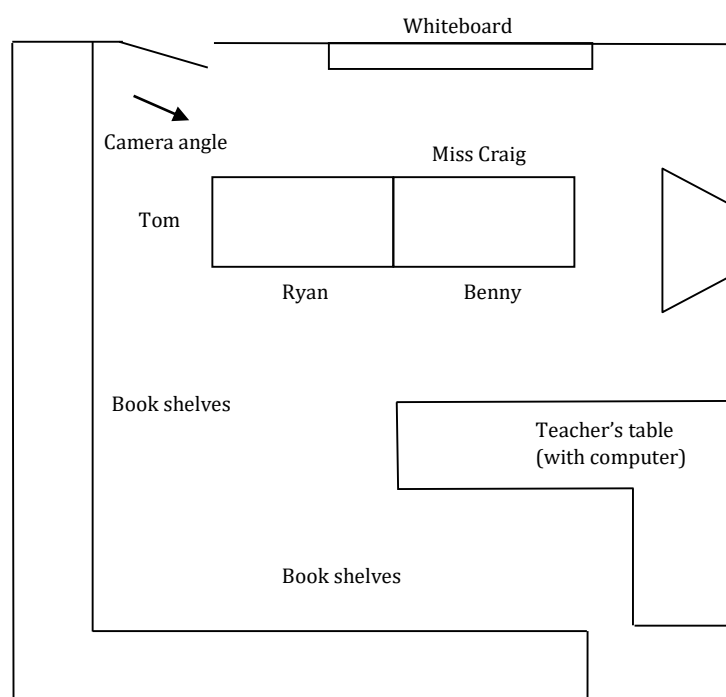


Figure 3.3 Layout of the library room

Below is a screenshot of Miss Craig having her lesson in the library, with Benny, Ryan, and Tom (see Figure 3.4 below).



Figure 3.4 Miss Craig, Benny, Ryan, and Tom (from left to right).

The first phase of data collection commenced in the first week of Term 3. The recording period lasted 14 weeks, and ended at the completion of Term 4. A proposed recording schedule was prepared each week and emailed to the teachers so that they were aware of the lessons that would be recorded. On average, there were four to six lessons recorded each day. Care was taken to ensure that each student participant was recorded at least once in the core subject lessons of Writing, Reading, Mathematics, News, Phonics/Spelling, and Conversation Skills.

The second phase of data collection commenced with the planning and scheduling of focused conversations with teacher participants and parent participants. A group session with teacher participants was guided by a set of twelve questions, which had been emailed to them beforehand (see Appendix C,

p. 322). The 2-hour meeting took place at the centre at the end of Term 4. Parent interviews were conducted individually; two of them at the centre, and the other two at locations convenient to the parents. Each session lasted between one and one and a half hours, and all sessions were audio recorded. The interview questions were similar in content for parents (see Appendix C, p. 321). The main focus of the interviews was to gather information about participants' opinions and experiences regarding issues related to the interactional skills of the student participants in school, and at home. The teachers were invited to provide feedback on all four student participants, and did so in their capacity as specialists in special education. In contrast, each parent participant only talked about her own child from her personal perspective. Also, since the teachers engaged in the discussion as a group, they had the opportunity to comment on each other's views, while the sessions with parents were all one-to-one conversations.

3.7 Data management and preparation

All recorded data were transferred to a WD My Passport 2TB portable hard drive, and these were considered the original copy. These recordings were duplicated and each file was renamed with a format that displayed key recording information, i.e., the recording date, activity, and participants. For example, the filename *A750089 130716 Math_Tay-Ben-Aar-Tom* contains the following components⁵:

⁵ This format was used at the beginning stages before transcription began. After the transcripts had been prepared and the core data set identified, the analysis was conducted using the video and transcript for each lesson. Each lesson was referred to by the video file name, e.g. V056 (see Figures 4 and 5 below).

- *A* for audio recording (*V* for video recording), followed by the file number automatically generated by the recorder.
- *130716* is the date of recording in yy-mm-dd format, i.e., 16 July 2013.
- *Math* refers to the lesson recorded, namely Mathematics.
- Name code of each participant is based on the first three letters of their name, i.e., *Tay*-Mrs Taylor, *Ben*-Benny, *Aar*-Aaron and *Tom*-Tom.

This set of audio and video data were examined and any segments worthy of further examination were subsequently transcribed and analysed. All recordings were copied into DVDs as further file backup. The external hard drive containing the original and renamed recordings, the backup data in the DVDs, and all hard copies of transcribed data were stored in a locked filing cabinet in the researcher's university office. These measures were consistent with the requirements of ethical approval.

After data were labelled, processed, and relevant sections identified, a professional transcriptionist was employed to transcribe 923 minutes of the audio recordings. These comprised 412 minutes of interview data, and 511 minutes of classroom interactional data. A statement of confidentiality was signed by the transcription agency to ensure that information which could potentially lead to the identification of participants would not be divulged, and that the confidentiality protocols would be followed. As almost all of the participants were native speakers of Australian English, the use of an Australian-based transcription agency had a number of advantages. These included the speed and accuracy of professionally trained transcribers, and familiarity with the features of Australian English, i.e., pronunciation, accent, colloquialisms, cultural references, names of

places and people specific to Australia. The expedited transcription process allowed the researcher to concentrate on applying the conversation-analytic transcription conventions (see Appendix D) to the orthographic transcription provided by the transcribers.

Transcripts were saved as Microsoft Word 2013 documents and a digital audio editor, Audacity (version 2.0.5), was used to refine the transcriptions of classroom interactional data using conversation-analytic conventions. The Audacity software converted the audio recording into waveforms and could be set to play any section of the data at a lower speed or in a loop. This allowed moments of overlapped talk between two or more speakers to be identified and transcribed accurately. Audacity also enabled the length of silences or extended sounds to be measured with a high level of accuracy, that is, in tenths of seconds. These additional layers of transcription provided insightful leads during exploration of the finer details of the interactions. Descriptions of non-verbal features of the talk, especially how the teachers employed multimodal resources and embodied conduct, were added to the transcripts at the junctures with significant implications for analysis. A few additions to the transcription conventions had been adopted to denote silences and non-vocal activities (see Appendix D). This alternate system of denoting non-vocal activities (and describing them in separated text boxes), during talk or silence, had the advantage of marking more accurately the juncture when a salient action began, how long it continued, and when it ended. Also, this system showed more clearly the sequentiality of events as each unfolded temporally. Finally, all information such as names of persons, locations or places that could potentially identify the participants was anonymised.

To manage the themes and threads from the interview data, spreadsheets were created using Microsoft Excel 2013 to compile the participants' responses according to interview questions. Similar questions, along with respondent's replies, were combined to form larger themes. The teachers and parents' feedback and views were synthesised and used as reference points with regard to the students' interactional skills.

To capture and present features of embodied conduct that could not be satisfactorily depicted in words, screenshots were created using the Windows 7 Snipping Tool. When video playback was paused at a relevant juncture, Snipping Tool was used to capture and save the image. The image file names were based on the format of [video filename]-[line number]. For instance, *V094-38* would denote the interactional activity at line 38 of lesson *V094*. Photo editing software, Fotosketcher (version 2.75), was used to edit the screenshots and render the participants' facial features less distinct. The last image processing step was pixelating participants' face and hair, except the eyes, as the final step in de-identification of the images, again in accordance with ethical approvals. Participants' eyes were not pixelated because gaze direction was a key multimodal characteristic of face-to-face interaction that would inform the analysis of this study. Image editing was completed by an online photo editing service, Fotor Photo Editor (www.fotor.com). Email correspondence with the Customer Support Officer confirmed that images uploaded to the website would not be stored, used or accessed by any parties, as outlined in the company's Privacy Policy. Other features highlighted in the screenshots were gestures, body positions, movements, manipulations of artefacts, and spatial arrangements. A

circle or arrow would be added to the screenshot to highlight the embodied feature in question.

3.8 Data analysis

This section describes how the current data set—interactions between Tom, Benny, Tom and their teachers—during the Reading Comprehension lessons was selected for analysis.

Data analysis began by reviewing video recordings of classroom interactions, together with orthographic transcripts, for salient interactional phenomena. This is consistent with the conversation-analytic practice of “unmotivated looking” (see, e.g., ten Have, 2007). Each lesson was reviewed with three major phases—beginning, middle, and end—in mind. Any recurring practices in each phase were noted, and compiled for further analysis.

A striking feature of these interactions was the “topic talk” (Schegloff, 1990) between the students—predominately, Tom and Benny—and the teachers. The topics were varied, as were the ways in which the teachers responded to them, and the effect that this had on the progress of the lesson. Topic talk was a regular feature in Reading Comprehension lessons with Miss Smith and Miss Craig, and took place in more than half of the recorded lessons, but was much less in other subjects. This topic talk mostly arose at the beginning of the Reading lesson, although some emerged in the middle or at the lesson’s end, but it tended to be cursory in this position. Consequently, the focus of investigation was turned to the beginning of lessons to examine the emergence of topic talk in more detail.

There were a number of reasons why Reading lessons were chosen as a key source of data for this study. First, topic talk was frequently initiated by Tom

and Benny in Reading lessons; in some instances, the teachers actively participated in, or pursued, the talk. However, this was not the case in other subjects. Other teachers did not orient to topic talk as much as Miss Smith and Miss Craig did, hence often reducing any student-initiated topic into brief tellings of a few turns. Next, Aaron mostly did not attend the same lessons together with Tom, Benny, and Ryan, because of the difference in age and instructional goals. Recordings of lessons involving him and other non-participant students did not yield much data involving persistent talk between the students and teacher. In contrast, every Reading lesson, in its entirety, was potentially usable for analysis because the two teachers and three students were all research participants. Hence, Aaron's interactional activities during lessons paled when compared against what took place during Reading lessons. After much consideration, data involving Aaron were omitted from the present investigation. With this, the data set was narrowed down to recordings that involved Benny, Ryan, and Tom (see Tables 3.1 and 3.2 for a complete list of the data set).

After lesson beginnings of Reading had been identified as the key site of analyses, detailed transcripts following conversation-analytic conventions (e.g., Hepburn & Bolden, 2013; Gardner, 2001; Ochs, Schegloff, & Thompson, 1996) were then prepared, focusing on topic talk in Miss Craig and Miss Smith's lessons. Individual instances of topic talk were subjected to "single case analysis" (see Schegloff, 1987), in which CA's existing analytic tools were applied to develop accounts of their specific organisation. This analysis focused on aspects of turn-taking, sequence organisation, and repair. As this single case analysis progressed, transcription expanded to include other instances of topic talk in Miss Smith and Miss Craig's lessons, and the courses of action surrounding them.

Through this process of transcription, it became clear that there was a rich interplay between topic talk and other practices and courses of action towards the beginning of lessons; particularly, greeting sequences, the teacher's efforts to build towards lesson tasks, and students' resistance to this development (i.e., task incipency and compliance). So, steadily, then, the focus of the research coalesced around the beginnings of Miss Smith and Miss Craig's lessons; specifically, from the beginning of the recording, until (or just after) lesson tasks had been commenced.

With this focus chosen, the mode of conversation-analytic methods applied shifted from single case analysis alone toward more collection-based methods (Schegloff, 1987, 1996; Sidnell, 2013; ten Have, 2007). Lesson beginnings, and the courses of action in them, were analysed individually, and then collectively with a view to developing comprehensive accounts of their organisation. Contrastive and deviant cases were also sought. In order to keep track of the features of lesson beginnings as a whole, and the features of individual courses of action, patterns were logged and mapped out in a spreadsheet. This provided a gross overall topography of the phases in lesson beginnings, and recurrent features of individual courses of action. This initiated an iterative phase of interpretation, with these gross patterns informing subsequent qualitative analysis, which was then fed back into more specific coding, and so on. The output of these analytic procedures were three primary sets of findings on greetings, topic talk, and task incipency and compliance.

A summary of the core set of recordings used for the present study, and the interactional practices analysed in them, is shown in Tables 3.1 and 3.2 below. These findings will be reported in Chapters 4, 5, and 6 respectively.

Table 3.1 Summary of Miss Smith's lessons

Lesson number	Video identification code	Duration (mins:secs)	Greeting sequences	Topic talk	Task incipency & compliance
S1	V058	30:28		✓	✓
S2	V074	30:10		✓	✓
S3	V110	26:07		✓	✓
S4	V117	24:04		✓	✓
S5	V147	28:31		✓	✓
S6	V148	30:04		✓	✓
S7	V160	28:43			✓
S8	V212	29:24			✓
Total mins:secs		227:11			

✓= identified and analysed

Table 3.2 Summary of Miss Craig's lessons

Lesson number	Video identification code	Duration (mins: secs)	Greeting Sequences	Topic Talk	Task incipency & compliance
C1	V060	27:53	✓		✓
C2	V062	20:05	✓		✓
C3	V068	25:29	✓	✓	✓
C4	V094	29:05		✓	✓
C5	V103	25:11	✓	✓	✓
C6	V122	29:11	✓	✓	✓
C7	V133	27:18	✓		✓
C8	V143	28:33	✓	✓	✓
C9	V144	21:52	✓		✓
C10	V156	18:59		✓	✓
Total mins:secs		253:36			

✓= identified and analysed

Chapter 4

Greetings in lesson beginnings

4.1 Chapter preface

4.1.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the greetings that take place as Miss Craig, Tom, Benny, and Ryan begin their reading lesson together. It focuses on the sequential organisation of these greetings, their overall sequential positioning in lesson beginnings, and their topicalisation by Miss Craig. We shall see that greetings offer a generic way of formalising mutual orientation for subsequent courses of action. In addition, we shall also see that student initiation and compliance with greetings can be a source of praise, while disalignment and resistance can be source of admonishment.

The chapter begins with a capsule review of key concepts and findings about greetings in interaction. This review will serve to develop analytic tools relevant for capturing the organisation, and institutional functionality, of greetings in lesson beginnings.

4.1.2 The organisation of greetings

Greetings are a pervasive, but largely taken for granted, aspect of interaction. Intuitively, we might think of them as a formulaic, “automatic” or “(pre-)scripted” feature of conversation beginnings (Schegloff, 1986, p. 112), but in fact they are a dynamic, contingent, and systematic accomplishment. For CA, the apparent simplicity of greetings offered a useful starting point for foundational conversation-analytic studies, with both Sacks and Schegloff dedicating early works to related issues (Sacks, 1975, 1992b, p. 188; Schegloff, 1968). Subsequently, greetings have been studied as part of larger opening sequences

in everyday conversations (Arminen, 2005; Pillet-Shore, 2011; Schegloff, 1979, 1986), emergency calls (Whalen & Zimmerman, 1987), help desks (Mortensen & Hazel, 2014), and academic consultations (Limberg, 2010).

Greetings are typically used to index a shift in participation and orientation, from a state of mutual disengagement to a shared state of mutual orientation (e.g., Pillet-Shore, 2011; Schegloff, 1968). As an action type, greetings are relatively distinctive in that they are realised through “a limited set of dedicated formats” (Levinson, 2013, p. 114). That is, there is a small set of greeting forms specialised for accomplishing this course of action. Greetings are also a canonical example of sequence organisation, i.e., adjacency pairs (Schegloff, 2007). A first greeting—a canonical first pair part—implicates the production of a second greeting—a canonical second pair part. Put another way, a first greeting action creates constraints on subsequent talk such that what comes next will be heard as doing a second greeting, or deviating from that. If an interactant produces a response that is hearably not a second greeting, this action will be “officially absent” (see Schegloff, 1968), and the greeting recipient will be held accountable for this normative violation. As Schegloff (2007, p. 16) noted, greetings are also distinctive in that they have a single, dedicated action as a second pair part. In most cases, this choice will be at least binary (e.g., an offer implicates either acceptance or rejection), but for greetings it is not (i.e., a greeting implicates a greeting, and nothing else). Moreover, he noted that second greetings tend to match the lexical format used in the first. So, in addition to constraining the kind of action that can properly follow, first greetings also constrain the formats that they take.

Greetings also set the stage for further courses of action to develop. For instance, in everyday conversation (and elsewhere) *how are you* sequences tend to immediately follow greetings (Pillet-Shore, 2011; Schegloff, 2007; Solomon et al., 2016), which may then give way to a 'first topic' of interaction (Sacks, 1975; Schegloff, 1986). This, however, will vary with respect to the kind of interaction at hand (e.g., institutional vs. non-institutional), and the social relationships between the interactants (e.g., familiar vs. unfamiliar). For example, Pillet-Shore (2011) demonstrated that, for people meeting one another for the first time, greeting sequences were regularly followed with claims of knowledge (e.g., *I've heard a lot about you*), or particular kinds of assessments (e.g., *It's nice to meet you*). On the other hand, greetings in telephone conversations between familiars and intimates might quickly occasion a first topic, or reason for call (Schegloff, 1986).

While telephone conversations structurally encourage greeting as a way of beginning interaction (see, though, Arminen, 2005, on mobile phone calls), this course of action might be elided or replaced in some kinds of co-present interactions. In his study of academic consultation meetings, Limberg (2010) demonstrated that some contingent occurrences can mean that greetings are omitted altogether. For example, he found that an offer to start the consultation ahead of schedule, a request for permission to record the session, or the use of a summons in place of a greeting displaced the greeting sequence entirely. So, having established mutual orientation, and quickly moving into the business of their meeting, the opportunity to exchange greetings lapsed (cf. Sacks, 1975, p. 64). Co-present interactions also highlight that the activity of greeting, or opening an interaction is more than a vocal phenomenon. Mortensen and Hazel (2014) described the beginnings of helpdesk interactions, exploring the complex

interplay between talk, gaze, movement, and bodily and object configuration. Their work demonstrated that greetings may implicate different subsequent courses of action. That is, the production of a first and second greeting might only be indicative of passing engagement, or it might be indicative of entry into a “focused” interaction (Mortensen & Hazel, 2014, p. 54). The determination of whether the incipient conversation partner is a “help seeker” or a “passerby” is achieved through mutual elaboration between the gaze, facial expression, bodily positioning, and the vocal production of a greeting (see also Pillet-Shore, 2011, on the multimodality of introductions).

4.1.3 Summary

Greetings are complex, multimodal accomplishments, which serve to orient interactants to one another for the courses of action to come. As canonical adjacency pairs, the accountable production of a first greeting strongly implicates the production of a second one, and violation of this expectation can, and usually will, be pursued. The analyses to follow will explore how these features of greeting sequences are employed by teachers and students to support, and subvert, lesson beginnings.⁶

⁶ Solomon et al. (2016) reported on the absence of greetings in primary care interactions involving children with ASD. They described how the absence of return greetings from children with ASD can affect their status as interactants in the unfolding consultation. The absence of return greetings in the analyses that follow have quite different origins, and quite different implications.

4.2 Analysis

4.2.1 Introduction

As highlighted in the previous chapter, greetings are relatively common in the present data set, occurring in many of Miss Craig's lessons. There is, however, a stark difference in their distribution between Miss Craig and Miss Smith's lessons, with almost all of the greetings arising in Miss Craig's lessons⁷ (see Tables 3.1 and 3.2). There are a number of practical factors that may have contributed to this pattern. First, very practically, it is possible that variations in research recordings of the lessons mean that some greeting sequences in Miss Smith's lessons were not recorded. This, however, can only explain a very small portion of the stark differences between Miss Craig and Miss Smith's implementation of greetings. Second, Miss Smith normally performs recess duty almost immediately before the reading lessons examined in the present study. As such, it is likely that she has encountered these students while supervising them in the playground. Her prior contact with them might then making carrying

⁷ Only one greeting sequence is found in Miss Smith's lessons, and it is partially recorded. In Extract 4.1, Miss Smith presumably asks Ryan, "(How are you) doing today?" at 01 as the lesson starts.

Extract 4.1 [S2_V074_130725_Smi-Ben-Rya-Tom] (00:00 – 00:14)

```
001  Smi  -doing today.
002      (0.3)
003  Smi  good?=  
004  Rya  =↑good.  
005  Smi  yeah?  
006      (8.7)  
007  Smi  okay. we'll start before tom comes, okay?  
008      >can you tell me an important rule< ryan.
```

Miss Smith pursues a response from Ryan at 3 using a candidate adjective with a rising intonation. He latches with the teacher's turn and provides an identical single-word turn constructional unit in reply. The teacher's "yeah" at 5 promotes further expansion, but Ryan does not provide any response or uptake, and the sequence ends.

out greeting sequences in the lesson odd, or accountable because she may have met or talked to them not long before. By contrast, Miss Craig has no recess duty and, when she meets the students for their reading lesson, it is usually the first time she encounters them on that day. Finally, there are also structural differences in the lessons undertaken by each teacher. In Miss Smith's lessons, the students complete reading comprehension tasks individually. Because they have different levels of reading competency, they must read different passages and answer different multiple choice questions in their own exercise books. So, Miss Smith sets individual tasks at the beginning of the lesson for each of them, and then supervises and discusses their answers individually as the lesson progresses. It is not uncommon for her to start one student on his work while waiting for others to join in or settle down. Therefore, she seldom addresses the students as a group. On the other hand, Miss Craig's lesson focuses on reading and discussing the book *The Twits* collaboratively. So, it is also possible that this group-centric teaching might encourage greeting sequences more so than the individually-focused lessons conducted by Miss Smith.

Greetings are also absent in a number of Miss Craig's lessons included in the present data set (see Table 3.2). This suggests, a priori, that they are an optional feature of lesson beginnings (cf. Limberg, 2010). In everyday conversation, as discussed above, greetings are used to index a shift in participation and orientation, from a state of mutual disengagement to a shared state of mutual orientation (e.g., Pillet-Shore, 2011; Schegloff, 1968). In the present data set, the interactants are usually co-present, and demonstrating signs of orientation to one another and shared tasks prior to greetings arising. Why, then, are greetings carried out in lesson beginnings? What functions do

they serve? This section will address their role in lesson beginnings, describing how greetings are accomplished, and their positioning relative to other activities.

4.2.2 Minimal versus expanded greetings

4.2.2.1 Minimal greeting sequences

Section 4.2.2.1 explores some examples of minimal greeting sequences. In these cases, greeting first pair parts are met with timely, aligning, and type-fitted second pair parts, and the sequences progress smoothly and briskly. In Extract 4.2, the greeting sequences take place later in the lesson, after the teacher has distributed exercise books, and encouraged the students to arrange their stationery and bodily positioning. Miss Craig initiates greetings to Ryan, Tom, and Benny, at 19, 22 and, 24 respectively.

Extract 4.2 [C2_V062_130723_Cra-Ben-Rya-Tom] (01:00 – 01:40)

```
001 Cra okay. (.) get yourself organised to:m,
002      (4.4)
003 Cra you know what, >i'm actually going to<
004      move your pencil cases to the side. i
005      think,
006 Ben (oh:)=
007 Cra =can you move yours over here:?
008      (4.5)
009 Cra and open your book to:m,
010      (2.4)
011 Cra to:m, open your book your exercise
012      [book, ]
013 Tom [(ndid)]
014      (4.3)
015 Cra okay.
016      (-----)
           1==1
017 Cra pen down arms folded.
018      (0.4)
```

<p>1. ((Cra crosses her arms in front of her chest))</p>
--

-> 019 Cra right. good morning ry:an,
 020 (0.4)
 021 Rya good morning
 -> 022 Cra good morning to:m,
 023 Tom good morning miss craig
 -> 024 Cra and good morning benny:..
 025 (-----+-----)
 2=====2
 026 Ben goo:d (.) goo:d (0.6) ha- (0.5) g'day:..

2. ((Ben tilts his head
 upward, takes a deep
 breath and leans
 forward))

From 1 to 11, Miss Craig is focusing on the configurations of Tom's pencil case and exercise book, while Ryan and Benny are ready to start the lesson with their exercise books opened. At 1, Tom has just completed his self-monitoring checklist hurriedly and is seen packing his pencil case. At 7, Miss Craig directs him to put his pencil case at the top left corner of his table and then open his exercise book at 9. Tom has, so far, been compliant to the teacher's directives to get organised. When Tom has put his pencil case away and opened his exercise book at 13-14, Miss Craig produces an imperatively formatted directive at 17, while crossing her own arms. She then begins the greeting sequence, producing a canonical greeting first pair part *good morning Ryan*. Ryan replies with a canonical second pair part in the next turn, but does not mirror Miss Craig's precise format, omitting the address term. Miss Craig offers the same greeting initiation to Tom at 22, and receives the same greeting second pair part—as well as an address term—from Tom at 23. Miss Craig moves on to Benny at 24, but his response is markedly delayed and different. We shall deal with Benny's response, and its consequences, below. In any case, we can see from Ryan and Tom's response that, when teacher-initiated greetings receive fitted responses, the greeting sequences are minimal, and proceed smoothly and quickly.

Similar to Extract 4.2, the greeting sequence in Extract 4.3 proceeds smoothly between Miss Craig, Tom and Ryan, while Benny provides a disaligning response. In this case, though, there are some *how are you* (cf. Schegloff, 2007, p. 22) sequences built on the greeting sequences, giving it a less minimal realisation than Extract 4.2. At the beginning of the lesson, Miss Craig arrives with the wrong resource tray, and then goes back to her room to retrieve the one with the correct materials for the lesson. After approximately 1 minute and 44 seconds, she returns and initiates greetings with Tom, Ryan, and then Benny at 1, 9, and 17 respectively.

Extract 4.3 [C3_V068_130724_Cra-Ben-Rya-Tom] (01:44 – 02:02)

```
-> 001  Cra  hello to:m,
      002      (1.2)
      003  Tom  hello,
      004      (2.7)
      005  Cra  how are you tom,
      006  Tom  ↑good.
      007  Cra  that's good,
      008      (0.7)
-> 009  Cra  hello ryan,
      010  Rya  hello
      011      (0.6)
      012  Rya  miss craig.
      013      (1.2)
      014  Rya  h- how's it going
      015  Cra  fvery well£ thank you:.
      016      (0.6)
-> 017  Cra  and hello again benny:.
      018  Ben  ((mouths "fine"))
```

After Miss Craig has taken her seat and moved her water bottle and stationery tray, she directs a greeting first pair part to Tom at 1, and he responds with a preferred second pair part at 3. As Miss Craig is pulling her chair closer to

Tom, she builds on the greeting sequence, initiating a *how are you* personal state enquiry with an address term at 5. Tom responds with an aligning, single-word turn constructional unit, which is succeeded by a third-position assessment from Miss Craig at 7. She then orients to Ryan by shifting her gaze to him and issuing the same canonical *hello* greeting first pair part with an address term at 9. Ryan provides a matching second pair part at 10, as Tom did earlier, but the second half of his turn—namely the address term—is slightly delayed. The delay is during the reconfiguration of his embodied orientation to the teacher at 11-12. He is seen stretching his arms behind his back and yawning from 3 to 10. He completes his greeting second pair part at 12 with the address term as he crosses his arms on the table, which Miss Craig receipts with an aligning nod and smile at 13. Ryan then initiates the *how are you* sequence, and Miss Craig replies with an aligning answer, and thanks token, while nodding and smiling at 15. Up until this point, the greeting sequences have been smooth and mutually oriented to by the teacher and students. We have also seen that, like everyday conversation, greeting in lesson beginning may provide for personal state enquiries. As with Extract 4.2, however, Benny interrupts the progression of the greeting sequences, failing to provide any verbal response to Miss Craig's greeting at 17.

In Extract 4.4, the greeting sequence takes place much later in the lesson. Just prior to the extract, Miss Craig has been closing some topic talk with Tom. From 1-5, she focuses on Benny and Tom's positioning in their chairs, before she initiates the greeting sequence at 7. The greeting initiation is different from the earlier ones in terms of the turn design of the greeting first pair part. Instead of greeting the students individually, Miss Craig addresses them collectively.

Extract 4.4 [C9_V144_130813_Cra-Ben-Rya-Tom] (00:04 – 00:23)

001 Cra sitting properly and ready to do work. (.)
002 to:m, (.) sitting properly on the chair,
003 ↑chair in:;
004 (0.8)
005 Cra good wo::rk.
006 (0.6)
-> 007 Cra okay good morning everyone:,
008 Rya [good morning]
009 Ben [<g o o d] (.) morning> miss craig.
010 Rya <miss craig,>=
011 Cra =okay.
012 (0.8)
013 Cra <we: are: going: to:::> use the pictures:,
014 (.) the wonderful pictures,

After praising Tom for complying with her directive at 5, Miss Craig begins the greeting sequence with a first pair part. The greeting is composed of a greeting term and a collective address term *everyone*. In addition, she progressively shifts her gaze from Benny to Ryan and lastly to Tom, who are seated from her left to her right (see Figure 4.1 below). After Benny and Ryan have replied to her greeting at 8-9 with the matching second pair part, she receipts their replies at 11 and moves on with the pre-reading task at 13-14. Despite the absence of Tom's return greeting, Benny and Ryan's replies support the minimal, preferred realisation of the greeting sequence.



Figure 4.1 Extract 4.4 Line 9

Addressing the students collectively in one greeting first pair part is clearly a time and turn-economical strategy interactionally. However, the risk for Miss Craig is having to reissue the initiation if the students do not orient to it, perhaps because its response relevancy is diluted across multiple students. Miss Craig seemingly addresses this possibility by progressively shifting her gaze from student to student, embodying her pursuit of a collective response from all parties. Despite this, Tom does not reply. Nonetheless, Miss Craig does not pursue a reciprocal greeting from Tom. One possible explanation for this is that the greetings occur late in the lesson beginning, and any pursuit will take up further lesson time. Another, not mutually exclusive, explanation is that Tom has been showing signs of agitation, and pursuing a greeting may escalate into confrontation. Tom has been visibly restless from the beginning of the recording, and his hands have been fidgeting under the table since 5 after he has pulled his chair closer to the table. When the teacher issues the greeting initiation at 7, Tom gazes at the corner of the room to his right and does not orient to the teacher until

11. Nevertheless, the responses from Ryan and Benny are treated as adequate enough for the lesson to progress.

The students may also take a more active role in initiating and promoting greetings. In Extract 4.5, both Tom and Ryan take on some responsibility for initiating and supporting greetings. As the extract begins, Miss Craig solicits a greeting initiation from Tom by gazing at him. She replies using a multi-unit, multi-action turn.

Extract 4.5 [C5_V103_130731_Cra-Ben-Rya-Tom] (00:00 – 00:19)

001	(-----+-----+-----)	
	1=====>	1. ((Cra gazes at Tom and smiles))
-> 002	Tom hello:	
	>1====1	
003	Cra hello tom (.) how ↑are: you:. thanks for	
004	saying hello to me:,	
005	(-----+-----+---)	
	2=====2	2. ((Cra and Tom gaze at each other))
006	Rya hello (.) miss craig,	
007	Cra hello ryan, how ↑are you:.	
	3==>	3. ((Rya gazes toward Ben))
008	(-----+)	
	>3=====3	
009	Rya a:nd (.) don't forget benny	
	4=====4	4. ((Rya points at Ben))
010	Cra i won't forget benny:	
011	(2.1)	
012	Rya °benny°	

In Extract 4.5, when the recording starts, Miss Craig has already taken her seat but she does not initiate the greeting sequence. Instead she leans back in her seat, and gazes at Tom, with a slight smile. Tom's greeting at 2 shows that Tom has analysed the teacher's silence and gaze at 1 as a solicitation to produce a greeting. This demonstrates the versatile nature of greetings, i.e., greetings can

be initiated by teacher or students, and precede or succeed other courses of action. As seen in Extracts 4.3, greetings mark the beginning of the teacher-student interaction, before they proceed with other preparatory work as the lesson progresses; in Extracts 4.2 and 4.4, however, greetings take place after configurations of bodies and artefacts. Miss Craig's response at 3 is a complex one. First, she provides the canonical second pair part to Tom's *hello* followed by an address term. Then, she commences *how are you* sequence, but quickly transitions to an expression of gratitude for Tom's greeting initiation. Tom does not provide any vocal response, but gazes at Miss Craig at 5, who is gazing at him as well. The silence and the teacher's continuous gaze at Tom at 5 suggest that a response from Tom is due. It seems likely that the composite action produced by Miss Craig is at least partially responsible for his lack of uptake. Nevertheless, Ryan self-selects to greet Miss Craig at 6 with an identical greeting token *hello* and an address term turn format. This relieves Tom from the pressure of providing the response projected by Miss Craig, who now shifts her gaze to Ryan and replies with a second pair part similar to the one at 3, but without the expression of gratitude. Like Tom, Ryan does not respond to Miss Craig's *how are you* sequence first pair part. Instead, Ryan actively progresses the greetings, gazing towards Benny, and commenting on his status as "next-to-be-greeted". Ryan's action at 9 indexes the organisation of the local educational order, i.e., greetings are not complete without Miss Craig and Benny completing the sequence, hence creating a local moral order from which others' conduct may be measured. Again, Benny does not orient to the greeting sequence as Ryan and Tom have. What then transpires between Miss Craig and Benny will be discussed further in the next section.

4.2.2.2 Expanded and problematic greeting sequences

This section presents the greeting sequences that do not proceed as smoothly as those discussed so far. Although most of the greeting sequences unfold in a minimal, smooth manner, there are also sequences that are prolonged and expanded. In Extracts 4.6 and 4.7, Benny provides ill-fitting responses to the teacher's first pair parts, whereas in Extract 4.8 he does not respond at all. In Extract 4.9, the progression of the greeting sequence is interrupted when the teacher orients to Tom's embodied orientation before continuing and concluding the greeting.

As discussed earlier, the first part of the greeting sequences in Extract 4.6 progress smoothly between Miss Craig, Ryan and Tom from 19-23. Miss Craig initiates the greeting first pair part to Ryan and Tom, at 19 and 22 respectively. Both Ryan and Tom provide a matching second pair parts, but Benny does not.

Extract 4.6 [C2_V062_130723_Cra-Ben-Rya-Tom] (01:00 – 01:55)

001 Cra okay. (.) get yourself organised to:m,
002 (4.4)
003 Cra you know what, >i'm actually going to<
004 move your pencil cases to the side. i
005 think,
006 Ben (oh:)=
007 Cra =can you move yours over here:?
008 (4.5)
009 Cra and open your book to:m,
010 (2.4)
011 Cra to:m, open your book your exercise
012 [book,]
013 Tom [(ndid)]
014 (4.3)
015 Cra okay.
016 (-----)
1==1
017 Cra pen down arms folded.

1. ((Cra crosses her arms in front of her chest))

018		(0.4)	
019	Cra	right. good morning ry:an,	
020		(0.4)	
021	Rya	good morning	
022	Cra	good morning to:m,	
023	Tom	good morning miss craig	2. ((Ben tilts his head upward, takes a deep breath and leans forward))
024	Cra	and good morning benny:.	
025		(-----+-----) 2=====2	
-> 026	Ben	goo:d (.) goo:d (0.6) ha- (0.5) g'day:..	
027	Cra	o[kay.] let's try it again.	
028	Ben	[ma:te,]	
029	Ben	>g'day miss craig,<	3. ((Ben raises his left wrist and gazes at his watch))
030	Cra	good morning benny:.,	
031		(0.7)	
-> 032	Ben	it's not morning it's the middle of the 3=====3	
-> 033		day.	
034	Cra	okay. let's try it again. good morning	
035		benny,	
036		(-----) 4=====>	4. ((Cra smiles at Ben))
037	Ben	°good midday. miss craig.° >4=====4	
038	Cra	right. okay.	
039		(0.3)	
040	Cra	yesterday we started reading the chapter	
041		ca::lled:	

Instead of providing a reciprocal, matching response like Ryan and Tom, Benny draws a deep breath at 25 and repeats *good* at 26, followed by a silence and a partial syllable *ha-*. There is then another silence before he finally continues with an alternative, more informal greeting form *g'day*, which is appended with *mate* at 28. The initial absence of a canonical second pair part, and the silences and repetition of *good* at 26 index Benny's disalignment toward the greeting sequence. Miss Craig receipts his response with *okay* at 27, and continues her turn by directing Benny to amend his response. That is, she rejects Benny's return

greeting, and projects a revised response. At 29, Benny persists with the greeting term *g'day* but repairs *mate* with a personal address term. He also issues this revision swiftly at 29 without the silences in his earlier attempt. However, Miss Craig reinitiates the greeting sequence at 30 and does not comment on the second version of his response at 29.

Benny then changes tack. Instead of providing a preferred action in a dispreferred form, Benny abandons greeting and offers an account. His turn undermines one basis for Miss Craig's greeting first pair part, i.e., *it's not morning* but *it's the middle of the day*. Therefore, he is citing the teacher's "problematic" greeting initiation as an account for not replying at 32-33. He also checks the time on his watch to lend support to his claim. Miss Craig does not question whether Benny's watch is accurate, or what constitutes the middle of the day. She reissues a repetition of her receipt, directive, and greeting initiation, which are identical to 27 and 30 in one multi-part, multi-action turn at 34-35. The repetitive nature of her turn is indicative of her stance in soliciting an aligning and type-fitted response from Benny. At the same time, she is increasing the pressure for Benny to comply, and amend his responses so far. Her smile at 36 also frames the character of the action she is implementing, and the one she is pursuing, as affiliative.

At 36, Benny gazes up during the silence, as though he is rolling his eyes. Subsequently, he replies with an amended greeting second pair part *good midday Miss Craig*, in a noticeably lower volume compared to 32-33. Despite being an unconventional greeting, *good midday* is a compromise on Benny's side. With this form, Benny maintains his claim at 32-33, while acquiescing to the teacher's

pursuit of a suitable greeting second pair part. Miss Craig then closes the sequence with a series of receipts, and initiates the tasks of the lesson.

Benny's disaligning responses to Miss Craig's greeting initiation have a number of implications worth mentioning. First, Benny's resistance inevitably delays and extends the entire greeting sequence; it also creates a dilemma for Miss Craig. By treating *g'day mate* as an unacceptable form of greeting, she risks getting involved in an extended course of action to bring about a change in Benny's greeting. In doing so, she also falls into Benny's plan to derail and delay the lesson beginning. How does she resolve this dilemma? Using the same turn design in directing Benny to repair his greeting second pair part, without responding to Benny's challenge and upgraded resistance at 21-22, Miss Craig manages to soften Benny's stance when he produces *good midday*, which she receipts and closes the sequence with.

Like Extract 4.6, the greeting sequence in Extract 4.7 progresses smoothly until Miss Craig initiates her greeting to Benny at 17, and he does not provide an audible reply. As noted above, Miss Craig arrived with the wrong tray, and needed to leave the students alone while retrieving the correct one.

Extract 4.7 [C3_V068_130724_Cra-Ben-Rya-Tom] (01:44 – 02:13)

```
001  Cra  hello to:m,  
002      (1.2)  
003  Tom  hello,  
004      (2.7)  
005  Cra  how are you tom,  
006  Tom  ↑good.  
007  Cra  that's good,  
008      (0.7)  
009  Cra  hello ryan,  
010  Rya  hello  
011      (0.6)
```

012 Rya miss craig.
013 (1.2)
014 Rya h- how's it going
015 Cra fvery wellf thank you:.
016 (0.6)
017 Cra and hello again benny:.
-> 018 Ben ((mouths "fine"))
019 (0.7) 1. ((Cra beckons to Ben))
-> 020 Cra okay. >do you wanna< (.) put your legs
1=====1
2=====>
021 down and bring your chair in?
>2=====2 2. ((Ben uncrosses his leg
and sits up))
022 (0.7)
023 Cra and let's get our tables organised and
024 ready for wo:rk.
025 (0.7)
026 Cra so r- ryan, have you got everything out
027 that you need? is that you:rs:?
028 Rya no

Miss Craig's greeting initiation to Benny at 17 is slightly different from her greetings to Tom and Ryan at 1 and 9 respectively. Her turn at 17 begins with the conjunction *and*, which casts the action to follow as an expectedly "next" part of the course of action (see Bolden, 2010). Miss Craig's use of the adverb *again* in the greeting first pair part suggests that she may have already greeted Benny prior to the commencement of the video recording. Nevertheless, the reason for Benny's resistance to replying the teacher's greeting is not entirely clear. His response at 18 is dispreferred in terms of action and form. Instead of pursuing a fitted second pair part, as she did in Extract 4.6, she topicalises Benny's bodily orientation, beckoning him forward at 20 (see Figure 4.2 below).



Figure 4.2 Extract 4.7 Line 20

Benny is again demonstrating a non-compliant stance in this lesson by not providing an audible or fitting response, i.e., by disaligning with the greeting sequence. As we saw in Extract 4.6, pursuit of a fitted response can lead to substantial prolongation of this course of action, and has the potential to occasion confrontation between student and teacher. Moreover, the overall impact of pursuing a response on lesson beginning would be the further postponement of lesson tasks. Miss Craig's response, then, effectively abandons the greeting sequence, and secures Benny's compliance and orientation to the lesson using a more forceful action, i.e., a directive.

In Extract 4.8, Benny again resists participating in the greetings, despite the active engagement of Tom and Ryan, and Ryan's efforts to engage him. As discussed in the earlier section, Ryan projects Benny's completion of the greeting sequence following his and Tom's responses.

Extract 4.8 [C5_V103_130731_Cra-Ben-Rya-Tom] (00:00 – 00:43)

001		(-----+-----+-----)	
		1=====>	1. ((Cra gazes at Tom and smiles))
002	Tom	hello:	
		>1===1	
003	Cra	hello tom (.) how ↑are: you:. thanks for	
004		saying hello to me:,	
005		(-----+-----+--)	
		2=====2	2. ((Cra and Tom gaze at each other))
006	Rya	hello (.) miss craig,	
007	Cra	hello ryan, how ↑are you:.	
		3==>	3. ((Rya gazes toward Ben))
008		(-----+)	
		>3=====3	
-> 009	Rya	a:nd (.) don't forget benny	
		4=====4	4. ((Rya points at Ben))
010	Cra	i won't forget benny:	
011		(-----+-----+--)	
		5=====>	5. ((Cra gazes at Ben))
012	Rya	°benny°	
		>5====>	
013		(---)	
		>5====>	
014	Rya	°say hello to° (0.9) °miss craig°	
		>5=====5	
-> 015		(-----+-----+-----+-----)	
		6=====>	
016	Rya	hello: (.) benny	
		>6=====>	6. ((Cra bends to her right and gazes at Ben))
-> 017	Cra	okay benny we have actually already said	
		>6=====6	
		7=====>	
-> 018		hello to each other this morning but what	
		>7=====7	
019		you <u>cou:ld</u> do::,	
020		(0.4)	
021	Cra	is put your leg down:	
022		(0.5)	
023	Cra	pull your chair in	
024		(0.3)	8. ((Ben lowers his leg but it is still crossed))
025	Cra	and look like you're ready to start the	
		8=====8	
026		lesson. that would be really ni:ce:,	
027		(0.4)	
028	Cra	yes: you might have to uncross your legs:.	



Figure 4.4 Extract 4.8 Line 15

Ryan also upgrades his pursuit of a response, supplying a candidate greeting form. With Benny showing no sign of orienting to these solicitations, Miss Craig proceeds to abandon and close the greeting sequence at 17-19. Her multi-part, multi-action turn begins with *okay*, and is followed by an address term and an account of why his greeting is not needed for her to continue with the lesson. Benny orients to this transition by slowly turning to face the teacher. Miss Craig then proffers a series of imperatively formatted directives from 21 that topicalise his bodily configuration. Benny complies with the directives, and finally uncrosses his legs at 30.

Of all Benny's acts of disalignment and non-compliance in this section, this is arguably the strongest embodied resistance to the greeting sequence. Not only is Benny not providing a verbal response, his bodily configuration, in the form of a closed posture, are strongly implicative of disengagement from the participation framework Miss Craig and the other students—particularly Ryan—are occasioning. As in Extract 4.7, Miss Craig resolves this impasse by discarding

the greeting sequence, and orienting to Benny's bodily configuration. Moreover, rather than pursuing a reciprocal greeting, Miss Craig's action shows her prioritising lesson progressivity over fostering the greeting sequence. Her account at 17-18 also works to render Benny's production of a greeting as unnecessary, and she instead secures his compliance through amendations to his bodily configuration.

Finally, in this section, Extract 4.9 demonstrates that it is not only student disalignment that can lead to greetings being delayed and extended. In Extract 4.9, Miss Craig comes in approximately 5 minutes after the recording has started. Ryan turns and looks over his right shoulder as soon as the teacher enters the classroom, and greets Miss Craig at 1. Miss Craig replies with a different greeting token as she is walking toward the table, and progresses the greetings with a *how are you* sequence.

Extract 4.9 [C7_V133_130807_Cra -Rya-Tom] (04:53 – 05:50)

<p>001 Rya hi miss craig.</p> <p>002 Cra hello.</p> <p>1====></p> <p>003 (-----+--)</p> <p>>1=====></p> <p>004 Cra how are you.</p> <p>>1=====1</p> <p>005 (-----+-----+--)</p> <p>2=====2</p> <p>006 Cra ((to tom)) okay, ↑look ↑at (.) all::</p> <p>007 look at your long legs and your feet that</p> <p>008 are coming into my: area.=</p> <p>009 Tom =me: too:</p> <p>010 (1.8)</p> <p>011 Cra to:m,</p> <p>012 (1.1)</p> <p>013 Cra tom, can you move your feet back?</p> <p>3=====3</p>	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; margin-bottom: 10px;"> <p>1. ((Cra walks toward her seat))</p> </div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; margin-bottom: 10px;"> <p>2. ((Cra puts her tray on the table and stands next to her seat))</p> </div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px;"> <p>3. ((Tom retracts his feet))</p> </div>
---	--

<p>014 (-----)</p> <p>4=====4</p> <p>015 Cra cos they're your legs are so long and your</p> <p>016 feet so big that they are taking up <u>all</u>::</p> <p>017 the space</p> <p>-> 018 (-----+-----+)</p> <p>5=====></p> <p>019 Tom hello.</p> <p>>5====></p> <p>020 Cra how are you to:m?</p> <p>>5=====5</p> <p>021 Tom good.</p> <p>022 Cra that's goo:d,</p> <p>023 (3.3)</p> <p>024 Rya °(h)hi.°</p> <p>025 (0.8)</p> <p>026 Cra how are you.</p> <p>027 (0.4)</p> <p>028 Rya [°great.] good.°</p> <p>029 Cra [rya:n,]</p> <p>030 (0.4)</p> <p>031 Cra well?</p> <p>032 (0.8)</p> <p>033 Cra okay::.</p> <p>034 (0.7)</p> <p>035 Rya now e's (0.3) £n- heh now he's <filled</p> <p>6=====6</p> <p>036 with ba[lloo:ns.]£></p> <p>037 Cra [i know:] you should [read:]</p> <p>038 Rya [hih hih hih]</p> <p>039 hih hih hih</p> <p>040 (1.2)</p> <p>041 Cra <you should see what mister twit does to</p> <p>042 missus twit.></p> <p>043 (1.9)</p> <p>044 Cra we'll find out.</p> <p>045 (1.4)</p> <p>046 Cra now:. we are::, up to::, pa:::ge:::,</p> <p>047 twenty three.</p>	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; margin-bottom: 10px;"> <p>4. ((Cra takes her seat))</p> </div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; margin-bottom: 10px;"> <p>5. ((Cra leans slightly toward Tom, puts her left hand on the table and gazes at him))</p> </div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px;"> <p>6. ((Rya points at Cra's handout))</p> </div>
--	--

Before she could take her seat, Miss Craig comments on Tom's legs occupying the space where her chair is. Tom replies with an ambiguous *me too*

at 9, but he does not re-position his legs. Tom only retracts them accordingly at 13, after Miss Craig issues an interrogatively formatted directive at 13. After taking her seat, at 15-17, Miss Craig continues with an account for her directive, which begins with the causal conjunction *because*. The turn design is similar to 6-8. At 18, Miss Craig leans slightly toward Tom, puts her left hand on the table, and gazes at him (see Figure 4.5 below).

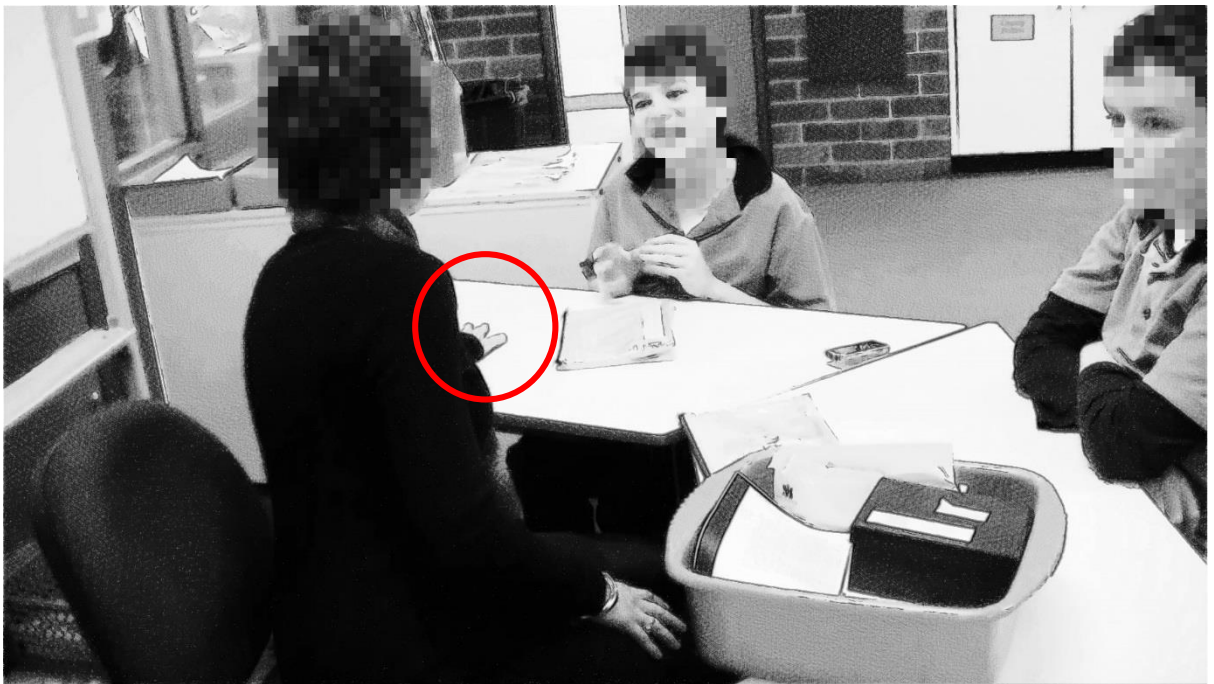


Figure 4.5 Extract 4.9 Line 18

Faced with this embodied solicitation of speakership, Tom revives the greeting sequence at 19. Miss Craig does not respond with a matching second pair part, but instead initiates a *how are you* sequence at 20. Tom replies with an aligning *good* at 21, and Miss Craig follows it up with a sequence closing third *that's good* at 22. After that, she orients to Ryan and gazes at him. Ryan has been gazing at some displays on the wall to his left. To solicit his orientation, Miss Craig bends to her right and positions herself between Ryan and the displays. Ryan immediately shifts his gaze to the teacher and sits up as he reissues a

greeting token *hi* at 24 and smiles. Miss Craig then produces a *how are you* personal state enquiry at 26, and begins to take out the handouts from the tray at 26-29. Ryan's response at 28, which is relatively soft, overlaps with the teacher's address term at 29, hence her candidate response *well?* at 31. That concludes the greeting sequence and the teacher continues to prepare for the pre-reading task with a transition marker *okay* at 33.

The greeting sequence in this lesson is different from the others in that it is immediately initiated by Ryan upon the teacher's appearance, before she is seated and arranging artefacts around the work space. In this sense, we might consider this greeting sequence as somewhat premature, and one reason it was interrupted by these attendant activities. However, a sense of pre-maturity implies a more—perhaps institutionally—fitted spot for some greetings in lesson beginnings. The section to follow will specify this further, highlighting where greetings emerge, and develop a more detailed account of their institutional role.

4.2.3 Sequential positioning of greetings

This section discusses the positioning of the greeting sequences in lesson beginnings in relation to other activities. Most greetings in the present data set take place early in the lesson beginning, and lead to topic talk, or preparation for lesson tasks. However, there are also greetings that occur when the lesson beginning is well advanced, and immediately give way to lesson tasks. This contrastive positioning highlights the flexibility of greetings in lesson beginnings, and demonstrates that they can give rise to substantially different courses of action.

In Extract 4.10, Miss Craig promotes topic talk after her greeting with Tom. She then returns to an attenuated greeting with Ryan after this lengthy topic talk with Tom ends. The audio recording for this lesson begins at line 1, with Miss Craig making an assertion about Tom. After an extended silence, the teacher solicits a response from Tom, and he produces a greeting.

Extract 4.10 [C8_V143_130812_Cra-Rya-Tom] (00:00 – 01:19)

001	Cra	i know::. tom will get there though. won't	
002		you tom.	
003		(5.8)	
004	Cra	tom?	
005	Tom	good morning miss craig,	
-> 006	Cra	good morning tom, how are you=you've had a	
-> 007		↑haircut:.	
008		(0.9)	
009	Cra	yes?	
010	Tom	°yeah.°	
011		(0.3)	
012	Cra	where did you get your haircut	
013		(0.7)	
014	Tom	at (1.1)	
015	Rya	at the::	
016	Tom	at the hairdressers.	
017	Cra	at the hairdresser [do you = which]	
018	Tom	[>what we call a<]	
019		hairdresser, miss craig's a rosy head.	
020		(0.4)	
021	Cra	tom, (.) which hairdresser do you go to	
022		to:m,	
		.	
		. ((approx. 1min 5sec of transcript omitted))	
		.	
023	Tom	>liverpool high school is in homebush.<	
024		(-----+)	
		1=====1	1. ((Cra nods several times rapidly))
025	Cra	okay:, thanks for tha:t,	
026		(1.0)	
027	Cra	u:m tom can you sit up nice and	
		2=====2	2. ((Cra beckons to Tom))
028		strai:ght,	

029	Tom	yeah.	
030	Cra	yep chair in,	
		3=====3	3. ((Cra beckons to Tom))
031		(1.1)	
032	Cra	and how are you going ryan?	
033		(0.7)	
034	Rya	good.	
035	Cra	did you have a good weekend?	
036	Rya	yeah.	
037		(0.5)	
038	Cra	looks like you've been bitten by something	
039		on your no::se:.	
040	Rya	°i don't know°.	
041	Cra	is it itchy?	
042	Rya	°yeah°.	
043	Cra	yeah:.	
044		(0.6)	
045	Cra	that's no good,	
046		(0.4)	
047	Cra	okay:., let's move o:n.	

Miss Craig's multi-action response begins with a matching greeting second pair part, and then proceeds with a *how are you* enquiry. However, she quickly orients to Tom's haircut and topicalises it at the end of the turn. Receiving no response from Tom at 8, Miss Craig makes relevant Tom's speakership uptake at 9, using a *yes* with rising in its intonation. Tom confirms her assertion, albeit minimally, and Miss Craig moves the topic talk forward with a question at 12. The topic talk persists for approximately a minute and a half, before it is closed at 25 (on this topic talk, see Chapter 5).

Miss Craig then returns to an attenuated form of the greeting course of action at 32, producing a *how are you* enquiry directed towards Ryan. Ryan replies with an aligning but minimal response at 34. The teacher continues with some talk about Ryan's weekend at 35, and the mark on his nose at 38-39, to which Ryan replies with the minimal response token *yeah* at 36, 42 as well as a

non-answer response *i don't know* at 40. After her assessment at 45, Miss Craig commences the next phase of the lesson.

In this extract, greetings are immediately succeeded by topic talk. That is, the greeting lays the ground for Miss Craig to commence a personal state enquiry, and topicalise a noticeable. This progression from greeting to topic talk is akin to everyday conversation, rather than institutional talk. Moreover, because the greeting has occurred very early in the lesson beginning, not long after the students and teachers have encountered one another, there is a modicum of interactional space in which topic talk can emerge (see Chapter 5). However, when greetings give way to other, task-oriented activities, they take on a more institutional, regulative character.

Greetings also precede the arrangement of students' stationery, books, and bodies. As we have seen above, Extract 4.11 begins with smooth and uneventful greeting sequences between Miss Craig, Tom and Ryan, until it is Benny's turn to greet the teacher. After unsuccessfully soliciting speakership uptake from Benny to greet her, Miss Craig ends the greeting sequence with an account at 17-18. She then addresses his bodily orientation between 19 and 31, directs the students to take out their writing instruments, and begins to distribute their exercise books.

Extract 4.11 [C5_V103_130731_Cra-Ben-Rya-Tom] (00:00 – 00:53)

001	(-----+-----+-----)	
	1=====>	
002	Tom hello:	1. ((Cra gazes at Tom and smiles))
	>1===1	
003	Cra hello tom (.) how ↑are: you:. thanks for	
004	saying hello to me:,	
005	(-----+-----+---)	
	2=====2	2. ((Cra and Tom gaze at each other))

006	Rya	hello (.) miss craig,	
007	Cra	hello ryan, how fare you:.	
		3==>	3. ((Rya gazes toward Ben))
008		(-----+)	
		>3=====3	
009	Rya	a:nd (.) don't forget benny	
		4=====4	4. ((Rya points at Ben))
010	Cra	i won't forget benny:	
011		(-----+-----+)	
		5=====5>	5. ((Cra gazes at Ben))
012	Rya	°benny°	
		>5====>	
013		(---)	
		>5==>	
014	Rya	°say hello to° (0.9) °miss craig°	
		>5=====5	
015		(-----+-----+-----+-----)	
		6=====6>	6. ((Cra bends to her right and gazes at Ben))
016	Rya	hello: (.) benny	
		>6=====6	
017	Cra	okay benny we have actually already said	
		>6=====6	
		7=====7>	
018		hello to each other this morning but what	
		>7=====7	7. ((Ben turns to face Cra))
-> 019		you <u>cou:ld</u> do::,	
020		(0.4)	
-> 021	Cra	is put your leg down:	
022		(0.5)	
-> 023	Cra	pull your chair in	8. ((Ben lowers his leg but it is still crossed))
024		(0.3)	
-> 025	Cra	and look like you're ready to start the	
		8=====8	
-> 026		lesson. that would be really ni:ce:,	
027		(0.4)	
-> 028	Cra	yes: you might have to uncross your legs.	
029		(0.4)	
-> 030	Cra	and get under there: (.) >keep it< under	
		9=====9>	
-> 031		there:	9. ((Ben uncrosses his legs))
		>9====9	
032	Cra	okay take out a:: pen,	
033		(1.4)	
034	Cra	yes:,	10. ((Cra alternates her gaze between Tom and his pencil case))
		10==>	

035	(-----)	
	>10=====	
036	Cra	take your pen out
		>10==10
037	(4.7)	
038	Cra	and you might want a ruler as well
		11=====11

11. ((Cra touches Rya's pencil case, gazes at Tom then at Ben))

Miss Craig's abandonment of greetings in favour of directing Benny and, eventually, Tom and Ryan, is indicative of the core interactional contingencies in lesson beginnings. That is, faced with a substantial disruption to progressivity in the form of Benny's disalignment, the greeting sequence can be readily discarded in favour of actions that actively lay the ground for lesson tasks. As a consequence, the interaction shifts to a more "teacher-driven" mode.

The regulative character of greetings is even more visible when they follow the arrangement of artefacts relevant for the lesson. In Extract 4.12, the lesson beginning so far has been occupied with distribution of books, manipulation of writing implements, and altering how the students are positioned. In addition, there has been a commotion in the background, with a student working in another, relatively nearby group throwing a chair at a teacher. He was then loudly admonished, and removed from the room. Extract 4.12 begins after Miss Craig has distributed the exercise books.

Extract 4.12 [C2_V062_130723_Cra-Ben-Rya-Tom] (01:00 – 01:55)

001	Cra	okay. (.) get yourself organised to:m,
002	(4.4)	
003	Cra	you know what, >i'm actually going to<
004		move your pencil cases to the side. i
005		think,
006	Ben	(oh:)=
007	Cra	=can you move yours over here:?

008 (4.5)

009 Cra and open your book to:m,

010 (2.4)

011 Cra to:m, open your book your exercise

012 [book,]

013 Tom [(ndid)]

014 (4.3)

015 Cra okay.

016 (-----)

1==1

017 Cra pen down arms folded.

018 (0.4)

-> 019 Cra right. good morning ry:an,

020 (0.4)

021 Rya good morning

-> 022 Cra good morning to:m,

023 Tom good morning miss craig

-> 024 Cra and good morning benny:..

025 (-----+-----)

2=====2

026 Ben goo:d (.) goo:d (0.6) ha- (0.5) g'day:..

027 Cra o[kay.] let's try it again.

028 Ben [ma:te,]

029 Ben >g'day miss craig,<

030 Cra good morning benny:,

031 (0.7)

032 Ben it's not morning it's the middle of the

3=====3

033 day.

034 Cra okay. let's try it again. good morning

035 benny,

036 (-----)

4=====>

037 Ben °good midday. miss craig.°

>4=====4

038 Cra right. okay.

039 (0.3)

040 Cra yesterday we started reading the chapter

041 ca::lled:

1. ((Cra crosses her arms in front of her chest))

2. ((Ben tilts his head upward, takes a deep breath and leans forward))

3. ((Ben raises his left wrist and gazes at his watch))

4. ((Cra smiles at Ben))

From 1-18, Miss Craig organises the environment for the main activity of the lesson; namely, reading *The Twits* in stages. She moves books, pencil cases,

pens and pencils, and issues a series of directives to Tom. So, by the time of the greeting sequences, virtually everything required to begin lesson tasks is in place. Why greet one another here? It seems that Miss Craig is using greetings to formalise their orientation to one another, and the task to come. The generic nature of greetings, though, means that this functionality is somewhat indirect, or even covert. However, in this instance, such functionality does not appear to be lost on Benny. That is, Benny's rather playful resistance in Extract 4.11 may well reflect the imminence of lesson tasks, and a way of disrupting and diluting their incipency. Instead of disaligning completely, which is likely to receive swift rebuke and initiation of the lesson, Benny's manipulation of the greeting form, and attempt to have Miss Craig adjust her greeting, go some way to engaging with the greeting sequence, while at the same time undermining it, and its implications for beginning lesson tasks.

4.2.4 Greeting initiation as praiseable

A final feature of greetings in lesson beginnings is their treatment as praiseable by Miss Craig. As we have seen, she is often complimentary when students initiate greetings. In Extracts 4.13 and 4.14, Miss Craig embeds praise to Tom and Ryan respectively in her multi-action return greetings.

In Extract 4.13, Miss Craig gazes at Tom when the recording begins. Tom initiates the greeting at 2. Miss Craig replies with a matching second pair part followed by an address term at 3. She then continues the turn with the *how are you* enquiry, and lastly asserts her appreciation for the greeting.

Extract 4.13 [C5_V103_130731_Cra-Ben-Rya-Tom] (00:00 – 00:11)

001		(-----+-----+-----)	
		1=====>	
002	Tom	hello:	1. ((Cra gazes at Tom and smiles))
		>1===1	
-> 003	Cra	hello tom (.) how ↑are: you:. thanks for	
-> 004		saying hello to me:,	
005		(-----+-----+-----)	
		2=====2	
006	Rya	hello (.) miss craig,	2. ((Cra and Tom gaze at each other))
007	Cra	hello ryan, how ↑are you:.	

In Extract 4.14, the recording begins with Miss Craig taking her seat, and thanking Ryan for saying good morning to her at 1-3. Her turn design is different from her compliment to Tom in Extract 4.13 in several aspects. Firstly, she begins the turn with the change-of-state token *oh*, which may help frame that emphatic nature of the emerging multi-part action (see Heritage, 2002). Secondly, after responding to Ryan's greeting, she does not initiate a *how are you* enquiry as she does in Extract 4.13. Lastly, she ends her turn with an assessment; namely *it's nice when people say good morning to me first*, which also functions as an account for her appreciation. This appears to refer to student-initiated greeting as a praise-worthy action within the social and moral system of a classroom, which should be emulated by other students.

Extract 4.14 [C6_V122_130805_Cra-Rya-Tom] (00:00 – 00:11)

-> 001 Cra oh good morning ryan, thanks for saying
-> 002 that, it's nice when people say good
-> 003 morning to [me first,]
004 Tom [morning miss craig,]
005 Cra good morning ↑to::m.
006 Tom you're a rosy head.
007 (0.3)
008 Cra uh i don't feel very rosy today to:m,
009 Tom you do.

In both Extracts 4.13 and 4.14, it is notable that the other student subsequently continues the greeting sequence with Miss Craig, with Tom's overlapped greeting in Extract 4.14 particularly prompt. This suggest that Miss Craig may be using this praise as a way of soliciting greetings from the other, unaddressed students.

Extract 4.15 also provides some indirect evidence of the praisability of greeting initiation by the students. Here, Miss Craig facetiously thanks Benny for not responding to her greeting at 6.

Extract 4.15 [C1_V060_130722_Cra-Ben-Rya-Tom] (01:37 – 01:51)

001	Rya	°hi	
002		(0.5)	
003	Rya	hey miss craig°	
004	Cra	((to researcher)) hello, (.) ah i have	
005		something in my eye. (.) hello ryan, hello	
006		benny:.	
007		(0.4)	
008	Rya	[tom?]	1. ((Rya gazes at Tom))
-> 009	Cra	[thanks] for saying hello benny? (.) (a	
		1===1	
			2=====>
010		little bit)=	2. ((Rya gazes at Tom))
		>2=====>	
011	Rya	=uh: i think=i don't think	
		>2=====2	
		3=====>	3. ((Tom puts his hand up))
		4=====4	
012	Tom	[hello miss craig]	4. ((Rya points at Toms))
013	Rya	[i don't think ()]	
		>3=====3	
014	Cra	he[llo, (.) i've got something] in my=	
015	Tom	[< °r o s y h e a d.° >]	
016	Cra	=eye:.	

When the recording begins, the students have taken their seats and are waiting for the teacher quietly, without interacting with one another. Miss Craig enters the class with her teaching tray and takes her seat 1 minute 36 seconds after recording has begun. Ryan greets Miss Craig at 1-3, but her response is delayed by her greeting to the researcher, and rubbing and commenting on her own eye. She then responds to Ryan, and initiates a greeting directed towards Benny. Miss Craig's turn at 9 is, therefore, a complaint which deals with the official absence (Schegloff, 1968, p. 1083) of Benny's return greeting.

4.3 Greetings in lesson beginnings: Summary and discussion

The analyses presented in this chapter have outlined a number of features of greetings in lesson beginnings. While practices like this often escape serious and detailed attention, we have seen that greetings are a consequential site of student and teacher activities in lesson beginnings, and that they have some, perhaps non-intuitive, institutional functions.

First of all, this chapter has presented the fluid nature of greetings. Commonly initiated by the teacher, and directed to the students individually, greetings are a way of beginning interaction, and making relevant mutual engagement. Greetings can also be initiated by students, or addressed to all students collectively by the teacher. Also, Tables 3.1 and 3.2 have demonstrated that greetings are an optional part of lesson beginnings. Their use may vary from teacher to teacher, and/or with the nature of the lesson being undertaken. Moreover, even when initiated, greeting sequences may be abandoned when they prove problematic due to student disalignment, or with a view to commencing lesson tasks.

Second, greetings formalise the interactants' orientations to one another. However, they are generic enough that they can lay the ground for quite different subsequent courses of action. In some cases, greetings provide for the commencement of topic talk between the teacher and students. In these cases, greetings take on a character more akin to their usage in everyday conversation, deemphasising the institutional nature of the greeting sequence. More commonly, though, greetings in lesson beginnings are positioned adjacent to courses of action dealing with the arrangement of bodies and artefacts relevant for the lesson, and lesson-related tasks. In these cases, the institutional character of greeting sequences becomes more visible. They effectively (although generically) formalise the students' orientation to the task, and set up the participation framework for the activities to come. In particular, Miss Craig's efforts to involve all students in greetings are indicative of the subsequent collaborative reading activities. This institutional function is also reflected in the heavily teacher-initiated and mediated nature of greetings, and Miss Craig's occasionally strong pursuit of reciprocal greetings when they are not forthcoming.

Third, we have also seen that students can resist producing greetings in lesson beginnings, which creates multifaceted problems. This resistance expands and delays the greeting sequence, undermines the participation framework the teacher is attempting to set in place, and delays progression towards lesson tasks. The teacher must then choose between making accountable student compliance, which will likely have the effect of further impeding lesson beginning, or abandoning the greeting sequence altogether in favour of other, progression facilitating activities. As we have seen, Miss Craig balances these two outcomes, and regularly meets disalignment with actions that

both enforce compliance, and progress towards lesson tasks (e.g., directives focused on bodily orientation). The multimodal and deontic aspects of these efforts will be taken up in detail in Chapter 6.

Finally, the students' greeting initiations are sometimes met with compliments from Miss Craig. This, again, emphasises the institutional, teacher-centric nature of greetings in lesson beginnings. When the students take the initiative to greet the teacher, whether it is performed voluntarily or solicited, they are actively contributing to, and supporting, the development of the lesson. Moreover, they are promoting engagement with the teacher, rather than waiting for her to set the terms of their engagement. Miss Craig's commendations both reward and obliquely promote this initiative.

All in all, then, like the greetings in telephone conversations studied at the inception of CA (see Schegloff, 1968), greetings in lesson beginnings are more than a formulaic routine. On the contrary, greetings serve multiple functions, and accomplish significant interactional work. As we shall see, though, there are other courses of action in lesson beginnings in which both students and teachers invest more time, and interactional resources.

Chapter 5

Topic talk in lesson beginnings

5.1 Chapter preface

5.1.1 Introduction

A recurrent feature of lesson beginnings is talk that diverges from the content and actions relevant for the impending lesson tasks, i.e., topic talk. This chapter discusses how topic talk is initiated, managed, and closed during lesson beginnings. Analysis focuses on the practices used to initiate topic talk, as well as how it is supported, or otherwise. The spates of topic talk identified in the data set address matters ranging from tellings of personal experiences, comments and opinions, and noticings that are unrelated to, or tangential to, lesson tasks.

This chapter begins with a review of key concepts and studies relevant for topic talk. This review will form resources for the analysis that follows.

5.1.2 Topic talk

The study of topic in interaction has proven a complicated endeavour (see Schegloff, 1990; Atkinson & Heritage, 1984). One reason is that the colloquial notion of topic as the “subject” or content of talk is difficult to rigorously and usefully apply to interaction (e.g., Linell, 1998; Korolija & Linell 1996; Maynard, 1980; Schegloff, 1990; Svennevig, 1999). This is because, with few exceptions, what happens in interaction is best understood through the lens of action, rather than content/topic (Schegloff, 2007, p.1-2). There are, however, courses of action in which the central objective is simply discussing the matters nominated. Schegloff (1990, 2007) has labelled this activity “topic talk”, and conversation analysts have described some of the procedures that interactants use to initiate,

maintain, and close it. We shall now turn to exploring the features of this course of action.

First and foremost, topic talk in everyday conversation is realised through extended sequential units, involving a range of actions and sequences (see Schegloff, 2007; Svennevig, 1999). It occasions multipart actions such as tellings, explanations, descriptions, and formulations. Moreover, actions like these implicate both preliminary actions (e.g., pre-announcements, questions), and a variety of responsive actions, such as continuers, newsmarkers, assessments, and agreements. This expansiveness is also reflected in the characteristics of the sequences used to initiate topic talk. Schegloff (2007, p. 169) observed that, ordinarily, preferred responses to first pair parts facilitate sequence closure. However, for topic initiations, preferred responses expand the sequence, prompting extended talk on the matters nominated (see also Svennevig, 1999, pp. 173-184).

Topic talk can be initiated using a variety of actions and turn formats. Perhaps the most minimal forms are “topic initial elicitors” (Button & Casey, 1984). These actions commence topic talk, but do not nominate any mentionable (e.g., *What’s new?*). Actions like news enquiries (e.g., *How’s your leg?*) and news announcements (e.g., *I just bought the car*) can also be used to initiate topic talk, and work to nominate specific matters for subsequent talk (Button & Casey, 1985). The kinds of preferred responses to these actions also vary. For topic initial elicitors, the recipient is expected to nominate a topic by relaying a newsworthy matter; for news enquiries, the recipient is expected to take the floor, and produce an extended spate of talk on the matter nominated; whereas for news announcements, the recipient is expected to clear the way for the speaker

to take the floor using a response like a newsmarker (e.g., *You did?*) (Button & Casey, 1984, 1985; Maynard, 2003; Stivers, 2008). This differing response reflects, in part, that topic initial elicitors and news enquiries are tilted towards the recipient, while news announcements are tilted towards the speaker.

Transitioning from one topic to another has been described in terms of two primary methods; namely, disjunctive and stepwise transitions (see Jefferson, 1984; Sacks, 1992a; Schegloff, 2007; Svennevig, 1999). Disjunctive transitions involve creating a strong boundary between mentionables, with one topic explicitly closed before another is initiated. On the other hand, stepwise transition sees topics flow into one another smoothly and “effortlessly” (Schegloff, 2007, p. 192). According to Svennevig (1999), when the progressivity of topic talk is faltering, closure becomes relevant. Disjunctive transitions are achieved using backwards-looking actions, such as receipting, summarising, and assessing, and may also be indicated by less prompt uptake of speakership (Maynard, 1980; Schegloff, 2007). Stepwise transitions do not rely on these strong closing practices, but have not received much systematic investigation (though, see Jefferson, 1984, and Svennevig, 1999).

Finally, topic talk is a key scene for the enactment of identity and relationships. The practices that are used to select topics, and the matters eventually selected reflexively construct interactants’ identities, providing insight into how they see one another and the world (e.g., Barnes, Candlin, & Ferguson, 2013; Button & Casey, 1984, 1985; Maynard, 1980; Maynard & Zimmerman, 1984; Schegloff, 1990, 2007; Svennevig, 1999).

5.1.3 Summary

Topic talk is an expansive, identity-rich conversational activity, and interactants can draw on a variety of practices to open, maintain, and close it. In everyday conversation, initiating topics involves selecting potential mentionables, securing alignment from other interactants, and substantial periods of closing or transition. As we shall see, these characteristics can make topic talk problematic for lesson beginnings.

5.2 Analysis

5.2.1 Introduction

The courses of action through which topic talk is realised are much lengthier and more variable than greetings. Topic talk is also more prevalent throughout lesson beginnings than greetings, occurring liberally in both Miss Smith and Miss Craig's lessons (see Tables 3.1 and 3.2), with both Benny and Tom assertively initiating and promoting it.

The analyses to follow will demonstrate that topic talk represents an important opportunity for students and teachers to shape the direction of lesson beginnings and, in some cases, derail them in favour of their own interests and agendas. Moreover, topic talk also provides opportunities for students and teachers to occasion or resist identities in addition to the institutional ones persistently relevant for lesson beginnings.

The spates of topic talk analysed in this chapter will be organised according to who initiated the topic talk. This approach, which focuses on each participant and their topic talk (cf. Danby & Baker, 2000), is chosen so as to

examine the way in which the participants—especially Benny and Tom—occasion the talk, secure the recipient’s orientation, and shift the participation framework in situ. It also allows their recurring practices in “doing topic talk” (Schegloff, 1990, p. 52) to be highlighted. While pursuing topic talk initiated by each participant as individual courses of action, we should also bear in mind the co-constructed and collaborative nature of topic talk, which is, in essence, a “procedural achievement” (Barnes, 2011, p. 39). The analyses will show how topic talk is jointly created, and oriented to by the participants involved.

We will now begin with topic talk initiated by Benny, followed by topic talk initiated by Tom, Ryan, and the teachers respectively.

5.2.2 Topic talk initiated by Benny

Benny initiates topic talk using a variety of actions and turn designs. In Extract 5.1, he uses a telling preface to bid for, and secure the floor. Extract 5.1 begins with Miss Smith directing the students as she distributes workbooks from 5 to 10. Benny initiates his topic talk at 12, and Miss Smith aligns at 13. Benny then presents a telling from 14 to 27 while Miss Smith checks Ryan’s exercise book. Then, Miss Smith closes Benny’s talk at 32-33 and returns his attention to lesson tasks. He initially resists starting his work, but eventually complies after a few turns of directives from the teacher.

Extract 5.1 [S1_V058_130719_Smi-Ben-Rya-Tom] (00:54 – 02:10)

001 Smi so you’re going to work a little bit on
002 your own, and some people i’m gonna work
003 with them,
004 (0.5)

005 Smi remember thomas you've started (0.6) one
1=====1 1. ((Smi gives Tom his exercise book))

006 two and three, you have to continue,
007 (0.8)

008 Smi a:::nd (.) that's you:rs benny,
2=====2 2. ((Smi gives Ben his exercise book))

009 (0.4)

-> 010 Ben did you know miss smith,
3=====3 3. ((Ben leans forward, folds his arms on the table))

011 Smi yes,

012 Ben one ti:me, <i attempted to drink diet
013 co:ke>, like a can of coke, (.) like (.)
014 at like five in the afternoon,
015 (0.3)

016 Ben but my mum hea:rd me open the ca::n,
017 (0.6)

018 Ben and then (.) and then i was forced to
019 put it back in the fridge.

020 Smi mm cos yeah [it's not]

021 Ben [but the] next day:, i
022 actually <did (0.4) drink it (0.4) over
023 fi:ve.>

-> 024 Smi °o[kay°]

025 Ben [b'cos] it was still opened.]

026 Rya [we've] already did this] one.

027 Smi o- but that >would've been< flat. (.)
028 okay. benny,
4=====4 4. ((Smi opens Ben's workbook))

029 (0.5)

-> 030 Smi where: were you up to and what are you
-> 031 gonna do today.

032 Ben °i don't know. but [i wasn't- i wasn't°]

033 Smi [it's a long ↑ti]
034 ::me. ye:s:.=

035 Ben =i wasn't here: (.) for the last like
036 (.) three (.) two day:s.

037 Smi what about last term. (.) you were here
038 last term,

039 Ben [yeah] (.) yeah but i don't (.) remember=

040 Smi [()]

041 Ben =that >i have< amnesia.

042 Smi uhhh
043 (0.4)

044 Smi very sorry for you:, (.) that you have
045 amnesia,

046	(1.2)	
047	Smi	okay. can we start on page on unit uh:
		5=====>
048		seven?
		>5==>
		5. ((Smi taps on Ben's workbook))
049		(0.5)
050	Smi	yeah?
		>5=5
051		(0.4)
052	Smi	and i'm coming to check before you go to
053		unit eight. so when you finish unit seven
054		(0.4)
055	Smi	can you put your pen or your pencil down
056		whichever tool you're using (.) okay?
057		(1.4)
058	Smi	yeah?
059		(1.4)
060	Smi	let's get on with our work.
		6=====6
061		(0.8)
		6. ((Smi turns Ben's books to face him))
062	Smi	okay::. (.) i'm gonna check before you
		7=====7
063		go on thomas, l- (.) thomas what is
064		happening are we starting.
		7. ((Smi points at Rya's workbook))

Immediately after Miss Smith has given an exercise book to Benny at 8, he initiates a topic with an interrogatively formatted preface at 10. This telling preface is a “prospective indexical” (Goodwin, 1996). It gauges Miss Smith’s willingness to support Benny initiating a course of action at that juncture in the lesson, while at the same time not providing much insight into the nature of the talk to come. Benny also changes his bodily configuration from one that is disengaged (see Figure 5.1 below) to one that is more akin to the other students (see Figure 5.2 below). That is, Benny was leaning back on his chair, stretching and yawning while Miss Smith was addressing instructions to everyone (1-3), followed by the specific instructions to Tom (5-6). At the end of line 8, after Miss Smith has placed Benny’s book on his table, he sits up, leans toward her, turns

his book to face him and crosses his arms on the table. This shift in physical configuration is consistent with orientation to the task, as exemplified by Ryan in Figure 5.1 below. Benny's touching and adjusting of the book at 11 is also indicative of a readiness to start work. With this change in bodily configuration, orientation to the book, and the prospective nature of his turn, Benny manages to secure Miss Smith's gaze, and her support for his subsequent talk.



Figure 5.1 Extract 5.1 Line 8

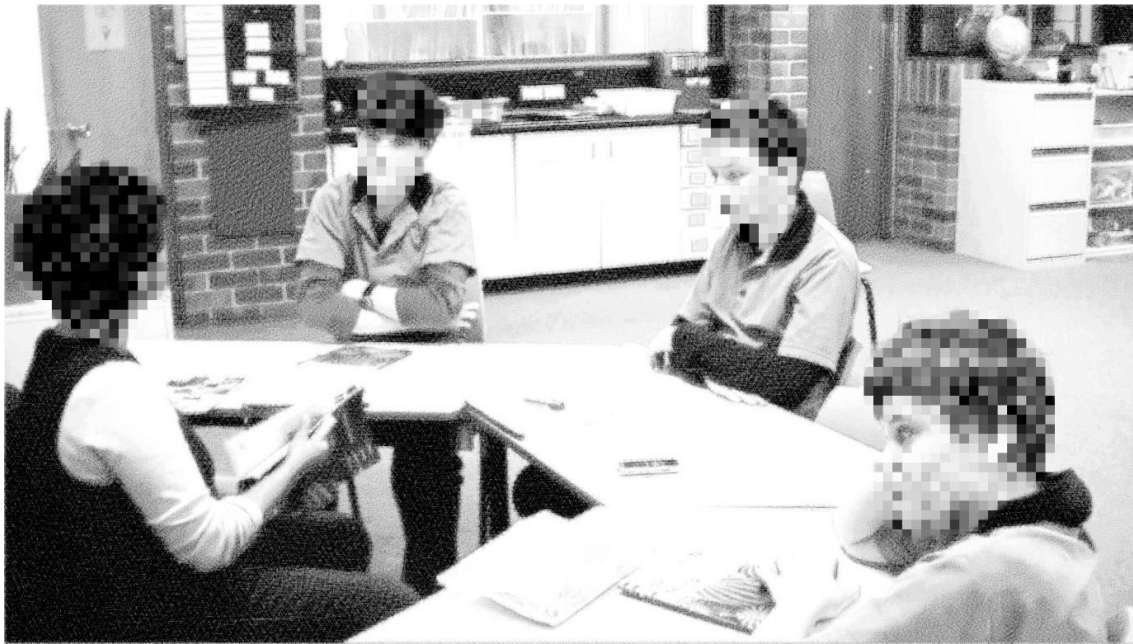


Figure 5.2 Extract 5.1 Line 10

At 12, after Miss Smith has ratified Benny's topic initiation with a go-head yes, he begins a telling relating to his consumption of Diet Coke at home. During the course of Benny's telling, Miss Smith opens Ryan's exercise book and checks where he has stopped (15-21) (see Figure 5.3 below). Occasionally, she gazes at Benny, but consistently returns to checking Ryan's exercise book. Miss Smith's partial orientation to Benny's telling embodies the manifold interactional pressures relevant at this time; namely, incipient lesson tasks, and the topic talk that Benny is currently progressing.

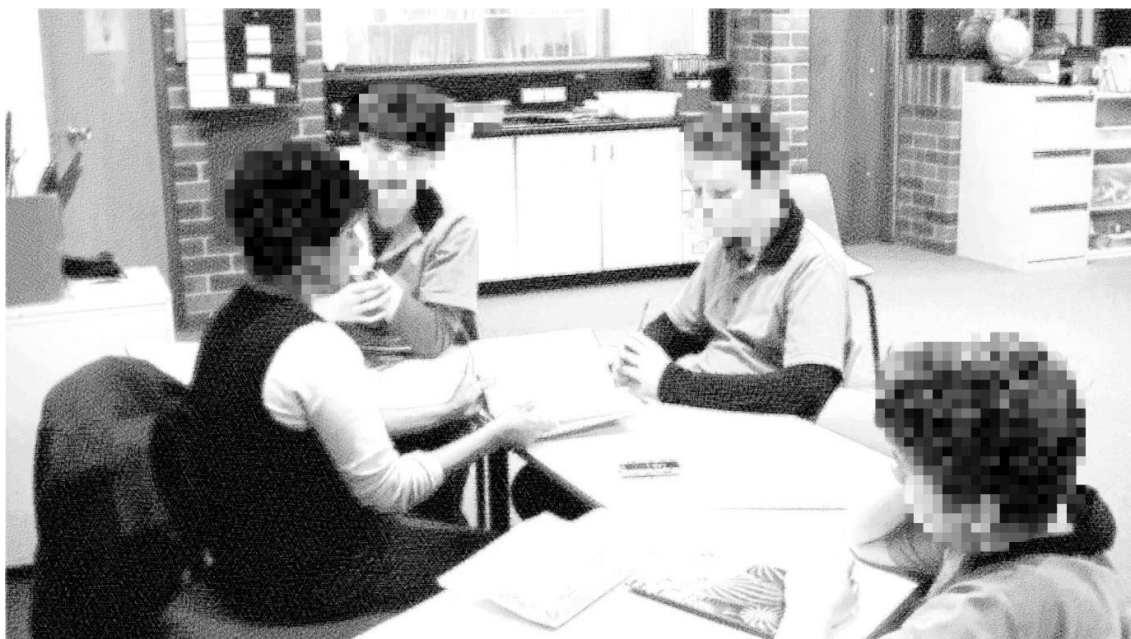


Figure 5.3 Extract 5.1 Line 15

Benny's turn at 19 represents a possible point of closure for his telling. That is, his return of the Coke to the fridge is a possible climax for the telling, and the strongly falling intonation of his turn suggests there may not be further talk to come. Miss Smith takes up speakership at 20, and seemingly begins a comment as she is reaching for a pen under the whiteboard. She commences her turn with a receipt token *mm*, a causal conjunction *because*, and another response token *yeah* followed by the possible beginning of a turn constructional unit (i.e., *it's not*). The design of her turn suggests that she is addressing Benny's telling, and possibly working towards closing by formulating its upshot(s). In addition, Miss Smith's embodied conduct at 20—namely, grasping a pen that will be used in the reading task—makes evident that she is getting ready to start work despite her engagement with Benny's talk. Before Miss Smith can bring forward this turn constructional unit, Benny interjects and resumes speakership at 21, continuing the telling. That is, with the starting of work becoming imminent, Benny seizes the floor by overlapping with Miss Smith's turn at 20. In doing so, he pre-empts a

possibly closure-implicative assessment (or stance) from Miss Smith, which is expected of a recipient at possible closure of a telling (Stivers, 2008).

Miss Smith's receipt *okay* at 24 occurs at a juncture where Benny's telling appears to reach another point of possible closure at 23. The pace of Benny's telling slows down at 22 with two intra-turn silences, and *over five* ends with falling intonation. At that transition relevance place, Miss Smith's receipt does not show strong engagement with the telling, nor does she project another responsive stance as she did previously. Benny again overlaps her turn with a dependent clause, beginning with a causal conjunction *because*, in a fashion that is similar to his previous intervention at 21. It is clear at this point that Benny is attempting to secure speakership for as long as his telling can be sustained, thereby preventing the teacher from initiating closing. He does so by overlapping with Miss Smith's turn (20-21, 24-25) and by developing further telling events linked by conjunctions *but* (16, 21), *and then* (18), and *because* (25).

While Benny persists with his telling at 21-23 and 25, Miss Smith continues to arrange task-related artefacts in the immediate environment. After Benny commences the extension of his turn and brings it to possible completion at 25, she reaches for his books, projecting and demonstrating a more imminent orientation to Benny's engagement with classwork. At the same time, Miss Smith asserts that the Coke that has been the focus of Benny's telling *would've been flat*. It is then seamlessly followed by an *okay* and an address term as Miss Smith opens Benny's book at 28, and solicits his engagement with lesson tasks. Benny's topic talk officially closes as he gazes at the exercise book that the teacher is opening (see Figure 5.4 below). He does not pursue this telling any further.

<p>009 (1.0)</p> <p>010 Ben and i don't like tha:t.</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">2=====2</p> <p>011 (---)</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">3==></p> <p>012 Ben it's mea:n.</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">>3=====></p> <p>013 (-----)</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">>3=====3</p> <p>014 Smi you know why:, you're forced to vo:te?</p> <p>015 Ben [w h -]</p> <p>016 Smi [b'cos] the <b'cos it's a very small</p> <p>017 population.> b'cos australia:,</p> <p>018 Ben has only twenty two [m i l l i o n=</p> <p>019 Smi [>thomas you'll=</p> <p>020 Ben =p e o p l e .]</p> <p>021 Smi =have to write<] (.) [something]=</p> <p>022 Tom [(n a h)]</p> <p>023 Smi =thomas, [yeah.] >°okay. okay.°< and=</p> <p>024 Tom [(nah)]</p> <p>025 Smi =let's settle down tom,</p> <p>026 (0.4)</p> <p>027 Smi [thomas,]</p> <p>028 Ben [(i don't)] ()</p> <p>029 (1.4)</p> <p>030 Smi <no: personal comments. okay?></p> <p>031 (1.8)</p> <p>032 Ben an:d (.) tha:t</p> <p>033 (0.5)</p> <p>034 Ben <i think tha:t, i praise america,>=</p> <p>035 Tom =where's miss craig [(.)] <the ro:sy=</p> <p>036 Ben [for]</p> <p>037 Tom =head miss craig></p> <p>038 (0.3)</p> <p>039 Ben for not (0.4) <forcing us to vo:te.></p> <p>040 Smi mm:.</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">4===4</p> <p>041 (0.4)</p> <p>042 Smi but they have a bigger population,</p> <p>043 Tom [<miss craig's ba:ck:.>]</p> <p>044 Smi [>but then< they've got hundreds of]</p> <p>045 millions we've only got twenty million.=</p> <p>046 Tom =(but-) can i read [the twits on=</p> <p>047 Smi [that's why we=</p> <p>048 Tom =< t h u r s d a y ? >]</p>	<p>2. ((Smi picks up Ben's exercise book))</p> <p>3. ((Smi gazes at Ben's exercise book))</p> <p>4. ((Smi nods slightly a few times))</p>
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<p>049 Smi =force (.) that's why they force] 5=====5 050 everyone. 051 (0.5) 052 Smi yeah:? 053 (0.7) 054 Smi you [could read] <another roald dahls,= 055 Tom [(w h a t)] 6=====6 056 Smi =i don't have that book,> [b'cos] miss= 057 Ben [even] 058 Smi =craig, (.) locks it up in her room. 059 (0.5) 060 Ben even home:- (0.3) are: (.) homeless people 061 even forced to vote 062 (.) 063 Smi everybody.= 7====7 064 Tom =>d'you [have a twits:??<] 065 Ben [H H H] 8=====> 9=====9 066 (-----) >8====8 067 Tom >d'you have ro-<=i have (.) fantastic 068 mister ↑fo::x. 069 Smi do you, 070 Tom i have r- i have some roald fdahl bookf, 071 i have 072 Smi you should bring them in. okay? because 073 thursday, the last five minutes you can 074 rea:d. 075 (1.5) 076 Smi yeah? >benny can you start. benny this is 10=====> 077 gonna be easy for you, (.) so i don't have >10=====> 078 to (.) ask you to:< >10=====10 079 (1.6) 080 Smi if you need help, but please ask. okay? 081 Ben °mm hm,°= 082 Smi =because you don't like to get errors, 083 okay? (.) so we'll do that those bits 084 together. (.) or lea:ve those bits out.</p>	<p>5. ((Smi gives Ben his exercise book))</p>
<p>6. ((Smi gazes toward Tom))</p>	
<p>7. ((Smi shows a thumbs up))</p>	
<p>8. ((Smi turns the workbook to face Ben at an angle))</p>	
<p>9. ((Ben signs and rolls his eyes))</p>	
<p>10. ((Smi taps on Ben's workbook))</p>	

		11=====>	
085		(-----)	
		>11====11	
086	Smi	okay?	11. ((Ben moves his pencil case and workbook closer to him))
		>11=11	
087		(1.5)	
088	Smi	okay:: to::m.	
		12=====12	
089		(1.2)	12. ((Smi opens Tom's workbook))
090	Smi	<seven eight -g- ten,>	
		13=====13	
091		(2.8)	13. ((Smi points on Tom's workbook))

We might speculate that Benny is initiating this topic talk using an interrogatively formatted preface, (e.g., *[Do you want to know] why I hate Australia?*), but this cannot be definitively determined. After Miss Smith has put the whiteboard markers on the table at 2, she responds with an *oh* prefaced assessment at 3, which, in this case, seems to be dealing with receipt of Benny's strident position i.e., his *hate* of Australia (see Heritage, 1998, 2002). Benny's turn at 4 provides some support for the attenuated talk at 1 being a preface. Rather than responding to Miss Smith's assessment, he pursues a go-ahead response from her to deliver his own stance, which he seemingly foreshadows at 1. With the teacher's go-ahead at 5, Benny secures support for this topic talk, and is given the opportunity to present his stance in full at 7. His assertion implicates Miss Smith with the use of the first person plural pronoun *we*. His stance is constructed in a fashion that projects an aligning response from Miss Smith as "they" are *forced to vote*, and Benny implies that it is something that should not be imposed on people against their free will. Miss Smith does not provide a verbal response or second pair part to Benny's stance, other than smiling at him before picking up and checking his exercise book. Receiving no response from Miss

Smith, Benny reissues his stance with a negative assessment at 10, downgrading *hate* to *don't like*, in pursuit of the teacher's position on this issue. Miss Smith still does not provide any response but gazes and smiles at the researcher who has just placed the voice recorder on the table. After that, she orients to checking Benny's exercise book. At 12, Benny continues to establish his position by assessing the polling policy in Australia negatively. What Benny has done is soliciting Miss Smith's affiliation by proffering his affective stance. At this point, Miss Smith has avoided offering a substantial position on the matters Benny has raised. She has been handling Benny's books since 3, smiling at Benny and the researcher, while infrequently gaze at Benny.

When Miss Smith takes the floor at 14, she does not comment on Benny's position. Instead, she produces a polar question, which turns out to be a pre-expansion to an informing at 16-17. This question also casts Miss Smith as knowledgeable on these matters in a way that Benny is not (cf. Heritage & Raymond, 2005). Benny's overlapped response gives Miss Smith the go-ahead, but she initiates the assertion at 16 almost immediately after her preface at 14. Subsequently, Benny builds on Miss Smith's turn with a factual assertion of Australia's population at 18, thereby demonstrating that he, too, is knowledgeable on this topic. The topic talk is then temporarily suspended when the teacher issues some directives to Tom from 19 to 30.

At 32, 34, 36, and 39, Benny begins to revive the topic talk, and Miss Smith orients to Benny again, gazing at him from 34 to 39 and nodding at 40. Tom initiates his own talk when he is taking out his pencil and ruler from his pencil case at 35-37, but the initiation is not ratified by the teacher, who is engaged with Benny's talk. Benny incrementally asserts his "praise" for the United States, and

their voluntary voting system. Miss Smith initially receipts Benny's talk with a minimal response token *mm* and a few nods at 40, but then returns to her previous line of argument by comparing the population of the United States and Australia. There is a marked contrast in how Benny and Miss Smith build their arguments. Benny takes an evaluative stance in criticising Australia's mandatory voting system while supporting America's voluntary voting system. On the other hand, Miss Smith establishes her case based on a more factive stance, attributing the difference in the voting system of America and Australia to the size of population. At 47 and 49-50, Miss Smith moves toward closing the sequence by concluding her argument. Incidentally, her self-initiated repair at 49, replacing *we* with *they*, distances her from the authority who 'forced' everyone to vote.

Benny does not immediately respond to Miss Smith's assertion at 47/49-50, and she solicits a response from him at 52 with a post-positioned tag *yeah*. At 52, Miss Smith returns her attention to Tom, but Benny then begins to revive the prior talk at 57, seemingly beginning an assertion at 60, before reformulating his turn into a polar question. The design of this *yes/no* interrogative constrains Miss Smith's response, and is tilted towards a "yes" response (Raymond, 2003). Miss Smith responds to Benny's question with nods at 62, a thumbs up gesture at 63 (see Figure 5.5 below), and the single indefinite pronoun *everybody*. However, by eschewing the production of a "yes" or a "no", Miss Smith displays her resistance toward the terms and askability of Benny's *yes/no* interrogative (Raymond, 2003); in this case, the problematicity of homeless people voting in light of the previous talk, and, perhaps, the continued persistence of this topic talk at all.

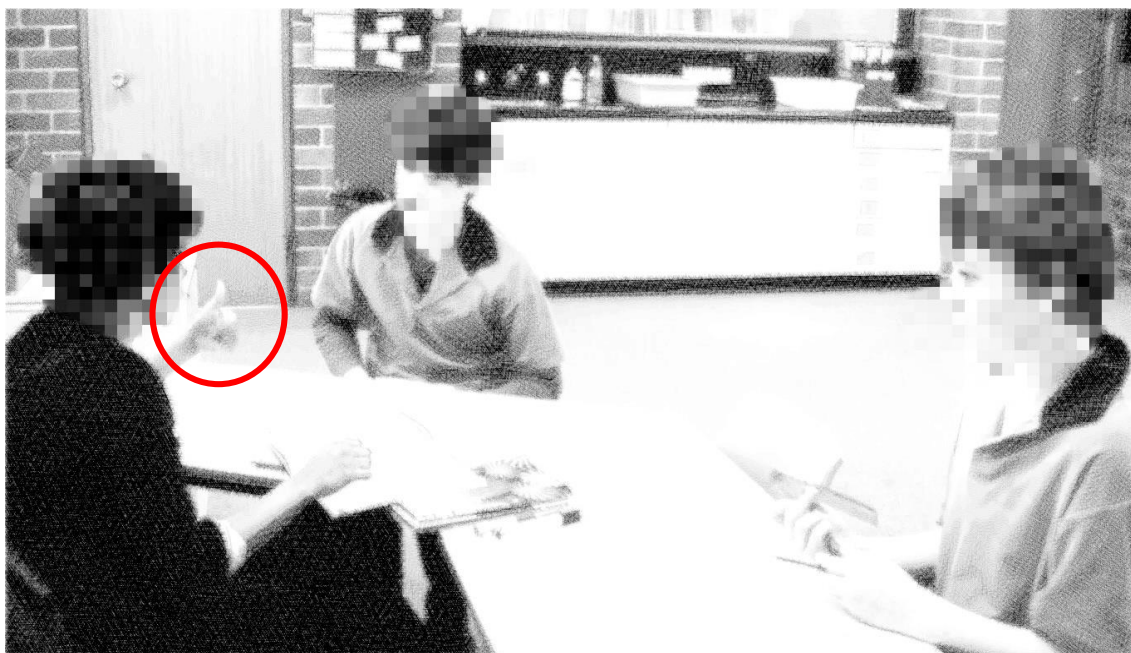


Figure 5.5 Extract 5.2 Line 63

Miss Smith's response at 63 is also sequence-closing as she provides a single-word, minimal response without further comments or actions to show engagement with the topic. After that, she turns Benny's workbook at an angle between them at 65-68 (see Figure 5.6 below).



Figure 5.6 Extract 5.2 Line 65

This demonstrates an embodied orientation to imminent lesson tasks, although Benny does not offer any obvious orientation to his workbook. In response to Miss Smith's answer at 63, Benny bends forward, sighs and rolls his eyes at 65. Miss Smith's factive assertion on why the small population mandates such voting system does not seem to effect any change in Benny's stance; he, on the other hand, uses the *yes/no* interrogative at 60-61 to undermine the teacher's position on the necessity of compulsory voting, which Miss Smith effectively blocks with her non-conforming response. The topic talk ends at 65, with Benny not progressing the topic talk further, and Tom redirecting the talk to his own interests from 64 onwards.

In Extract 5.3, when the recording begins, Miss Smith is talking to Tom about his behaviour monitoring checkbox⁸ from 1 to 5. After that, she moves her chair and sits in front of Ryan, and begins arranging his books. Benny, whose books are open, has been gazing at Miss Smith since 3, and summons her using an address term at 6 (see Figure 5.7 below).

⁸ Tom's behaviour monitoring checkbox is a strip of paper with five checkboxes (or sometimes drawn on the whiteboard), used by Miss Smith to regulate his behaviour. Every time he is not behaving in accordance with his "contract" with the teacher, she may put a cross in one box; each time he behaves and shows compliance, he will get a tick instead. When he gets five crosses, Miss Smith will inform his mother; if he gets five ticks, Miss Smith will give him a reward, such as a sticker, a short break, or a book of his choice to read.



Figure 5.7 Extract 5.3 Line 6

Extract 5.3 [S5_V147_130815_Smi-Ben-Rya-Tom] (00:00 – 00:58)

001 Smi >and d'you think i'll need to use this?<

1=====>

002 (-----)

>1=====>

003 Smi to:m?

>1==>

004 Tom no.=

>1=1

005 Smi =no: i don't think so.

006 Ben miss smith.

007 Smi ye:s?

-> 008 Ben do you have any opinion on kevin rudd?

009 (0.8)

010 Smi i have and i'll- (.) i can privately

011 share with you i don't want to share

012 that (.) £my opinion£ on camera. okay?

2=====>

013 (----)

>2===>

014 Smi °yeah.°

>2===>

015 (-----)

>2=====2

016 Smi i- i do have an opinion.

1. ((Smi points at Tom's
behaviour monitoring
checkbox))

2. ((Ben leans forward
toward Smi and turns his
right ear to her))

061 or >you're gonna be the< la:st person to
062 start.

After Miss Smith responds to Benny's summons with an aligning, go-ahead yes at 7, Benny launches a topic initiation using a polar question at 8. Miss Smith gazes at Benny for 0.8 seconds at 9 before providing a multi-part, multi-turn constructional unit response (10-12), which includes a partial repeat answer to Benny's question, and an account of why she would prefer not to continue the talk. Miss Smith's answer effectively endorses the question, but disaligns with the course of action it foreshadows, and the account provides a basis for the talk to be postponed. Miss Smith does not cite the inappropriateness of the topic or its timing as the reason to discontinue the talk, but rather her intention of keeping her opinion private and not recorded. Hence, neither Miss Smith nor Benny is primarily implicated in the reasons for topic talk not being pursued. However, Benny treats the teacher's promise to *privately share* her opinion (10-11) as still being imminent, moving himself towards her so as to avoid being recorded (see Figure 5.8 below).



Figure 5.8 Extract 5.3 Line 12

However, Miss Smith does not continue the talk, or whisper to Benny. Instead, she reiterates her orientation to the topic in an emphatic assertion at 16, and clarifies that she would share her opinion with him later at 19, *privately* (21), possibly during a lunch break or when there is no recording. Benny assents to the teacher's proposal at 20. Despite Miss Smith's effort in postponing the talk, Benny continues by asserting his mother's opinion at 22-23. His action keeps himself as well as Miss Smith from being implicated in public opinions on the matter at hand, similar to Miss Smith's account at 10-12. At 24, Miss Smith ends the talk with an aligning response and an emphatic, turn-terminal agreement token *yes*. In doing so, she upgrades her stance from second position, taking on an epistemically authoritative stance in confirming Benny's assertion (Heritage & Raymond, 2005).

Miss Smith then withdraws from topic talk, and shifts their focus to lesson tasks utilising a transition marking *okay*, accompanied by pointing towards Benny's exercise book (see Figure 5.9 below), and nominating a starting point.

Benny's aligns with this shift, but contests the starting point. After some negotiation (35-58), Benny complies with the teacher's proposal, and starts lesson tasks as she moves on to check on Tom and Ryan.



Figure 5.9 Extract 5.3 Line 26

In Extract 5.4, Benny initiates topic talk early in the lesson beginning, but Miss Smith disaligns with it. She then accounts for her disalignment, proposes postponing the talk, and orients Benny to lesson tasks. At the beginning of recording, Benny is seen opening his books and is visibly ready to start his reading comprehension exercises. However, like in the preceding Extract 5.3, he subsequently initiates topic talk after soliciting Miss Smith's support for this course of action.

When the audio recording begins in Extract 5.4 (the video recording only begins at 10), Benny's topic talk with Miss Smith has already commenced. It is not known for sure how long the talk has been going on, or if Benny initiates it, as he does in the data presented so far. However, he is clearly engaged in telling

Miss Smith about a past incident when he could not access his computer at home one day.

Extract 5.4 [S6_V148_130816_Smi-Ben-Rya-Tom] (00:00 – 00:31)

001 Ben you know i got s:o mad
 002 (0.8)
 003 Ben <it linked with a metal bar> (.) like the
 004 computer. and i got (.) su:per mad cos my
 005 parents were out
 006 (0.7)
 007 Ben <and i (.) had no choice> but to break the
 008 computer.
 009 (0.3)
 010 Ben i=
 011 Smi =you [had] better choice than that=
 012 Ben [i]
 013 Ben =i=
 014 Smi =>(could) go< and watch a movie or
 015 something
 016 Ben ↑no:.
 017 (1.3)
 018 Tom [<do your parents>]
 019 Ben [y- >you wanna know how<] i did it?
 020 (----)
 021 Ben i (0.5) i used (.) ah m-y (.) i just head
 022 butted it. <like (.) this>
 023 (1.5)
 024 Ben [i]
 -> 025 Smi [°o]kay.°
 026 2=====>
 027 Smi >what are you gonna do for me today?<
 028 (-----+-----+)
 029 Smi >can we talk about that at lunch time? (.)
 030 >you're gonna do from number six< to number
 031 ten,
 032 (0.5)
 033 Smi then >you're gonna take a two minute break<

1. ((Ben gestures to Tom by showing his palm to Tom))

2. ((Smi moves Ben's workbook and exercise book closer to him))

3. ((Both Smi and Ben gaze at his workbook))

034 and ()
 035 Ben mm mm=
 036 Smi =>what are you gonna do in the next part?<
 037 (1.3)
 038 Smi how many parts are you gonna do? two? or
 039 the whole (page)
 040 Ben °(three)°
 041 Smi °okay.°

From 1 to 10, Benny has the floor to carry out his extended telling. Nevertheless, before he goes into the details of how he breaks the computer at 10, Miss Smith interjects at 11 with a disagreement with his assertion about breaking the computer and continues her assertion at 14-15. Benny tries to regain his speakership at 12 and 13 but is unsuccessful. He then responds to the teacher's assertion at 16 with a strong disagreement, an emphatic, slightly extended *no* with a rise-fall intonation. During the silence at 17, Benny appears to mouth /a few times, but he does not vocalise.

When the video recording starts at 10, Miss Smith is gazing at Benny, with her right hand (holding a pencil) on the table, and her left thumb and index finger holding her chin from 14 to 25. She maintains this embodied orientation (see Figures 5.10 and 5.11 below) without arranging or gazing at Benny's books, nor giving directives to any other student, as is the case in Extracts 5.1 and 5.2. In doing so, she is passively supporting Benny's telling (cf. Stivers, 2013, p. 200).



Figure 5.10 Extract 5.4 Line 20



Figure 5.11 Extract 5.4 Line 22

At 11 and 14-15, Miss Smith interrupts Benny's telling with two assertions. These assertions are treated as problematic in a number of ways. First, her assertion at 11 begins as Benny is initiating what appears to be another turn constructional unit to further his telling. Second, atypically, this is her first vocal response to the telling, with continuers and other forms of support and receipt

absent so far (see Stivers, 2008). In addition, she adopts a stance that is at odds with the position that Benny has been developing through the telling, i.e., that his decision to break the computer was reasonable.

At 18, Tom begins what appears to be an on topic polar question directed at Benny regarding his telling. However, Benny does not respond to Tom, other than a gesture at 20 when he briefly extends his fingers toward him (see Figure 5.10 above). This seems to be directed towards maintaining speakership. Benny proceeds with a pre-announcement at 19 in overlap with Tom, with a view to creating room for his telling once more. Although she does not provide the projected verbal go-ahead that is strongly called for by Benny's *yes/no* interrogative, her gaze and embodied orientation to him (see Figure 5.10 above) are adequate for Benny to continue. Benny then demonstrates how he head-butted the computer at 24 (see Figure 5.11 above).

This "projected climax or termination" brings Benny's telling to a point of possible closure (Goodwin, 1996, p. 384). During the silence at 23, Benny gazes at Miss Smith. At this point of a telling, a recipient comment or evaluative stance is normatively expected (Stivers, 2008). However, she only responds with a neutral receipt *okay* at 25 after a long silence, which is indicative of the dispreferred nature of her upcoming action (Pomerantz, 1984; Schegloff, 2007). In overlap, Benny self-selects at 24, but quickly yields to Miss Smith. At the same time, Miss Smith begins to shift her gaze from Benny to his books, rearranging them so that his workbook is closer to him, with the exercise book under it. Benny mirrors this engagement with the books, gazing at them (see Figure 5.12 below), as Miss Smith shifts towards the incipient lesson tasks more explicitly with her question at 27.

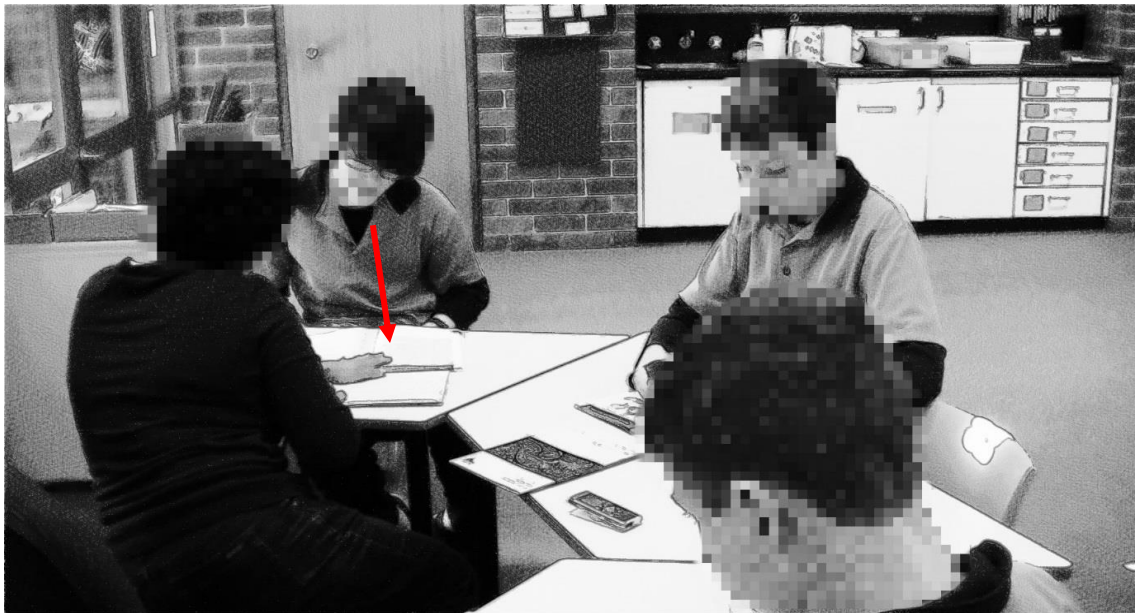


Figure 5.12 Extract 5.4 Line 27

Benny does not immediately respond, and a long silence emerges at 28. She then walks back, somewhat, on her abandonment of the topic talk, proposing that they talk about *that* (i.e., Benny's telling, and its upshots) at a later, non-lesson time.

The way in which Miss Smith closes the talk is slightly different from the earlier examples. She does not demonstrate the minimal orientation to closing as seen in previous lesson, namely a formulation (Extract 5.1), a confirmatory response (Extracts 5.2 & 5.3), or an immediate account proposing to postpone the talk (Extract 5.3). The absence of her response as the recipient at telling completion indexes her disaffiliation with Benny's stance in head-butting the computer. This is also because any comment or action that contradicts Benny's stance would most likely invite further talk on the event, such as Benny defending his conduct. Therefore, Miss Smith's receipt at 25 and orientation to Benny's task at 27 effectively ends the talk and pre-empts any effort on Benny's side to revive it. She then back-tracks, and proposes to continue the talk at 29 as a way of

ending the talk “officially” as well as making relevant Benny’s orientation to her directives from 30 to 34.

The topic talk between Benny and Miss Smith presented in Extracts 5.1, 5.2, 5.3, and 5.4 demonstrates that Benny tends to initiate topic talk early in lesson beginnings using various prefaces to solicit Miss Smith’s participation. While orienting to Benny’s talk, Miss Smith continues to prepare for the lesson to begin, such as adjusting the position of work books, opening the exercise book to check previous work and set present tasks. She occasionally provides comments, assertions, or formulations of the matters at hand, and she is also the one who initiates the closing and makes relevant the commencement of lesson tasks.

In Extract 5.5, Miss Craig carries out a greeting sequence between 1 and 19 after she has gotten back from retrieving a tray from her office. She then begins to address the students’ bodily configuration (20-21) as well as the stationery configuration (23-32). After that, two spates of topic talk, initiated by Benny and Tom respectively, takes place in succession. The following extract focuses on the former, while the latter will be discussed in the next section.

Extract 5.5 [C3_V068_130724_Cra-Ben-Rya-Tom] (01:44 – 02:32)

001 Cra hello to:m,
002 (1.2)
003 Tom hello,
004 (2.7)
005 Cra how are you tom,
006 Tom ↑good.
007 Cra that’s good,
008 (0.7)
009 Cra hello ryan,
010 Rya hello
011 (0.6)

012 Rya miss craig.
013 (1.2)
014 Rya h- how's it going
015 Cra fvery well£ thank you:..
016 (0.6)
017 Cra and hello again benny:..
018 Ben ((mouths "fine"))
019 (0.7)
020 Cra okay. >do you wanna< (.) put your legs
1=====1
2=====>
021 down and bring your chair in?
>2=====2
022 (0.7)
023 Cra and let's get our tables organised and
024 ready for wo:rk.
025 (0.7)
026 Cra so r- ryan, have you got everything out
027 that you need? is that you:rs?:
028 Rya no
029 (1.5)
030 Rya i [got] my pen [(like)]
-> 031 Ben [i] [i] have a-
3=====3
032 Cra [you got] your pen?
4===4
033 (1.0)
034 Rya [†eh::.]
035 Cra [†oh:: what's] †happened.
036 (0.5)
037 Ben i don't know
038 Cra looks like an allergic reaction when did
039 that (.) come
040 (1.1)
041 Ben when i was washing my hand with dettol
042 soap.
043 (1.0)
044 Cra at home?
045 Ben yes.
-> 046 Cra oh it happened at home. okay.
5=====5
047 (1.0)
048 Cra u:m benny:.,
6=====6

1. ((Cra beckons to Ben))

2. ((Ben uncrosses his leg and sits up))

3. ((Ben raises his right hand and shows it to Cra))

4. ((Cra knocks Tom's pen off the table))

5. ((Cra nods at Ben))

6. ((Cra gives Ben his exercise book))

Unlike the previous extracts, Benny initiates topic talk here using a gesture. Benny has been covering his right wrist with his left hand since 1 (see Figure 5.13 below).

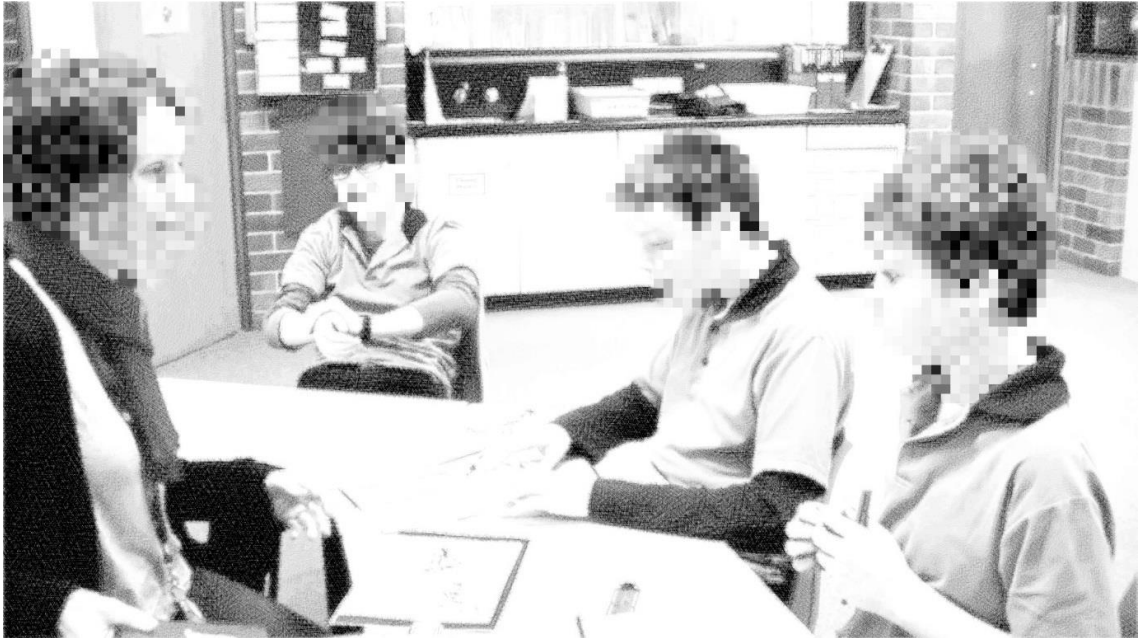


Figure 5.13 Extract 5.5 Line 1

However, Miss Craig does not notice it, or treat it as anything more than a self-attentive act. To solicit her noticing, Benny raises his right hand and begins what appears to be an announcement, i.e., *i have a-* (see Figure 5.14 below).



Figure 5.14 Extract 5.5 Line 31

That is, having failed to secure her noticing, Benny upgrades his action to an announcement (Schegloff, 2007, p. 87), albeit one attenuated by simultaneous talk. Miss Craig responds with an *oh* prefaced question, which effectively topicalises Benny's hand, and promotes related talk. He replies with an account for not knowing at 37. Miss Craig offers a candidate explanation of the symptom, followed by another *wh* question on when the symptom began at 38-39. After Benny has answered the teacher's question at 41-42, she queries where Benny was when the rash appeared; specifically, whether he was at home, or at school. Benny replies with an affirmatory *yes*, and then at 46 Miss Craig receipts Benny's response with an *oh* prefaced assertion, confirming and closing the course of action.

This extract shows how Benny solicits the teacher's noticing, accompanied by a partial announcement in order to topicalise a noticeable and initiate topic talk. It is a different, perhaps less sophisticated, strategy than his questions and prefaces above. Nonetheless, Benny secures Miss Craig's alignment, and

thereby temporarily diverts the lesson beginning from progressing towards lesson tasks.

5.2.3 *Topic talk initiated by Tom*

The following section discusses topic talk initiated by Tom. As we shall see, the practices that Tom uses for initiating and maintaining topic talk are contrastive to the practices employed by Benny. The topic talk presented in Extracts 5.6 and 5.7 take place early in the lesson beginning, and both involve Tom asserting that Miss Craig is a *rosy head*. Her uptake of these assertions are starkly different.

In Extract 5.6, Tom and Benny are bidding for speakership and soliciting Miss Craig's support for their respective topic talk. Tom appears to be asking Miss Craig about her parents from 3 to 8. Benny first bids for speakership at 2 with a *well* preface and an address term, but he fails to secure Miss Craig's orientation. Benny then reissues his solicitation with another *well* prefaced address term at 9, and at the same time raising his right hand to increase his noticeability (see Figure 5.15 below).

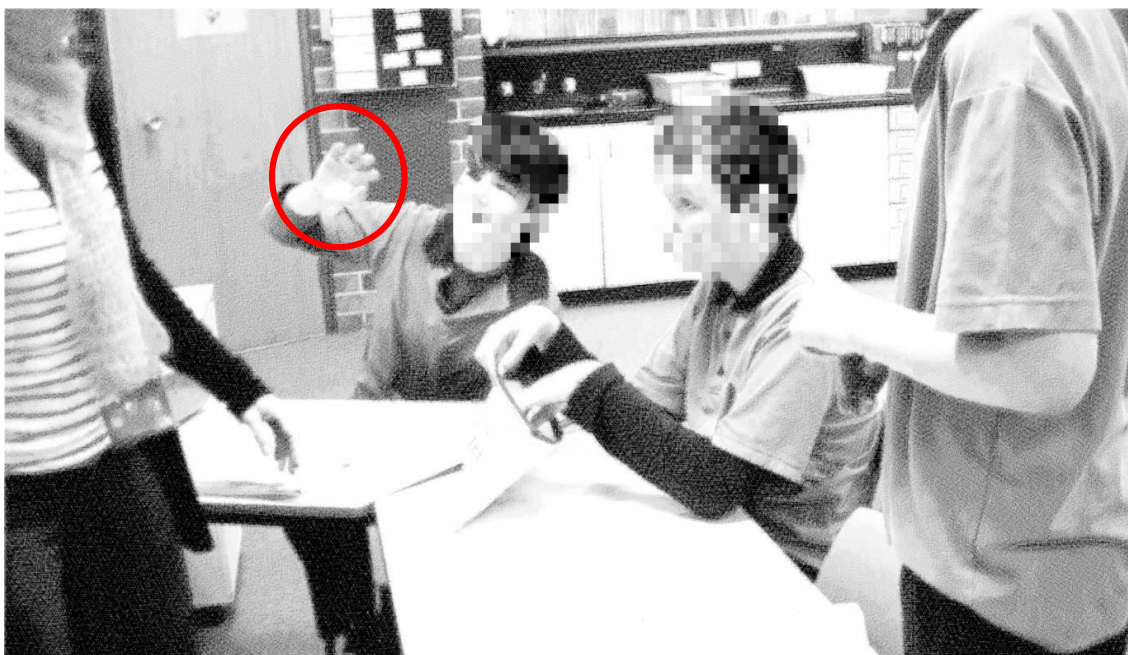


Figure 5.15 Extract 5.6 Line 9

Once he has secured Miss Craig's orientation to his talk at 13, he begins a telling about drinking Coke. It is similar to the topic talk he undertakes with Miss Smith in Extract 5.1, namely about his attempt to drink Coke without his mother's knowledge. However, the telling in Extract 5.1 is about a specific incident, whereas the one in Extract 5.6 is what he does *sometimes*. Miss Craig aligns as a telling recipient, allowing Benny to hold the floor over multiple turn constructional units. Her turns at 17 and 21 with accompanying head nods are the acknowledgement as well as affiliative tokens typically produced by story recipients (Stivers, 2008). When Benny's telling reaches possible closure at 30, Miss Craig provides a formulation of the way in which Benny consumes his Coke using a declarative question (cf. Heritage, 2013). Although Miss Craig does not offer an evaluative stance toward Benny's telling, her action is at least factually consistent with it. Benny responds with an emphatic, extended affirmatory yes, and shifts his gaze from the teacher to the outside of the classroom, effectively closing the spate of topic talk.

During Benny's topic talk, Tom attempts to regain speakership at 16 by issuing an assertion about the teacher, but she is, at that time, committed to Benny's telling. Tom reinitiates topic talk at 33 after the completion of Benny's telling as Miss Craig shifts her gaze from him to Tom at the end of Benny's turn at 31.

Extract 5.6 [C4_V094_130730_Cra-Ben-Rya-Tom] (00:00 – 01:10)

001	Cra	she's not here:?	
002	Ben	well miss craig,=	
003	Tom	=is she dead,	
004	Cra	she is.	
005	Tom	is your dad dead?	
006	Cra	no.	
007		(0.4)	
008	Tom	how old.=	
009	Ben	=well	
		1====>	1. ((Ben raises his right hand))
010		(-----+)	
		>1=====>	
011	Cra	i don't ↑know.	
		>1=====1	
		2=====2	2. ((Cra takes her seat))
012		(0.7)	
013	Ben	well you know, miss craig	
		3=====3	3. ((Ben leans toward Cra))
014		(0.6)	
015	Ben	sometimes i piss my mum.=	
016	Tom	=miss craig's a <ro[sy:] head.>	
017	Cra	[right:.]	
018	Ben	[<by:] drinking	
019		coke.> over four o'clock in the	
020		after[noon,]	
021	Cra	[ah: o]kay. [right.] right.=	
022	Ben	[heh]	
		4=====4	4. ((Cra nods a few times))
023	Ben	=fand thhat£ sh	
024		(0.5)	
025	Ben	and that sometimes i jus: decide to drink	
026		it outside just so she doesn't hear me,	
027		(-----)	

	5=====>	5. ((Cra nods))
028	Ben opening the ca:n.	
	>5=====>	
029	(-----)	
	>5=====5	
	6=====>	6. ((Ben leans back on his chair))
030	Cra so you're doing it in secret?	
	>6===6	
031	Ben <u>yes::.</u>	
032	(0.6)	
033	Tom mac- moc- mm: (.) <u>miss craig.</u>	
	7=====7	7. ((Cra raises her eyebrows and gazes at Tom))
034	(0.5)	
035	Tom y- do you have a rosy <u>h:ead</u> ?	
036	(1.5)	
-> 037	Cra okay tom pull your chair in?	
	8=====8	8. ((Cra bends to her right, looks under Tom's table and beckons to him))
038	Tom °(yogus)°=	
-> 039	Cra =<let's start. shall we?>	
040	Tom (mother)	
041	(0.5)	
042	Tom °(belkis:.)°	
043	(1.4)	
044	Cra what was that?	
045	Tom miss how old is your (0.3) muf- what year	
046	did your mum die.	
047	Cra to:m, can we:::=	
048	Ben =>we're not talking a[bout that.<]	
049	Rya [uh:] ()	
050	Cra [if you] want if	
051	you want to talk to me about my mum, you	
	9=====>	
052	ca:n,	9. ((Tom puts up his right hand))
	>9==>	
053	(----)	
	>9===>	
054	Cra <but not in class.> okay? becau:se:	
	>9=====9	
055	Tom did (mis[ter)] ()	
056	Cra [<u>i</u> do]n't want to talk about it	
057	now:, [and:][it's time for a less]on.	
058	Rya [yeah.]	
059	Tom [probably seventy.]	
060	Cra okay?	
061	Tom i say (mister hob) is seventy.	

<pre> -> 062 Cra right.= 063 Rya =sh:: 10==> 064 Cra get your:: (0.4) pens out your ruler:: >10====10 065 (0.4) 066 Cra and then we can move everything else to the 067 side:: </pre>	<p>10. ((Cra points at Tom's pencil case))</p>
--	--

Tom resumes speakership at 35 and Miss Craig responds to his address term with a non-verbal go-ahead. After securing her (albeit minimal) support, Tom redeploys talk focused on Miss Craig having a *rosy head* at 35. This time, Tom's topic initiation is accomplished via a polar question instead of an assertion, thus increasing the pressure on Miss Craig to respond and, possibly, align (Stivers & Rossano, 2010). Nevertheless, Miss Craig stares at him with a po-face at 36, and subsequently leans to her right, looks under the table and beckons to Tom at 37. She clearly does not orient to his topic initiation, failing to provide the projected second pair part. Instead, Miss Craig produces a new first pair part—namely a directive—and thereby turns the lesson beginning away from topic talk, and to preparation for lesson tasks. Tom complies by pulling his chair closer to the table, but continues to utter some words at 38 and 40-42 under his breath; possibly the names of some book characters. At the same time, Miss Craig alternates her gaze between Tom and the teaching materials on the table to her right. When she orients to and enquires about what he has uttered at 44, Tom again takes the opportunity to revive a topic seemingly related to his earlier talk at 3-8 about her parents. The topic initiation he settles on at 45-46 is a polar question employing interrogative syntax, which places responsive pressure on Miss Craig. She does not provide a second pair part to Tom's question but seemingly initiates

a new first pair part, beginning with an address term, and the beginnings of a turn constructional unit *can we*. At 48, Benny interjects to object to Tom's topic initiation, perhaps anticipating the thrust of Miss Craig's talk at 47. Miss Craig then sets out the terms under which Tom could talk to her about her mother. She casts the topic as permissible, but eventually rules it out as a topic for class time. Tom, however, prematurely analyses Miss Craig's talk between 50 and 52. He responds non-vocally to the first part of this compound turn constructional unit (see Lerner, 1996), and takes Miss Craig's response as a prompt for him to raise his hand (see Figure 5.16 below), i.e., *if you want to talk to me [put up your hand]*.



Figure 5.16 Extract 5.6 Line 51

From 56-57, Miss Craig provides an account of why she will not progress this topic talk. Tom then seemingly attempts to initiate another topic about characters from the book they will read at 55, 59, and 61. Miss Craig does not comment on these turns, nor direct him to stop. Instead, she produces a neutral response token *right*, and directs the students to organise their stationery.

In this lesson beginning, Benny and Tom's topic initiations, and Miss Craig's orientation to them, have a number of notable features. First, Miss Craig treats the design of Benny's topic initiation as a lead in to his telling (cf. Mandelbaum, 2013). As such, she allows him to hold speakership for an extended period. Benny uses *well* several times at 2, 9 and 13, which "projects actions that involve moving away from the erstwhile conversational projects and/or sequential constraints of previous turns at talk" (Heritage, 2015, p. 101). Together with his embodied conduct (i.e., leaning toward Miss Craig), this effectively prepares her for the telling that ensues at 15. Hence, Benny initiates this topic talk in a systematic fashion by utilising a pre-sequence to secure alignment from his recipient, and then proceeds with the telling he has projected. Tom also uses a pre-expansion at 35 to secure the floor for his own topic talk, but does not occasion a telling like Benny. When Miss Craig elects not to support his topic initiation at 37, he changes tack, producing the names of book characters, returning to Miss Craig's family he was pursuing earlier (i.e., *what year did your mum die?*), and then moving on to a topic that appears to integrate both of the previous ones (i.e., the age of a book character). In order to close the topic talk and progress the lesson beginning, Miss Craig provides various dispreferred responses, such as making accountable his bodily configuration (37) and the starting of lesson (39), a mild sanction/protest (47), and an account (50-54, 56-57). After Miss Craig has taken on speakership and Tom has ceased to continue his talk, the topic talk gives way to the arrangement of lesson-relevant artefacts.

Extract 5.7 is another example of Tom initiating topic talk by referring to Miss Craig as a *rosy head*. Unlike Extract 5.6, though, Miss Craig supports and

progresses this topic talk. At 1-3, Miss Craig and Ryan greet one another, and Miss Craig thanks him for initiating greeting. Tom then greets Miss Craig, and, at 6, says to her *you're a rosy head*.

Extract 5.7 [C6 V122 130805 Cra- Rya-Tom] (00:00 – 01:03)

001 Cra oh good morning ryan, thanks for saying
002 that, it's nice when people say good
003 morning to [me first,]
004 Tom [morning miss craig,]
005 Cra good morning ↑to::m.
006 Tom you're a rosy head.
007 (0.3)
008 Cra uh i don't feel very rosy today to:m,
009 1=====1
010 Tom you do.
011 Rya -ow (.) -ow you do. becau:se it was very
012 cold.
013 Cra it is a bit cold, isn't it.
014 Tom <you're a rosy head person.>
015 Cra £a ro- what£ does that mea:n.=
016 Rya =yeah [>what does that< ↑yes tom,]=
017 Cra [a rosy head person.]=
018 Rya =[what does that mean.]
019 Tom =[you look=you have] (.) ro- you have a
020 (.) rosy you're feel=>look a little bit
021 like< a rosy person.
022 Cra ↑aw: [well that sounds nice]
023 Rya [↑uh : : : :.]
024 Cra i'm gonna take that as a compliment. tom,
025 Rya ↑yeah.
026 (0.7)
027 Cra <it sounds like a nice thing to say.>
028 Rya ↑yeah.
029 Tom is it <twitty: twits.>
030 Cra it is time for the twits, isn't it.
031 Tom the twits £getting£ °naked.°
032 (1.2)
033 Cra okay pens ou:t,
034 Tom ()
035 2=>
036 (-----+-----+-----)
037 >2=====>

1. ((Cra shakes her
head slightly))

2. ((Cra takes her stationery box and notepad from her tray))

035	Cra	<and let's get to work.> >2=====2	
036	Tom	°uhh°	
037		(8.4)	
038	Cra	okay tom, (.) pop your: (1.7) ruler: and 3=====	
039		your pen down on the table, >3=====3	3. ((Cra opens the reading text before giving it to Tom))

At 8, Miss Craig responds to Tom's topic initiating assertion with a disagreeing response. In doing so, she categorises *rosy* as a perceptible, internal state in addition to whatever is apparent to Tom. Tom then re-issues the initial assertion, persisting despite Miss Craig's disagreement and epistemic authority (see Heritage & Raymond, 2005). Tom's disagreement implicates a strong epistemic stance (Heritage, 2012, 2013) indexed by the assertion he made at 6 with regard to the meaning of *rosy*. Hence, whether or not Miss Craig feels *rosy*, Tom stands by his claim, thus defending his epistemic stance. At 10, Ryan's participation makes the dyadic talk between Tom and Miss Craig tripartite. Ryan appears to be orienting to Tom's stance and echoes *you do* at 10, followed by an account, attributing Miss Craig's *rosy head* to the weather. Miss Craig provides her agreement in the form of a repetitional second assessment (Pomerantz, 1984), completed with an interrogative tag. In doing so, she claims epistemic authority from second position (Heritage & Raymond, 2005). At the same time, her agreement downgrades Ryan's *very cold* assessment to *a bit cold*. She does not comment on Tom and Ryan's assertion about her being *rosy head*. Moreover, her assessment of the weather distances the talk from the meaning of *rosy head*, and its potentially pejorative connotations.

Tom reissues his assertion at 13, which is a full repetition of 6 with the addition of *person* as the final turn component. It aims at making *rosy head*, the topic he has initiated earlier, relevant again and preventing the talk from staying on the course of “the weather”. At 14, Miss Craig initiates repair, focusing on the meaning of *rosy head*. Ryan also orients to and echoes Miss Craig’s question at 15 and 17. Tom’s candidate repair solution consists of multiple, successive attempts at a turn format, and the first three, *you look*, *you have ro-*, and *you have a rosy* are incrementally extended but none is brought to possible completion. When the fourth and final try has come to fruition, *you’re feel=look a little bit like a rosy person*, it seems to refer to the teacher’s physical attribute. The design of Tom’s repair solution is also a downgrade from his original assertion, i.e., from *you’re a rosy head (person)* to a mitigated *look a little bit like a rosy person*. The convoluted nature of Tom’s repair operation, with each attempt projecting a different turn constructional unit design, is suggestive of his difficulty modulating his position, and the sensitive nature of this action, in this sequential position.

At 21, Miss Craig receipts Tom’s repair solution with a well prefaced response (Heritage, 2015) that positively assesses Tom’s repaired assertion. She then moves toward closing the talk with a formulation that emphasises her epistemic authority and agency, and blunts the potential negative connotations of Tom’s assertion, i.e., she takes *rosy head* as a compliment. Miss Craig also reformulates her earlier assessment at 26, and it is affirmed by Ryan at 27. Without any uptake from Tom, this spate of topic talk concludes at 27. Tom’s interrogative at 28 seemingly orients to starting lesson tasks, referring to the reading text *The Twits*. Miss Craig replies with an aligning response and orients to the lesson beginning’s progression. Her turn is another second position

repetition with an interrogative tag, confirming Tom's assertion, and once again making visible her epistemic authority. She also revises Tom reference form; from his *twitty twits*, to the formal title *The Twits*.

Tom's focus on the reading text continues at 30, with the assertion *the Twits getting naked*. While, at first blush, this seems a rather tangential comment, it does have some basis in the events of this book. In a chapter called Four Sticky Little Boys, four little boys do in fact run home naked after their pants become stuck to a tree because of a special glue Mr Twit has applied on the branches to catch birds. However, it seems likely, given the progress of the talk so far, and the smiling delivery of this turn, that Tom is engaging in yet more subversion of the lesson beginning with his assertion, thereby further postponing the commencement of lesson tasks. Miss Craig does not provide any uptake of Tom's assertion at 32, but instead issues a series of directives indexing the incipency of lesson tasks.

In addition to displaying initiation and progression techniques used by Benny and Tom, the extracts presented so far demonstrate that topic talk typically takes place early in the lesson beginning, after greetings, (Extracts 5.5 & 5.7), and before the determination of tasks (Extracts 5.1, 5.2, 5.3, & 5.4). If a topic is initiated late or too close to the beginning of the lesson tasks, rejection or postponement are likely. However, there were still instances where topic talk emerged in lesson beginnings just as lesson tasks had been taken up. Two such examples are explored in Extracts 5.8 and 5.11.

In Extract 5.8, topic talk is triggered by a lexical item Tom encounters when he is completing his reading comprehension task. The task requires the students to answer multiple choice questions based on a passage of text. As the extract

begins, Ryan commences working on his tasks, Miss Smith is getting Tom to settle down and start work, while Benny is waiting for Miss Smith to set his tasks. After she has helped Tom with the answer for the first question, Miss Smith turns to Benny and directs him to do two pages. When Benny commences his work, Miss Smith orients to Ryan but calls him Benny by mistake at 1 in the following extract.

Extract 5.8 [S4_V117_130802_Smi-Ben-Rya-Tom] (02:24 – 03:43)

<p>001 Smi oh benny- (.) ryan. that is beautiful 002 writing. i like the way <u>ry:an</u> is using a 1=====> 003 <u>good</u> font, >1=====> 2====> 004 (----) >1====> >2====></p> <p>005 Smi and beautiful writing on the li:nes:, >1=====> >2=====> 006 (-----+-----+-----+-----> >1=====> >2=====></p> <p>007 >--) >1=1 >2=2</p> <p>008 Tom a bit bo:ring.=</p> <p>009 Smi =let's do <nice writing on the lines> okay 3=====> 010 thomas you can do your own font (.) but on >3=====> 011 the lines. okay?= >3=====3 4====></p> <p>-> 012 Tom =.HH CLEAVER LA:ND? 013 >4=====4 014 (0.6) 015 Smi cleveland. 016 (0.3)</p>	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; margin-bottom: 10px;"> 1. ((Smi gazes toward Tom)) </div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; margin-bottom: 10px;"> 2. ((Tom gazes toward Rya's exercise book)) </div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; margin-bottom: 10px;"> 3. ((Smi points to Tom's exercise book and leans forward)) </div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px;"> 4. ((Tom points to the workbook)) </div>
---	---

017 Tom cleaverland
 018 (0.5)
 019 Tom cleaver[land]
 020 Smi [the na]tion's capital was? (.)
 021 first at where.
 022 (0.5)
 023 Tom cleveland, there's a sh- [it's <the=
 024 Ben [↑where is=
 025 Tom =cleaver land] show.>=
 026 Ben =tha::t.]
 027 Rya =<what's [cle:ve la:nd.>]
 028 Tom [cleveland fro:m]
 029 (0.3)
 030 Smi cleveland is a place in america.
 031 Tom and [it's a () a character from FA:]mily=
 032 Ben [well <which from which sta:te>]
 033 Tom =guy::.
 034 Smi [is it?]
 5=====5
 035 Rya [i was in] () america uh [three years=
 036 Smi [↑do you watch=
 037 Rya =ago.]
 038 Smi =that] program thomas?=
 039 Tom =cleaverland show
 040 (0.3)
 041 Ben well [<which state is cleveland in.>]
 042 Tom [i watch the <cleaver land show:.>]
 043 Smi i- i don't know america very well, thomas
 044 will tell you. thomas?=
 045 Ben =>°he probably [(doesn't know).<]°
 046 Tom [i- (like)] (.) i
 047 watch simpsons the most.
 048 (1.4)
 049 Tom do you (.) what show do you watch:..
 050 (0.3)
 051 Smi i don't watch -t- -v- thomas,
 052 (0.4)
 053 Tom what do you do.
 054 (0.7)
 055 Smi i don't watch -t- -v-.
 6=====>
 056 (-----)
 >6=====>
 7=====>
 057 Tom what's=do you do you have any -t- -v-

5. ((Smi takes Tom's workbook and begins to read the passage))

6. ((Smi gazes at Tom))

7. ((Smi smiles at Tom))

```

>6=====6
058 Smi i watch only -a- -b- -c-.
059      (1.1)
060 Tom one?
061      (0.8)
062 Smi no.
063      (0.8)
064 Smi one and twenty four,
065      (1.9)
066 Tom new::s.
067      (0.8)
068 Smi well i watch some programs on there.
                                8=====>
069      (-----+-----+-----+-----)
                                >8=====8
070 Smi come on tom
071      (0.4)
072 Smi answer the next question
073      (1.0)
074 Smi where was the ca- where was the fi:rst
075      capital.
076      (0.7)
077 Smi was it at (0.5) [new yo]rk, philadelphia or=
078 Tom      [ ( ) ]
079 Smi =cleveland.
080 Tom new york.

```

8. ((Smi returns the
workbook to Tom))

After the self-repair of the address term at 1, Miss Smith taps on Ryan's exercise book and assesses his handwriting positively. At the same time, Miss Smith solicits Tom's noticing of Ryan's handwriting by shifting her gaze from Ryan to Tom at 2, emphasising *Ryan* at 2 as well as *good* at 3. Miss Smith maintains her gaze at Tom from 2 to 6 and, in doing so, successfully directs Tom to Ryan's exercise book (see Figure 5.17 below).

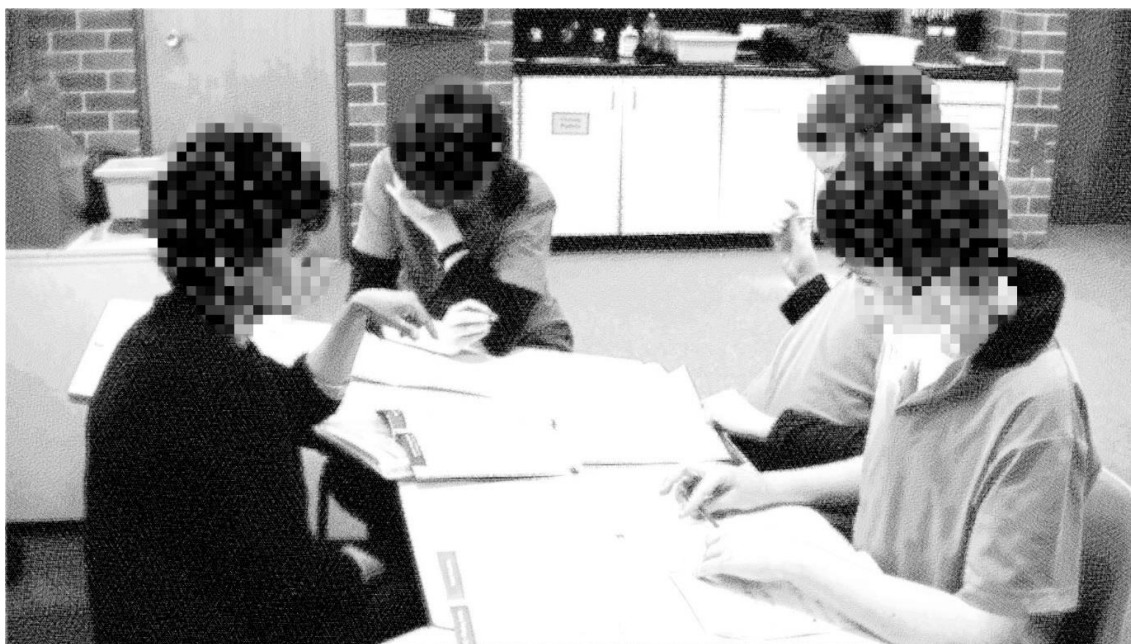


Figure 5.17 Extract 5.8 Line 3

Tom does not immediately respond, but at 8 he issues an assessment of his task instead. Miss Smith then focuses on Tom's writing at 9 when she points at Tom's exercise book (see Figure 5.18 below).



Figure 5.18 Extract 5.8 Line 9

Her turn at 9-11 refers to a complaint Tom made earlier in the lesson: that the foundation font was ugly and he wanted to use his own font (not shown here). Miss Smith sanctions the use of his own font but reminds him to write neatly at 9-11. Despite her escalated directive and embodied orientation—gaze, pointing at Tom's writing, leaning forward—at 9-11, he does not comply with Miss Smith's directive, nor provide any response. Instead, he remains poised with his pen on the exercise book, gazing at the book. At 12, Tom enacts a noticing (see Schegloff, 2007, p. 219), reading aloud the word *Cleveland*, although segments it to "*Cleaver Land*". This noticing sets in motion an incremental shift from the beginnings of task compliance to topic talk directed by Tom.

Tom's turn design at 12 frames the incidental and divergent nature of his action. His loud pre-turn constructional unit in-breath (Schegloff, 1996), and raised volume and pitch indexes its sequential departure (cf. Couper-Kuhlen, 2004). Combined with the sequential position of his turn (i.e., under the constraints of a directive from Miss Smith) and his embodied conduct (i.e., his facial expression, shift in gaze, and pointing to the written word in question, see Figure 5.19 below), the sum effect of Tom's conduct is an incidental, "just-now" (cf. Bolden, 2006) noticing action. In response, Miss Smith almost immediately retracts her hand and leans backward to look at what Tom is pointing at. So, all in all, we can see that Tom's noticing has begun to turn the ongoing course of action away from lesson tasks to topic talk concerning "Cleveland".



Figure 5.19 Extract 5.8 Line 12

Miss Smith initially responds to Tom's noticing by initiating repair at 15, targeting his realisation of *Cleveland*. Tom then reproduces this word at 17 and 19. At 20, Miss Smith reads the related question and prompts Tom for the answer, thereby moving the course of the talk back to the lesson tasks. Tom, however, persists with attempting to topicalise Cleveland, eventually referring to the Cleveland Show at 25. Tom's repetitions of *Cleveland* at 17 and 19 appear to correspond with Miss Smith's repair initiation; namely he attempts to echo Miss Smith's pronunciation, which is an on-task action projected by Miss Smith. When she mobilises Tom's orientation back to task by making relevant an answer to the question she has read, Tom offers the appearance of an answer when he leads his response with *Cleveland*—which is one of the three multiple choice answer options (see 77 & 79)—before continuing with a repaired turn constructional unit that topicalises the television program, *The Cleveland Show*. With this turn design choice, Tom minimises the risk of his topic being rejected immediately as it is tagged onto the seemingly type-fitted turn-initial response. At the same time, it maximises the chances of alignment from Miss Smith.

Benny and Ryan join in the talk with their respective *wh* questions at 24 and 26-27, resulting in some overlapped talk from 19 to 31. Miss Smith orients to these questions as she turns to gaze at Benny briefly and provides a response at 30. However, Benny treats this answer as underspecified, and then reissues his question, focusing on the state that Cleveland is situated in.

At 31, Tom progress topic talk on *The Cleveland Show*, relating it to another cartoon, *Family Guy*, from which *The Cleveland Show* is a spin-off. Tom presents this assertion as an extension of Miss Smith's task-related talk using an *and* preface (see Bolden, 2010). Miss Smith aligns, producing a newsmarker at 34 (see Maynard, 2003). In overlap with Miss Smith, Ryan asserts that he *was in America three years ago*, but his talk does not receive any response.

Miss Smith then asks whether Tom watches *that show*. He initially provides a non-conforming, single noun phrase in response at 39—re-asserting the name of the show as he did at 25—but at 42 goes on to a sentential answer. In the current sequential context, the turn design of Tom's response is also implicative of sequence expansion (Heritage & Raymond, 2012) as he pursues this topic. Benny takes the opportunity afforded by a brief silence at 40 to gain speakership and re-attempt his previous, incomplete question about the location of Cleveland. Miss Smith provides a non-answer (i.e., an account for not knowing the answer), and ends her turn by nominating Tom as the next speaker to provide an answer. However, Benny's assertion at 45 undermines Tom's ability to answer his question, and he abandons it. Tom claims the floor once more, extending the topic talk from *The Cleveland Show* to *The Simpsons*, disregarding Benny's question.

Miss Smith has been reading from Tom's workbook—which she took from him at 34—and has gazed at Tom since her newsmarking response. After the silence at 48, without any uptake from Miss Smith, Tom utilises a different technique for progressing this topic talk. That is, he shifts from a self-oriented contribution to one that is other-oriented, implicating Miss Smith in the next spate of topic talk personally. Tom effects this shift by producing a *wh* question, after a turn-initial repair at 49. Tom's turn design strongly mobilises a response from Miss Smith, thus making her participation and contribution relevant for the topic talk. Not only that, the repair shifts Tom's turn from being a polar question to a type of *wh* question that is typically seeking an extended response (Fox & Thompson, 2010). However, Miss Smith's response at 49 is non-conforming as well as transformative in the sense that Miss Smith is challenging the presupposition of Tom's question (Stivers & Hayashi, 2010), i.e., that she watches the television at all. It may also be the case that she is resisting the agenda of the question to implicate her in the topic talk. Therefore, with her transformative answer, Miss Smith is treating the question as "invalid" as well as "unanswerable even if obliquely indicating confirmation or disconfirmation" (Stivers & Hayashi, 2010, p. 20).

After Miss Smith's disaligning response at 51, Tom continues with another *wh* question at 53. This question—*what do you do*—is semantically problematic. Nevertheless, after a substantial silence, Miss Smith answers in a way that is practically identical (cf. Schegloff, 2004) to her response to Tom's previous question. That is, she treats Tom question at 53 as advancing the same agenda as his question at 49, and persists with her stance that it is problematic. Tom's next question at 57 reveals that he has heard Miss Smith's disalignment as an

indication that she does not have a television at all. She then softens her resistance, reporting that she watches the TV station *ABC*. Tom follows Miss Smith's lead, narrowing his questioning. He produces a single-word turn with a rising intonation to ascertain whether Miss Smith watches the channel *ABC1*. Her one-word answer at 62 seems to suggest Tom's guess is incorrect. However, her subsequent assertion indicates that she watches *ABC1* and *ABC24*, demonstrating that her *no* at 62 is in fact *no [not only ABC1]*. Tom's one-word formulation in third-position at 66 refers to the programming available on both of these channels, i.e., news programs. Miss Smith then offers more information about other programming she watches. At the end of the turn, she returns the workbook to Tom and both of them orient to lesson tasks (see Figure 5.20 below). With no more uptake from Tom, Miss Smith directs Tom to the questions in the workbook.



Figure 5.20 Extract 5.8 Line 68

In Extract 5.8, Tom's noticing topicalises a lexical item—*Cleveland*—from a workbook reading passage, and thus shifts the talk from the teacher's directives on improving his handwriting. He then builds on Miss Smith's incidental teaching concerning Cleveland the city, and changes the course of the talk to *The Cleveland Show*. When Miss Smith shows no uptake on his talk of TV shows he watches, he shifts the focus of the talk by questioning her about her television viewing habits. She initially resists his questions, but subsequently provides the information sought. By the time Miss Smith reinstates lesson tasks, Tom's topic talk has successfully suspended her earlier directives on his handwriting and solicited her participation in the topic talk.

5.2.4 Topic talk initiated by Ryan

We shall now examine topic talk set off by Ryan's actions. As we have seen from earlier extracts in this chapter, Ryan is largely a bystander in amongst Benny and Tom's topic talk activities. Moreover, in the present data set, there are very few examples of Ryan contributing to, let alone spontaneously initiating a spate of topic talk. The talk presented in Extract 5.9 shows Ryan making a series of assertions building on Miss Craig's instruction to write the date. This leads to a brief argument between Ryan and Tom before the matters are resolved by Miss Craig.

Like Extract 5.8, the topic talk emerges as the lesson beginnings is segueing into completion of lesson tasks. The students and Miss Craig have completed greetings, and arrangement of materials relevant for the lesson. Before introducing key vocabulary items from the new chapter, Miss Craig directs Ryan to write down the date and chapter title on his exercise book.

Extract 5.9 [C5_V103_130731_Cra-Ben-Rya-Tom] (03:17 – 04:06)

001 Cra good. and just write the date over here
 002 rya:n,
 003 (3.7)
 004 Rya cos it's the last day of ju^ly:
 005 (1.7)
 006 Cra [it's the last day of july that's=
 007 Rya [and then it'll be ↑august. and it'll=
 008 Cra =right]
 009 Rya =be ↑fa]ther's day.
 010 (3.6)
 011 Rya and after <father's (.) day-> after august
 012 it's september.
 013 (0.7)
 -> 014 Tom father's day.
 1=====>
 015 Cra o↑kay:
 >1====1
 016 Rya °no.°
 017 (0.8)
 018 Tom >father's day is september.<
 019 (0.7)
 020 Rya father's day is in august.
 021 (0.5)
 022 Tom no it's not,
 023 (.)
 024 Cra [u::m:]
 025 Rya [yes it is::.]
 026 Cra in australia father's day is in september,
 027 it might be in august in north america:,
 028 (0.8)
 029 Rya oh:..
 030 Cra [yes:?] it might be i don't know.
 031 Rya [mm::.]
 032 Cra [but in] australia rya:n, australia uh=
 033 Rya [yeah.]
 034 Cra =father's day is in september.
 035 Rya oh yeah.
 036 (0.6)
 037 Cra tsk .hhh okay: let's mo::ve o::n:..
 038 (1.5)
 039 Cra two: wo:rds i want to talk about before we
 040 read this chapter.

1. ((Tom gazes at Rya and
 Rya gazes back at Tom))

After Ryan has written and underlined the heading as instructed, Miss Craig compliments his effort at the beginning of 1 and then directs Ryan where to write the date on his book using her left index finger. Ryan looks up at the whiteboard and, as he begins to write the date, he comments about the date. At 6, Miss Craig confirms Ryan's comment by repeating it, and indexing her epistemic authority with *that's right* (Barnes, 2012; Heritage & Raymond, 2012). Overlapping Miss Craig's turn, Ryan continues to assert from 7 to 11 what comes after July in chronological order; namely, August, Father's Day, and September. Tom initiates repair at 14, narrowing in on Father's Day as he gazes at Ryan. Almost immediately, Ryan gazes back at Tom (see Figure 5.21 below).



Figure 5.21 Extract 5.9 Line 14

At 14, Miss Craig attempts to move the talk along with a transition-marking *okay*. Tom makes clear the basis for his repair initiation at 18, asserting that *Father's Day is September*. A brief argument ensues, with Ryan maintaining that Father's Day is in August, using a similar turn design to Tom's at 20. When Tom

disagrees at 22, Ryan uses a similar structure at 25 once more, but with the opposite polarity to Tom's turn. In overlap, Miss Craig begins to step in at 24, and then producing a multi-unit turn at 26-27. In the first half of her turn, she asserts that in Australia, Father's Day is indeed in September, thus supporting Tom's stance. In the second half of her turn at 27, she hedges her assertion with regard to Father's Day in North America, where Ryan is originally from. Ryan responds with a change-of-state token *oh*, undermining his previous positioning as knowledgeable on these matters. Miss Craig then informs Ryan that Father's Day in Australia is in September, which Ryan receipts with *oh yeah*. This intervention lays the ground for closing this incidental topic talk, and Miss Craig proposes *mov(ing) on*.

Both Extracts 5.9 and 5.8 demonstrate that, in addition to the early and middle periods of lesson beginnings, topic talk emerge as lesson tasks are firmly in place. The teachers sometimes find themselves variously implicated in topic talk initiated by the students. However, there are also instances where the teachers commence and progress topic talk of their own.

5.2.5 Topic talk initiated by the teachers

Most of the topic talk is initiated by the students, especially Benny and Tom. Nevertheless, on occasion, the teachers also initiate spates of topic talk. The following section discusses topic talk initiated by Miss Craig and Miss Smith. In Extract 5.10, the topic talk takes place early in the lesson beginning, immediately after greetings, with Miss Craig topicalising Tom's haircut. In Extract 5.11, the topic talk emerges after Miss Smith has topicalised the date as Tom is undertaking his reading comprehension task.

In Extract 5.10, Miss Craig topicalises Tom's haircut, and she sets out to discover where he went to have it cut. Tom does not align with her topic initiation to begin with, and attempts to undermine the teacher's questions about the location of his hairdresser. Miss Craig moves toward closing the talk after she has obtained the relevant information.

Extract 5.10 [C8_V143_130812_Cra-Rya-Tom] (00:00 – 01:06)

001 Tom good morning miss craig,
002 Cra good morning tom, how are you=you've had a
003 haircut:..
004 (0.9)
005 Cra yes?
006 Tom °yeah.°
007 (0.3)
008 Cra where did you get your haircut
009 (0.7)
010 Tom at (1.1)
011 Rya at the::
012 Tom at the hairdresser's.
013 Cra at the hairdresser [do you=which]
014 Tom [>what we call a<]
015 hairdresser, miss craig's a rosy head.
016 (0.4)
017 Cra tom, (.) which hairdresser do you go to
018 to:m,=
019 Tom =((coughs)) (.) the twitty twits.
020 (0.4)
021 Cra to:m, which hairdresser do [you go to.]
022 Tom [((coughs))]
023 (0.9)
024 Tom <usually with the (day o) but you don't
025 even know her.>
026 (0.4)
027 Cra i mi:ght,
028 Tom no you=
029 Cra =cos we live in the same area tom,
030 remember?
031 Tom you mi:ght, but (.) live (0.4) you don't
032 (1.4) what (.) <what street you live
033 in.>

034	Cra	uh::: i live in balfour street.	
035	Tom	what (.) is it near liverpool?	
036	Cra	yes it is liverpool.	
037	Tom	where.	
038		(1.0)	
039	Cra	it's near cabramatta road.	
040		(0.8)	
041	Tom	is it in liverpool?	
042	Cra	it's in liverpool.	
043	Tom	what street.	
044	Cra	i just told you tom, but you might go to	
045		the same hairdresser as <u>my</u> children.	
046		(0.6)	
047	Tom	what's balford street from.	
048	Cra	oh i don't know.	
049		(0.5)	
050	Cra	okay.=	
051	Tom	=it's past kingston street.	
052	Cra	oh your hairdresser?	
053	Tom	is it?	
054	Cra	is it?	
055		(1.0)	
056	Tom	it's in croydon street.	
057	Cra	oh in croydon street.	
058	Tom	I=what's balford street. [at homebush?]	
059	Cra	[i don't know.]	
060		(.) okay::,	
061		(0.3)	
062	Cra	>your=i know [your hairdresser is in=	
063	Tom	[balford straight balford	
064	Cra	= °() °<]	
065	Tom	=street is a]ctually homebush.	
066		(0.3)	
067	Cra	okay:.	
		1====1	1. ((Cra nods several times))
068		(1.6)	
069	Tom	>liverpool high school is in homebush.<	
070		(-----+)	
		2=====2	2. ((Cra nods several times rapidly))
071	Cra	okay:, thanks for tha:t,	
072		(1.0)	
073	Cra	u:m tom can you sit up nice and	
		3=====3	3. ((Cra beckons to Tom))
074		strai:ght,	
075	Tom	yeah.	

another non-answer at 20—like the *rosy head* assertion—in the form of a noun phrase *the twitty twits*. So, at this stage, there are a series of competing first pair parts, with Miss Craig reissuing her *wh* questions at 17-18 and 21, while Tom resists providing an answer, and initiates new first pair parts in the form of the assertion and noun phrase at 15 and 19 respectively. Finally, facing the pressure of providing an aligning response, Tom proffers what appears to be the beginnings of an answer at 24, but changes course. Instead, he offers an account for not answering on the grounds that Miss Craig would not know his hairdresser, thereby weakening her pursuit of an answer. At 27, Miss Craig defends her stance and, at 29-30, reinforces the basis of her enquiry (i.e., they live in the same area), and undercuts Tom's account. At 31, Tom acknowledges the fact that they live in the same area, and therefore there is a possibility that she might know his hairdresser. However, after some repairs at 31 and 32, Tom sets out to identify where Miss Craig lives, interrogating the validity of the grounds for her questioning.

From 32 to 43, the talk continues with Tom's attempt in identifying the location of Miss Craig's house. At 32, he issues a "specifying question" (Fox & Thompson, 2010) that requests specific information; namely the name of the street Miss Craig lives in. After a brief delay, she provides an answer at 34. Tom continues to ask about the nearby area at 35 using a polar question, and the location of her house on Balfour Street at 37, with Miss Craig offering fitted answers. Her repetitional answers at 36 and 42 index her epistemic primacy in the sense that she is not providing answers but confirming the propositions of Tom's questions. It also demonstrates her absolute K+ epistemic advantage since the information of where she lives falls within her domain of knowledge

(Heritage, 2012, 2013). However, she begins to resist at 44. His questions at 41 and 43 are repetitive, asking for information Miss Craig has already given him. Miss Craig accounts for her resistance to answering at 44, and then directs the talk back to where his hairdresser, and her grounds for knowing it. The onus then shifts back to Tom to reveal the location of his hairdresser.

Tom continues to delay by asking again for more information about Miss Craig's street at 47, whereas Miss Craig begins to implement a new course of action. Instead of providing aligning, confirmatory responses, she resists Tom's questioning at 44 and then issues an *oh* prefaced, "no-access" (Raymond, 2000, 2003), non-answer response that denies knowledge of the information Tom requests at 48. The *oh* prefacing thus strongly indexes the import of Miss Craig's rejecting action (Heritage, 1998) and her head shake embodies her disalignment. She is clearly moving from an open, aligning stance to one that is incrementally closed, in response to Tom's emergently repetitive and redundant questioning. With Tom not altering his direction, Miss Craig moves towards closing the course of action with *okay* at 50, and shifting her gaze to Ryan. Tom immediately changes tack to revive the talk by proffering the assertion *it's past Kingston Street* in an almost latched turn at 51. This turn revives the flagging topic talk. Miss Craig responds by initiating repair, offering the candidate understanding that Tom is referring to his hairdresser. Tom then produces a seemingly inapposite turn *is it?*, which Miss Craig mirrors at 54. This impasse manifests in a prolonged silence, with the interactants holding gaze at one another. Nevertheless, we can see that Miss Craig uses the ambiguity of Tom's turn at 51 to reinstate the topic talk, and treats his talk as possibly answering the question she has been pursuing. On the

other hand, Tom has successfully pre-empted the closure of the topic talk, and interrupted in the incipient shift to Ryan and, possibly, lesson tasks.

Tom breaks the silence with another assertion, *it's in Croydon Street*. Miss Craig receipts it with a change-of-state token *oh* and a repetition of Tom's prepositional phrase, which seems to take for granted that Tom's referent is the hairdresser. After that, Tom returns to the location of *Balford Street* (i.e., the street on which Miss Craig lives) at 58 and 63/65, as well as Liverpool High School at 69. Miss Craig adopts the same "no-access", non-answer response to Tom's question at 59, again displaying her disalignment with the trajectory that he is proposing for the topic talk. Miss Craig thus work towards closing sequence with her disaligning response at 60, *okay* at 61, and attempts an assertion about the location of Tom's hairdresser at 63/65. Tom overlaps with this turn, pursuing his claim that, in fact Miss Craig lives in Homebush rather than Liverpool with a view to undermining her knowledge of the area, and his hairdresser. Miss Craig subsequently neutrally receipts this assertion and Tom's subsequent one with *okay*, which segues into thanking Tom. Tom's persistent assertions at 65 and 69 about the locations of streets and Liverpool High School index his knowledge of his neighbourhood and the local area. Thus, he is demonstrating his K+ epistemic status and authority with regard to Miss Craig's house, and his ability to evaluate the legitimacy of Miss Craig's claims to knowledgeability. Miss Craig, on the other hand, is merely receipting Tom's turns, edging the topic talk towards closure, and diffusing any further argument. Tom also begins to disengage with Miss Craig when he leans back on his seat at 69. With no more uptake from Tom at 73, Miss Craig assumes speakership, and closes the topic talk by asking him to rearrange his posture and positing.

In this extract, Miss Craig initiates and pursues topic talk oriented towards Tom. For his part, Tom mobilises various practices and actions that resist this course of action, undermining Miss Craig's epistemic grounds for pursuing the location of his hairdresser, as well as altering the trajectory of the talk. In the process of negotiating the course of the topic talk, Tom enacts an identity that displays expert knowledge of the whereabouts and street names in the area in question, thus further extending the topic talk when Miss Craig begins to move toward closing it.

In Extract 5.11, like Extract 5.10 above, topic talk emerges as Tom is beginning lesson tasks. Prior to Extract 5.11, Miss Smith has been speaking with Ryan while waiting for Tom to join the lesson. Benny, on the other hand, is sitting at the recess area outside the classroom because he has been given a time out. After Tom has come out of the toilet and taken his seat, Miss Smith sets lessons task for him and works with him, before turning to Ryan to check his work. Extract 5.11 begins as she orients back to Tom's work. At 1, Miss Smith compliments Ryan for writing the date, and then turns to Tom and directs him to do the same at 2.

Extract 5.11 [S2_V074_130725_Smi-Ben-Rya-Tom] (02:52 – 04:40)

001 Smi good boy: (.) for writing the date. (.) tom
 002 can you write today's date when you're
 003 starting [so i know that you did four and=
 004 Rya [((reads the passage))
 005 Smi five.
 006 (0.8)
 007 Smi twenty four.
 008 (0.6)
 009 Tom five:.=
 010 Smi =twenty five::. (.) today's twenty five.
 011 that's righ[t.]

012	Tom	[(i-] it's:: sixth)	
013		(0.4)	
014	Smi	is it christmas day,	
015	Tom	it's [a u g u s t.]	
016	Smi	[b'cos twenty] five,	
017		(0.4)	
018	Smi	o:h	
		1==>	1. ((Smi frowns and covers her left eye with her left hand))
019		(-----)	
		>1=====1	
020	Smi	[it's july::]	
021	Tom	[it's nearly augus:t::]	
		2=====2	2. ((Smi gazes at Tom with eyes wide open))
022		(0.5)	
023	Smi	[yes it is. you like] august?	
024	Tom	[nearly august.]	
025		(0.7)	
026	Tom	it's getting (.) the months will be hotter	
027	Smi	yeah:: you'll get ah >a little bit< warmer	
028		from now on.	
029	Tom	it's getting (.) from now on this year (.)	
030		the (.) the days w- the year will	
031		[be ()]	
032	Smi	[probably] july: will be the coldest,	
033		(0.4)	
034	Tom	yeah the month's getting warmer now,	
		3==>	3. ((Smi nods at Tom))
035	Smi	absolutely. (.) september sometimes is	
		>3=====3	
036		quite wa:rm.	
037		(1.4)	
038	Smi	and then it gets, (.) <u>ho:t</u> .	
039		(1.1)	
040	Smi	>↑but ↑then ↑it gets< ↑col:d.	
041		(1.0)	
042	Smi	cool and then (0.3) cold.	
043		(0.7)	
044	Tom	it gets (1.7) place to place.	
		4=====4	4. ((Tom puts his right hand on the exercise book and pulls it closer))
		5=====5	
045		(-----+-----+----)	5. ((Smi turns and orients to Rya's work))
		>5=====5	
046	Smi	<now it's hot in the northern hemisphere.>	
047		(2.0)	
048	Smi	okay do number four:,	

081	Smi	can you finish your work and then we'll	
		12=====12	12. ((Smi points to Tom's exercise book))
082	talk about it, okay?		
		13====>	13. ((Smi walks toward the door and exits the classroom))
083	(-----+-----)		
	>13=====		
084	Tom	oh n- °i will never go there antartica.°	
		>13=====13	
085		(1.9)	
086	Tom	°i won't ()°	
087		(2.6)	
088	Tom	°i just <u>don't</u> want to go there.°	

At 7, Miss Smith asserts the date for Tom to write on his exercise book, but Tom initiates the repair on the date at 9. In a latched turn, Miss Smith promptly confirms his candidate solution at 10-11. At 14, she topicalises the date by using a seemingly inapposite polar question, linking the date twenty five to Christmas; perhaps referring to Christmas in July. Tom provides a non-conforming response to Miss Smith's *yes/no* interrogative by asserting it is August at 15, which he continues to do at 21 and 24. His non-conforming response at 15 may also point towards the inherent problems in the design of the question, hence he is altering its terms (Heritage & Raymond, 2012; Raymond, 2003). At 18, Miss Smith provides a delayed responsive turn, consisting only the change-of-state *oh* token, to Tom's assertion at 15. She also frowns at 18 then covers her left eye with her left hand (see Figure 5.22 below).



Figure 5.22 Extract 5.11 Line 18

After that, Miss Smith gazes at Tom at 21 with her eyes wide open as she asserts the month *July* (see Figure 5.23 below).



Figure 5.23 Extract 5.11 Line 21

Her actions from 14 to 20 appear to be performing po-faced teasing (see Drew, 1987) when she asks Tom if it is Christmas day since the date of that day is twenty five. She then frowns and covers her eye to seemingly enact noticing

that it is not Christmas because the month is July, hence she has only seen the “25”, and not the month. Nevertheless, Tom only asserts that August is approaching in response.

At 23, Miss Smith confirms Tom’s assertions, and then asks whether he likes August, offering him the floor to develop further talk. Tom produces a transformative answer when he recalibrates the focus of the question, shifting to description of the weather in months to come. Miss Smith supports this shift with an aligning response at 27-28, agreeing with Tom’s assertion, but also downgrading it to *a little bit* and replacing *hotter* with *warmer*. The talk continues with Miss Smith talking about the weather of different seasons, from *the coldest* (July-winter) to *warm* (September-spring), *hot* (summer), *cool* (autumn) then *cold* (winter) again, from 32 to 42. After Tom’s assertion over 44, the talk appears to reach possible closure. Tom begins to orient to his work by bringing his pen to his exercise book, and gazing at the workbook at 44. Miss Smith turns to face Ryan, and orients to his work at 44-45 (see Figure 5.24 below).

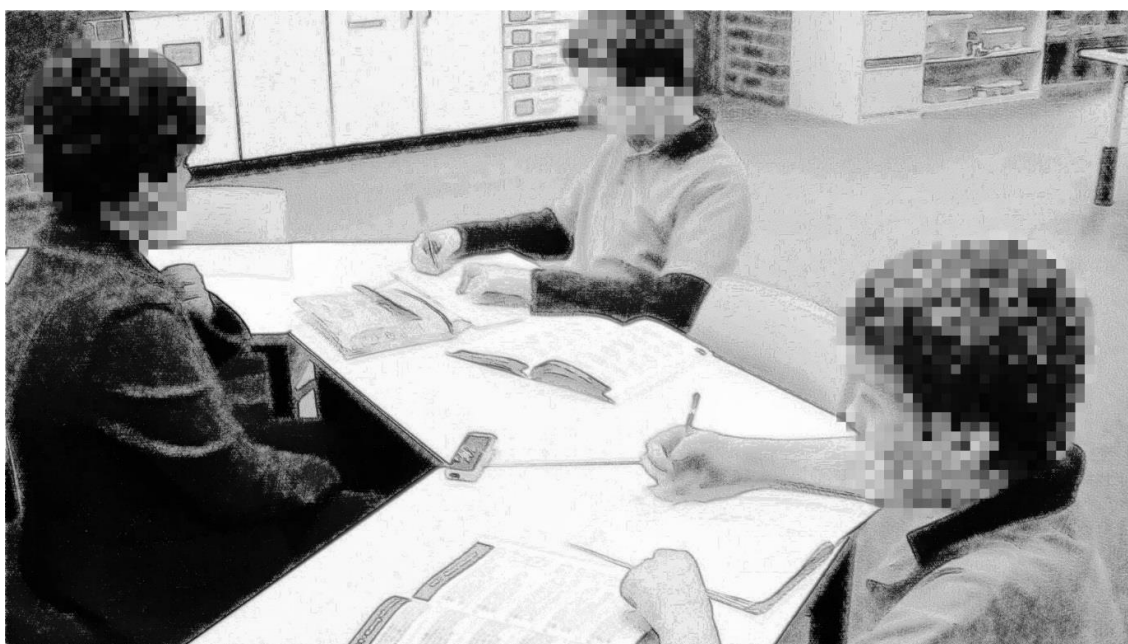


Figure 5.24 Extract 5.11 Line 44

Nevertheless, after a lengthy silence of 2.4 seconds, Miss Smith turns back to Tom, and re-formulates his turn, rendering it as *now it's hot in the northern hemisphere*. Tom does not respond but instead continues to orient to his reading task. With no uptake from Tom, the teacher seemingly closes the talk once and for all, issuing directives related to his work at 50-51. Tom revives the topic talk with a related assertion at 52, *we're in the south*. Miss Smith follows up with an aligning, confirming response at 54. Tom expands the topic talk further with a rather vague *wh* question at 56, which Miss Smith answers with further talk about the current hot weather in the northern hemisphere. Tom's response then refers to *the north ones*. Miss Smith reformulates his talk again at 61-62, upgrading *the north ones* to *France and England*.

At 65, Miss Smith begins to shift the operative participation framework, looking around to Benny, who has been sitting outside. At the same time, Tom continues to expand the topic talk in a stepwise fashion. He produces the phrase *Antarctica in summer*, which Miss Smith receipts with *okay*, before accounting for leaving as she gets up from her seat. Tom overlaps with Miss Smith's turn, and attempts to solicit her engagement with a polar question at 66-67. This is a strongly response-mobilising practice which stymies the incipient shift in participation framework as Miss Smith is about to leave the table. She stops as she walks past Tom to provide a response from 68, before continuing to walk toward the door at 71. As she walks past Ryan, at 75, Miss Smith attempts to close the topic talk, directing Tom to continue his work. She also proposes to take up the talk with him later. However, Tom produces another assertion at 77, which she once again meets with a proposal to postpone. Tom persists, offering a grammatically problematic turn at 79-80, which Miss Smith meets with another,

more specific proposal, i.e., to talk after he finishes his work. Miss Smith then exits the room, and Tom engages in related self talk from 84 to 88.

In this extract, we can see that topic talk emerges from a teacher-initiated directive concerning writing the date, which then leads to some teasing by Miss Smith. Tom topicalises the month that is to come, and the talk transitions in a stepwise fashion to the weather in August, the cycle of seasons, then to the weather in northern hemisphere, before Tom shifts the focus to the southern hemisphere, and finally the temperature of summer in Antarctica. The topic talk appears to reach possible closure at several junctures of the lesson but either Miss Smith or Tom revives it by contributing new information. When Miss Smith attempts to close the topic talk before exiting the classroom to attend to Benny, Tom resists, and implements some response-mobilising strategies that continue to engage Miss Smith. Only after several attempts does she successfully close the topic talk and orient Tom back to lesson tasks.

5.3 Topic talk in lesson beginnings: Summary and discussion

The analyses presented in this chapter have outlined a number of features of topic talk in lesson beginnings. This course of action is typically composed of complex and lengthy sequences of talk involving a variety of different actions. As a consequence, topic talk can derail the progress of lesson beginnings towards lesson tasks, all the while accumulating little common ground relevant for the upcoming work. However, it is common across both Miss Smith and Miss Craig's lessons, and in some cases initiated and supported by the teachers. What, then, is being accomplished through topic talk?

As the preceding analyses have demonstrated, topic talk is a significant site of student agency in lesson beginnings. It represents an opportunity for students to insert their own agendas and interests into the emerging lesson. This is consistent with the ethnomethodological view of students as active, reflexive participants in the classroom, who are competent in making sense of the teacher's actions, and effecting changes to the trajectory of instructional events set in motion by the teacher. Lesson beginnings seem a particularly apt spot for this to occur, before the relevancies and intricacies of specific tasks have been firmly set in place. The extracts above also demonstrate the palpable time sensitivity and potential tangentiality of topic talk in lesson beginnings. On the student side, this is reflected in their attempts to forestall closure through adjusting their talk (e.g., Benny's adding of telling components; Tom's response-mobilising turn designs). However, a more direct reflection of this pressure and potential is the responsive practices that the teachers implement following student initiations of topic talk. That is, teachers regularly offer muted alignment (e.g., few response tokens) at topic beginnings, as well as muted and abrupt withdrawals at points of possible closure. In addition, the teachers explicitly rule out and postpone topic talk in favour of movement towards lesson tasks. So, the possible cost of student autonomy in this course of action is broader derailment of the lesson, and the teachers monitor this vigilantly.

We have also seen a good deal of variation between the students in terms of the techniques that they employ in the course of topic talk; and, considering Ryan, whether they initiate topic talk at all. Topic talk initiated by Benny almost always begins with a preliminary action, soliciting the assent of the teacher to subsequently take the floor. Once he has secured the teacher's alignment, Benny

uses topic talk to present personal tellings—such as his experiences with covert Coke consumption, and breaking his computer—or evaluative and expository stances towards quite sophisticated matters—such as preferential voting, and Australian politicians. So, Benny’s topic talk tends to be clearly boundaried, and organised methodically. It is prefaced, structured, and discretely focused. Tom, on the other hand, initiates and progresses topic talk much more variably. His topic talk tends to be initiated via single action turn constructional units, which are occasionally elliptical. Moreover, these actions do not project any extended turns or tellings on his part, but instead implicate the teacher in immediate responsive actions. In order to progress topic talk, Tom utilises various response-mobilising resources, upgrading weaker practices into formats like *yes/no* interrogatives and *wh* questions, and shading from one topic into another. His, at times, abrupt, inapposite, and lexically and grammatically problematic turns can mean that his topic talk is ignored or rejected by the teacher. Tom is, though, very deft at changing tack when the teacher moves toward closing the talk. Hence, it may take the teacher multiple attempts, as in Extract 5.11, before the talk is closed. Tom is also skilled at using lesson materials to set off topic talk, allowing it to edge into, and disrupt, tasks that are under way. Finally, there is very little evidence of Ryan initiating topic talk in the present data set. While this may be an issue of data collection, it seems likely that, given the overall frequency of topic talk, and Ryan’s language and communication profile, that this absence is representative.

The contributions of the teachers to topic talk in lesson beginnings also reveal that, through discussing the matters nominated, identities other than “student” and “teacher” may become visible and relevant. For example, Miss

Craig's pursuit of details about Tom's haircut invokes her everyday life as a local in Liverpool. The teacher's resistance to certain topics (e.g., Tom's questioning about Miss Craig's mother; Benny's solicitation of an opinion about Kevin Rudd from Miss Smith, Tom's questioning about what Miss Smith watches on television), at least in part, represent sensitivity to the emergence of these non-institutional identities. On the other hand, the prominence of their identities as teachers is difficult to shake off. Miss Smith's criticism of Benny's actions in his "broken computer" telling are couched in rather educational terms (e.g., *you had [a] better choice*). Moreover, Miss Craig's dogged pursuit of an answer to her hairdresser questioning arguably reflects the severe challenge that Tom's resistance represents for her authority as a teacher. Miss Smith seemingly walks the line between her institutional and non-institutional identities in her "weather" discussion with Tom by tracking closely to the facts of the matters at hand, even though they diverge substantially from lesson tasks. Nevertheless, the recurrence of topic talk throughout lesson beginnings demonstrates that teachers are willing to hand over some agency to the students, and engage in incidental and tangential topic talk. However, this willingness has its limits, and the emergence of non-institutional identities appears to be one factor that can hasten teachers' moves towards closure.

In summary, topic talk offers students a degree of agency and freedom to shape lesson beginnings. The next chapter will explore how student agency narrows as lesson beginnings draw to a close.

Chapter 6

Task incipency and compliance in lesson beginnings

6.1 Chapter preface

6.1.1 Introduction

This chapter explores how task incipency and student compliance are made relevant using two major interactional resources mobilised by the teachers: 1) juncture-initiating turns; and, 2) modulation of their own and students' embodied conduct. The juncture-initiating turns effect a transition between courses of action. The main focus of the analysis of juncture-initiating turns is the actions and turn designs teachers use to bring about these transitions. In parallel, the analyses of embodied conduct are concerned with how the teachers arrange semiotic fields by laying out relevant artefacts (handouts, notes, students' pencil cases, workbook and exercise books), as well as how the teachers make task incipency and student compliance accountable through turns that invoke students' bodily configurations. We shall see that the configuration of artefacts sets the scene for beginning lesson tasks, whereas the configuration of students' bodily conduct indexes the immediacy and relevancies of the incipient task more strongly.

As previously, this chapter begins with capsule reviews of key concepts and studies, which will be resources for the analysis that follows. In particular, these reviews focus on deontics and directives, the multimodal nature of social action, and the management of extended courses of action. Before that, we shall briefly review a key theoretical orientation to institutional asymmetry which sets the scene for task incipency and student compliance. Institutional asymmetry constitutes the discrepancy in how the "lay" and "professional" participants (in this study, the students and teacher respectively) orient to institutional tasks at hand (Drew & Heritage, 1992a). This is mostly motivated by the interactional goals they

aim to achieve, i.e., the teacher's courses of action are task-focused and aimed at fulfilling their teaching objectives, whereas the students may choose to reduce the amount of work they have to do by delaying the commencement of tasks for as long as they could. Further, the "professional" participants' actions are bound by the institutional constraints which may not be made visible to the "lay" participants, hence their resistance. For the same reason, the teacher's pedagogically-driven actions may not be aligned to, or supported by the students. This institutional asymmetry entails a gap in states of knowledge, power, and epistemic authority between the lay and professional participants. A number of studies have posited this asymmetrical institutional relationship to be the underlying factor of differential practices in institutional interactions. For example, during home visits to new mothers, health visitors delivered unsolicited advice which was met with passive acknowledgement and resistance (Heritage & Sefi, 1992). Heath (1992) investigated doctor-patient interactions and proposed that patients' withholding of response to the doctor's announcement of diagnosis was their way of orienting to, and maintaining the asymmetrical doctor-patient relationship, i.e., medical expert knowledge vs lay opinion. Keeping this mind, the analyses of classroom interactional data will inevitably underscore various kinds of asymmetry, which is an inherent feature of institutional interactions.

6.1.2 Deontics and directives

The formation and ascription of social action are complex undertakings. When deciding, for instance, whether a turn is requesting or giving information, its syntactic format and prosody provide significant cues for turn recipients (see

Heritage, 2013). Although these are clearly important resources, they are far from the only determinants of action. In particular, there are bases for action formation drawn from “common ground” (Clark, 1996; Heritage, 2013), i.e., the personal and socio-cultural backdrop that is momentarily realised between interactants. Stevanovic and Peräkylä (2014) highlighted three key facets of this common ground for action formation: an epistemic facet, an emotional facet, and a deontic facet. As we have discussed, the epistemic facet concerns the social distribution of knowledge between interactants, while the emotional facet of common ground concerns the emotional states that people should properly express for the activity at hand. The deontic facet refers to interactants’ rights to determine the undertaking of actions and activities, and shall be our focus for the discussion to follow.

The ability to determine which activities will take place—both in the present and future—implies a form of control over the agency of others. Deontics is the realisation of this control in and through the sequential organisation of interaction. To begin describing how this is brought about, we can draw a contrast between deontic status and deontic stance. Deontic status refers to the commonsense incumbencies attributed to an interactant by virtue of their relevant identities. For example, an interactant who is relevantly “a mother” will have different deontic rights and responsibilities than someone who is relevantly “a daughter”. This is a relatively stable set of attributes, and is less sensitive to the moment by moment development of talk. Deontic stance, on the other hand, refers to the ways that interactants implement attempts to control action, and how they position themselves relative to others in doing so. Stevanovic and Peräkylä (2014) noted, most of the time, interactants’ deontic status and deontic stance will be congruent.

That is, speakers will form turns aiming to control current and future actions (i.e., create a deontic stance) that are consistent with their own, and others relevant identities (i.e., their deontic statuses). However, there can also be cases of deontic incongruence, whereby a speaker implements an action targeting their own or others' current or future actions, but does so in a way that is inconsistent with their relevant deontic status, e.g., a student telling a teacher to *be quiet!*. By instructing the teacher in this fashion, the student is claiming deontic authority; namely, the right to determine others' actions (Stevanovic & Peräkylä, 2012). However, by virtue of the deontic statuses implicated in these social roles, this authoritative stance is likely to be challenged, defeated, and revised.

While actions like questions and assertions, for example, foreground the epistemic facet of action formation, there are other sorts of actions that make salient the deontic facet. In particular, actions like requests, offers, and directives, all explicitly encode proposals to control current and future activities to varying degrees (see, e.g., Antaki & Kent, 2015; Couper-Kuhlen, 2014; Craven & Potter, 2010; Curl & Drew, 2008; Kent, 2012; Rauniomaa & Keisanen, 2012). Specifically, they vary with respect to whose actions will be controlled, and who will benefit from it (see Couper-Kuhlen, 2014). For example, requests put forward a proposal for the recipient to undertake an action, but for the speaker's benefit. By contrast, a suggestion targets the recipient's actions, but for the benefit of the recipient, rather than the speaker. As a consequence, as demonstrated by Curl and Drew (2008), individuals making requests orient to their entitlement to make a request, and the contingencies relevant for the request to be granted. When requests are prefaced with forms like *I wonder if X*; *if possible X*, speakers position themselves as possibly not entitled to make the request, or hint at

contingencies which may prevent its fulfilment. However, when constructing requests with turn formats like *can/could you X*, the speaker adopts the stance that they are entitled to make the request, while minimising possible contingencies.

Directive actions fall further along of the deontic spectrum, advancing a much stronger deontic stance, and typically indexing a superior deontic status. Building on Curl and Drew's (2008) work on requests, Craven and Potter (2010, p. 420) characterised directives "as an action where one participant *tells* another to do something" as opposed to a request, which is "an action in which one participant *asks* another to do something" (emphasis original). Craven and Potter (2010) argued that directives are distinguished from requests in that they adopt a much more indifferent stance towards entitlement and contingencies. That is, directives construct their speakers as entitled (i.e., deontically superior), and disregard or elide any possible contingencies. However, this strength may be modulated through turn design (see, e.g., Ervin-Tripp, 1976). In the CA literature, Antaki and Kent (2015) explored three different directive formats used in everyday parent-child interactions, namely an imperative and an alternative (e.g., *come down now at once or I shall send you straight to bed*), a modal declarative and an alternative (e.g., *you've got to stand here with it or it goes back in the cupboard*), an interrogative requiring preference (e.g. *do you want to put them neatly in the corner for mummy please or do you wanna go to bed*). However, the authors note that, while these *or*-alternatives formats appear modulated, they are not so benign. That is, while seemingly orienting to the agency of the recipient by offering the child a choice, in effect these formats exploit the adults' entitlement, and can frame the directives as warnings or threats. Kent (2012) also elaborated

the sequential organisation of directives in parent-child interactions. She demonstrated that, for directives targeting current actions and activities, children rarely provide verbal responses. That is, the preferred response to these directives is embodied compliance with the directive, while dispreferred responses tend to be vocal rejections. When dispreferred responses are employed, they are met with subsequent directives that increase the pressure on the recipient, and heighten the strength of the deontic stance adopted by the speaker using turn designs less oriented to potential contingency (e.g., from *Can you please eat your fish* to *Eat your fish*; also see Schegloff, 2004 on turn revisions like this). In addition, Kent (2012) elaborated a third option in this set; namely, incipient compliance. With this responsive practice, the directive recipient displays progress towards compliance—often in an embodied fashion—while not fully realising the compliance targeted. For example, a child instructed to eat their food may display incipient compliance by lifting a fork, piercing the food with it, and slowly drawing it their mouth, without actually completing the act projected (cf. Kent, 2012, p. 721-723). Kent (2012) argued that incipient compliance forestalls upgraded directives, and pressure to comply, and in doing so resists the deontic stance put forward through the directive.

Deontics are also particularly relevant for institutional interactions, which are notably asymmetrical. This emerging body of literature has been studied in contexts such as healthcare settings (e.g., Heath, 1992; Heritage, 2005; Landmark, Gulbrandsen, & Svennevig, 2015; Lindström & Weatherall, 2015), meetings (Stevanovic & Peräkylä, 2012), and classrooms (e.g., Macbeth, 1991; Margutti, 2011). Macbeth's (1991) seminal work explores the high deontic stakes of the classroom setting. He examined the use of address terms by high school

teachers to identify particular members of the student cohort engaged in transgressive behaviour, and commence its discontinuation. In most cases, the address term followed by silence is enough for the student to arrive at an analysis of their own behaviour, and make some change to it. However, if the teacher is not able to bring off the change in the student's behaviour, then they will steadily upgrade and specify the problematic conduct. By implementing these actions, Macbeth (1991) argued that the teacher exerts the (deontic) authority incumbent in their relevant social role. Margutti (2011) furthers this work on how teachers "reproach" students, using data from both primary and secondary schools. Here, rather than prompting students to arrive at an analysis of their own conduct, Margutti (2011) documented instances where teachers provide specific accounts of problematic behaviour, and their consequences, e.g., *if you don't speak up, we won't hear you* (cf. Margutti, 2011, p. 386). This turn construction format—as noted by Antaki and Kent (2015) with regard to directives in everyday interaction— allows the teacher to locate a problematic behaviour, and subsequently hold the student accountable for persisting with it.

6.1.3 Multimodality and embodied action

One premise of ethnomethodology is that interactants have "no time out" from the social world (see Heritage, 1984b, p. 86). This means that they are constantly accountable for their conduct, and for what it means for current social actions. As a consequence, in co-present interactions, speakers and recipients design and monitor their own and others' multimodal conduct in great detail. The increasing availability of video recordings has seen an expanding body of literature develop on the multimodal organisation of interaction. The relevant

semiotic resources include talk (e.g. Couper-Kuhlen & Selting, 1996; Goodwin, 2013; Goodwin & Cekaite, 2013), gaze (e.g. Kendon, 1967; Goodwin, 1984; Schegloff, 1984), facial expressions, gestures (e.g. Heath, 1986; Mondada, 2007; Heath & Luff, 2007; Goodwin, 2007), embodiment (e.g. Goodwin, 2000, 2007; Heath & Luff, 2013b; Mondada, 2013), as well as artefacts, like objects and tools, and the natural and built environment (Goodwin, 2000, 2007, 2013). These studies cover a wide range of interactional contexts, such as a hopscotch game (Goodwin, 2000), archaeologists at work (Goodwin, 2000), auctions (Heath & Luff, 2007), family interactions (Tulbert & Goodwin, 2011; Goodwin & Cekaite, 2013), mathematics homework (Goodwin, 2007), and political debate (Mondada, 2013). For CA, the object of study is how these resources are combined to generate social action (Heath & Luff, 2013b), which is a central “achieved orderliness” (Heath & Luff, 2013a, p. 286) of interaction.

Goodwin (2000, 2007, 2013) has developed a number of theoretical resources for analysing the multimodal nature of social action. He characterises social action as a combinatorial process involving the use of multiple sign systems simultaneously. Goodwin explicates this multi-system, multi-layered view of action with the concepts of “semiotic fields”, “contextual configuration” (2000, p. 1490) and “lamination” (2013, p. 12). Semiotic fields refer to the subsystems of semiosis, such as lexical structures, prosody, gestures, gaze, objects etc., each of which are available within a specific medium. A contextual configuration is a combination of possible semiotic fields demonstrably oriented to by the participants at any one time. As the action progresses, the contextual configuration is constantly changing, with new fields added in or certain ones abandoned. Lastly, lamination refers to “a set of different semiotic fields

organized as layers of diverse resources” (Goodwin, 2013, p. 12), hence the multi-layered view of the action in question. In the example of a hopscotch game (Goodwin, 2000), the semiotic fields include the lexical-semantic content, prosody, gestures, gaze, bodily configurations, movement, facial expressions, the grid squares, the beanbag, among others. The contextual configuration is a particular set of semiotic fields that is being oriented to at a specific moment of the interaction; for instance, before a participant is ready to hop, the contextual configuration may consist of a gaze, gesture, the grid, and the bodily configurations before the jump. The implication of this multi-dimensional framework is that analysts of interaction must view social actions as laminated phenomena, consisting of distinct yet interlocked semiotic materials that are organised in concert with one another (Goodwin, 2013).

6.1.4 Extended courses of action

Although CA has largely dealt with small moments of interactional organisation, interaction is also organised at a more global level. For example, sequence organisation deals with the linking and positioning of turns in relation to others to create adjacency pairs and their expansions (Schegloff, 2007). However, these sequences, and others, are building blocks of larger activities. The global coherence of an interaction—its “overall structural organisation”—concerns how actions form together to create larger activities or courses of action, which are systematically positioned relative to one another (Robinson, 2013; Schegloff, 2010; Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). That is, for interactions of every kind, there are courses of action that should be properly ordered, and should occur towards the beginning, in the middle, and at an interaction’s end. For instance, a

telephone conversation might consist of three primary courses of action, or phases; namely, the opening, the reason for call and associated talk, and closing (see Schegloff & Sacks, 1973; Schegloff, 1986). Institutional interactions provide a particularly apt site for examining overall structural organisation, with the phases of the interaction linked with specific institutional tasks. For example, once various preliminary sequences have been addressed (see Robinson, 2013, p. 261), primary care interactions focused on new medical problems move through a problem presentation phase, followed by an information gathering phase, then a diagnosis phase, and finally a treatment recommendation phase (see Robinson, 2003).

A practical problem for interactants is managing the transitions between these phases. One resource that speakers can use to do this is turn prefacing. That is, a speaker may produce an “appositional” turn beginning (see Sacks et al., 1974) using a token like *uhm*, *and*, *so*, *but*, etc. which effectively prefates the turn constructional unit to come. However, rather than relating the upcoming talk to a previous turn or turn constructional unit, the turn preface positions it relative to a larger course of action, or the overall structural organisation of the interaction itself. For example, Schegloff (2010) demonstrated that the production of *uhm* in and around preliminary parts of an interaction can signal that the talk that follows will deal with the main business of the interaction, thereby closing the openings. As well, Bolden (2006, 2008) discussed how so prefaced turns can demonstrate “emergence from incipiency”, i.e., that the action to follow is a speaker’s “agenda”. This practice may therefore show the continuity of interactants’ relationships over time, between instances of interaction, or orient to the purpose of the interaction.

Another resource that interactants may use to manage boundaries between courses of action is response tokens; namely, change of activity tokens (see Gardner, 2001). Unlike response tokens such as continuers (e.g., *mm hm*) and acknowledgements (e.g., *yeah, mm*), which are more aligned with the current course of action, change of activity tokens such as *okay* and *(al)right* mark junctures, and can be used to herald a major shift in topic or activity. However, as noted by Beach (1993, p. 41), the use of these tokens does not necessarily mean that the interaction will be discontinued altogether. Instead, it can mark a transition between different phases in an interaction, effectively being “both closure-relevant and continuative”. Gardner (2001) suggested that *(al)right* may mark stronger boundaries in courses of action, with *okay* being slightly weaker and more multifunctional.

6.1.5 Summary

Deontics and directives, the multimodal nature of social action, and the management of extended courses of action are key issues for task incipency and compliance in lesson beginnings. The analyses to follow will demonstrate how the multimodal practices implemented by teachers and students make visible the deontic organisation of the classroom, and accomplish the sequential movement towards lesson tasks.

6.2 Analysis

6.2.1 Introduction

The analyses in this section focus on teachers' juncture-initiating turns, and modulation of their own and students' embodied conduct. The analyses demonstrate that juncture-initiating turns effect a transition in lesson beginnings, orienting the students to the official business of the lesson. Each juncture-initiating turn is a pivotal point that conveys the incipency of lesson tasks. This means that there will be less scope for other interactional work in the lesson beginning, with the environment becoming increasingly constrained. As a consequence, the pressure for student compliance is intensified. We have seen in the analyses of greetings and topic talk that students can resist the teacher's prosecution of these courses of action, and that the teachers go to substantial lengths to secure the desired form of alignment. Here, though, the stakes are higher, with the core business of the lesson now immediately at hand. Student resistance is, therefore, likely to be a substantial threat to the teacher's deontic authority and, more broadly, the institutional order of the classroom.

As outlined in Chapter 4, the structural differences in Miss Smith and Miss Craig's lessons give rise to some different courses of action, and interactional practices. In particular, Miss Smith's lesson tasks are mostly completed independently, whereas Miss Craig's are initiated and completed collectively. The upshot for the present analyses is that Miss Smith's juncture-initiating turns are implemented serially, student by student, whereas Miss Craig's juncture-initiating turns include both collective and student-specific examples.

The analysis in this section will be organised by teacher, beginning with Miss Smith. We shall see across both sets of lessons that the teachers weave

>2===>
 015 (-----)
 >2=====2
 016 Smi i- i do have an opinion.
 017 (.)
 018 Ben oh=
 019 Smi =but i- (.) can i talk to you later?
 020 Ben °okay.°
 021 Smi okay? privately.=
 022 Ben =°my mum says that <he's just a
 023 politician,>°
 024 Smi °like all politicians. yes.°
 025 (0.3)
 -> 026 Smi okay.
 3===3
 027 (0.3)
 028 Smi number te:n?
 029 (.)
 030 Ben nah i'm doing it already.
 031 (.)
 032 Smi okay. and where w- how many are you going
 033 to do today.
 034 (2.0)
 035 Ben °th:ree.°

3. ((Smi points at Ben's exercise book))

Following her confirmation at 24, and after a short silence at 25, Miss Smith produces *okay* with falling intonation. At the same time, she extends her right index finger and points at Benny's exercise book (see Figure 6.1 below). The co-occurrence of this movement helps fill out the action of *okay*, which itself carries little lexical-semantic content, and is highly indexical. With this change of activity token and movement, Miss Smith is moving the lesson beginning away from topic talk, and towards engagement with lesson tasks.



Figure 6.1 Extract 6.1 Line 26

Benny's embodied conduct displays his analysis of this token. He shifts his gaze from Miss Smith to his book, and picks up his pencil at 26 (see Figure 6.1 above). This prompt alignment makes public Benny's willingness to comply with the incipient lesson tasks, even though the specifics have yet to be set. Miss Smith quickly elaborates the tasks to come, nominating *number ten*, and seeking Benny's assent with final rising intonation (Stivers & Rossano, 2010). Benny reports that he is *doing it already*, and Miss Smith solicits the number of tasks he will complete. So, in this extract, the transition from topic talk to lesson tasks is brought off smoothly through Miss Smith's juncture initiating turn at 26. Miss Smith bring lesson tasks to the fore using a change of activity token, and Benny aligns promptly.

In Extract 6.2, the shift to lesson tasks occurs after a complex spate of topic talk in which Benny and Tom were competing for the floor. In parallel with this topic talk, Miss Smith arranges the materials that will be relevant for the

lesson, particularly the students' workbooks and exercise books. She then individually orients Benny and Tom to the lesson tasks, beginning with Benny.

Extract 6.2 [S3_V110_130801_Smi-Ben-Rya-Tom] (00:31 – 01:40)

<p>001 Ben <i think tha:t, i praise america,>= 002 Tom =where's miss craig [(.)] <the ro:sy= 003 Ben [for] 004 Tom =head miss craig> 005 (0.3) 006 Ben for not (0.4) <forcing us to vo:te.> 007 Smi mm:. 008 (0.4)</p>	<p>1. ((Smi nods slightly a few times))</p>
<p>009 Smi but they have a bigger population, 010 Tom [<miss craig's ba:ck:.>] 011 Smi [>but then< they've got hundreds of] 012 millions we've only got twenty million.= 013 Tom =(but-) can i read [the twits on= 014 Smi [that's why we= 015 Tom =< t h u r s d a y ? >] 016 Smi =force (.) that's why they force] 017 2=====2 018 everyone. 019 (0.5)</p>	<p>2. ((Smi gives Ben his exercise book))</p>
<p>019 Smi yeah:? 020 (0.7) 021 Smi you [could read] <another roald dahls,= 022 Tom [(w h a t)] 023 3=====3 023 Smi =i don't have that book,> [b'cos] miss= 024 Ben [even] 025 Smi =craig, (.) locks it up in her room. 026 (0.5) 027 Ben even home:- (0.3) are: (.) homeless people 028 even forced to vote 029 (.) 030 Smi everybody.= 031 4====4 031 Tom =>d'you [have a twits:??<] 032 Ben [H H H] 033 5=====> 034 6=====6</p>	<p>3. ((Smi gazes toward Tom))</p>
<p>030 Smi everybody.= 031 4====4 031 Tom =>d'you [have a twits:??<] 032 Ben [H H H] 033 5=====> 034 6=====6</p>	<p>4. ((Smi shows a thumbs up))</p>
<p>031 Tom =>d'you [have a twits:??<] 032 Ben [H H H] 033 5=====> 034 6=====6</p>	<p>5. ((Smi turns the workbook to face Ben at an angle))</p>
<p>032 Ben [H H H] 033 5=====> 034 6=====6</p>	<p>6. ((Ben signs and rolls his eyes))</p>

033 (-----)
>5=====5

034 Tom >d'you have ro-<=i have (.) fantastic
035 mister ↑fo::x.

036 Smi do you,

037 Tom i have r- i have some roald fdahl bookf,
038 i have

039 Smi you should bring them in. okay? because
040 thursday, the last five minutes you can
041 rea:d.
042 (1.5)

7. ((Smi taps on Ben's workbook))

-> 043 Smi yeah? >benny can you start. benny this is
7=====7

-> 044 gonna be easy for you, (.) so i don't have
>7=====7

-> 045 to (.) ask you to:<
>7=====7

046 (1.6)

047 Smi if you need help, but please ask. okay?

048 Ben °mm hm, °=

049 Smi =because you don't like to get errors,
050 okay? (.) so we'll do that those bits
051 together. (.) or lea:ve those bits out.

8=====8

052 (-----)
>8=====8

8. ((Ben moves his pencil case and workbook closer to him))

053 Smi okay?
>8==8

054 (1.5)

-> 055 Smi okay:: to::m.
9=====9

9. ((Smi opens Tom's workbook))

056 (1.2)

057 Smi <seven eight -g- ten,>
10=====10

10. ((Smi points on Tom's workbook))

058 (-----+-----+-----)
11=====11

11. ((Smi opens Tom's exercise book))

059 Smi thomas, <seven, eight -g- ten,>
12=====12

12. ((Smi points on Tom's workbook))

060 (-----+-----+-----+-----)
13=====13

13. ((Tom pulls his workbook closer to him))

061 >-----
>13==13

062 Smi okay you finish up to number ten, tom,

At 14/16-17, Miss Smith moves toward the closure of Benny's topic talk with summary of why voting is compulsory in Australia. As she begins this summary, she hands Benny's exercise book to him (see Figure 6.2 below).

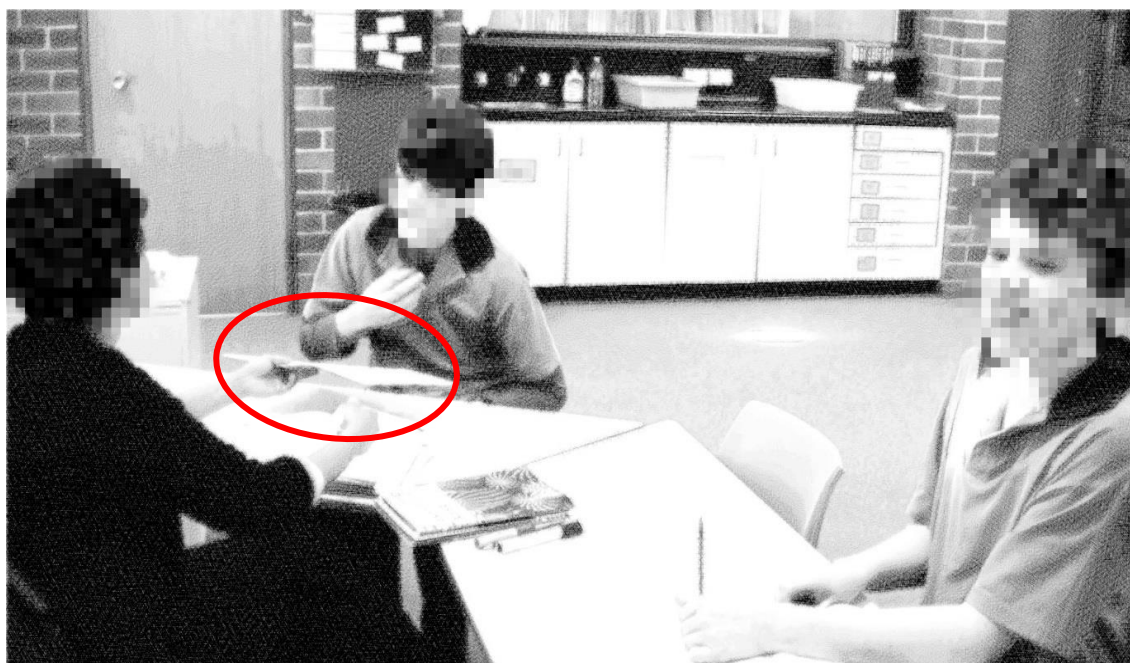


Figure 6.2 Extract 6.2 Line 16

Miss Smith then orients to Tom's request about reading *The Twits* on Thursday from 21 to 41, and she eventually advises him to bring this book so that he can read it in free reading time. Tom does not respond vocally, and Miss Smith produces a response-soliciting *yeah?* as she resumes speakership at 43. She then gazes to Benny, and shifts into a directive, *can you start*. However, as the directive emerges, she adds an address term, points at Benny's workbooks (see Figure 6.3 below), and describes the task as being *easy for you*, characterising it as something he can complete independently. The deployment of address term at 43 is a context-sensitive practice which is not only the strongest form of address, but also does more than addressing (Lerner, 2003). In this case, pre-positioned address term, followed by an initiating action demonstrates that the

directive (not brought to completion) and the subsequent account, which is a form of self repair, are specifically directed to Benny. This practice not only secures Benny's attention, but also makes relevant his compliance by making the transition personal to him.

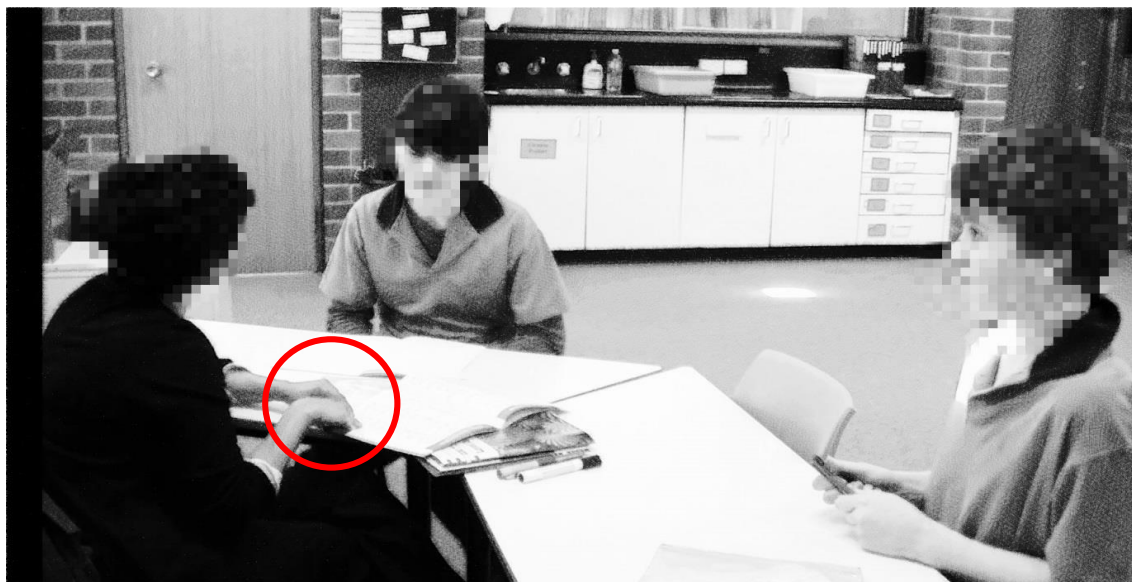


Figure 6.3 Extract 6.2 Line 43

After a long silence, she adds a further directive that Benny is to ask if he needs help. Benny provides his first vocal response at 48, which is a continuer, but is aligning nonetheless. As Miss Smith elaborates the reasons for requesting help, Benny also displays signs of embodied compliance, adjusting his pencil case, and rearranging the position of his workbook and exercise book. Miss Smith's attention then turns to Tom at 55, as she says *okay Tom*, and opens his workbook. She looks at the workbook, reading the numbers seven through ten, which Tom has written down, and correspond with question numbers. Rather than saying nine, though, she characterises Tom's writing of nine as being like the letter "g". It seems that is a mild tease, rather than a serious pursuit of its correction, particularly given that Tom does not amend it. Tom does not offer any vocal response at 58 or 60, but does draw his workbook closer to him in the

second silence, and Miss Smith nominates *number ten* for him to complete. Tom complies, and gets on with his work uneventfully (not shown).

So, in Extract 6.2, Miss Smith orients the students to lesson tasks through juncture-initiating turns at 43-45, and 55. For Benny, she minimises the problematicity of this work through a characterisation of the work to come, and does not identify any specific elements for him to complete. For Tom, Miss Smith engages in what appears to be a mild tease before specifically directing him on where to begin. In both cases, she pairs her juncture initiating turns with embodied conduct that engages with lesson books. Moreover, her embodied activities during the topic talk ensures that they are positioned in such a way that they can be readily drawn upon when required, while at the same time not interrupting the emerging topic talk. For the student part, their compliance is slower than the extract presented above. Miss Smith foreshadows the possibility of resistance from Benny with her description of the tasks as *easy*. But Benny, like Tom below, is slow to comply, offering a minimally aligning vocal response, and only displaying signs of embodied progress well into Miss Smith's directives.

In Extract 6.3, Miss Smith retrospectively addresses an abrupt transition between topic talk and lesson tasks in order to deal with Benny's disalignment. As the extract begins, Benny is in the midst of a telling concerning a time when he became angry and broke a computer at home. Miss Smith disagrees with the stance Benny advances through the telling, and after he reports how he broke it, Miss Smith occasions a shift to lesson tasks.

Extract 6.3 [S6_V148_130816_Smi-Ben-Rya-Tom] (00:00 – 00:44)

001	Ben	you know i got <u>s:o</u> mad	
002		(0.8)	
003	Ben	<it linked with a metal bar> (.) like the	
004		computer. and i got (.) su:per mad cos my	
005		parents were out	
006		(0.7)	
007	Ben	<and i (.) had no choice> but to break the	
008		computer.	
009		(0.3)	
010	Ben	i=	
011	Smi	=you [had] better choice than that=	
012	Ben	[i]	
013	Ben	=i=	
014	Smi	=>(could) go< and watch a movie or	
015		something	
016	Ben	↑ <u>no</u> :.	
017		(1.3)	
018	Tom	[<do your parents>]	
019	Ben	[y- >you wanna know how<] i did it?	
020		(----)	
		1====1	
021	Ben	i (0.5) i used (.) ah m-y (.) i just head	1. ((Ben gestures to Tom by showing his palm to Tom))
022		butted it. <like (.) <u>this</u> >	
023		(1.5)	
024	Ben	[i]	
-> 025	Smi	[°o]kay.°	2. ((Smi moves Ben's workbook and exercise book closer to him))
		2=====>	
026		(----)	
		>2===2	
027	Smi	>what are you gonna do for me today?<	3. ((Both Smi and Ben gaze at his workbook))
		3=====>	
028		(-----+-----+)	
		>3=====3	
029	Smi	>can we talk about that at lunch time? (.)	
030		>you're gonna do from number six< to number	
031		ten,	
032		(0.5)	
033	Smi	then >you're gonna take a two minute break<	
034		and ()	
035	Ben	mm mm=	
036	Smi	=>what are you gonna do in the next part?<	
037		(1.3)	
-> 038	Smi	how many parts are you gonna do? two? or	

-> 039 the whole (page)
 040 Ben °(three)°
 041 Smi °okay.°
 042 (5.8)
 043 Smi [thomas (.) that goes in the bin, tom,
 044 Rya [((reads a passage))
 045 (0.8)
 -> 046 Smi okay. what we are going to do is we're
 047 going to do our reading first, like we did
 048 yesterday, ryan?
 049 Rya yeah.
 050 Smi yeah?

Miss Smith does not take up a stance towards Benny's enactment of headbutting the computer. Like in Extract 6.2, the juncture-initiating turn at 25 is a single *okay* with falling intonation, coupled with an embodied action, i.e., pushing both his workbook and exercise books towards him (see Figure 6.4 below).



Figure 6.4 Extract 6.3 Line 25

After a brief silence, Miss Smith solicits from Benny the tasks that he will complete. Both Miss Smith and Benny gaze down to his books, and a long silence

emerges at 28. That is, Benny offers no vocal or embodied response to Miss Smith's transition to lesson tasks, and away from his telling. Miss Smith diagnoses this resistance as related to her abrupt closure of Benny's telling, and suggests that they *talk about that at lunch time*. She then directs Benny's to do *from number six to number ten* before taking a break. Benny aligns with two *mms* at 35, and complies with further task setting at 36-41. At 37, Benny fails to provide a response to Miss Smith's solicitation of what he will do after taking the two minute break, thus prompting Miss Smith to reformulate her earlier *wh* question at 38-39. The format of an alternative question limits the recipient's response to one of the alternatives provided, and, similar to polar questions, sets a much narrower agenda (Hayano, 2013). This pursuing action appears to be effective in securing Benny's compliance with him providing an answer at 40, which is within the scope of work Miss Smith has suggested (i.e., *two or the whole page*). Miss Smith then tells Tom to dispose of a tissue in the bin, and begins to engage with Ryan. Again, she produces *okay* and immediately follows it with a directive.

Miss Smith's invocation of task incipency in Extract 6.3 is met with passive resistance from Benny. She addresses this resistance by adjusting the terms of exit from his previous telling, and goes on to secure his alignment with lesson tasks. She then focuses on what tasks Ryan is to complete for the lesson.

In Extract 6.4, Tom mounts similar passive resistance to the incipency of lesson tasks. However, because of its persistence and sequential position, it elicits stronger efforts from Miss Smith to secure his compliance. As the extract begins, Miss Smith has been briefing another teacher—Miss Anderson—on how the lesson is to be conducted. This is because Miss Anderson will take over the lesson when Miss Smith goes on extended leave the following week. Prior to the

extract, Miss Smith and Miss Anderson have been drawing a contrast between a student, John, at another table and Tom. At 1, Miss Anderson refers to John as doing his work, which Miss Smith agrees with. She then tells Tom that John can get all the stickers and stars and that Tom, on the other hand, will get nothing. Next, Miss Smith produces a juncture-initiating turn at 10, *so let's get on with our work*, and slides Tom's books towards him.

Extract 6.4 [S8_V212_130830_Smi-Ben-Rya-Tom] (01:25 – 02:12)

001	And	he's doing his work	
002	Smi	yes:.=	
003	And	=()	
004	Smi	>and he can get all the stickers and sta:rs	
005		and everything and you'll get?< (.)	
006		nothing.	
007		(1.0)	
008	Smi	okay:?	
009		(0.6)	
-> 010	Smi	so let's get on with our work.	1. ((Smi moves Tom's workbook and exercise book closer to him))
		1=====	
011		(-----) >1=====1	
-> 012	Smi	okay. we've finished lesson (0.3) we've	2. ((Smi taps on s Tom's workbook twice))
013		finished unit (0.3) seventeen to:m, 2=====2	
014		(0.8)	3. ((Smi points to Tom's workbook))
015	Smi	and we're doing unit? 3=====	
016		(-----) >3=====	
017	Smi	eighteen. (.) what are you gonna do for >3==3	
018		me. (.) how many are you gonna do.	
019		(1.8)	
020	Smi	okay. 4===>	4. ((Smi moves toward the whiteboard on her chair))
021		(-----) >4=====4	
022	Smi	qui[ckly], (.) speak to me. (.) how many=	
023	Tom	[no.]	

5=====>

024 Smi =are we going to do.
 >5=====5

025 (0.3)

026 Tom fi:ve.
 027 (.)

028 Smi okay.
 029 (0.6)

030 Smi and you're going to get four ticks to go:,
 031 (.) insi:de. (.) okay:?
 032 (0.6)

033 Smi can we start tom? >start we're gonna
 6=====>

034 start reading from here.<
 >6===6

035 (1.0)

036 Smi here.
 037 (2.3)

038 Smi okay:?
 039 (0.5)

-> 040 Smi yeah. (.) okay benny what are we doing
 041 today. oh we've started reading that. did
 042 we read that together?
 043 (0.8)

044 Smi do you remember anything or you want to re-
 045 read.
 046 (0.5)

047 Ben °i want to re-read.°

048 Smi okay. can you read it on your own and i'll
 049 start with ryan and i'll come and join you?
 050 (0.4)

051 Smi okay?

5. ((Smi moves back to the
table on her chair))

6. ((Smi taps rapidly on
Tom's workbook))

6. ((Smi taps rapidly on Tom's workbook))

Miss Smith's so prefaced directive links this action with the larger operative course of action (see Bolden, 2006, 2008), i.e., in this case, the pervasive relevance of lesson tasks. There is then a noticeable silence at 11. Miss Smith builds pressure on Tom to comply by soliciting which task he is to complete. She does this by offering a candidate frame *we've finished lesson* (12), which she repairs to *we've finished unit* (13). A post-positioned address term *Tom* is

deployed at the turn-terminal position at 13. In contrast to pre-positioned address terms (see Extract 6.2) which identify who the TCU is directed to, post-positioned address terms have more implications other than addressing, i.e., expressing a personal concern (Lerner, 2003). In the case of 12, Miss Smith's choice of first person plural pronoun *we* in describing the work he has done, and the address term at the end of the turn, work towards creating a collaborative relationship before she announces his task of the day. Nevertheless, Tom does not respond, and she promptly fills in the gap with *seventeen*, and taps Tom's workbook with her finger twice. She then solicits further information about where they are up to, and, when Tom does not respond again, settles on a *wh* question asking *how many* Tom is going to do. Another long silence ensues, and Miss Smith says *okay*, and moves towards the whiteboard to place a cross in his behaviour monitoring checkbox. This escalation creates further pressure for Tom to respond, which he does by pointing at the whiteboard, and disagreeing with *no* at 23 (see Figure 6.5 below).



Figure 6.5 Extract 6.4 Line 23

Miss Smith immediately moves back to the table and continues soliciting from Tom the number of questions he will do. He nominates five, which Miss Smith accepts. Still, Tom has not displayed any embodied signs of beginning work, and she directs him again to begin work, coupled with tapping his workbook (see Figure 6.6 below).



Figure 6.6 Extract 6.4 Line 33

With Tom starting his work, Miss Smith moves away from him, and orients to Benny at 40. Miss Smith produces another juncture-initiating turn at 40, and asks Benny (or at least includes Benny in deciding) where he is up to. We see the pre-positioned address term again at 40, used as a device to identify Benny as the recipient of her *wh* question. The address term, other than addressing, makes relevant the incipient task to Benny. As she has set the task for Tom, she is going to do the same for Benny as heralded by the juncture-initiating turn. However, Benny does not respond, and Miss Smith follows up with an alternative question at 44-45, to which Benny offers a preferred response at 47. Again,

similar to Extract 6.3, her use of alternative question successfully secures a response from Benny (which was absent at 43), and his compliance for task commencement. Miss Smith then closes her task-setting with Benny, and moves on to Ryan.

In Extract 6.4, Tom's resistance to Miss Smith's efforts to set in place and commence lesson tasks leads to substantial efforts on the part of Miss Smith to secure his compliance. She quickly upgrades her general directive at 12 to a more specific action delimiting where Tom is to start. When this proves ineffective, she threatens to mark Tom's behaviour monitoring checkbox, and, consequently, he finally aligns at 26. Miss Craig then moves on to Benny, who complies unproblematically.

The final two extracts in this section offer examples of more elaborate student resistance to task incipency. In Extract 6.5, Benny claims a lack of memory about his most recent work to delay the commencement of lesson tasks. In Extract 6.6, Tom produces a series of upgraded complaints about the materials in lesson tasks, which are eventually met with severe rebukes from Miss Smith.

As Extract 6.5 begins, Miss Smith is summing up instructions that she has given to Ryan and Tom about the tasks they are to complete. At 8, she turns her attention to Benny, handing him his workbook. Benny then initiates his Diet Coke telling. The first juncture-initiating turn for Benny emerges at 28, which closes the topic talk, and invites Benny to nominate a starting point for his lesson tasks. As we shall see, it is also relevant to note that this is the first time that the students and Miss Smith have had this lesson in the current school term.

Extract 6.5 [S1_V058_130719_Smi-Ben-Rya-Tom] (00:54 – 02:10)

<p>001 Smi so you're going to work a little bit on</p> <p>002 your own, and some people i'm gonna work</p> <p>003 with them,</p> <p>004 (0.5)</p> <p>005 Smi remember thomas you've started (0.6) one</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1=====1</p> <p>006 two and three, you have to continue,</p> <p>007 (0.8)</p> <p>008 Smi a:::nd (.) that's you:rs benny,</p> <p style="text-align: center;">2=====2</p> <p>009 (0.4)</p> <p>010 Ben did you know miss smith,</p> <p style="text-align: center;">3=====3</p> <p>011 Smi yes,</p> <p>012 Ben one ti:me, <i attempted to drink diet</p> <p>013 co:ke>, like a can of coke, (.) like (.)</p> <p>014 at like five in the afternoon,</p> <p>015 (0.3)</p> <p>016 Ben but my mum hea:rd me open the ca::n,</p> <p>017 (0.6)</p> <p>018 Ben and then (.) and then i was forced to</p> <p>019 put it back in the fridge.</p> <p>020 Smi mm cos yeah [it's not]</p> <p>021 Ben [but the] next day:, i</p> <p>022 actually <did (0.4) drink it (0.4) over</p> <p>023 fi:ve.></p> <p>024 Smi °o[kay°]</p> <p>025 Ben [b'cos] it was still opened.]</p> <p>026 Rya [we've] already did this] one.</p> <p>027 Smi o- but that >would've been< <u>flat</u>. (.)</p> <p>-> 028 okay. Benny,</p> <p style="text-align: center;">4=====4</p> <p>029 (0.5)</p> <p>030 Smi where: were you up to and what are you</p> <p>031 gonna do today.</p> <p>032 Ben °i don't know. but [i wasn't- i wasn't°]</p> <p>033 Smi [it's a long ↑ti]</p> <p>034 ::me. ye:s:.=</p> <p>035 Ben =I wasn't here: (.) for the last like</p> <p>036 (.) three (.) two day:s.</p> <p>037 Smi what about last term. (.) you were here</p> <p>038 last term,</p> <p>039 Ben [yeah](.) yeah but I don't (.) remember=</p>	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; margin-bottom: 10px;"> <p>1. ((Smi gives Tom his exercise book))</p> </div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; margin-bottom: 10px;"> <p>2. ((Smi gives Ben his exercise book))</p> </div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; margin-bottom: 10px;"> <p>3. ((Ben leans forward, folds his arms on the table))</p> </div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px;"> <p>4. ((Smi opens Ben's workbook))</p> </div>
--	--

040 Smi [()]
041 Ben =that >I have< amnesia.
042 Smi uh
043 (0.4)
044 Smi very sorry for you:, (.) that you have
045 amnesia,
046 (1.2)
-> 047 Smi okay. can we start on page on unit uh:
5=====>
048 seven?
>5====>
049 (0.5)
050 Smi yeah?
>5===5
051 (0.4)
052 Smi and i'm coming to check before you go to
053 unit eight. so when you finish unit seven
054 (0.4)
055 Smi can you put your pen or your pencil down
056 whichever tool you're using (.) okay?
057 (1.4)
058 Smi yeah?
059 (1.4)
060 Smi let's get on with our work.
6=====6
061 (0.8)
062 Smi okay::. (.) i'm gonna check before you
7=====7
063 go on thomas, l- (.) thomas what is
064 happening are we starting.

5. ((Smi taps on Ben's workbook))

6. ((Smi turns Ben's books to face him))

7. ((Smi points at Rya's workbook))

The first juncture-initiating turn includes *okay* and an address term. There are signs, however, that closing Benny's telling has been on Miss Smith's agenda for some time, including her subdued *okay* at 24, the cut-off initial, *okay*-like syllable at 27, and her overall resistant stance towards Benny's telling-world behaviour. Like the previous extracts, the rather generic *okay* Benny is coupled with embodied conduct that narrows the sense of the turn, and makes clear that she is using it to shift towards lesson tasks (see Figure 6.7 below). Moreover,

Miss Smith has already begun to lay the ground for this transition, having picked up Benny's workbook at 25. She brings task incipency on-record with her subsequent *wh* question, directed towards nominating Benny's starting point.



Figure 6.7 Extract 6.5 Line 28

Benny responds promptly, but offers something other than an answer. He claims not to know where he was up to, eventually accounting for his lack of knowledge by saying he was away for the last few days, seemingly of the previous term. Miss Smith initially aligns with this claim, confirming that it was a *long time* ago. However, she undermines his more elaborate account, asking whether he was *here last term*. Benny analyses this question as suggesting that, if he were here last term, he should properly recall where he was up to with these lesson tasks. Benny agrees that he was present last term, but upgrades his account by asserting that he has amnesia. Miss Smith begins her response with a non-lexical object *uh* at 42, followed by an aligning assertion in which she expresses her sympathy for his claimed amnesia. Miss Smith's turn at 44-45 is

designed to be closure-implicative, and is consistent with the speaker-tilted epistemic asymmetry (cf. Stivers & Rossano, 2010) of Benny's claim.

After 1.2 seconds of mutual gaze and silence, Miss Smith changes tack and stops eliciting from Benny where to start his work. Instead, she begins her turn at 47-48 with another *okay*, which effectively reissues her juncture-initiating turn at 28, and proposes that Benny starts work on *unit seven*. Miss Smith ties her embodied conduct to her polar question at 47-48 when she points on Benny's workbook to make relevant the incipient task once again (see Figure 6.8 below).



Figure 6.8 Extract 6.5 Line 47

Benny shows signs of orienting to the task, gazing at where Miss Smith's finger is pointing at 49. However, Benny also changes tack. He resists the commencement of work by not providing any verbal responses to Miss Smith's directives from 49 to 59, or any embodied signs of commencing work. He continues to gaze at Miss Smith from 51 to 60, and appears to nod very slightly at 51 and 54, then shake his head slightly at 57, followed by a very slight smile at

58. By not offering vocal responses to Miss Smith's directives between 47 and 60, Benny further delays the commencement lesson task. Thus, Benny's passive resistance challenges the task incipency projected by Miss Smith. Benny only begins to orient to his work after Miss Smith's *let's* prefaced directive at 60.

Miss Smith's embodied and vocal actions in Extract 6.5 are interrupted by Benny's disalignment. She readies materials relevant for the lesson in overlap with Benny's telling, and builds complex multimodal actions through her juncture-initiating turns. Benny's disalignment creatively invokes his absence, but quickly runs out of steam when his account employs an implausible claim of amnesia. With this avenue exhausted, he resists the incipient lesson tasks by remaining silent and relatively steady as Miss Smith adds instructions, and increases the pressure to comply.

The final extract for this section is Extract 6.6. Just prior to the extract, Miss Smith has been narrowing down lesson tasks for Tom. He appears agitated, and Miss Smith holds his hand and asks him to calm down. The task-setting continues at 1-2, with Miss Smith specifying the exact scope of Tom's work. He responds with a complaint about foundation handwriting at 3-4, saying that *he should take Foundation away*. Miss Smith does not dismiss his objection out of hand, receipting it, and noting that he *can take it away* from his computer. At this point, Tom escalates his objections.

Extract 6.6 [S4_V117_130802_Smi-Ben-Rya-Tom] (00:20 – 01:35)

001 Smi you're doing ei:ght, and we'll do two more
002 from [here.]
003 Tom [*<i>*] should (0.5) should take
004 foundation away:>.
005 Smi okay, you can take it away from your:
006 computer.

007 Tom i'll take it away from (.) <the school>
008 (0.7)
009 Tom [and]
010 Smi [no] you ca:n't thomas you only have
011 control over yourse:lf. you don't have
012 control over other people.=
013 Tom =foundation s: stupid font [it has a it=
014 Smi [↑that's ↑okay
015 Tom =has a] <ugly looking (0.6) -t:-.
016 Smi =thomas]

1==>

1. ((Tom gazes toward the whiteboard))

017 Ben not ugly:.,
>1=====>

018 Tom that -t- looks <ugly:. (.) it looks
>1=====>
2=====2
3=====3

2. ((Tom points toward the whiteboard))

3. ((Smi turns to gaze at the whiteboard))

019 ugly:>.
>1====1

020 Smi ↑okay. that's your opinion.
021 (0.6)
022 Tom you should u- hooks -t-'s: are much better.
023 (0.5)
024 Ben ↑↑you're [so (intrusive)
-> 025 Smi [and -g- for nine should i do it?
4=====>

4. ((Smi smiles at Tom))

026 (-----+-----)
>4=====4

027 Tom oh -g:-
028 (0.7)
029 Smi should i do a -g- for ni:ne?
5=====5

5. ((Smi points at Tom's workbook))

030 (0.4)
031 Tom you should do this ni:ne.
6=====6

6. ((Tom writes on the table with his right index finger))

032 Smi okay.
033 (-----+)
7=====7

-> 034 Smi will you listen to me if i tell you to
035 change something?
036 (0.6)

7. ((Smi points at Tom's exercise book))

037 Tom yeah.
038 Smi no. you don't listen, so i'm not going to
039 listen to ↑you:

040 (0.3) -> 041 Smi so you get on with your work, 8=====8 042 (1.9) -> 043 Smi let's get on, 044 (---) 9==> 045 Smi the fi:rst (1.0) president of the united >9=====> 046 states was? >9=====9 047 (2.3) 048 Smi thomas, who was the first president. 049 (0.5) 050 Smi was it adams, washington or: (0.3) who was 051 the fi:rst one. 052 (-----+-----+-----+-----> 10=====> 053 >-----) >10==10 054 Smi tom 055 (0.6) 056 Smi <george washington was the fi:rst,> 11=====> 057 (---) >11==> 058 Tom president.= >11=====> 059 Smi =so who was the first president? >11=====> 060 Tom washi:ngton. >11=====11	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; margin-bottom: 10px;"> 8. ((Smi taps on Tom's workbook)) </div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; margin-bottom: 10px;"> 9. ((Smi points to the words on Tom's workbook)) </div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; margin-bottom: 10px;"> 10. ((Smi points to the words on the passage)) </div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px;"> 11. ((Smi points to the words on the passage)) </div>
--	---

Tom broadens his threat, saying that he will take the font *away from the school*. Miss Smith immediately rebukes him for adopting this position. Here, we can see that her rebuke very directly impugns Tom's deontic stance, i.e., that he has the right and authority to determine which fonts are used in school. He then shifts the terms of his objections, arguing that it is a *stupid font* with an *ugly* letter "t". In overlap, Miss Smith initially receipts his assessment, and then formulates it as his *opinion*. Tom continues, stating that letter "ts" with *hooks* are *much better*.

At 25 and 34, Miss Smith changes course, and begins producing *yes/no* interrogatives that constrain Tom's responses (Raymond, 2003). Her polar questions successfully bring about a shift in the trajectory of the talk, with Miss Smith now, again, producing initiating actions, and Tom producing responsive ones. Her initial question focuses, as she has in previous extracts, on the shape of Tom's writing of the number nine, and its similarity to the letter "g". When this question does not receive an answer, Miss Craig reissues it at 29. Tom provides a non-conforming response at 31, which is a repetition of the question (Heritage & Raymond, 2012). It indexes his resistance toward the presupposition of the questions (Stivers & Hayashi, 2010), and his agency in setting the terms of the talk. At 32, Miss Smith receipts Tom's answer with *okay*, and points at his exercise book during a long silence. Miss Smith launches her second *yes/no* interrogative at 34-35. Tom provides a type-conforming *yeah* but it is immediately undermined by Miss Smith's multi-part turn at 38-39. She then re-invokes the relevance of his work with a juncture-initiating turn; a *so* prefaced directive. Tom does not provide any vocal or embodied evidence of compliance (other than gazing at his exercise book), and Miss Smith repeats a reduced form of her directive at 43 (cf. Kent, 2012; Schegloff, 2004). She then solicits his compliance more directly, reading the question, and possible answers. After further, lengthy delays, Tom complies at 58 and 60.

Tom's challenge to aspects of the materials used in the lesson (i.e., the *Foundation* font) creates a very severe disruption in the lesson beginning, and deviates from the tasks that Miss Smith has been setting in place. His explicit and strident disalignment is met with similarly strident rebukes from Miss Smith. After an initially equivocal stance, Miss Smith disagrees with Tom, and then steadily

constrains his complaints with *yes/no* interrogatives, before turning him back to lesson tasks. Finally, she secures Tom's compliance with stringent task-setting, orienting him to the question, and soliciting an answer.

6.2.3 Miss Craig's lessons

As outlined previously, there are structural differences in Miss Smith and Miss Craig's lessons. The preceding section demonstrated how Miss Smith moved from student to student, making relevant lesson tasks for each. In Miss Craig's lessons, however, the collective nature of lesson tasks, combined with the prevalence of greetings and topic talk mean that there are more opportunities for lesson beginnings to be set off course, and for transitions between distinctive courses of action. This means that, as we shall see, Miss Craig's efforts to build task incipency are more distributed across lesson beginnings.

In Extract 6.7, Miss Craig progressively builds task incipency over a number of different courses of action, with very little student delay and disalignment. The lesson begins with some greetings from 1 to 14, followed by brief topic talk between Miss Craig and Ryan about something in her eye. The juncture-initiating turn comes after a lengthy silence of 3 seconds at 23 during which Miss Craig rubs her eye while the students sitting silently and steadily. At 24, Miss Craig says *right*, demarcating a transition from greetings and topic talk to the preparation for lesson tasks. The next juncture-initiating turn occurs at 71/73 when Miss Craig begins the lesson tasks; specifically, discussing new vocabulary items.

Extract 6.7 [C1_V060_130722_Cra-Ben-Rya-Tom] (01:37 – 04:14)

001	Rya	°hi	
002		(0.5)	
003	Rya	hey miss craig°	
004	Cra	((to researcher)) hello, (.) ah i have	
005		something in my eye. (.) hello ryan, hello	
006		benny:.	
007		(0.4)	
008	Rya	[tom?]	
009	Cra	[thanks] for saying hello benny? (.) (a	1. ((Rya gazes at Tom))
		1===1	
		2=====>	2. ((Rya gazes at Tom))
010		little bit)=	
		>2=====>	
011	Rya	=uh: i think=i don't think	
		>2=====2	3. ((Tom puts his hand up))
		3=====>	
		4=====4	4. ((Rya points at Toms))
012	Tom	[hello miss craig]	
		>3=====3	
013	Rya	[i don't think ()]	
014	Cra	he[llo, (.) i've got something] in my=	
015	Tom	[< °r o s y h e a d.° >]	
016	Cra	=eye:.	
017		(.)	
018	Rya	[↑yeah. (.) maybe a ↑sand.]	
019	Tom	[°miss craig's a <rosy ()>°]	
020		(.)	
021	Cra	it could be a bit of sand, yeah it's a	
022		bit uncomfortable.	
023		(3.0)	
-> 024	Cra	ri:ght.	
025		(2.2)	
026	Cra	while i'm sorting this out, can you get	
		5=====>	5. ((Cra taps on Ben's pencil case))
027		out your (0.4) pens or pencils, whatever	
		>5=====5	
028		you prefer to write with,	
029		(0.4)	
030	Cra	what do you prefer, ryan? pen or pencil.	
031	Rya	pen.	
032	Cra	you prefer a pen, you like your pen	
033		better?	
034		(0.4)	
035	Cra	benny, what about you. what do you prefer.	

036 Ben ((raises his pen & shows to Cra))
037 Cra a pen?
038 (2.0)
039 Cra okay.
040 (14.0)
041 Cra tom.
042 (-----+-----+-----+-----+)
6=====6
043 Cra ryan,
044 (-----+-----+-----+-----+)
7=====7
045 Cra and benny.
8=====8
046 (3.0)
047 Ben benny's ARE MINE.
048 (7.0)
049 Rya we already: †did this.
050 (2.0)
051 Cra what did we do at <the end of last
052 lesson.>
053 Ben u::m i don't know.
054 Cra you were away. (.) okay. ryan. what did we
055 do last lesson.
056 (2.1)
057 Rya we were doing: (1.1) de:tails about missus
twit.
058 Cra ohh: great explanation: ryan, (.) we were
059 <talking about details (.) and the main
060 idea about missus twit.> so. benny, you
061 have <missed> a pa::ge. you've missed a
062 lesson. (.) we can do [it together on
063 wednesday.
064 Ben because i was sick.
065 Cra you were sick. yes. on our wednesday
066 lesson together, (.) we can catch <this
067 up> okay?
068 (0.4)
069 Cra tom, open your book,
9=====9
070 (5.7)
-> 071 Cra ri:ght.
072 (0.8)
-> 073 Cra now:. <before we read today,>
074 (1.0)
075 Cra <we: are: going to::::>

6. ((Cra gives
Tom his
exercise
book))

7. ((Cra gives Rya his
exercise book))

8. ((Cra gives Rya his
exercise book))

9. ((Cra gestures to Tom by
flipping her hands))

076		(1.2)	
077	Cra	>talk about some words.< (.) some very	
078		important wo: rds:	
079	Tom	°imitate like miss craig°	
080		(0.9)	
081	Cra	what was that, tom?	
082		(1.6)	
083	Tom	(you're right miss craig)=	
084	Cra	=okay. stop,	
		10====10	
085	Tom	(alright)	
086	Cra	okay. (.) can you write the d==heading,	

10. ((Cra places left index finger on her lips))

The first juncture-initiating turn at 24 consists of a change of activity token *right*. At the same time, and in the silence that follows, she touches Benny then Ryan's pencil cases (see Figure 6.9 below). Next, she directs the students to get out their preferred writing implements between 26 and 37, arranges her own items at 40, and distributes the students' books. So, with her *right* at 24, Miss Craig heralds a shift from greetings, topic talk, and her own self-attentive behaviour, to the arrangement of lesson relevant artefacts. To further secure the students' orientation to the transition and get ready their writing tool, Miss Craig issues an interrogatively formatted directive for Benny and Ryan respectively. The design of the directive strengthens the agenda of the teacher, leaving limited choices for the students other than to comply with the transition.



Figure 6.9 Extract 6.7 Line 26

The students, for their part, provide prompt responses when solicited, and visibly comply with the arrangement of stationery and materials. By 50, Miss Craig has configured the layout of her notes, handouts, reading texts and exercise books on the table. This indexes the incipency of lesson tasks, setting the scene for subsequent action.

At 49, Ryan asserts they have done some (or perhaps all) of this work in the previous lesson, which leads to Miss Craig asking Ryan what they did last time. Benny also briefly points to his previous absence, and Miss Craig suggests that she will have a catch-up session with him independently. With Benny and Ryan's books already opened but not Tom's, Miss Craig directs Tom to open his book at 69, complemented by an embodied action (see Figure 6.10 below) when she flips her hands to invoke Tom's actions.



Figure 6.10 Extract 6.7 Line 69

The lesson beginning reaches its second juncture at 71/73. At 71, Miss Craig use *right* again. It has the same turn design as 24, (i.e., a stand-alone, single-word turn constructional unit) and it similarly inexplicitly announces the shift in the course of action. In the next turn, Miss Craig prefaces her initial instruction with the token *now*. The use of *now* highlights the immediacy of the incipient task, and she then continues the lesson by directing the students to write some details in their exercise book. Tom then attempts to initiate some talk about Miss Craig at 79, and she responds by initiating repair. After a long silence, Tom produces another turn that seemingly mentions Miss Craig, which is met with a prompt rebuke, both her in terms of her verbal (i.e., *okay stop*) and embodied conduct, i.e., putting her left index finger on her lips (see Figure 6.11 below). Tom apparently accepts Miss Craig's intervention, and lesson tasks resume at 86.

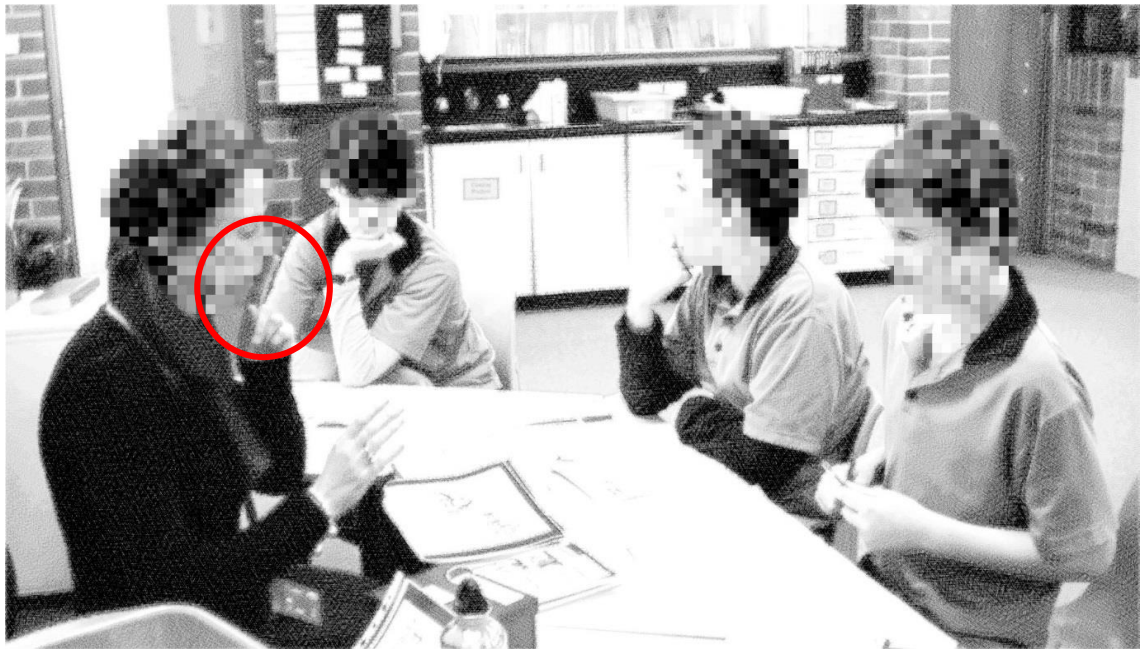


Figure 6.11 Extract 6.7 Line 84

Miss Craig incrementally orients the students to the tasks to come in Extract 6.7. The juncture-initiating turns take the same form; namely a single-word turn constructional unit *right* with falling terminal intonation. The first token closes the greetings and topic talk, and signals a transition to the configuration of stationery and books. The second token at 71/73 transitions to the core business of the lesson. Miss Craig's embodied conduct and her directions to the students are the principal vehicles for building task incipency between these junctures, with writing instruments, books, and Miss Craig's own materials steadily arranged. For their part, the students align without incident, complying with both Miss Craig's vocal and embodied solicitations. As lesson tasks are about to begin, however, Tom interposes in Miss Craig's turn, and produces some inapposite talk. Miss Craig quickly and directly addresses this delay, and lesson tasks resume.

In Extract 6.8, Miss Craig uses a similar turn design to transition from the arrangement of artefacts to greetings, and to move on from the greetings when

they prove problematic. Just prior to the extract, Miss Craig has been asking the students to move their writing implements, and distributed their lesson books. At 1-11, Miss Craig organises Ryan, Benny, and Tom's pencil cases, and directs Tom to open his book.

Extract 6.8 [C2_V062_130723_Cra-Ben-Rya-Tom] (01:00 – 02:07)

001	Cra	okay. (.) get yourself organised to:m, <div style="text-align: center;">1=====></div> (-----+-----+-----+-----> >1=====> <div style="text-align: right;">2===></div>	1. ((Tom packs up his pencil case))
003	Cra	>----) >1====> >2====>	2. ((Cra puts pencil cases on the table to her left))
004	Cra	you know what, >i'm actually going to< >1=====> >2=====>	
005	Cra	move your pencil cases to the side. i >1=====1 >2=====2	
006	Cra	think,	
007	Ben	(oh:)=	3. ((Cra taps on the top left corner of Tom's table))
008	Cra	=can you move yours over here:? <div style="text-align: center;">3=====3</div>	
009	Cra	(-----+-----+-----+-----> 4=====>	4. ((Cra configures the positions of Tom's pencil case, and exercise book))
010	Cra	>----) >4===4	
011	Cra	and open your book to:m,	
012	Cra	(-----+-----+-----) 5=====5	
013	Cra	to:m, open your book your exercise <div style="text-align: center;">6=====></div>	5. ((Cra picks up her handouts))
014	Cra	[book,]	
015	Tom	[(ndid)] >6===>	6. ((Tom opens his exercise book))
016	Cra	(-----+-----+-----+-----> >6=====6	
017	Cra	>---)	
018	Cra	okay.	

019	(-----)	
	7==7	7. ((Cra crosses her arms in front of her chest))
020	Cra pen down arms folded.	
021	(0.4)	
-> 022	Cra right. good morning ry:an,	
023	(0.4)	
024	Rya good morning	
025	Cra good morning to:m,	
026	Tom good morning miss craig	8. ((Ben tilts his head upward, takes a deep breath and leans forward))
027	Cra and good morning benny:.	
028	(-----+-----)	
	8=====8	
029	Ben goo:d (.) goo:d (0.6) ha- (0.5) g'day:.	
030	Cra o[kay.] let's try it again.	
031	Ben [ma:te,]	
032	Ben >g'day miss craig,<	9. ((Ben raises his left wrist and gazes at his watch))
033	Cra good morning benny:.,	
034	(0.7)	
035	Ben it's not morning it's the middle of the	
	9=====9	
036	day.	
037	Cra okay. let's try it again. good morning	
038	benny,	
039	(-----)	
	10=====>	10. ((Cra smiles at Ben))
040	Ben °good midday. miss craig.°	
	>10=====10	
041	Cra right. okay.	
042	(0.3)	
043	Cra yesterday we started reading the chapter	
044	ca::lled:	
045	(0.3)	
046	Tom glass eye.	
047	Cra the gla:ss eye:. (0.4) <u>two words</u> that we	
	talked abou:t.	
048	(0.5)	
049	Cra ryan. one of those words wa:s:	
050	Rya <plotting and horrid.>	
051	(0.5)	
052	Cra plotting.	
053	(0.4)	
054	Cra what does plotting mea:n.	
055	Rya planning.	
056	Cra pla:nning.	

With lesson-relevant artefacts in place, Miss Craig initiates a transition towards another course of action, i.e., greetings. She performs a final manipulation of the students' bodily configurations, producing the double-barrelled directive *pens down arms folded*. At the same time, she crosses her own arms (see Figure 6.12 below).



Figure 6.12 Extract 6.8 Line 19

Miss Craig formalises the juncture between these courses of action by producing a change of activity *right*, and then continues into a greeting addressed to Ryan. The greeting sequences with Ryan and Tom unfold smoothly, but not the one with Benny (see Chapter 4). The greeting form that Benny settles on, as discussed previously, is a compromise between his chosen form, and the one Miss Craig was pursuing. Miss Craig elects to pursue the greetings no further, producing *right okay* in response. She shifts directly to lesson tasks at 43-44, and both Tom and Ryan contribute to their initiation unproblematically.

Extract 6.8 demonstrates how change of activity tokens can be used variously to promote transition. Here, their neutrality facilitates movement away

from a problematic course of action. That is, they offer Miss Craig a way of simultaneously receipting Benny's, still, ill-fitting greeting form, while also pointing towards the incipency of lesson tasks. Despite Benny's disalignment in the greeting sequence, it is also worth noting that Miss Craig's efforts to synchronously move the students towards lesson tasks is successful. They aligned unproblematically with the organisation of artefacts, and the official emergence of tasks in 43-44.

In Extract 6.9, Miss Craig pairs the regulation of bodily configuration with a change of activity token to resolve a similar impasse. Benny does not align with the greetings, disregarding invitations from both Miss Craig and Ryan (see Chapter 4). Her directives to Benny about his positioning are succeeded by a juncture-initiating turn with a generalised directive targeting lesson stationery.

Extract 6.9 [C5_V103_130731_Cra-Ben-Rya-Tom] (00:00 – 01:48)

001	(-----+-----+-----)	
	1=====>	1. ((Cra gazes at Tom and smiles))
002	Tom hello:	
	>1===1	
003	Cra hello tom (.) how ↑are: you:. thanks for	
004	saying hello to me:,	
005	(-----+-----+--)	
	2=====2	2. ((Cra and Tom gaze at each other))
006	Rya hello (.) miss craig,	
007	Cra hello ryan, how ↑are you:.	
	3===>	3. ((Rya gazes toward Ben))
008	(-----+)	
	>3=====3	
009	Rya a:nd (.) don't forget benny	
	4=====4	4. ((Rya points at Ben))
010	Cra i won't forget benny:	
011	(-----+-----+--)	
	5=====>	5. ((Cra gazes at Ben))
012	Rya °benny°	
	>5====>	

013 (---)
>5===>

014 Rya °say hello to° (0.9) °miss craig°
>5=====5

015 (-----+-----+-----+-----)
6=====6

016 Rya hello: (.) benny
>6=====6

-> 017 Cra okay benny we have actually already said
>6=====6

7=====7

018 hello to each other this morning but what
>7=====7

019 you cou:ld do::,
020 (0.4)

021 Cra is put your leg down:
022 (0.5)

023 Cra pull your chair in
024 (0.3)

025 Cra and look like you're ready to start the
8=====8

026 lesson. that would be really ni:ce:,
027 (0.4)

028 Cra yes: you might have to uncross your legs.
029 (0.4)

030 Cra and get under there: (.) >keep it< under
9=====9

031 there:
>9===9

-> 032 Cra okay take out a:: pen,
033 (1.4)

034 Cra yes:,
10==>

035 (-----)
>10=====10

036 Cra take your pen ou:t
>10==10

037 (4.7)

038 Cra and you might want a ruler as well
11=====11

039 Cra benny where's your pencil case:.=
040 Ben =i don't ↑know:.

041 (-----+-----+-----+-----)
12=====12

042 Ben i:'ll get it ()

6. ((Cra bends to her right and gazes at Ben))

7. ((Ben turns to face Cra))

8. ((Ben lowers his leg but it is still crossed))

9. ((Ben uncrosses his legs))

10. ((Cra alternates her gaze between Tom and his pencil case))

11. ((Cra touches Rya's pencil case, gazes at Tom then at Ben))

12. ((Cra looks around, takes a deep breath and blows air out from her mouth))

043	(4.5)	
044	Cra excellent:.	
045	(-----+-----+-----+-----> 13=====>	13. ((Cra takes out the reading text and her handouts))
046	>-----+-----+-----+-----> >13=====>	
047	>-----+-----) 13=====13	
048	Cra to::m 14===14	
049	(0.3)	
050	Cra ry:an: 15===15	15. ((Cra gives Rya his exercise book))
051	(1.0)	
052	Cra ry:an: 16===16	16. ((Cra gives Rya his reading text))
053	(0.8)	
054	Cra that one must be you:rs tom 17==17	17. ((Cra gives Tom his reading text))
055	(6.2)	
-> 056	Cra okay:: (.) ri::ght: 18=====18	18. ((Cra puts the tray on the floor))
057	(0.8)	
-> 058	Cra now::. 19==19	19. ((Cra puts her notes and handouts on the table))
059	(4.3)	
060	Cra before: we do:: (0.4) anything else, (.)	
061	let's just <write down the na:me of the	
062	next: cha:pter: we are going to rea::d,>	
063	(0.5)	
064	Cra which is the <f:unny: (.) walking: stick.>	

Miss Craig and Ryan's exhaustive pursuit of a greeting from Benny remains unsuccessful by 17. Faced with his continued disruption to the progressivity of the lesson beginning, Miss Craig abandons the greeting course of action, and begins a new one. Following *okay*, she produces an account for leaving greeting behind, and then segues into directives targeting the rearrangement of Benny's bodily positioning. That is, she transitions away from greetings, and moves on to embodied arrangements for the lesson. Benny orients

to this shift quite promptly at 17, turning his head towards Miss Craig, and gazing at her. Miss Craig pairs her directives at 21-23 with gestures, beckoning Benny (see Figure 6.13 below).



Figure 6.13 Extract 6.9 Line 23

Miss Craig's focus on Benny's body here is akin to the neutral tokens she used above in Extract 6.8. That is, faced with disalignment, she shifts the course of action. But, rather than eliding the lingering problems as she did with the neutral tokens in Extract 6.8, Miss Craig here enforces changes to his bodily positioning. In doing so, she foreshadows the general embodied arrangements for the lesson, explicitly invoking it in her account for the direction (i.e., that Benny should *look like* he is *ready to start the lesson*). However, at the same time, she has elected to implement a deontically strong practice, which mandates precisely the sort of alignment and compliance that has been absent from Benny's conduct so far. Perhaps orienting to the strength of this action, she also appends an assessment (i.e., *that would be really nice*), which at least gives the appearance of modulating its imposition on Benny's agency.

At 32, Miss Craig turns her concern with embodied preparations to the other students, producing an *okay* prefaced, imperatively formatted directive for all to *take out a pen*. Tom does not display any visible progress towards compliance, and, at 34-36, Miss Craig issues a summons token *yes* and repeats the directive to Tom. At the same time, she leans forward, gazes at Tom, and then his pencil case (see Figure 6.14 below), and Tom complies promptly.



Figure 6.14 Extract 6.9 Line 34

The absence of Benny's pencil case is then topicalised, and Benny sets off to retrieve it. Between 45 and 54, Miss Craig arranges lesson materials, and hands the students their relevant books one by one. With lesson relevant artefacts in place, Miss Craig issues another juncture-initiating turn. She produces two change of activity tokens—*okay* and *right*—consecutively, followed by *now* at 58. With these tokens, she generically points towards transition in the lesson beginning, before initiating task-specific instructions about writing chapter headings.

In this extract, Miss Craig enforces Benny's alignment with the lesson beginning by regulating his bodily positioning. The directives that she implements here move the lesson towards more general regulation of its embodied preparations. She then continues to build task incipency through transitioning all students into this phase of the lesson beginning, and steadily arranging her own and the student lesson-relevant artefacts. Notwithstanding Benny's resistance in the greeting sequence, and Tom tardiness with getting out his writing implements, the students comply with Miss Craig's vocal and embodied actions, with no disalignment from her final juncture-initiating turn, and the beginning of lesson tasks proper.

Finally, like in Miss Smith's section, the last two extracts see the students implementing more substantial resistance to commencing lesson tasks. In Extract 6.10, Tom pursues topic talk disruptively, and Miss Craig implements a variety of practices to move towards lesson tasks. In Extract 6.11—the final one presented in the analytic chapters of this thesis—we have a complicated lesson beginning, with almost all of the practices and features that have been presented in this chapter, and the ones preceding it. Here, we can see the potential intricacy, variety, and dynamism of lesson beginnings, and the progressive narrowing of student agency as Miss Craig incrementally builds task incipency.

As Extract 6.10 begins, Miss Craig is engaged in topic talk with Tom, while Benny gradually initiates some topic talk of his own, leading to a telling (see Chapter 5). As Benny's telling reaches possible closure, Tom gains the floor again, and attempts to initiate yet more topic talk. At this stage, Miss Craig effects a transition toward lesson tasks.

Extract 6.10 [C4_V094_130730_Cra-Ben-Rya-Tom] (00:00 – 02:06)

001	Cra	she's not here:?	
002	Ben	well miss craig,=	
003	Tom	=is she dead,	
004	Cra	she is.	
005	Tom	is your dad dead?	
006	Cra	no.	
007		(0.4)	
008	Tom	how old.=	
009	Ben	=well	
		1====>	1. ((Ben raises his right hand))
010		(-----+)	
		>1=====	
011	Cra	i don't ↑know.	
		>1=====1	
		2=====2	2. ((Cra takes her seat))
012		(0.7)	
013	Ben	well you know, miss craig	
		3=====3	3. ((Ben leans toward Cra))
014		(0.6)	
015	Ben	sometimes i piss my mum.=	
016	Tom	=miss craig's a <ro[sy:] head.>	
017	Cra	[right:.]	
018	Ben	[<by:] drinking	
019		coke.> over four o'clock in the	
020		after[noon,]	
021	Cra	[ah: o]kay. [right.] right.=	
022	Ben	[heh]	
		4=====4	4. ((Cra nods))
023	Ben	=fand thhatf sh	
024		(0.5)	
025	Ben	and that sometimes i jus: decide to drink	
026		it outside just so she doesn't hear me,	
027		(-----)	
		5=====	5. ((Cra nods))
028	Ben	opening the ca:n.	
		>5=====	
029		(-----)	
		>5=====5	6. ((Ben leans back on his chair))
		6=====	
030	Cra	so you're doing it in secret?	
		>6===6	
031	Ben	<u>yes</u> :..	
032		(0.6)	

<p>033 Tom mac- moc- mm: (.) <u>miss craig</u>. 7=====7</p> <p>034 (0.5)</p> <p>035 Tom y- do you have a rosy <u>h:ead</u>?</p> <p>036 (1.5)</p> <p>-> 037 Cra okay tom pull your chair in? 8=====8</p> <p>038 Tom °(yogus)°=</p> <p>-> 039 Cra =<let's start. shall we?></p> <p>040 Tom (mother)</p> <p>041 (0.5)</p> <p>042 Tom °(belkis:.)°</p> <p>043 (1.4)</p> <p>044 Cra what was that?</p> <p>045 Tom miss how old is your (0.3) muf- what year</p> <p>046 did your mum die.</p> <p>047 Cra to:m, can we:::=</p> <p>048 Ben =>we're not talking a[bout that.<]</p> <p>049 Rya [uh:] ()</p> <p>050 Cra [if you] want if</p> <p>051 you want to talk to me about my mum, you</p> <p>9=====></p> <p>052 ca:n, >9==></p> <p>053 (----) >9===></p> <p>054 Cra <but not in class.> okay? becau:se: >9=====9</p> <p>055 Tom did (mis[ter]) ()</p> <p>056 Cra [<u>i</u> do]n't want to talk about it</p> <p>057 now:, [and:][it's time for a less]on.</p> <p>058 Rya [yeah.]</p> <p>059 Tom [probably seventy.]</p> <p>060 Cra okay?</p> <p>061 Tom i say (mister hob) is seventy.</p> <p>-> 062 Cra right.=</p> <p>063 Rya =sh::: 10===></p> <p>064 Cra get your:: (0.4) pens out your ruler:: >10====10</p> <p>065 (0.4)</p> <p>066 Cra and then we can move everything else to the</p> <p>067 side::</p> <p>068 (12.3)</p> <p>069 Cra <it always drips:></p>	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 10px; margin-bottom: 10px;"> <p>7. ((Cra tilts her head up slightly and raises her eyebrows while gazing at Tom))</p> </div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 10px; margin-bottom: 10px;"> <p>8. ((Cra bends to her right, looks under Tom's table and beckons to him))</p> </div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 10px; margin-bottom: 10px;"> <p>9. ((Tom puts up his right hand))</p> </div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 10px;"> <p>10. ((Cra points at Tom's pencil case))</p> </div>
--	--

		11=====11	
070		(0.5)	
071	Cra	drips drips drips:	11. ((Cra wipes some water off the exercise books))
072		(7.8)	
-> 073	Cra	right are we ready to go:?	12. ((Cra puts a whiteboard marker on the table))
		12=====12	
074		(4.2)	
075	Cra	fantastic >have you got a pen< there benny?	
076		(0.9)	
077	Ben	uh OH:::	
078		(1.5)	
079	Ben	mm::	
080		(0.9)	
081	Cra	i don't know what we're going to write, but	
082		um::	
083		(1.3)	
084	Tom	°(yep is) (.) esio trot with mister twit	
085		the twits in it?°	
086		(2.1)	
-> 087	Cra	-kay actually before we start reading, we	
		13=====13	13. ((Cra opens an exercise book))
088		might just <go over: (0.4) the vocab. or	
		>13=====13	
089		the wo:rds: (0.3) that we <introduced	
090		yesterday.>	

Tom exploits the silence at 33 to initiate some further topic talk. Miss Craig does not respond, and Tom goes on to ask the question *do you have a rosy head*. A long silence ensues, with the interactants gazing at one another, suggesting that a dispreferred response is likely from Miss Craig. She neutrally receipts Tom's question with *okay* and then, orients to Tom's bodily configuration, using an imperatively-formatted directive focused on his chair. At the same time, she looks under the table and beckons to Tom (see Figure 6.15 below), and he complies relatively promptly, but says some further, seemingly non-task related words at 38, 40, and 42.



Figure 6.15 Extract 6.10 Line 37

At 39, Miss Craig generalises the task incipency that she has made relevant for Tom with a proposal to all the students, i.e., *let's start shall we*. As noted above, though, Tom continues to say some unclear words, and Miss Craig initiates repair at 44. Tom's continuation of topic talk is potentially at odds with his compliance with Miss Smith's directive (see Kent, 2012). Miss Craig's repair initiation revives topic talk once more, offering Tom the floor. He uses it to ask Miss Craig another question about her mother, which sets off a complex account and call for postponement of the topic (see Chapter 5). Tom, though, persists, culminating in his assertion at 61 *I say (Mister Hob) is seventy*. At this point, Miss Craig moves the lesson beginning forward once more, receipting Tom's assertion with *right*, and then directing the students to get their pens and ruler out, while pointing at Tom's pencil case.

Miss Craig orients to her own materials at 68, and then engages in some self-talk concerning a leaking bottle, before wiping away some water drops on lesson materials. In doing so, sets the scene for lesson tasks by taking out the

artefacts from her tray and laying them out on the table at 68. This includes, from her right to her left, her stationery box, water bottle, note pad, the students' exercise books, reading texts and her notes/handouts on her far left (see Figure 6.16 below). This arrangement of artefacts does not necessarily make relevant the starting of work immediately, but embodies the progression of the lesson beginning towards it.



Figure 6.16 Extract 6.10 Line 73

After positioning the artefacts on the table, Miss Craig proceeds with a juncture-initiating turn at 73; a *right* prefaced *yes/no* interrogative, which clears the way for the initiation of lesson tasks. However, the shift is postponed when Miss Craig issues an interrogatively formatted directive to Benny whose pen is still in his pencil case at 75-79. Finally, Tom makes one more attempt to set the building of task incipency off course, producing another tangential turn at 84. Miss Craig possibly receipts it with *okay*, or disregards it altogether, and commences the task.

Extract 6.10 sees Tom's persistent attempts at initiating problematic topic talk interrupt the progression of the lesson beginning towards lesson tasks. Miss Craig uses the regulation of Tom's bodily positioning to bring Tom into alignment with the lesson beginning. However, her initiating of repair provides Tom with further opportunities to disrupt, which are explicitly and forcefully addressed. She then receipts Tom's topic talk, and transitions to the arrangement of lesson relevant artefacts. After making accountable the absence of Benny's pen, and one more gambit from Tom, Miss Craig creates yet another juncture using *okay*, and sets the initial lesson task.

In the final extract, the lesson beginning moves through a number of different courses of action. Greetings give way to embodied arrangements, followed by a spate of topic talk initiated by Benny, one initiated by Tom, and, just as tasks are poised to begin, Miss Craig topicalises Ryan's embodied orientation, and then Tom's and Benny's. Each juncture-initiating turn in this extract employs change of activity *okay* or *right*, typically paired with embodied conduct relevant for the juncture at hand.

In the moments prior to Extract 6.11, Miss Craig has returned from retrieving a tray of lesson materials. Greetings then begin at 1, and progress smoothly until 18. Benny, as we are now accustomed to seeing, implements the first interruption to the lesson beginning, resisting participation in greeting.

Extract 6.11 [C3_V068_130724_Cra-Ben-Rya-Tom] (01:44 – 04:56)

001 Cra hello to:m,
002 (1.2)
003 Tom hello,
004 (2.7)
005 Cra how are you tom,

006 Tom ↑good.
 007 Cra that's good,
 008 (0.7)
 009 Cra hello ryan,
 010 Rya hello
 011 (0.6)
 012 Rya miss craig.
 013 (1.2)
 014 Rya h- how's it going
 015 Cra fvery wellf thank you:.
 016 (0.6)
 017 Cra and hello again benny:.
 018 Ben ((mouths "fine"))
 019 (0.7)

1. ((Cra beckons to Ben))

-> 020 Cra okay. >do you wanna< (.) put your legs
 1====1
 2=====>

021 down and bring your chair in?
 >2=====
 022 (0.7)

2. ((Ben uncrosses his leg and sits up))

023 Cra and let's get our tables organised and
 024 ready for wo:rk.
 025 (0.7)
 026 Cra so r- ryan, have you got everything out
 027 that you need? is that you:rs:?
 028 Rya No
 029 (1.5)
 030 Rya i [got] my pen [(like)]
 031 Ben [i] [i] have a-
 032 Cra [you got] your pen?
 3=====
 4===4

3. ((Ben raises his right hand and shows it to Cra))

033 (1.0)
 034 Rya [↑eh:..]
 035 Cra [↑oh:.. what's] ↑happened.
 036 (0.5)
 037 Ben i don't know
 038 Cra looks like an allergic reaction when did
 039 that (.) come
 040 (1.1)
 041 Ben when i was washing my hand with dettol
 042 soap.
 043 (1.0)
 044 Cra at home?
 045 Ben yes.

4. ((Cra knocks Tom's pen off the table))

046	Cra	oh it happened at home. okay.	
		5=====5	5. ((Cra nods at Ben))
047		(1.0)	
048	Cra	u:m benny:,	
		6=====6	6. ((Cra gives Ben his exercise book))
049		(0.8)	
050	Cra	ryan:	
		7===7	7. ((Cra gives Rya his exercise book))
051		(1.2)	
052	Tom	roald dahl:	
053	Cra	roald dahl: (.) yes that's what we're	
		8=====8	
054		reading to:m_	8. ((Cra gives Tom his exercise book))
		>8=====8	
055		(0.7)	
056	Tom	mister roald dahl: (.) and the twits.	
057	Cra	and the twits yes:	
058		(1.2)	
059	Cra	°alright°	
060		(0.4)	
061	Tom	is roald dahl dead in this picture?	
062	Cra	u::m=	
063	Rya	=no.	
064	Cra	<roald dahl has passed away yes:..>	
065		(1.1)	
066	Tom	died in nineteen ninety	
067		(0.8)	
068	Cra	that sounds about right, yes:..	
069		(0.5)	
070	Rya	i have the [twits at] home.	
071	Cra	[ryan?]	
		9=====9	9. ((Cra gives Rya his reading text))
072	Tom	°but°	
073	Cra	do you?	
074	Rya	hee hee (.)	
075		(0.4)	
076	Tom	he [(took)] (.) after he: (.) death	
077	Rya	[hee hee]	
078	Rya	sh:=	
-> 079	Cra	=right. (.) let's: concentrate and read	10. ((Cra gives Tom his reading text))
		10=====10	
080	Tom	his (tong words) after (.) after his	
		11=====11	11. ((Tom moves his reading text closer to him))
081		death.	
082		(1.2)	

083 Rya no it's the (gra)
084 Cra i'm not quite sure what you mean now tom,
085 tell me [again,]
086 Tom [r-oald] dahls had (same words)
12=====12
087 (0.8) after his death.
088 (0.4)
089 Cra right we we can read this: after [he's=
090 Ben [(what=
091 Cra =died.]
092 Ben =we could] read)=
093 Cra =yes:.
094 (1.9)
-> 095 Cra okay:.
13===13
096 (5.2)
097 Cra so what page are we on ryan:?
098 (2.2)
099 Rya page twelve.
100 Cra page twelve.
101 (4.3)
102 Cra page twelve. good.
103 (0.3)
104 Cra okay.
105 (9.3)
106 (-----+-----+-----+----->
107 >-----+-----+-----+----->
14=====14
108 >-----+----)
>14=====14
-> 109 Cra okay.
>14==14
110 (2.2)
-> 111 Cra fold your arms: and let's get ready to
112 read. (.) okay at the end of the last
113 chapter, now ryan, remember before we
15=====15
114 even start this lesson, (0.3) where do you
115 need to be looking
116 (0.5)
117 Rya at (.) you.
118 (0.3)
119 Cra at me. (.) that's right. (.) if you're
120 looking out there:.,=
121 Rya =>(you cannot keep)< you don't get a

12. ((Tom opens
his reading
text))

13. ((Cra takes her
handouts))

14. ((Cra turns to the right
page on Tom's reading
text))

15. ((Cra points
at herself))

122 sticker.
 123 (0.4)
 124 Cra >well you< don't get a sticker but more
 125 importantly,=
 126 Rya =you don't listen.
 127 Cra yeah you're not (.) you're not listening
 128 are you:.
 129 Tom don't li[sten.]
 130 Cra [so if] you're looking at me:, i
 131 think hu:h there's a good <chance (.) that
 132 you are listening.>=
 133 Rya =mm hm
 134 (0.7)
 135 Cra yes:? (.) and that's the same for all of
 136 you. (.) to:m,
 137 (0.5)
 138 Cra i can see where you're all looking, so you
 139 either need to be looking: (.) <at the
 140 page> or you need to be looking a:t:
 141 >16==16
 142 (1.0)
 143 Rya you.
 144 Tom °you.°
 145 Cra at me.
 146 Tom °yeah.°
 147 Cra tom if you're looking out there:, are you
 148 paying attention?
 149 Tom no.
 150 Cra no:.
 151 (0.7)
 152 Cra okay, so either at the †book, (.) at †me,
 153 (.) or at whoever is talking.
 154 Tom °okay.°
 155 Cra okay? can you put your hands down benny,
 156 and sit nice and straight.
 157 >17=====17
 158 Cra okay.
 159 (0.4)
 160 Cra we can put the book out there, put your
 161 hand: (.) closer, so you can see:. okay.
 162 now
 18=====18

16. ((Cra taps on Rya and Ben's reading texts))

17. ((Cra crosses her arms in front of her chest))

18. ((Cra moves Ben's hands away from his books))

163 (0.6)
164 Cra in the last chapter,

The first transition takes place at 20, when Miss Craig closes the greeting sequence. As we have seen previously, Miss Craig uses *okay* at 20 to begin accomplishing the shift from the greeting sequence to the embodied organisation of the lesson. At the same time, she is making accountable Benny's compliance, exerting her deontic authority through the interrogatively formatted directive that follows, beckoning Benny forward (see Figure 6.17 below). Benny complies, and the directives turn outward to the others (i.e., *let's get our table organised and ready for work*).



Figure 6.17 Extract 6.11 Line 22

Benny and Tom initiate topic talk respectively as stationery items are being configured. Benny thrusts his hand into a mutual space, and Miss Craig topicalises it. Miss Craig then distributes lesson books, and Tom takes to the floor at 52, 56, and 61, incrementally topicalising the author *Roald Dahl*. Tom's question *is Roald Dahl dead in this picture?* sets off a good deal of talk from Tom, Miss Craig, and Ryan. Miss Craig (perhaps generously) analyses his question as asking whether the author is deceased, which both she and Tom confirm subsequently. Tom's unintelligible turn at 76, and perhaps Ryan's laughter at 74 and 77, are met with another juncture-initiating turn; a *right* prefaced *let's concentrate and read*. As she produces this talk, Miss Craig passes Tom his reading text (see Figure 6.18 below), making lesson tasks salient once more.



Figure 6.18 Extract 6.11 Line 80

At 80, Tom moves his book closer to him and seemingly reissues his earlier assertion. By continuing his talk while drawing his book closer, he exhibits incipient compliance (see Kent, 2012). That is, while performing an apparently task-related action (i.e., bringing his book closer to him), he is at the same time creating the interactional space to continue with his topic talk. His ploy is ultimately successful, with Miss Craig accounting for her lack of uptake, then initiating repair at 84-85 (cf. Robinson, 2003). Tom produces yet another lexically and grammatically problematic turn, which Miss Craig rebuffs at 89/91, asserting that *we can read this after he's died*. With no more uptake from Tom, Miss Craig once again attempts to redirect the course of action, producing a change of activity *okay* at 95, and attending to her handouts.

After a briefly soliciting the page number of the book, Miss Craig heightens the incipency of the task at 104-109 with further *okays*, a directive to *get ready to read*, and manipulation of Tom's book to the correct page. As she begins her initial lesson instruction, she halts this action midstream, produces the preface *now*, and topicalises Ryan's embodied orientation. Ryan's gaze has been directed outside the classroom since 106. Miss Craig points at her own eye at 113 in conjunction with the turn preface *now* (see Figure 6.19 below). Ryan promptly gazes to Miss Craig, and she begins an extended spate of questioning focused on Ryan's gaze maintenance, and its relationship with lesson compliance.

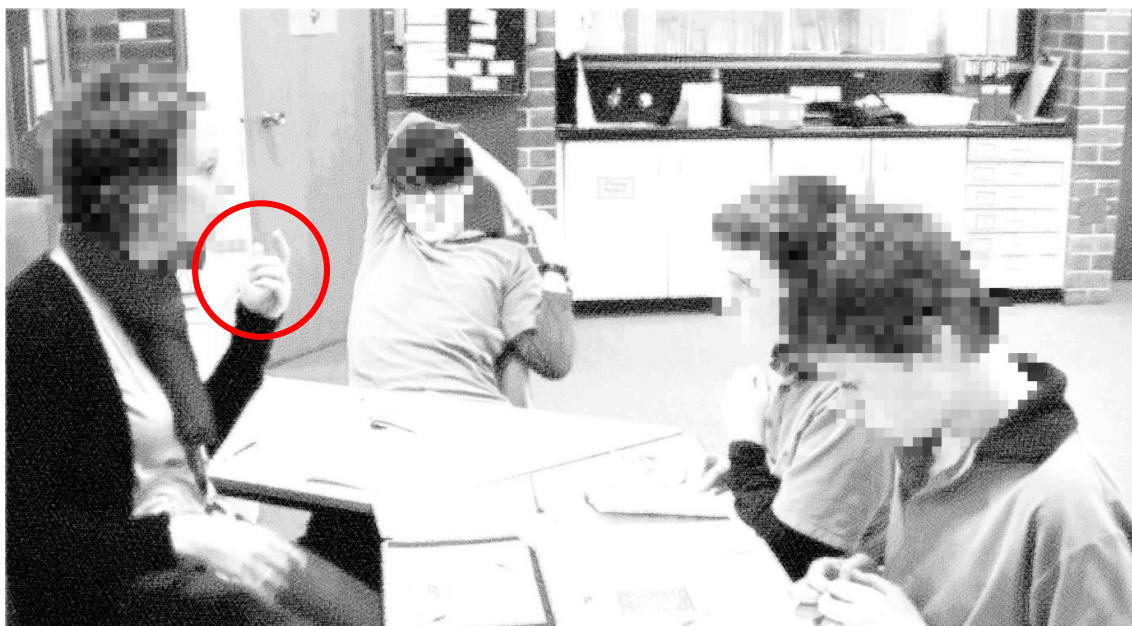


Figure 6.19 Extract 6.11 Line 114

Ryan aligns with Miss Craig's questioning, providing prompt and apt answers at 117, 121-122, and 126—although, his answer at 121-122 was something of a misfire—and alignment at 133. At 135, she directs this advice to Benny and Tom, but focuses in on Tom. Her turn at 138-140 outlines where Tom's gaze should be directed; either at the page or at her, coupled with pointing at reading texts (see Figure 6.20 below) and pointing at her own eyes (see Figure 6.21 below). Both Ryan and Tom provide aligning, but brief responses.



Figure 6.20 Extract 6.11 Line 141



Figure 6.21 Extract 6.11 Line 141

Miss Craig then moves on to configuring Benny's embodied readiness, requesting that he reposition his hands at 155, crossing her arms in front of her chest (see Figure 6.22 below), and the moving his book to another position.



Figure 6.22 Extract 6.11 Line 155

Benny complies with Miss Craig's directive and puts his hands on the table, but he does not cross his arms, perhaps due to the skin irritation mentioned earlier. She then moves his hands closer to his body, below the reading text, so that he can see it (see Figure 6.23 below). With the students embodied readiness now thoroughly addressed, Miss Craig produces *okay now*, and resumes the suspended instructions, thereby bringing lesson tasks to fruition.



Figure 6.23 Extract 6.11 Line 161

Extract 6.11 exhibits the fluidity and complexity of the sequential organisation of lesson beginnings. Miss Craig and the students move in and out of a variety of courses of action, which means that multiple juncture-initiating turns are required to build task incipency. Miss Craig employs regulation of the students' bodily orientation to resolve problematic greetings and topic talk, and configures lesson relevant artefacts progressively. Both Benny and Tom interpose in the building momentum towards lesson tasks, using topic talk to retard progression towards them. Miss Craig, though, supports each spate of topic talk, allowing the students a degree of agency to pursue their agendas. Miss Craig, too, makes space for her own agenda, topicalising and spending an extended period on appropriate gaze. By this time, the students have exhausted readily available forms of resistance; they comply, and lesson tasks begin.

6.3 Task incipency and compliance: Summary and discussion

The analyses presented in this chapter have demonstrated how teachers and students move towards the initiation of tasks in lesson beginnings. We have seen that teachers build task incipency using a number of different practices, and that student compliance is strictly enforced as lesson beginnings arrive at lesson tasks. The differing organisations of tasks in Miss Smith and Miss Craig's lessons have some structural implications for juncture-initiating turns. In particular, the collective preparation, more numerous task materials, and greater variety of courses of action in Miss Craig's lessons mean that her efforts to build task incipency are more distributed across the lesson beginning. On the other hand, Miss Smith's efforts to build task incipency are more localised, with each individual student consecutively engaged in their task. However, there is much that is common between the teachers.

Miss Smith and Miss Craig use similar turn designs when transitioning to lesson tasks. They employ change of activity tokens—principally *okay* and *right*—as stand-alone turn constructional units, and to preface other actions. In addition, they use the tokens *so* and *now* as prefaces. When designing actions that orient students to lesson tasks or their incipency, both teachers use principally interrogative turn formats, in addition to some imperatives, and *let's X* formats. Very commonly, these practices are combined. Most of the time, this involves prefaced interrogatives accomplishing directive actions. With tokens like *okay* and *right*, the teachers can generically and neutrally develop a juncture in a course of action. As we have seen, this can be useful in an environment of prior (and possible future) disalignment. With prefaces like *so* and *now*, the teachers can also position the upcoming action relative to a larger course of action; as

related to their institutional agenda (cf. Bolden, 2006, 2008). Importantly, too, juncture-initiating turns are regularly paired with embodied conduct. In some cases, this works to fill out the sense of semantically weak change of activity tokens. In others, it sets in place contingencies relevant for complying with the action accomplished through both talk and these multimodal actions. That is, the teacher's talk and embodied actions create a complex, yet restricted field of activity (cf. Goodwin, 2000) from which students' responsive talk and bodily conduct can be measured, and treated as compliant/aligning, or otherwise.

Following on, we have also seen that the teachers orient to the students' embodied orientation in a fine-grained manner, and that regulation of students' bodily configuration is a significant teacher resource in lesson beginnings. Directing students to move themselves or their lesson-relevant materials is a powerful method for securing alignment, and is met with quick rebuke when it is not forthcoming. We have also seen that topicalisation of bodily orientation is used, particularly by Miss Craig, to disengage from problems in other courses of action, with the effect of both enforcing student compliance, and moving the lesson beginning towards subsequent task-relevant arrangements. This is perhaps the strongest method securing student alignment that arises in lesson beginnings in the present data set, and is very rarely met with student non-compliance. On the other hand, we have also seen that teachers can arrange lesson-relevant materials during periods of silence, or other courses of action progressed through talk. Miss Craig, in particular, takes long periods during her lesson beginnings to arrange and distribute relevant artefacts. While this is, of course, an inevitable part of the lesson (i.e., lessons intrinsically require various materials), its conduct in lesson beginnings also provides teachers with a

resource for incrementally building task incipency in a way that mandates only minimal forms of alignment from the students (cf. Korkiakangas & Rae, 2013). At the same time, it demonstrates movement towards lesson tasks and, when stronger response mobilising practices are utilised, offers a field of action that can be invoked and exploited.

In summary then, on the teacher side, there are a variety of related practices that can be used to build task incipency, and promote student compliance in lesson beginnings. These practices range in their deontic strength, with weaker ones including arrangement of lesson artefacts, and stand-alone change of activity tokens. Change of activity tokens can be strengthened by pairing them with embodied displays of task relevancy, and made stronger still by forming composite turns involving questions and directives, with those directly addressing the embodied configuration of the lesson and lesson tasks the strongest.

On the student side, the path of least resistance is alignment with the growing task incipency. Perhaps this is best demonstrated by Ryan, who rarely disrupts any of the courses of action in lesson beginnings and, as a consequence, is rarely admonished or directed for his disalignment. For the most part, too, Benny and Tom exhibit multimodal compliance in response to the teacher's juncture-initiating turn, and arrangement of artefacts. We have seen, however, in this chapter and the previous ones how greetings and topic talk can interrupt task incipency. The analyses in the present chapter have demonstrated how the scope for other, and particularly student-initiated courses of action become increasingly constrained following juncture-initiating turns (unless, of course, the teachers support them). After these transitions, the students are increasingly

placed in the position of responding to initiating turns produced by the teachers, with opportunities for speakership strongly modulated by the teachers. With these constraints, the forms of resistance available to students narrows. Silence, and steady bodily positioning in response to questions and directives buys some time. The other alternative is outright disalignment and rejection. As we have seen, neither can hold out for long, with teachers moving quickly to exert their deontic authority, and get things back on track. And with that, lesson beginnings give way to lesson tasks, and move headlong into the rest of the lesson.

Chapter 7

Discussion and conclusions

7.1 Chapter preface

This chapter summaries, synthesises, and discusses the implications of the present study. The chapter begins with a summary of the preceding analytic chapters, before moving on to exploring features of social action in lesson beginnings. In particular, this chapter delves into patterns of participation in lesson beginnings, how teachers address problematic actions, and the management of (non-)compliance. Possible implications of the present study for teaching children with ASD are then addressed. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the limitations of the present study, and recommendations for future research in the areas of classroom interaction, teaching children with ASD, and interactions involving children with ASD more broadly.

7.2 Summary of analyses

Chapters 4, 5, and 6 each focused on specific, recurrent courses of action and interactional practices in lesson beginnings. Unlike much of the available conversation-analytic research on classroom interactions, which focuses on lesson tasks (e.g., McHoul, 1978, 1990; Mehan, 1979; Macbeth, 1991, 2004; Margutti & Drew, 2014; Radford, 2010; Radford et al., 2011), the analyses of the present study explore the fluid, dynamic activities that precede them. While, intuitively, one might conclude that the non-task-based elements of classroom interaction are disorderly, or uninteresting, we have seen that lesson beginnings are a consequential component of classroom interaction, which is systematically organised, and home to many salient interactional manoeuvres from both teacher and students.

Broadly, we have seen that greetings, topic talk, and the achievement of task incipency are recurrent activities in lesson beginnings. Moreover, we have seen that, as lesson beginnings progress, task incipency becomes increasingly relevant, as does the students' compliance, and teachers' practices for managing it. Chapter 4 explored the organisation of greetings in lesson beginnings. Greetings were observed to be an optional feature of lesson beginnings. When they occur, greetings are used to generically orient the students and teachers to one another, setting the scene for lesson beginnings to progress. In addition, the greetings give way to different courses of action, including personal state enquiries and topic talk, and task-relevant arrangements and directives. Miss Craig frames greetings as a desirable feature of lesson beginnings, and praises students for initiating them. On the other hand, students who do not initiate, or resist greetings, are admonished.

Chapter 5 documented and analysed topic talk in lesson beginnings. Topic talk is common across both teachers' lesson beginnings, and is predominately initiated by students. We saw that the initiation of topic talk allows students (and occasionally teachers) to progress non-task-related talk and agendas, and can lead to the development of substantial sequential units, implicating a variety of actions. In addition, topic talk also has the potential to make relevant social identities other than, or in addition to, "student" and "teacher". For these reasons, topic talk can disrupt, delay, and divert lesson beginnings, and movement towards lesson tasks, and is often firmly regulated by the teachers. Still, on many occasions, students persist with initiating and pursuing topic talk, which requires the implementation of stronger practices by the teachers to close it.

Chapter 6 explored the practices that teachers employ to turn students towards lesson tasks. This is realised in two principal forms: regulation of the embodiment of the lesson, and juncture-initiating turns. Teachers regulate the embodiment of the lesson by purposefully arranging and employing their own bodies and artefacts, and by topicalising and directing the students' bodily positioning, such as how they should sit, where they should put their hands, or where they should be directing their gaze. As well, the teachers turn students towards lesson tasks through juncture-initiating turns, which point towards a transition in the lesson beginning. This is accomplished using change of activity tokens, and various prefaced directives; sometimes in combination. At this stage of the lesson beginning, students are increasingly less able to shape its course, with the teacher's deontic authority coming to the fore. We also saw variations between Miss Smith and Miss Craig along the lines of their lesson organisation, with Miss Smith moving students forward individually, and Miss Craig moving students forward both individually and collectively.

7.3 Participation and agency in lesson beginnings

From the moment the teachers and students come into contact with one another in the classroom, they must negotiate the development of their courses of action together. This will involve different participation configurations, with each party contributing different sorts of interactional labour. The present section discusses how this labour is divided in lesson beginnings, and differential contributions of teachers and students.

7.3.1 Teachers

The reading lessons explored in the present study are teacher-fronted which, *a priori*, is indicative of strong teacher contributions to the control and maintenance of lesson beginnings (cf. McHoul, 1978; MacBeth, 1991). The preceding analyses demonstrate that Miss Craig and Miss Smith initiate courses of action, regulate the transition from one sequence to another, and occasion the relevance of, and commencement of, lesson tasks. So, in aggregate, it is clear that teachers actively shape the ways that courses of action emerge in lesson beginnings, providing interactional structures that constrain students' participation and agency. Hence, the progressivity of lesson beginnings is largely achieved through the implementation of the teachers' deontic authority.

To begin with, and very broadly, teacher agency and authority is made visible through the manipulation and regulation of class materials. Distributing lesson materials, and making accountable the arrangement of students' lesson-relevant artefacts is heavily regulated by teachers, with students positioned as to simply accept and comply. As well, there is a strong asymmetry in terms of the initiation of greetings, with Miss Craig commencing or soliciting the vast majority of these sequences in her lessons. That is, Miss Craig largely determines when and how she and the students will formally (though generically) orient to one another. However, the strongest demonstration of the teacher-loaded asymmetry in lesson beginnings are juncture-initiating turns, and the directives that they carry, or implicate.

Both Miss Smith and Miss Craig are the agents of progression in lesson beginnings. With very few exceptions (see Chapter 4, Extract 4.14), it is they who shift the lesson beginnings towards lesson tasks, closing prior courses of action,

and occasioning new ones. As outlined in Chapter 6, directives are a powerful action for accomplishing this shift, with their ability to maximise entitlement and minimise contingency. However, as we have also seen, there are a variety of turn formats used by the teachers, including *yes/no* interrogatives, *wh* interrogatives, *let's X*, and imperatives. Each of these formats indexes a different deontic stance, and there are some suggestive patterns of variance between teachers. With interrogative formats, the preference for a vocal response is heightened. In some cases, this might be mere assent, but in others it might offer an opportunity for more substantial contributions from the student. In Miss Smith's individually oriented lessons, this is regularly realised through individual negotiations of starting points for work using *wh* interrogative turn formats, particularly with Benny (e.g., Extracts 5.1, 5.3, & 5.4). However, if this is not successful in generating a specific lesson stating point, Miss Smith upgrades to more specific proposals for beginning points. So, by starting out with an interrogative turn format, Miss Smith is able to steadily ramp up the deontic force of her actions, indexing task incipency. By contrast, there is much less negotiation along these lines in Miss Craig's lessons. Instead, Miss Craig regularly implements imperative turn formats (e.g., Extracts 4.2, 5.6, & 6.9). In many cases, these imperative turn formats are used to make accountable students' bodily and artefact configurations, and in environments of disalignment. Unlike Miss Smith's negotiations of where students will begin at tasks, which might be subject to various sorts of contingencies, Miss Craig's imperatively formatted directives target matters for which there is little ability to negotiate, e.g., it is not optional to have a pen out, and open your book for lesson tasks. In addition, the greater diversity of courses of action in her lessons provide more opportunities for non-

compliance, delay, and disalignment. Thus, her use of imperative formats is consistent with the deontic urgency of times when students are adopting a non-compliant stance. So, particularly when accompanied by other embodied resources (e.g., gaze, gesture, artefact manipulation), imperative formats effectively and forcefully exert deontic superiority, and corral student agency and participation.

Interestingly, both Miss Smith and Miss Craig also employ the *let's X* turn format, and use plural pronouns in others sorts of turn format; in particular, *Can we X*. Clearly, in all of these instances, it is student activities that are primarily implicated, rather than teacher ones. But, by formatting the directive in this fashion, it claims some form of collective involvement, casting compliance and the incipient activity as a joint endeavour. Like the use of interrogative formats, the decision to employ a *let's X* turn design blunts the deontic stance of the action, giving it the appearance of approaching a proposal, in contrast to the clear directivity of an imperative (cf. Couper-Kuhlen, 2014).

Finally in this section, we can also briefly note two other forms of teacher activity in lesson beginnings which reflect their dominant, regulative role. As we have seen, particularly in Chapter 5, teachers invest substantial interactional resources in closing problematic lines of topic talk initiated by students. As well, they implement few interactional resources in supporting student-initiated topic talk (e.g., withholding response tokens, brief/absent responsive stances). In doing so, teachers halt and redirect a major source of student agency in lesson beginnings (see the section to follow), and shift the interaction back to their own terms.

7.3.2 *Students*

We now turn to the students, and their recurrent roles in shaping the emergence of lesson beginnings. Following on from the preceding section, it should be clear that many of actions undertaken by students are responsive ones. That is, the students are asked to provide, for example, responsive greetings, move their bodies, accept books handed to them, and, ultimately, take up lesson tasks as directed. The path of least resistance for students is to provide preferred responses to the teachers' actions, and facilitate the progression of lesson beginnings. In large part, this is what occurs, with lesson tasks taken up with few incidents. However, we have also seen that students can adopt disaligning stances towards the teacher's initiations, and disrupt the progress of lesson beginnings. In doing so, students resist the deontic authority of the teacher, and assert their own agency. Very generally, this is manifested in delays, actions that begin to, or appear to align, and outright disalignment.

One clear demonstration of this disalignment is Benny's resistance to the participation greetings. In Extracts 4.6, 4.7, and 4.8, Benny variously disaligns with the greetings, including delaying response, slowing his response with self repair, and producing an action with an ill-fitting format. The strongest form of disalignment, though, is his refusal to orient at all to greetings, and maintenance of a posture that embodies withdrawal and indifference. This disruption to the teacher's interactional agenda inhibits progressivity in lesson beginnings, and means that more turns and interactional resources are required to resolve the impasse. It also projects a strong deontic stance on Benny's part, exerting his own agency. In each case, though, the teacher's deontic authority wins out, and Benny ultimately complies.

The most substantial realisation of student agency in lesson beginnings is undoubtedly topic talk. At the very least, topic talk is the period in which the students hold the floor for longest; particularly Benny. In addition, the ways that the students carry out topic talk are also suggestive of students' idiosyncratic interactional competencies and interests, and provide opportunities for creative implementation of interactional practices. In Benny's case, he uses topic talk to present matters in which he is clearly personally invested, such as topics on which he (or others) had strong opinions, as well as personal tellings and matters. Hence, Benny uses topic talk as an opportunity to present his stance on these personally important matters to the teachers. Periods of topic talk initiated by Benny also provide significant insight to his skills and creative management of extended periods of speakership. His use of preliminary actions to secure the floor for himself, and the composition of his tellings effectively allows him (some) control over the course of lesson beginnings. As well, Benny is adept at monitoring his tellings and teacher responses for signs of possible closure, and effective at retaking the floor to add yet further telling components (e.g., Extracts 5.2, 5.3, & 5.4). In sum, then, Benny's actions during periods of topic talk display his ability to exert and manage his agency during lesson beginnings.

Tom, on the other hand, uses a more variable range of practices to initiate topic talk, and is, overall, less successful with securing alignment, particularly from Miss Craig. As outlined in Chapter 5, Tom's initiations tend to be single action turns (rather than extended ones) which project a response from the teacher. In addition, Tom's initiations are regularly directed towards sensitive matters, such as Miss Craig's appearance, Roald Dahl's death, nudity, etc., and shift between matters quickly and variably. So, Tom's agency in lesson

beginnings appears directed towards subversion much more explicitly than Benny's. However, these actions are likely to mobilise responses from others, be they uptake, rebuke, or something else. In addition, we also saw that Tom is adept with manipulation of grammatical form in a number of examples, altering turn formats from declaratives to interrogatives to secure teacher responses (e.g., Extracts 5.6 & 5.8) (Stivers & Rossano, 2010). During topic talk, too, we also observed that Tom is able to design responses that give the appearance of contributing to teacher's agenda, but in fact supporting his own (e.g., Extract 5.10, hairdresser; Extract 5.8, Cleveland). For instance, Tom's response to Miss Smith's task relevant solicitation in Extract 5.8 (i.e., *the first capital was ...*) both satisfies the constraints of being a possible answer, and at the same time drives forward his topic talk. So, we can see that Tom's exertion of agency through topic talk in lesson beginnings is more unconventional than Benny's, but still effective on some occasions.

When teachers explicitly address task incipency, there is far less scope for students to exert their agency in a way that will not lead to sanction. Perhaps the most generic way is to remain silent and steady after directives have been implemented (e.g., Extracts 5.1 & 6.9). Even so, this buys precious few moments, and will typically be quickly met with upgraded efforts to enforce compliance. Still, we also saw a handful of examples where students push their agency as far as it would carry them, with an interesting variety of interactional practices. For example, Benny's resistance in Extract 5.1 creatively employs his absences from class as a reason for not being able to locate his beginning point for the lesson. When Miss Smith undermines the validity of this claim, Benny creatively, but less effectively, upgrades his account by attributing his non-answer to having amnesia.

Perhaps because of this creativity, or playfulness, Benny does not draw rebuke from Miss Smith, but it does draw this period of non-minimal speakership from Benny to a close, with his control over the terms of the interaction slipping away. Tom, on the other hand, takes a much more confrontational route in Extract 6.6, adopting a strong deontic stance, which receives direct and definitive sanction from Miss Smith. While Tom persists with his stance, he is quickly overrun, and shifts to passive resistance as Miss Smith enforces his compliance with lesson tasks.

It is also worth reflecting on one instance that Tom initiates the move towards lesson tasks; something very unusual in this data set. In Extract 5.7, it appears to be a strategy for resisting Miss Craig's efforts to "normalise" his claim that she is *a rosy head*, i.e., taking it as a *compliment*. By producing the turn *is it the twitty twits*, Tom offers an action that Miss Craig is likely to align with, which he then exploits to put forward yet another provocative topic initiation, i.e., *the Twits getting naked*. So, Tom uses his agency at this juncture to progress the lesson beginning, and then immediately undermines it.

Finally, we should also briefly reflect on Ryan's contributions to lesson beginnings. As we have seen, Ryan is a bystander to many of the happenings in lesson beginnings. He mostly engages in silent compliance, while occasionally offering responsive actions, and involving himself in the maintenance of routines (see Extracts 4.15 & 6.9).

Sections 7.3.1 and 7.3.2 have elaborated the different interactional work undertaken by students and teachers in lesson beginnings. We have seen that lesson beginnings are strongly skewed towards teachers, with a few key sites for students to pursue their own projects. However, when these projects do not fit

with lesson beginnings, or persist too long, teachers must deal with problematic actions implemented by the students. This issue will be taken up in the following section.

7.4 Teacher practices for addressing (possible) problems with progression

When students disalign and disrupt lesson beginnings, teachers are faced with choices about how they might address this conduct. Three common threads across the actions used to address potentially problematic actions have been identified amongst the present data set; namely deleting, neutralising, and disallowing actions. Each, and their implications, will now be discussed.

7.4.1 *Deleting actions*

The most minimal, perhaps economical option employed by teachers in this data set are actions that do not engage with potentially problematic student actions. In doing so, the teachers work towards effectively deleting the student's action, and moving on to other activities. The action that supersedes it is typically a new, directive first pair part. This practice is employed more commonly by Miss Craig than Miss Smith. For example, in Extract 6.10, Miss Craig directs Tom to pull his chair in after he initiates topic talk with a polar question, concerning her having a *rosy head*; in Extract 5.7, after Tom produces the assertion *the twits getting naked*, Miss Craig directs the students to take their pens out; in Extracts 4.7 and 4.8 when Benny does not orient to the greeting sequences, Miss Craig immediately makes relevant his bodily configuration. This strategy effects a

change in the operative course of action, and repositions Miss Craig to be in control of the sequence. However, it does not topicalise or target the problematicity of the action directly, e.g., Benny's resistance or Tom's inappropriate topic initiations. In doing so, the teacher avoids a potential confrontation, which will delay and disrupt the lesson beginning further, while at the same time generically address the students' action through exerting her deontic authority. These deleting actions also provide for a quick transition towards lesson tasks, doubling their efficiency in resolving resistance and disalignment.

7.4.2 *Neutralising actions*

Another class of actions employed by the teachers involves variously neutralising the problematic talk. This is the most frequently and regularly employed strategy. Unlike deleting actions, these turns provide receipt, or some degree of alignment with the potentially problematic talk, and move towards closure without actually carrying it out. Again, these actions aim to accomplish transition, while minimising confrontation, and potentially impeding progression in lesson beginnings. For example, in Extract 5.1, after Benny cites amnesia as his account for failing to nominate where to begin his task, Miss Smith responds with a commiseration rather than questioning the veracity of his claim. Miss Smith's also uses various neutralising actions to bring topic talk to possible closure. For example, in Extract 5.1, she simply formulates the final detail of Benny's "Diet Coke" telling (i.e., *but that would've been flat*); in Extract 5.2, she offers aligning, minimal, but transformative answer to Benny's questioning about whether homeless people can vote; and, in Extract 5.3, Miss Smith closes

Benny's talk on Kevin Rudd with a confirming agreement (i.e., *like all politicians, yes*). With these strategies, she aligns minimally with Benny's topic talk, and lays the ground for subsequent actions indexing task incipency.

In Miss Craig's lessons, there are also a substantial number of examples of neutralising actions in the context of topic talk. In Extract 5.7, Miss Craig ends Tom's talk on *rosy head* with an assessment and a formulation (i.e., *that sounds nice, I'm gonna take that as a compliment*); in Extract 5.10, to end Tom's persistent efforts to define suburb boundaries in the "hairstresser" topic talk, Miss Craig receipts and thanks Tom for his final contribution (i.e., *okay thanks for that*); and, in Extract 6.10 Miss Craig simply receipts Tom's final attempt to pursue topic talk about the age of a book character. So, with neutralising actions, both Miss Smith and Miss Craig minimally engage with the operative course of action, while providing for transition in the near future.

7.4.3 Disallowing actions

Unlike deleting or neutralising, disallowing topicalises the problematicity of the action, and the teacher then explicitly proposes how it will be handled. In Extract 5.6, as mentioned immediately above, Tom is strongly pursuing topic talk, and arrives at Miss Craig's mother as a potential topic. In response, Miss Craig elaborately rules out this topic for class time (i.e., *if you want to talk to me about my mum, you can, but not in class*). Similarly, Miss Smith proposes to postpone topic talk with Tom and Benny in Extracts 5.11 and 5.3 respectively. In Extract 5.11, she tells Tom *we'll talk about it later* as she is leaving the room to get Benny; in Extract 5.3, she asks Benny *can I talk to you later?* so that her opinions are not recorded, and that lesson tasks may commence. There are also examples where

the inappropriateness of an action is topicalised more explicitly in order to disallow it. For example, in Extract 6.8, Miss Craig topicalises the problematic nature of Benny's return greeting, i.e., *okay let's try it again*; in Extract 6.6, Miss Smith directly addresses the problems with Tom's threats to remove Foundation font, i.e., *you have no control over other people*. By topicalising the problematic nature of the student's action, particularly with the action employed in the latter examples, the teachers increase the likelihood that there will be further talk related to it, and the lesson beginning will be delayed. Still, there seems little room to avoid actions like these when student adopt a deontic stance like the one Tom adopts in Extract 6.6.

In summary, the present data set has revealed three broad ways of addressing potentially problematic actions in lesson beginnings. Deleting and disallowing actions appear the most coercive, strongly implementing the teacher's agenda. Neutralising actions appear the most delicate solution to the problems faced by the teacher. They are carried out through deontically weaker actions, and demonstrate at least pro forma engagement with the course of action implemented through the student's talk. As such, they represent a practice for dealing with potentially problematic actions that are the least likely to disrupt lesson beginnings, and are likely the most broadly usable.

7.5 Response mobilisation and compliance

This section discusses response-mobilising strategies employed by the teachers to modulate and build momentum in lesson beginnings. We shall see how this is achieved through developing specific contextual configurations

(Goodwin, 2000), exploiting the laminated nature of action (Goodwin, 2013), and the accountability of students' bodies throughout the lesson.

7.5.1 Building incipency

We have seen that lesson beginnings progressively work to a point where tasks are incipient, and student compliance is strongly relevant. Teachers and students arrive at this point, together, through the arrangement of various contextual configurations of talk and the embodiment of the lesson, and the ordering of actions and courses of action in the lesson. We shall explore each of these issues.

As demonstrated by Korkiakangas and Rae (2014), the manipulation of lesson relevant objects can be an important resource for achieving transitions between tasks, perhaps particularly so for students with ASD. The present study has demonstrated the the arrangement of these artefacts—especially in Miss Craig's lessons—serves an important function for building towards lesson tasks. Of course, practically, all of these objects are materially required for carrying out the lesson. However, a different, complimentary reading of this is that their arrangement progressively builds the contextual configuration that will be utilised in lesson tasks, making visible to students its arrangement, and generically preparing them for task commencement. As well, this may be carried out in parallel with talk that is supporting other courses of action. Moreover, tasks like opening of books, moving pencil cases, and manipulation of other stationery, places little burden on students for vocal responses, and can be managed independently. So, this form of incipency can be built unobtrusively, and without the strong deontic force of other courses of action in lesson beginnings.

There is also evidence of the progressive creation of task incipency in the ordering of activities in lesson beginnings. That is, the sequential distribution of different courses of action demonstrate an increasingly task specific orientation. While their relative organisation is variable, greetings and topic talk are positioned before task-specific instructions, and directives related to lesson tasks. Of course, greetings may arise later in the lesson, or topic talk may be set off as the tasks are underway. Still, there are no instances in the present data set of greetings following topic talk, nor of task specific instructions happening at the immediate initiation of lesson beginnings. This increasing specificity is also visible in the formats of juncture-initiating turns. In both sequences of actions and in individual turns, change of activity tokens are positioned first, followed by prefaces, and then directives. That is, as the sequence or turn emerges, it increasingly narrows to the relevancies that student must attend to, and specifies the nature of adequate responsive practices. Less directly, the student's positioning of their initiations of greetings and topic talk also display some recognition of the progressively constrained nature of lesson beginnings. That is, for the most part, students initiate these courses of action in fitted positions in the lesson beginning, with student-initiated greetings (rare as they may be) positioned exclusively in the early moments of the lesson, and topic talk occurring only very rarely outside the period between greetings (where present) and the actions indexing task incipency.

So, all in all, we can see that lesson beginnings are organised to be built progressively through talk and embodiment, and this progressive nature is oriented to by both teachers and students. More broadly, this fits with general findings about interaction, with minimal realisations of interactional practices

pursued in the first place, before being extended and expanded as required (cf. Dingemanse, Blythe, Dirksmeyer, 2014; Schegloff, 2006; Svennevig, 2008). Svennevig (2008) formulates this pattern in the context of repair as “trying the easiest solution first”. This seems a nice analogy for the teachers and students increasing investment of interactional resources as lesson beginnings progress towards lesson tasks, and might be a specific manifestation of this general interactional pressure.

7.5.2 Multimodal actions, multimodal constraints

As outlined in Chapter 6, multimodality is a broad feature of social action, and is pervasively relevant in lesson beginnings, as it is in almost every co-present interaction. In the section above, we have also reflected, again, on the arrangement of artefacts, and their role in building incipency in lesson beginnings. We shall now discuss the interplay between talk and embodied conduct employed by the teachers in the juncture-initiating turns, and its role in promoting task compliance.

Chapter 6 demonstrated how teachers combine their vocal conduct with targeted orientation to lesson relevant artefacts and student behaviours in the course of occasioning lesson tasks. For example, we saw instances where juncture-initiating turns are synchronised with pointing towards or tapping on a book, movement of a book into a space in front of the student, pointing at handouts, tapping pencil cases, and pointing at students’ bodies. What are these practices accomplishing? There are a number of issues to explore here.

First, as noted by Kent (2012), directives that adults direct towards children are rarely met with vocal responses. So, it is likely the case for many directives

in lesson beginnings that a vocal response from the student will not be immediately forthcoming, or perhaps required. Second, when the teachers in the present study implement juncture-initiating turn, and other deontically strong actions, there are grounds for securing strong alignment from the students at that time, e.g., previous student disalignment, the imminence of lesson tasks. So, implementing an action that layers vocal and multimodal resources in this way means that the students are subject to multiple relevancies. That is, students are accountable for following the actions implemented by the directive, but in a way specified via the teacher's embodied manipulations. For the teachers seeking compliance, the upshot of this layered actions is that, if students do not offer adequate talk and/or embodied responses, they can be variously read as breaching these relevancies, and can be held accountable for such.

At the same time, however, the specificity of multimodal constraints can also create opportunities for incipient compliance on the students' part, i.e., embracing some constraints but escaping others (Kent, 2012). For example, in Extract 6.11, Miss Craig attempts to end Tom's topic talk on Roald Dahl by producing a directive while handing him the reading text. Tom moves the book closer to him as a preparation to *read*, thus demonstrating his compliance in embodied conduct. However, he issues another assertion about Roald Dahl, while embodying readiness to read, thereby flouting Miss Craig's directive to *concentrate and read*. So, in this case, the action relevancies encoded in the embodied layer of Miss Craig's action allows Tom to delaminate it from the vocal layer, providing him with space to pursue his own agenda.

The analyses offered in the present study also broadly highlight how students' bodies and lesson-relevant artefacts can be used as a resource for

exerting deontic authority, and promoting student compliance. Benny, Tom, and Ryan are all treated as accountable in a variety of ways for the arrangement of their bodies, their gaze, their books, pens, pencil cases, etc. It is striking, too, how often teachers topicalise bodies and artefacts when dealing with student disalignment, across all of the courses of action and practices under study. That is, teachers orient to these features of the interactional environment before greetings, during greetings, while distributing artefacts, during topic talk, immediately prior to lesson tasks, and even once lesson tasks have begun to take place. In fact, we might go so far as to claim that bodies and artefacts are “omnirelevant” (Butler, Fitzgerald, & Gardner, 2009) for lesson beginnings. That is, these features of the interactional environment are pervasively available resource for the teacher to draw upon in the regulation of lesson beginnings in special education.

So, all in all, it seems that the design of multimodal actions, and the management of those employed by others, is a core competence of the teachers in the present study. That is, these interactional practices may constitute a part of the teachers’ professional “interactional knowledge” (Peräkylä & Vehviläinen, 2003). With the regulation of the embodiment of lesson beginnings, teachers set up salient contextual configurations, and regulate student compliance. At the same time, these multi-layered resources create relevancies that may be exploited by the students. As such, the findings of the present study contribute to the broader literature on the implementation of deontic authority in the classroom (cf. Macbeth, 1991; Margutti, 2011).

7.6 Implications for teaching children with ASD

The findings of the present study have demonstrated that lesson beginnings are systematically organised, and a site of significant activities for teachers and students. While the materials presented here are likely intuitively familiar for teachers, the present study has shown how lesson beginnings are constructed moment by moment, through specific social actions, and their consequences for the trajectory of the lesson beginnings. As with other professional groups, and particularly those working with communication disability, there is much potential for the findings of the present study to inform professional practices in interactions involving students with ASD (cf. Peräkylä & Vehviläinen, 2003; Sterponi & de Kirby, 2016; Wilkinson, 2015). That is, the interactional practices identified in the present study could be used to structure teacher reflection on lesson beginnings, considering how their own practices fit with those depicted, and examining their interactional implications. Perhaps the most direct way forward on this front would be to use the categories of responses for dealing with problematic actions—namely, deleting, neutralising, and disallowing—identified in the present study for this kind of targeted reflection. Teachers could be encouraged to think about the interactional implications of these choices, the contexts in which they might be used, how they fit with the characteristics of particular students with ASD, and how they fit with other sorts of structures that are already present in the classroom. This sort of approach has proven effective with professionals working with communication disability, as well as the everyday communication partners of people with communication disabilities (cf. Simmons-Mackie, Savage, & Worrall, 2014).

It is likely also worth drawing teachers' attention to the complexity of the actions undertaken by students during periods of topic talk in lesson beginnings, and more generally. During topic talk, for example, actions like telling, accounting, describing, explaining, agreeing, disagreeing, asking, asserting, etc. were all prominent. So, lesson beginnings involve particular sorts of communication opportunities, which may be especially valuable for students with ASD, and therefore worthy of systematic reflection. Of course, lesson beginnings are limited, and are invariably moving towards specific tasks. However, ensuring that all appropriate communicative opportunities are exploited is worth detailed consideration for students with ASD.

One striking feature of lesson beginnings is the lack of reference to external schemes and expectations for the students. There is a great variety of focused intervention approaches for students with ASD, involving particular sorts of behavioural management, and visual resources (see Odom et al., 2010). But, apart from Tom's behaviour monitoring checkbox, nothing like this is explicitly used during the lesson beginnings. Of course, it might be the case that these students do not require them, or that they are so embedded in the teachers' and students' practices that they are difficult to locate. However, it also seems likely that during lesson beginnings in the present study, we were seeing the ad hoc management of teaching tasks, with the materials to hand. One interesting upshot here is that the multimodality of social actions means that students with ASD can be provided with multimodal supports for comprehension even in the absence of dedicated resources. So, again, understanding these largely implicit, intuitively managed stages of lessons would be a significant value for planning teaching strategies for students with ASD (cf. Peräkylä & Vehviläinen, 2003).

Generally, the present study has also demonstrated the value of CA for close reflection on the communicative practices used by students with ASD in the classroom. We have identified idiosyncratic and recurrent practices employed by the students, particularly Benny and Tom. For teachers, it might be desirable to conduct detailed, video-based reflection on individual students using conversation-analytic concepts, and perhaps methods. At the very least, these sorts of observation would provide very detailed examples of student behaviours that could be captured, targeted with relevant interventions, and measured for indications of academic progress. Perhaps more uniquely, using CA concepts may help better specify how seemingly pathological behaviours are interactionally produced in the classroom, and how teacher's interactional practices specifically affect their emergence, maintenance, and closing (cf. Muskett et al., 2010; Stribling et al., 2009; Tarplee & Barrow, 1999). In addition, as CA has been used more generally with ASD, this sort of analyses and reflection would provide an important opportunity to identify and emphasise students' communication strengths and abilities.

7.7 Limitations and future research

The findings of the present study are limited in a number of ways. A first limitation is the small number of participants. ASD is a spectrum disorder that manifests differently in each individual. The participants in the present study were, in general, towards the milder end of the spectrum, with a good deal of language to employ in interaction. Clearly, broad generalisation of the present findings is not possible, nor it is an aim of the present study. Still, for children with similar higher-functioning abilities, it might be the case that teachers can see

resonances with students who have ASD that they routinely encounter. The findings of the present study also point towards the potential value of studying how students with more severe impairments work with teachers to commence or transition in lessons (cf. Korkiakangas & Rae, 2014). It seems likely that some of the interactional pressures identified here will be common, but the resources used to accomplish them will be substantially different, and likely more multimodal.

A second limitation of the present study is the single teaching environment studied. This study focused on a special education classroom including children with ASD, intellectual disability, and learning disability. The approaches employed in a dedicated classroom for children with ASD, or an inclusive mainstream classroom with some children with ASD may well be different. Moreover, in the absence of comparative data, the present study cannot conclusively demonstrate the teaching practices employed here are specialised for students with ASD, nor special education. Therefore, it is recommended that future research be conducted on lesson beginnings in various classroom settings with different teaching approaches, and different student populations for contrastive analysis. It seems likely that many of the features identified here are relevant for small group work in lesson beginnings across classrooms and student populations, but that there will be some variation between them too. At this stage, based on the findings of the present study, all we can definitively say is that the practices reported here were used with students who have ASD. Their use elsewhere awaits further investigation.

In addition, the present study did not systematically link lesson beginnings with later occurrences in the lessons. Being able to demonstrate how (or whether)

the practices uncovered here fit with the conduct of lesson tasks is likely to be of substantial value.

Lastly, to better understand Benny, Ryan, and Tom's participation in lesson beginnings, and the school environment more generally, it would have been useful to have more information about the nature of their deficits, and their interactions in other contexts (e.g., home, other institutional contexts). Moreover, this means that the present study can only contribute in an ancillary fashion to the body of research defining the interactional competencies of children with ASD (see Chapter 1).

So, all in all, the findings of the present study are strongly limited to the current participants, and lesson activities. Still, the present study's findings are robust for this limited scope, and offer interesting directions for subsequent research with more varied populations.

7.8 Conclusion

In conclusion, this study has examined the organisation of lesson beginning involving students with ASD. It has demonstrated a series of activities that recur in lesson beginnings—greetings, topic talk, and practices indexing task incipency—and delineated how students and teachers contribute to them. In doing so, it has contributed new knowledge about how children with ASD participate in institutional interactions, and classroom interactions in particular. In addition, it has generated new knowledge about the organisation of primary school classroom interactions; particularly, the implementation of deontic authority in this context, and the multimodal arrangement of lesson beginnings. The findings of this study may be used to improve teaching practices for students

with ASD in order to make classrooms more accessible, and better understand their communicative strengths and weaknesses. Future research on classroom interactions involving students with ASD should include a wider variety of students and lessons. This will facilitate the development of a more comprehensive understanding how students with ASD interact with the institutional order of the classroom.

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Appendix A

Ethics approval

Approved - Ethics Application - Candlin (Ref: 5201200879)

3 messages

Ethics Secretariat <ethics.secretariat@mq.edu.au>

Thu, May 2, 2013 at 12:23 PM

To: Prof Chris Candlin <chris.candlin@mq.edu.au>

Cc: Dr Elisabeth Harrison <elisabeth.harrison@mq.edu.au>, Mr Siang Lee Yeo <siang-lee.yeo@students.mq.edu.au>

Dear Prof Candlin

Re: "The interactional features of the discourse of children with autism spectrum disorder (ASD)" (Ethics Ref: 5201200879)

Thank you for your recent correspondence. Your response has addressed the issues raised by the Human Research Ethics Committee and you may now commence your research.

This research meets the requirements of the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007). The National Statement is available at the following web site:

http://www.nhmrc.gov.au/_files_nhmrc/publications/attachments/e72.pdf.

The following personnel are authorised to conduct this research:

Dr Elisabeth Harrison
Mr Siang Lee Yeo
Prof Chris Candlin

NB. STUDENTS: IT IS YOUR RESPONSIBILITY TO KEEP A COPY OF THIS APPROVAL EMAIL TO SUBMIT WITH YOUR THESIS.

Please note the following standard requirements of approval:

1. The approval of this project is conditional upon your continuing compliance with the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007).
2. Approval will be for a period of five (5) years subject to the provision of annual reports.

Progress Report 1 Due: 2 May 2014
Progress Report 2 Due: 2 May 2015
Progress Report 3 Due: 2 May 2016
Progress Report 4 Due: 2 May 2017
Final Report Due: 2 May 2018

NB. If you complete the work earlier than you had planned you must submit a Final Report as soon as the work is completed. If the project has been discontinued or not commenced for any reason, you are also required to

submit a Final Report for the project.

Progress reports and Final Reports are available at the following website:

http://www.research.mq.edu.au/for/researchers/how_to_obtain_ethics_approval/human_research_ethics/forms

3. If the project has run for more than five (5) years you cannot renew approval for the project. You will need to complete and submit a Final Report and submit a new application for the project. (The five year limit on renewal of approvals allows the Committee to fully re-review research in an environment where legislation, guidelines and requirements are continually changing, for example, new child protection and privacy laws).

4. All amendments to the project must be reviewed and approved by the Committee before implementation. Please complete and submit a Request for Amendment Form available at the following website:

http://www.research.mq.edu.au/for/researchers/how_to_obtain_ethics_approval/human_research_ethics/forms

5. Please notify the Committee immediately in the event of any adverse effects on participants or of any unforeseen events that affect the continued ethical acceptability of the project.

6. At all times you are responsible for the ethical conduct of your research in accordance with the guidelines established by the University. This information is available at the following websites:

<http://www.mq.edu.au/policy/>

http://www.research.mq.edu.au/for/researchers/how_to_obtain_ethics_approval/human_research_ethics/policy

If you will be applying for or have applied for internal or external funding for the above project it is your responsibility to provide the Macquarie University's Research Grants Management Assistant with a copy of this email as soon as possible. Internal and External funding agencies will not be informed that you have final approval for your project and funds will not be released until the Research Grants Management Assistant has received a copy of this email.

If you need to provide a hard copy letter of Final Approval to an external organisation as evidence that you have Final Approval, please do not hesitate to contact the Ethics Secretariat at the address below.

Please retain a copy of this email as this is your official notification of final ethics approval.

Yours sincerely
Dr Karolyn White
Director of Research Ethics
Chair, Human Research Ethics Committee

Appendix B

Information and consent forms



Department of Linguistics
Faculty of Human Sciences
MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY NSW 2109

Phone: +61 (0)2 9850 8740

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Email: christophercandlin@gmail.com

Chief Investigator's / Supervisor's Name:
CHRISTOPHER N. CANDLIN

Chief Investigator's / Supervisor's Title
PROFESSOR EMERITUS

Information and Consent Form

Name of Project: **Interactional features of the discourse of children with autism spectrum disorder (ASD)**

Based on the recommendation by the Principal of [SCHOOL NAME], your child is invited to participate in a study on the interactional features of children with ASD. The purpose of the study is to analyse the way children with ASD interact with peers and teachers in a schooling environment, as well as how their parents and teachers think of their abilities to interact and communicate.

The study is being conducted by Siang Lee, Yeo to meet the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics under the supervision of Professor Christopher N. Candlin (Principal Supervisor) and Dr. Elisabeth Harrison (Associate Supervisor) of the Department of Linguistics.

If your child decides to participate, his/her verbal interactions with peers and teachers in [SCHOOL NAME] which he/she attends will be audio and video recorded. The recording is scheduled to take place in Term 2 and Term 3 during lessons and break time at the playground using unobtrusive recording equipment.

Please take some time to explain the nature of the study to your child and ask if he/she agrees to participate in the project. You may contact the researcher if your child has any questions that he/she would like to ask, or if you have any matters of doubt that need clarifying with regard to your child's involvement in this project. Once his/her verbal agreement is obtained, you are required to sign this form on behalf of him/her. Your child will be presented with a Target gift card as a token of appreciation after the entire data collection process has been concluded.

Any information or personal details gathered in the course of the study will be treated as confidential except as required by Australian law. No individual will be identified in any publication of the results. Only the researcher, his supervisors, the technical support staff and potential transcriber(s) of audio recordings (if a transcription service is deemed necessary) will have access to the data collected. Such data will be held confidentially in a secure location.

Results of the research project as a whole will be published in the form of a thesis as well as by means of conference, seminar presentations and journal article, book chapter or newspaper column publications. If any video clips are used as part of the presentation materials, your child's face will be blurred to protect his/her identity. A summary of the results of the data can be made available to you on request by emailing the research student, Siang Lee, Yeo at siang-lee.yeo@students.mq.edu.au.

Participation in this study is entirely voluntary: your child is not obliged to participate and if he/she decides to participate, he/she is free to withdraw at any time without having to give a reason and without consequence. He/She may do so by verbally informing the researcher or if he/she wishes, convey the intention to withdraw through you or any of his/her teachers at [SCHOOL NAME]. If your child displays any sign of distress or unwillingness to be recorded, this would be taken as a withdrawal of consent. Be rest assured that declining to participate in or withdrawing from this study will in no way affect his/her educational program at [SCHOOL NAME].

I, _____ (*child's name*) have had explained to me and understand the information above and any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to participate in this research, knowing that I can withdraw from further participation in the research at any time without consequence. I have been given a copy of this form to keep.

Parent/Guardian's Name: _____
(Block letters)

Parent/Guardian's Signature: _____ Date: _____

Investigator's Name: PROFESSOR CHRISTOPHER N. CANDLIN
(Block letters)

Investigator's Signature: _____ Date: _____

The ethical aspects of this study have been approved by the Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee. If you have any complaints or reservations about any ethical aspect of your participation in this research, you may contact the Committee through the Director, Research Ethics (telephone (02) 9850 7854; email ethics@mq.edu.au). Any complaint you make will be treated in confidence and investigated, and you will be informed of the outcome.

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Chief Investigator's / Supervisor's Name:
CHRISTOPHER N. CANDLIN

Chief Investigator's / Supervisor's Title
PROFESSOR EMERITUS

Information and Consent Form

Name of Project: **Interactional features of the discourse of children with autism spectrum disorder (ASD)**

You are invited to participate in a study on interactional features of children with ASD. The purpose of the study is to analyse the way children with ASD interact with peers and teachers in a schooling environment, as well as how their parents and teachers think of their abilities to interact and communicate.

The study is being conducted by Siang Lee, Yeo to meet the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics under the supervision of Professor Christopher N. Candlin (Principal Supervisor) and Dr. Elisabeth Harrison (Associate Supervisor) of the Department of Linguistics.

If you decide to participate, you will be asked to provide your opinions in response to a set of questions concerning the performance of your child in terms of his/her verbal interaction and communication in *[SCHOOL NAME]* which he/she attends. The questions will be emailed or posted to you before the interview session to allow you time to consider them in advance. A date and time convenient to you will be arranged for the interview and discussion to take place at *[SCHOOL NAME]*. The whole session will not be longer than an hour.

We would like you to notify the researcher at the beginning or during the interview if there is any question or issue that you do not wish to discuss. This will then not form part of the interview. Your responses, which will be audio-recorded and transcribed, are an important part of the research data of this study. After the recording has been transcribed, you will be given a copy of the transcription and you will be asked if you wish to change, reword or withdraw information disclosed in the interview session. You will be presented with a Target gift card as a token of appreciation after the entire data collection process has been concluded.

Any information or personal details gathered in the course of the study will be treated as confidential except as required by Australian law. No individual will be identified in any publication of the results. Only the researcher, his supervisors, the technical support staff and potential transcriber(s) of audio recordings (if a transcription service is deemed necessary) will

have access to the data collected. Such data will be held confidentially in a secure location. Results of the research project as a whole will be published in the form of a thesis as well as by means of conference, seminar presentations and journal article, book chapter or newspaper column publications. A summary of the results of the data can be made available to you on request by emailing the research student, Siang Lee, Yeo at siang-lee.yeo@students.mq.edu.au.

Participation in this study is entirely voluntary: you are not obliged to participate and if you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw at any time without having to give a reason and without consequence. You may do so by verbally informing the researcher or if you wish, convey your intention to withdraw through any administrative staff or teachers at [SCHOOL NAME]. Be rest assured that declining to participate in or withdrawing from this study will in no way affect your child's educational program at [SCHOOL NAME].

I, _____ have read and understand the information above and any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to participate in this research, knowing that I can withdraw from further participation in the research at any time without consequence. I have been given a copy of this form to keep.

Participant's Name: _____
(Block letters)

Participant's Signature: _____ Date: _____

Investigator's Name: PROFESSOR CHRISTOPHER N. CANDLIN
(Block letters)

Investigator's Signature: _____ Date: _____

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CHRISTOPHER N. CANDLIN

Chief Investigator's / Supervisor's Title
PROFESSOR EMERITUS

Information and Consent Form

Name of Project: **Interactional features of the discourse of children with autism spectrum disorder (ASD)**

You are invited to participate in a study on the interactional features of children with ASD. The purpose of the study is to analyse the way children with ASD interact with peers and teachers in a schooling environment, as well as how their parents and teachers think of their abilities to interact and communicate.

The study is being conducted by Siang Lee, Yeo to meet the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics under the supervision of Professor Christopher N. Candlin (Principal Supervisor) and Dr. Elisabeth Harrison (Associate Supervisor) of the Department of Linguistics.

If you decide to participate, your verbal interactions with pupil participants of this project in the *[SCHOOL NAME]* will be audio and video recorded. The recording is scheduled to take place in Term 2 and Term 3 during lessons and break time at the playground using unobtrusive recording equipment. In the subsequent phase of data collection, you will be asked to provide your opinions in response to a set of questions concerning the performance of the pupil participants. The questions will be emailed or posted to you before the interview session to allow you time to consider them in advance. A date and time convenient to you will be arranged for the interview and discussion to take place at *[SCHOOL NAME]*. The whole session will not be longer than an hour.

We would like you to notify the researcher at the beginning or during the interview if there is any question or issue that you do not wish to discuss. This will then not form part of the interview. Your responses, which will be audio-recorded and transcribed, are an important part of the research data of this study. After the recording has been transcribed, you will be given a copy of the transcription and you will be asked if you wish to change, reword or withdraw information disclosed in the interview session. You will be presented with a Target gift card as a token of appreciation after the entire data collection process has been concluded.

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Participation in this study is entirely voluntary: you are not obliged to participate and if you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw at any time without having to give a reason and without consequence. You may do so by verbally informing the researcher or if you wish, convey your intention to withdraw through any administrative staff at *[SCHOOL NAME]*.

I, _____ have read and understand the information above and any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to participate in this research, knowing that I can withdraw from further participation in the research at any time without consequence. I have been given a copy of this form to keep.

Participant's Name: _____
(Block letters)

Participant's Signature: _____ Date: _____

Investigator's Name: PROFESSOR CHRISTOPHER N. CANDLIN
(Block letters)

Investigator's Signature: _____ Date: _____

The ethical aspects of this study have been approved by the Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee. If you have any complaints or reservations about any ethical aspect of your participation in this research, you may contact the Committee through the Director, Research Ethics (telephone (02) 9850 7854; email ethics@mq.edu.au). Any complaint you make will be treated in confidence and investigated, and you will be informed of the outcome.

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Email: christophercandlin@gmail.com

Chief Investigator's / Supervisor's Name:
CHRISTOPHER N. CANDLIN

Chief Investigator's / Supervisor's Title
PROFESSOR EMERITUS

Information and Consent Form

Name of Project: **Interactional features of the discourse of children with autism spectrum disorder (ASD)**

Your child's classmate(s) at the [SCHOOL NAME] have been invited and agreed to participate in a study on the interactional features of children with ASD. The purpose of the study is to analyse the way children with ASD interact with peers and teachers in a schooling environment, as well as how their parents and teachers think of their abilities to interact and communicate.

The study is being conducted by Siang Lee, Yeo (siang-lee.yeo@students.mq.edu.au) to meet the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics under the supervision of Professor Christopher N. Candlin (Principal Supervisor) and Dr. Elisabeth Harrison (Associate Supervisor) of the Department of Linguistics.

As the data collection process involves audio and video recording of verbal interactions between the pupil participants and their peers as well as their teachers within the school compound, your child may be recorded if he/she happens to interact with the pupil participants during the data collection period, which is scheduled to take place during Term 2 and Term 3.

Please take some time to explain the nature of the study to your child and ask if he/she agrees to be recorded (as a non-participant). Only data from the selected pupil participants, not your child, will be the main focus of the analysis in this project. You may contact the researcher if your child has any questions that he/she would like to ask, or if you have any matters of doubt that need clarifying with regard to your child's involvement in this project. Once his/her verbal agreement is obtained, you are required to sign this form on behalf of him/her.

Any information or personal details gathered in the course of the study will be treated as confidential except as required by Australian law. No individual will be identified in any publication of the results. Only the researcher, his supervisors, the technical support staff and potential transcriber(s) of audio recordings (if a transcription service is deemed necessary) will have access to the data collected. Such data will be held confidentially in a secure location. Results of the research project as a whole will be published in the form of a thesis as well as by

means of conference, seminar presentations and journal article, book chapter or newspaper column publications. If any video clips are used as part of the presentation materials, your child's face will be blurred to protect his/her identity.

Your child's involvement in this study as a non-participant is entirely voluntary: your child is not obliged to be recorded and if he/she decides to do so, he/she is free to withdraw his/her consent at any time without having to give a reason and without consequence. He/She may do so by verbally informing the researcher or if he/she wishes, convey the intention to withdraw through you or any of his/her teachers at [SCHOOL NAME]. If your child displays any sign of distress or unwillingness to be recorded, this would be taken as a withdrawal of consent. Be rest assured that declining to be involved in the data collection of this study will in no way affect his/her educational program at [SCHOOL NAME].

I, _____ (*child's name*) have had explained to me and understand the information above and any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to be recorded in this research as a non-participant, knowing that I can withdraw from further involvement in the research at any time without consequence. I have been given a copy of this form to keep.

Parent/Guardian's Name: _____
(Block letters)

Parent/Guardian's Signature: _____ Date: _____

Investigator's Name: PROFESSOR CHRISTOPHER N. CANDLIN
(Block letters)

Investigator's Signature: _____ Date: _____

The ethical aspects of this study have been approved by the Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee. If you have any complaints or reservations about any ethical aspect of your participation in this research, you may contact the Committee through the Director, Research Ethics (telephone (02) 9850 7854; email ethics@mq.edu.au). Any complaint you make will be treated in confidence and investigated, and you will be informed of the outcome.

(INVESTIGATOR'S/PARTICIPANT'S COPY)

Appendix C

Interview questions

Name of Project: Interactional features of the discourse of children with autism spectrum disorder (ASD)

Name of Researcher: Siang Lee, Yeo (siang-lee.yeo@students.mq.edu.au)

Interview Questions for Parent Participants

Please give your feedback to the following questions and elaborate on your responses in relation to your child's ability to interact and communicate at home.

1. What do you think about your child's ability to interact and communicate with others? Would you think his/her ability to interact is poor, average or advanced? Can you explain why you think so?
2. Do you think that your child interacts and communicates with others in a particular personal way? Is it different from other children you may know? Can you give some examples?
3. Does your child interact and communicate with everyone consistently or does he/she interact and communicate with different people in different ways?
4. What aspects of your child's ability to interact and communicate with others would you like him/her to improve on?
5. Thinking back about it, can you remember if there were any moments when you were surprised by the way your child interacted or communicated with you or others? Can you tell me more about them?
6. What do you think might be the factors that would most encourage your child to interact or communicate more at home?
7. What do you think might be the factors that would get in the way of your child interacting or communicating more at home?
8. Thinking about his/her special education curriculum at school, do you think it helps your child to develop his/her social, interactional and communicative skills?
9. Have you observed any changes in your child's interactional and communicative ability in the last 3-6 months? In what particular ways? What do you think has helped him/her do this?
10. When you're talking and interacting with your child, do you use any particular ways to encourage him/her to get better at communicating with you? Can you tell me what these might be?
11. Does your child attend any speech therapy sessions? Do you think they help him/her? If yes, to what extent do you think speech therapy helps your child in his ability to interact and communicate with others? Can you give me some examples?

Name of Project: Interactional features of the discourse of children with autism spectrum disorder (ASD)

Name of Researcher: Siang Lee, Yeo (siang-lee.yeo@students.mq.edu.au)

Interview Questions for Teacher Participants

Please give your feedback to the following questions and elaborate on your responses in relation to pupil X's interactional and communicative ability, drawing on your personal experience in interacting with and teaching pupil X, as well as your training as a special education teacher/speech pathologist.

1. How would you evaluate pupil participant X's ability to interact and communicate with other students and his/her teacher? How well does he/she join in doing and saying things with them? Do you think his/her ability to interact is poor, average or advanced? Can you let me know why you think so?
2. Do you think that X has a particular personal way of interacting or communicating with others that is different from others? How would you describe this? Is it something particular to that student?
3. Does X interact and communicate with everyone in a consistent way or does he/she do this differently with different people?
4. What aspects of X's ability to interact and communicate would you like him/her to improve on?
5. In your experience in interacting with X, were there any moments when X's way of interacting and communicating with others surprised you? Can you tell me more about them?
6. What do you think might be the factors that would encourage X to interact or communicate more in school?
7. What do you think are the factors that might make it difficult for X to interact or communicate with others more in the school?
8. To what extent do you think the current special education curriculum promotes the development of social, interactional and communicative skills for children like X?
9. Have you observed any changes in X's interactional and communicative ability in the last 3-6 months? In what areas might that be? What do you think might be some of the factors that contribute to that development?
10. When you are teaching X, do you use any particular strategies in encouraging him/her to develop his/her interactional and communicative skills? Can you give me some details?
11. Based on the researcher's presentation of X's interactional and communicative ability, to what extent do you agree with the data analysis and findings? What do you agree/disagree with? How do you think the data can be further explored?
12. Based on your personal interaction with X and your experience in teaching him/her, to what extent do you think X can develop his/her interactional and communicative ability? What help might he/she need to do this?

Appendix D

Transcription conventions

Transcription conventions used in this thesis are adapted from Gardner (2001) and Ochs et al. (1996, p. 461-465).

[yeah]	Square brackets mark overlap; left where it begins, right where it ends.
=	Talk linked by equal signs carries on continuously over transcript lines, or is “latched” between different speakers.
(0.3)	Numbers in parentheses denote silences in tenths of seconds.
(.)	Parentheses enclosing a single period are less than two tenths of a second.
? ˆ ,	Strongly rising terminal intonation, less strongly rising, and slightly rising respectively.
— ˙ .	Level terminal intonation, slightly falling, and strongly falling respectively.
↑ ↓	Up and down arrows mark sharp shifts in pitch.
lo:ng	Colons mark lengthening of the preceding sound.
bu-	Short dashes in talk mark an abrupt cut-off.
<u>stress</u>	Underlining marks emphasis.
LOUD	Capitals mark talk that is louder than surrounding talk.
°quiet°	Degrees symbols mark talk that is quieter than surrounding talk.
£but£	Pound signs signify talk delivered in a “smile” voice.
>fast<	Inward less than/greater than symbols mark talk that is faster than surrounding talk.
<slow>	Outward less than/greater than symbols mark talk that is slower than surrounding talk.
.hh hh	In-breaths, out-breaths, and aspiration with a word respectively.
(unsure)	Text in parentheses are a transcriptionist’s “best guess”.
()	Empty parentheses signify that that talk is unable to be identified sufficiently.
((activity))	Text in italics in double parentheses are a transcriptionist’s description of events.
->	Horizontal arrows direct attention to phenomena of interest in the transcript.
Additions	
(---)	An alternate system of denoting silences by enclosing hyphens between parentheses. Each hyphen represents one tenth of a second, with an addition sign (+) used for the tenth hyphen. This system

iconically depicts the length of silences, and is used here primarily to demonstrate the duration of non-vocal activity.

1=====1

Numbers connected by equal signs and in italics mark non-vocal activities occurring simultaneous to talk, or silence. Each number is paired with a textbox describing these activities. Numbering simply denotes order of initiation in the extract.

>

Silences and non-vocal activities that continue over transcript lines are marked with a greater than symbol.

-a-

Enclosure between two hyphens signifies that the name of the character has been said.