STUDENT-INITIATED QUESTIONS IN ENGLISH AS A MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION CLASSROOMS IN A TURKISH HIGHER EDUCATION SETTING

BİR TÜRK YÜKSEK ÖĞRETİM KURUMUNDA İNGİLİZCENİN ÖĞRETİM DİLİ OLARAK KULLANILDIĞI SINIFLARDA ÖĞRENCİ BAŞLATIMLI SORULAR

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates student-initiated questions in English as a medium of instruction (EMI) interaction in a higher education setting. Although there is a growing body of research on EMI, classroom interactions occurring in this institutional setting are still underinvestigated. Considering the importance of learner-generated questions, which can promote autonomous inquiry-based learning as well as be diagnostic of students' learning in content-based classrooms, no study has been found conducted on the phenomenon at hand in full EMI settings. Motivated by this research gap, the current study seeks to understand how participants initiate and handle knowledge gaps. It particularly focuses on the instances where student-initiated questions are constructed and managed by the students and the teacher, respectively. More specific research questions concern what the distinctive features of these learner-generated questions are and what kind of interactional resources participants use in the instances of knowledge gaps. The data for this study comprise video data recorded in twelve weeks with three cameras. The data come from a corpus of 30 hours of video-recorded interaction in two content classrooms at an EMI university in Turkey. The participants (n=78) are fourth year undergraduate students in the Faculty of Education. This study adopts the conversation analysis methodology. The data were transcribed and analyzed with a special focus on student-initiated question episodes, and interactions were examined with particular attention to various interactional resources such as language use, body orientation, gesture, gaze and instructional materials. The findings of the study include three categories of student-initiated questions, namely (1) procedural and task-related questions, (2) content-related questions, and (3) terminology-related questions. First category of questions reveals that although English is the institutionally-assigned classroom language, students navigate classroom language norms by switching between L1 (Turkish) and L2 (English). The findings also shed light on the teacher's divergent treatment of L1 initiations in task-oriented and whole-classroom interaction modes in terms of both language choice

and the interactional resources utilized to resolve the problems. Second category of questions demonstrates that the normative language in pursuits of resolving content-related knowledge gap is L2 and students can handle quite complex professional issues using L2, which relates to the specific EMI context. More specifically, content-related questions address issues including practical concerns, guidelines for conduct, and ways of handling specific situations. Most notably, these questions are mainly designed in multi-unit questioning turns which do not come straightforwardly as the other two categories of questions do. Third category of questions shows that students resolve their knowledge gaps (1) by proposing an understanding in L1 and (2) by engaging in meaning negotiation between two terminology-related items. The first case demonstrates that the use of living language norms is a complex process, thereby unveiling the institutional fingerprints of EMI interaction, in which there is a shared language (L1) available to all participants. In the second case, students indicate their epistemic access to the domain following the teacher's turn by displaying understanding through providing some analysis of the information, which points that there is a clear orientation by students towards engaging in internalizing the meanings of lexical items through demonstration-of-(mis)understanding turns. The study has several implications for research on interactional repertoires and student agency in EMI and bilingual classrooms, and feeds into the growing body of research on L1 use in L2 classrooms, as well. Overall, this study contributes to the field of conversation analysis in general and to research on learner initiatives in EMI interaction in particular.

Keywords: conversation analysis, student-initiated questions, English as a medium of instruction, higher education, use of bilingual resources, classroom interaction

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BİR TÜRK YÜKSEK ÖĞRETİM KURUMUNDA İNGİLİZCENİN ÖĞRETİM DİLİ OLARAK KULLANILDIĞI SINIFLARDA ÖĞRENCİ BAŞLATIMLI SORULAR

Derya DURAN

ÖZ

Bu çalışma İngilizcenin öğretim dili olarak kullanıldığı bir öğretim kurumunda öğrenciler tarafından başlatılan soruları araştırmaktadır. İngilizcenin öğretim dili olarak kullanılması üzerine sürekli artan bir araştırma olmasına rağmen, bu kurumsal ortamda gerçekleşen sınıf içi etkileşim üzerine gerçekleştirilen araştırmalar yetersizdir. Öğrencilerin öğrenmesi konusunda tanılayıcı olmakla birlikte otonom sorgulamaya dayalı öğrenmeyi geliştiren öğrenciler tarafından oluşturulan soruların önemi içerik bazlı sınıflarda dikkate alındığında, İngilizcenin tüm kademelerde öğretim dili olarak kullanıldığı ortamlarda ele alınan konu üzerine bir çalışma yapılmadığı görülmüştür. Bu araştırma eksikliğinden hareketle, mevcut çalışma, katılımcıların bilgi boşluklarını nasıl başlattıklarını ve bu boşluklara nasıl müdahale ettiklerini anlamaya çalışmaktadır. Çalışma bilhassa öğrencilerin kendileri tarafından başlatılan soruları nasıl oluşturduğunu ve bu soruların öğretmen tarafından nasıl çözüldüğüne odaklanmaktadır. Spesifik araştırma soruları öğrenciler tarafından sorulan soruların ayırt edici özelliklerini ve katılımcıların bilgi boşlukları durumunda ne tür etkileşimsel kaynakları kullandıklarını irdelemektedir. Bu çalışmada kullanılan veri, 12 hafta boyunca üç kamerayla elde edilen video kayıtlarından oluşmaktadır. Söz konusu veri, Türkiye'de İngilizcenin öğretim dili olarak kullanıldığı bir üniversitede iki içerik sınıfından toplanan toplam 30 saatlik video kayıtlı etkileşimden gelmektedir. Katılımcılar (sayı=78) Eğitim Fakültesi'nde 4. sınıf lisans öğrencileridir. Bu çalışma, konuşma çözümlemesi yöntembilimini kullanmaktadır. Veri, öğrenciler tarafından başlatılan sorular bölümüne odaklanarak çevriyazılmış ve analiz edilmiştir. Ayrıca iletişimler, dil kullanımı, vücut yönelimi, el-kol hareketi ve öğretim malzemeleri gibi çeşitli etkileşimsel kaynaklara dikkat edilerek incelenmiştir. Çalışmanın bulguları, öğrenciler tarafından başlatılan soruları (1) yönetsel ve görev-ilişkin sorular, (2) içerik-ilişkin sorular ve (3) terminoloji-ilişkin sorular olarak üç kategoride toplamıştır. İlk soru kategorisi göstermiştir ki İngilizce kurumsal olarak seçilmiş sınıf dili olmasına rağmen, öğrenciler ilk dil (Türkçe) ve ikinci dil (İngilizce) arasında gidip gelerek sınıf içi dil normlarında geçişler

yapmaktadır. Bulgular ayrıca öğretmenin, görev odaklı ve tüm-sınıf iletişim modunda Türkçe'nin kullanılması durumlarında bilgi boşluğunu çözmek için hem dil seçimi hem de etkileşimsel kaynaklar bağlamında ayrı uygulamalar içinde olduğuna ışık tutmaktadır. İkinci kategori sorular, içerik-ilişkin bilgi boşluklarının çözümünde normatif dilin İngilizce olduğunu ve öğrencilerin İngilizceyi kullanarak oldukça karmaşık profesyonel konuları ele aldıklarını göstermiştir; ki bu da İngilizcenin öğretim dili olarak kullanıldığı ortamların kendine özgü özelliğiyle ilgilidir. Daha belirgin ifadeyle, içerik-ilişkin sorular uygulamalı meseleler, rehberlik için temel ilkeler ve özel durumlarla baş etme yolları gibi konulara değinmiştir. En dikkat çeken nokta ise, bu soruların çoğunlukla diğer iki kategorideki soruların aksine dolambaçsız gelmemesi ve çoklu birim soru dizininden oluşmasıdır. Üçüncü kategori sorular, öğrencilerin (1) Türkçe'de bir anlama/kavrayış sunarak ve (2) iki terminoloji-ilişkin öğe arasında anlam söyleşmesine girerek bilgi boşluklarını çözdüklerini göstermektedir. İlk durum, faal dil normlarının kullanımının karmaşık bir süreç olduğunu göstermektedir; böylelikle tüm katılımcılar için mevcut olan ortak bir dilin (ilk dil) bulunduğu İngilizcenin öğretim dili olarak kullanıldığı iletişimin kurumsal parmak izlerini ortaya çıkmaktadır. İkinci durumda, öğrenciler öğretmenin söz sırasının ardından bilginin bir kısım analizini sunarak bilgi alanına epistemik erişimlerini göstermektedir; bu durum (yanlış) anlama gösteri söz sıralarıyla öğrencilerin sözcüklerin anlamlarını içselleştirme bağlamında açık bir eğilimin olduğunu göstermektedir. Bu çalışma, İngilizcenin öğretim dili olarak kullanıldığı ve iki dilli sınıflarda etkileşimsel gösteri dağarcığı ve öğrenci eylemliliği alanlarında çeşitli çıkarımlar sunmaktadır. Ayrıca yabancı dil sınıflarında ilk dil kullanımına ilişkin giderek artan araştırma sahasını da beslemektedir. Kısaca belirtmek gerekirse, bu çalışma genel çerçevede konuşma çözümlemesi alanına, özelde ise İngilizcenin öğretim dili olarak kullanıldığı etkileşimlerde öğrenci girişimleri konusuna katkı sağlamaktadır.

Anahtar sözcükler: konuşma çözümlemesi, öğrenci başlatımlı sorular, öğretim dili olarak İngilizce, yüksek öğretim kurumu, iki dilli kaynakların kullanımı, sınıf içi etkileşim

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LIST OF ABBREVATIONS

CA: Conversation analysis

CA-for-SLA: Conversation analysis for second language acquisition

CIC: Classroom interactional competence

CIK: Claim of insufficient knowledge

CLIL: Content and language integrated learning

CoP: Community of practice

CS: Code-switching

EFL: English as a foreign language

EMI: English as a medium of instruction/English-medium instruction

ESL: English as a second language

FPP: First pair-part

HE: Higher education

IRF: Initiation-Response-Feedback

LP: Language policy

L1: First language (mother tongue)

L2: Second/foreign/additional language

MoI: Medium of instruction

MUQT: Multi-unit questioning turn

SLA: Second language acquisition

SPP: Second pair-part

TCU: Turn constructional unit

UCQ: Understanding check question

YND: Yes/no declarative

YNI: Yes/no interrogative

1. INTRODUCTION

In the globalized world where English has gained a lingua franca status (Jenkins & Leung, 2016), English as a medium of instruction (hereafter EMI) has been the instructional medium in a growing number of higher education (HE) settings (Hughes, 2008). According to Wächter and Maiworm (2008), HE institutions see EMI as a natural practice rather than an exception. As internationalization in these settings has been an important concept, they have shifted their attention to promoting the integral and basic part of an individual's professional competence. In other words, in today's internationalized world, the aim of such university settings is not only to provide content-based information, but also to promote the knowledge of students. Importantly, gaining a fundamental value in the working society in today's world (Coleman, 2006), English is being adopted as the medium of instruction in HE settings to raise students as competent users of English in the global world.

It should be noted here that providing EMI programs is not without its problems. There are a number of concerns which have arisen as a result of broad scale programs through English: 1) fear of domain loss of the national language, 2) student drop-out rates and exam results, 3) reduced knowledge, and 4) (poor) quality of teaching and learning (Soren, 2013). As these concerns might have severe consequences, EMI research has focused on these issues in HE. The research topics include language policy (LP), perceptions and attitudes of stakeholders (faculty members, students and policy makers), multicultural classrooms and so on. Particularly being a part of an international research agenda in all levels of tertiary education (Söderlundh, 2012), EMI has included research on the attitudes of academic staff towards EMI (Somer, 2001; El-Fiki, 2012), students' perceptions on EMI (Kırkgöz, 2005), the nature of academic lecturing in EMI contexts (Costa, 2012; Arkın, 2013) and lived academic and social experiences of the students in EMI settings (Wallitsch, 2014). Although the number of EMI programs is increasing day by day, there is a lack of research on the situated practices of EMI programs from a bottom-up perspective. By providing an in-depth look at the interactional practices taking place in two content classrooms in an EMI higher education setting in Turkey, the present study highlights the participants' orientations to English-medium interaction and thereby contributes to a better

understanding of the field of EMI and second/foreign/additional language (henceforth L2) research.

1.1. Statement of the Problem

Classrooms are social systems in which there are a number of agendas shifting from minute to minute so analyzing classroom talk brings with it many challenges for researchers. In this regard, choosing the appropriate methodology in line with one's research questions is an important starting point to unveil the complex dimensions of classroom interactions. Some scholars maintain that in classroom-based research, the focus should not be turned only to talk itself, but also to multimodal aspects of interaction, including gaze, gesture, posture, and teaching materials (Kupetz, 2011; Jakonen, 2015). Against this backdrop, conversation analysis (CA) which is rooted in ethnography aids classroom researchers to understand the multidimensional aspects of talk-in-interaction in classrooms as CA "starts its investigation with rigorous description and explication of moment-by-moment, turn-by-turn, sequence-by-sequence unfolding of talk captured in audio or video recordings'' (Mori & Zuengler, 2008, p. 16). Moreover, as Heritage & Drew (1992) rightly put, a conversation analytic work can resolve "basic problems associated with the gap between beliefs and action and between what people say and what they do" (p. 5).

Earlier literature on classroom interaction has largely focused on quantitative studies (Chaudron, 1988; Bailey & Nunan, 1996) with a particular attention to language used by teachers, particularly teacher questions, student responses and teacher feedback (Brock, 1986; Yang, 2010). However, the complete picture of classroom interaction still remains unclear as classrooms are not settings in which only teachers have the right to initiate and direct interactions. On the contrary, although previous research reflects an organization of classroom talk in which students confine themselves to providing answers to teacher's questions (Mehan, 1979; Lemke, 1990), recent studies have provided a more comprehensive delineation of classroom talk (Waring, 2009; Kapellidi, 2015; Skarbø Solem, 2016) which portray students' departures from the normative pattern in which teachers elicit answers from students. These studies have focused on student talk not only from a linguistic perspective, but also students' use of interactional resources such as gaze, gesture and the physical environment along with talk. Against this background, utilizing CA

for the data analysis, this study sets out to explore the learner-generated questions in an English-medium university with a combined focus on student initiations and language use in order to contribute to existing literature from a microanalytic perspective.

Although there is a growing body of research on EMI in academic settings, which have resulted in insightful contributions to exploration of stakeholders' perceptions (e.g. Hu, Li & Lei, 2014) and attitudes (e.g. Kılıçkaya, 2006; Jensen & Thøgersen, 2011) towards EMI, most of these studies have been based on surveys (e.g. Kang & Park, 2005; Costa & Coleman, 2013) or interviews (e.g. Vu & Burns, 2014) rather than on observational data. These studies are important in that they shed light on the multiple challenges stakeholders face in adopting EMI as well as on the benefits EMI brings together. Although these studies generally focus on one specific context, what they bring up is helpful to draw out implications which may be relevant to other contexts.

To the best of my knowledge, little has been discovered about participant interactions with each other in EMI settings. As a result of it, the interactions between students and teachers in these institutional settings have remained under-researched. In other words, what seems to be missing in the previous literature related to EMI research is a close analysis of what actually happens when teachers and students interact within the walls of the classrooms. To fill this research gap and make contributions to local EMI interaction and participation structures, the current research aims at providing an additional insight into linguistic and interactional skills employed by participants in the formulation and resolution of knowledge gaps in naturally occurring classroom interactions. Overall, taking into account the institutional goals of EMI contexts in which the focal aim is to teach the content through L2, the current study is an attempt to prove that it is possible to step out of the teacher-control and initiate interactional work to pursue resolution to knowledge gaps.

1.2. Purpose of the Study

The current study seeks to contribute to our understanding of how learner-generated questions are constructed and oriented to in an EMI setting. The empirical point of departure for this study is the identification of recurrent turn designs in student-

initiated questions. Taking students' and teacher's actual language use into consideration, the research focuses precisely on episodes in talk in which students make their emergent knowledge gaps visible through questioning sequences. Therefore, the study aims to expand our current understanding of the indications of lack of knowledge in educational settings, particularly in EMI contexts. For the scope of the current study, I narrow down the issue of knowledge gaps into three categories: (1) students' procedural and task-related questions, (2) students' content-related questions, and (3) students' terminology-related questions. Procedural and task-related questions refer to the instances in which students orient to activity at hand in task-based environments. Students generally pose these questions to reach an understanding of the task under focus or instructions given by the teacher. Content-related questions which are mainly designed as wh-interrogatives treat their content as unknown (Raymond, 2010). Student initiatives in content-related questions reflect a more 'unknowing stance' (Heritage, 2012a) and students show consideration for the teacher's epistemic status through these questions. In other words, teacher is being oriented to as having more epistemic rights with regard to lesson contents. Terminology-related questions include the cases in which students deal with the lexical items in the course of the sessions, both in task-based environments and lecture-based interactions. Students engage with disciplinary terminology, for example, through pointing to a word in slides or formulating an understanding in mother tongue (i.e. Turkish).

It is important to note here that this categorization has emerged from the data and these categories are reflections of my collection that I have constructed using CA. The study does not take all instances of student questions into consideration. That is, the most important restriction concerns 'on-task' questions which means 'off-task' questions that do not promote pedagogical purposes have been excluded from the data. Adopting CA as a methodology, the current study will provide a vivid picture of the use of English in an EMI higher education institution. Therefore, this study can be placed within the intersection of CA-informed studies, English for Academic Purposes (EAP) and EMI as the data was analyzed within a conversation analytic framework and the study concerns the use of English employed for academic purposes, more specifically, in English-medium instruction settings.

1.3. Research Questions

The current study addresses the research questions formulated to understand how enactment and treatment of learner-generated questions are carried out in bilingual classrooms. The questions are designed within the microanalytic perspective on the investigation of the natural interaction. As will be presented in literature review, existing research on EMI is mostly based on quantitative data which cannot provide an in-depth analysis of the inside of these classrooms, more briefly, there is relatively little research focusing on the data in real EMI classroom interactions (see Malmström, Mežek, Pecorari, Shaw & Irvine, 2017). Therefore, as educational researchers, we need to better understand and highlight the interactional and dynamic nature of classroom discourse through examining classroom interactions from a participant-relevant perspective in natural settings rather than experimental contexts (Seedhouse, 2004).

For a long time, studies on classroom discourse were characterized by an overuse of quantitative measurements focusing on linguistic aspects of interaction from a researcher's perspective (Tsui, 2001). In recent years, there has been a growing interest in classroom interaction research which uses ethnographic approaches such as conversation analysis (Creider, 2016; Sert, 2017). Methodologically, the field of classroom interaction has benefited from the insights these qualitative ethnographic studies provide as well as from the quantitative studies which have offered an observable account of classroom interaction. In this regard, the current study is also an example of the ethnographic research which analyzes classroom interaction as a building of local events in which participants orient to each other to maintain intersubjectivity. Overall, adopting CA methodology, the study will address the following research questions:

1. What are the characteristics of student-initiated (a) procedural and task-related, (b) content-related, and (c) terminology-related questions in EMI context?

2. What kind of interactional resources do participants utilize in the instances of these emergent knowledge gaps?

    a) the resources students use in the construction of questioning sequences?

b) the resources the focal teacher uses in the treatment of knowledge gaps?

These research questions have guided my analysis of learner-generated knowledge gaps in EMI classrooms as the empirical point of departure in this investigation was to identify recurrent turn designs of the phenomenon under scrutiny. It is worth mentioning that as CA practitioners, we do not use a priori theories. That is, after I collected my classroom data, these research questions emerged from the data, which means that I did not have any early assumptions on a specific phenomenon in the dataset but I let the research questions surface. Moreover, considering the reflexive organization of classroom talk, the research questions were reformulated and refined over time in light of what unfolded in interaction.

Of these research questions, (1) examines the structural features of these learner-generated questions. More specifically, it focuses precisely on the design of the questions, thus demonstrating the different actions made relevant by various kind of questions such as wh- interrogatives and polar interrogatives. Research question (2) addresses the 'how' aspects of initiation and treatment of student-initiated questions. It investigates a number of verbal and nonverbal resources used by the participants both in the formulation and resolution of the knowledge gaps. Moreover, as any action in talk is related to each other, this question also investigates how the teacher reacts to these initiations when students engage in a pursuit of knowledge gap. The details for addressing each research question will be presented in 'Analysis' and 'Discussion' chapters.

1.4. Significance of the Study

The insights previous research on EMI in academic settings have provided cannot be underestimated as stakeholders' perceptions and attitudes of classroom events are a significant part of understanding classroom processes (Johnson, 1995). These studies have provided future implementation through investigating stakeholders' experiences, expectations and attitudes towards EMI. In this way, existing research has advanced our understanding of benefits and problems with the implementation of EMI. However, there is still a demand for evidence of classroom practices which show the learning experiences and teaching processes in EMI settings. This is the gap the current study aims to narrow down by investigating how students take

initiatives to indicate lack of knowledge in instructional settings. More specifically, the study is an attempt to unveil how students initiate question-answer sequences in an EMI setting and how in turn these initiations are treated by the teacher.

Current project adopts CA methodology which examines classroom interaction from an emic perspective, in naturalistic rather than an artificial (experimental) setting. By analyzing the learner-generated knowledge gaps from a conversation analytic perspective, the study provides a more comprehensive picture of educational discourse as situated practices. That is, examining the instances of student-initiated questions in content-focused classrooms, the study demonstrates how language and content are oriented to by participants in the course of accomplishing tasks and following lectures. As in the current context, proportion of instruction allocated to language is not a pedagogical concern as the focal aim is to teach the related content, the study provides insights into how institutionally-assigned goals of instruction are formulated differently.

Current work draws on insights from various fields, including use of bilingual resources and student agency to highlight the complex and dynamic processes involved in classroom interaction. Different from the traditional studies on EMI which often ask what stakeholders' perceptions and attitudes towards EMI and which also have contributed to our understanding of how stakeholders view or experience their own challenges in EMI interaction in academic settings, the current study asks how students take initiatives and make their knowledge gaps recognizable through questioning sequences in this particular context. Therefore, the study makes contributions to the strand of CA research on institutional talk by unpacking actual practices in an under-researched educational setting - EMI higher education setting. Overall, the current project sheds light on several major areas of conversation analytic research, including language policing, interactional repertoires in bilingual classrooms, negotiation of epistemics, and learner initiatives. More importantly, the study will bring more insights into the field of EMI by unpacking the student-initiated practices to pursue resolution to knowledge gaps as in this particular institutional setting, knowledge and knowledge asymmetries have an important role in the course of activities and lectures. More precisely, in these content-based classrooms, an institutionally-assigned knower, who is the teacher, teaches students who do not yet know the content and students need to initiate sequences to convey lack of

knowledge through questioning turns. Therefore, by uncovering the practices of students' indications of knowledge gaps in these content-focused classrooms, the current study provides implications for epistemic organization of the classroom interaction.

1.5. Organization of the Study

This thesis is composed of 5 chapters and structured as follows. In the following chapter, I provide a research overview on four fields, namely English-medium instruction, CA-informed classroom discourse, learner initiatives and questions, and bilingual resources in classroom interaction. This chapter provides a better understanding of educational discourse as situated practices, focusing mostly on conversation analytic studies. In chapter 3, starting with the research context and participants, I describe the data and their collection as well as the method of analyzing data. In this chapter, an introduction to CA approach in order to investigate talk-in-interaction is given, focusing on its core principles. This chapter is concluded with the issues of validity, reliability and ethics followed by the limitations of the current study. Chapter 4 forms the analysis chapter of the study. By presenting 22 extracts from student-initiated question episodes, I analyze the data in the light of the research questions. Each example is closely examined in order to see (1) how students initiate question and answer sequences, and (2) how teacher reacts to these initiations. 4.1 looks at the instances of procedural and task-related knowledge gaps in task-based environments. 4.2 deals with the issue of management of content-related questions and 4.3 looks at the instances where a terminological item emerges as a trouble source and turns into a learnable in the unfolding interaction. I end with a concluding discussion (Chapter 5) in which I discuss the major findings of the study as well as implications for bilingual and language classrooms and avenues for future research.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter will present an overview of the research literature on the phenomenon to be investigated which is student-initiated questions in EMI interaction. Firstly, EMI research will be discussed from a global perspective as well as in the context of Turkish HE. In this survey of the literature, a comprehensive account of EMI agenda will be provided regarding the interplay between globalization and HE in the world. Secondly, a survey of conversation analytic approach to classroom interaction will be provided, primarily focusing on L2 as well as content and language integrated learning (CLIL) classrooms. Thirdly, an account of learner initiatives and student-initiated questions will be presented concerning the issues of student agency and knowledge gaps in classrooms. This chapter will conclude by examining the research conducted on the use of first language (L1) and L2 in classroom interaction. All in all, literature related to EMI, classroom interaction, student agency, epistemics in interaction, and bilingual resources in classrooms will be documented in this chapter.

2.1. English as a Medium of Instruction

The policy of medium of instruction (henceforth MoI) has always been a sensitive and controversial topic on the educational agendas of countries (Tsui, 2004; Tollefson & Tsui, 2004; Kırkgöz, 2008; Hamid, 2009). As a result of globalisation, MoI policy has become more prevalent and also more arguable at tertiary level education of many countries. Tsui and Tollefson (2007) maintain that the macro imperatives of globalisation have influenced language-in-education planning profoundly, which has resulted in a shift in medium of instruction. MoI policies, which are not conducted in isolation, have turned into tools that serve different purposes in the political, economical and social spectrum of the societies. As for the functions of these policies, many similarities can be seen across different countries and Tsui and Tollefson (2004) explain these functions as follows:

> *Medium of instruction is the most powerful means of maintaining and revitalizing a language and a culture; it is the most important form of intergenerational transmission (…) It is also the most direct agent of linguistic genocide (...) Medium-of-instruction policy determines which social and linguistic groups have access to political and economic opportunities, and*

> *which groups are disenfranchised. It is therefore a key means of power (re)distribution and social (re)construction, as well as a key arena in which political conflicts among countries and ethnolinguistic, social and political groups are realized* (p. 2).

As can be seen above, choosing the right medium of instruction could be a highly critical issue in national policies as the particular language opted for instruction may not serve all the needs of the specific groups in a society. Therefore, nations might favour the idea that "one of the most significant educational trends world-wide is the teaching of a growing number of courses in universities through the medium of English'' (Graddol, 1997, p. 45). English, which has gained a lingua franca status today (Crystal, 2003), is a widely adopted medium of instruction in most of the educational settings in the world to promote mobility within and beyond Europe as well as to improve and sustain high-quality education (Hahl, Järvinen & Juuti, 2014). EMI programs are generally implemented in countries where English does not have an official status.

Interestingly, although EMI universities employ language policies for instruction, their goals are not always accomplished in actual practices as will be portrayed in the current study. To be more specific, although English is chosen as MoI in all degree programs in EMI contexts, when we investigate the situated classroom practices, we can see that interaction also revolves around L1 as participants share the same L1, which makes the phenomenon of code-switching (CS) a natural and resourceful tool in these bilingual educational settings (Malmström et al., 2017). Moreover, it is taken for granted that academic staff can teach English and students learn through English as they are at an EMI university. Prior research suggests that based on the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR), teachers should have at least C1[1] and students should have a minimum level of

[1] According to the level descriptors in CEFR, C1 refers to Advanced English. If you have C1 level, you can (1) understand a wide range of demanding, longer texts, and recognize implicit meaning, (2) express yourself fluently and spontaneously without much obvious searching for expressions, (3) use language flexibly and effectively for social, academic and professional purposes, and (4) produce clear, well-structured, detailed text on complex subjects, showing controlled use of organizational patterns, connectors and cohesive devices.

proficiency of B2[2] on the CEFR (Klaassen & Bos, 2010). This particular level of proficiency (C1) has not been assessed on the part of the academic staff while students have to prove their proficiency through exams such as TOEFL, IELTS or universities' own language exams. To put it more precisely, there has been no language proficiency evaluation for the staff; therefore, we cannot speculate on to what extent EMI policy is practiced as teachers' inadequate language competence may hinder the instructional interaction.

A working definition of English-medium instruction is provided by Dearden (2014): ''The use of the English language to teach academic subjects in countries or jurisdictions where the first language (L1) of the majority of the population is not English'' (p. 2). EMI can refer to the use of English to teach content lessons in countries whose native language is not English. As EMI in higher education is the focus of this study, its definition can be given as the instruction of courses at tertiary level through the medium of English. English is a foreign language in Turkey, which is an expanding circle country (Kachru, 1986). Therefore, it is not uncommon to see the usage of EMI and foreign language medium of instruction interchangeably in the Turkish context (Arkın, 2013).

It is worth mentioning here that there is some terminological fuzziness in the field of MoI. Therefore, it is crucially important to provide a background related to a particular and emerging pedagogical environment in Europe, which is content and language integrated learning (CLIL). The term CLIL was first adopted by European experts in 1996. It refers to various methodologies which result in development of subject and language (Tedick & Cammarata, 2012; Cenoz, Geneese & Gorter, 2014). In other words, it is a dual-focused education with a specific focus on

[2] According to the level descriptors in CEFR, B2 equals to upper intermediate level and if you have B2 level, you can (1) understand the main ideas of complex text on both concrete and abstract topics, including technical discussions in your field of specialization, (2) interact with a degree of fluency and spontaneity that makes regular interaction with native speakers quite possible without strain for either party, and (3) produce clear, detailed text on a wide range of subjects and explain a viewpoint on a topical issue giving the advantages and disadvantages of various options.

integrating content and language. In CLIL contexts, an additional language other than the mother tongue is used for the teaching and learning of the content. CLIL is often considered as “an umbrella term that embraces any type of program where a second language is used to teach nonlinguistic content-matter’’ (Baetens-Beardsmore, 2008, p. 209). Regarding the analogy with the umbrella, Mehisto, Marsh & Frigols (2008) also maintain that:

> *CLIL is an umbrella term covering a dozen or more educational approaches (e.g. immersion, bilingual education, multilingual education, language showers and enriched language programs) […] The flexibility of the approach is, above all, evident in the amount of time devoted to teaching and learning through the second language. CLIL allows for low- to high-intensity exposure to teaching/learning through a second language* (p. 12).

Coyle (2007) suggests that such a flexible approach to CLIL, labelling it as an umbrella term would bring up potential strengths and weaknesses. Integrating content and language in learning environments would be the strong side and the weak side could be related to the interpretation of the flexible nature of the term. He proposes that if CLIL is not founded in a proper framework with clear objectives and outcomes, it can bring up some problems. In line with the broad definition of CLIL, which is treated as an umbrella definition embracing many bilingual education types, it can be said that the EMI approach outside North American immersion and bilingual programs can be called a ‘subject-led CLIL’ which does not specifically focus on language needs of learners.

When it comes to the points EMI and CLIL have in common, it can be put forward that for both approaches, there should be an educational setting and the medium of instruction should be the non-mother tongue of the learners. Moreover, the issue of native speakerism is not in question. In other words, unlike the immersion educational settings, the presence of a native speaker is not required in either of the contexts. Additionally, code-switching is used as a legitimate classroom strategy by the learners when their first language is the same in these educational settings (Francomacaro, 2011; Kiil, 2011).

As for the distinctive features distinguishing EMI from CLIL contexts, there is no overt language concern in EMI education, that is, there is no specific focus on

language development of learners. While CLIL is a dual-focused process which aims to develop both language and content knowledge, EMI mainly focuses on subject learning and language acts as a subsidiary learning tool to accomplish this goal. In this respect, EMI can be described with different terms such as Content Learning through English (van Leeuwen, 2003); Teaching through a Foreign Language (TTFL) and Foreign Language Mediated Instruction (FMI) (Hellekjaer & Westergaard, 2003; Hellekjaer & Wilkinson, 2003). In CLIL education, language takes its leading position in the whole education process. Responsibility to meet the language needs of the learners is given to all teachers as there is a strong relationship between learning and high quality input. Put otherwise, even if there is little focus on language development, all teachers take upon the responsibility to attend to language concerns in the teaching process. Another difference between these two instructed environments is the language used in both contexts. There is no specific foreign language in CLIL, but EMI requires the use of English in all implementations. Lastly, while EMI does not have a specific origin, CLIL is contextually bound to Europe, which means that there is an aim to reach plurilingual competence on the part of the European Union citizens in CLIL settings. In sum, both EMI and CLIL approaches have distinctive characteristics related to their contexts of learning. Although CLIL is used in a more comprehensive way, embracing all the types of bilingual education, it has peculiar features differentiating it from other language learning and teaching contexts. From that point of view, it would be too simplistic to use EMI and CLIL interchangeably since EMI, which has become a rising trend in HE settings recently, has different discourse worlds of classroom.

Considering the roots of EMI throughout Europe, especially Northern Europe with the Nordic countries as most strong performers (Wächter, 2008), it can be said that the adoption of the Bologna Declaration (Wächter, 2008) and the expansion of international exchange programs such as ERASMUS have paved the way to English to become the most commonly used language as a medium of instruction in HE settings. Regardless of region or educational conventions, European HE institutions have gone through a dramatic shift away from grounding in national and dominant languages towards an Englishization in instructional practices (Smit & Dafouz, 2012). The interplay between globalization and HE has certain key motivations to

implement English in degree programs; in other words, the trend of Englishization is directly linked to internationalization and globalization of tertiary education (Floris, 2014). First of all, stakeholders in HE such as researchers, lecturers and students develop themselves as successful individuals in the arena of globalized world in which English has been taken for granted to be a global player in the professional life. In this way, they can ensure that they are not a part of a purely local institution. Moreover, apart from having a strong motivation to learn the language, it is a common belief that students will get 'two for one' - both content knowledge and increased language proficiency (Larsen-Freeman, 2000) through a non-mother tongue instruction. Another plausible reason why HE settings opt for EMI is that by attracting students from all over the world, they generate income through their EMI programs. Stated another way, recruitment is a result of universities being driven by market forces (Coleman, 2006), thereby becoming a part of the global market.

Naturally, this language policy and planning in HE which regulates the development, implementation and evaluation of particular language policies (Hornberger, 2006) is not without its concerns. As Ricento (2006a) maintains, language policy and planning generally occurs in multilingual and multicultural settings where the implementation of a target language might have certain consequences on the other languages. More specifically, with rapid expansion of EMI in higher education, a fear of domain loss of the national language might occur as dissemination of research knowledge is not conducted in the local language; therefore, it may have adverse effects on all the levels of tertiary education regarding the mastery of the academic language (Soren, 2013). Concerning the effects of EMI implementation on the quality of teaching and learning, Coleman (2006) puts forward a number of problems associated with EMI as noted below:

> *-inadequate language skills and the need for training of indigenous staff and students,*
>
> *-ideological objections arising from a perceived threat to cultural identity and the status of the native language as a language of science,*
>
> *-unwillingness of local staff to teach through English,*
>
> *-the lack of availability on the international market of sufficient Anglophone subject specialists,*

-the inability of recruited native speaker tutors to adapt to non-native speaking students,

-inadequate proficiency of incoming international students in the host language,

-organizational problems and administrative infrastructure,

-lack of interest from local students,

-loss of confidence and failure to adapt among local students,

-uniformity and availability of teaching materials,

-equity of assessment for native and non-native English speakers (pp. 6-7).

Another strand of research looks at the benefits of EMI in the teaching and learning processes. Offering EMI adds to the international profile of the universities by recruiting international students and staff through promoting their global power among HE institutions (Cho, 2012) and by employing a more educated and qualified workforce in the wake of internalization, universities can be expanded on a global level to maintain a competitive edge in the world (Çetiner, Gündoğan & Özgüven, 2011). It is important to note that more potential benefits of EMI implementation will be mentioned in the following sections while covering the research conducted both in global and local contexts. Given the disputable nature of EMI in educational settings for which several scholars outline the benefits it brings together (Alptekin, 1998; Kırkıcı, 2004), while the others address the potential harms this policy may lead (Köksoy, 2000; Ferguson, 2013), international research agenda on EMI focuses on some issues such as LP (Farrell & Kun, 2007), the attitudes and perceptions of academic staff and students towards EMI (Tarhan, 2003) and multilingual and multicultural classrooms (Asker & Martin-Jones, 2013). In what follows, I will present an account of EMI research conducted at tertiary level education across the world which is followed by EMI studies in Turkish HE institutions.

2.1.1. EMI Research on Higher Education across the World

Higher education settings are an ideal site to investigate the realities of teaching and learning both in the local and in the additional language. Regarding the tertiary institutional unique features, several studies have been carried out to unpack the

multidimensional characteristics of the universities. A growing number of studies focus on the different aspects of these settings such as organization of the lecture (Thompson, 2003; Abberton, 2009), use of discourse markers (Belles Fortuno, 2006), use of modal verbs and stance (Dafouz Milne, 2006), and definitions (Lessard-Clouston, 2006). With the lingua franca status of English in the world, a later branch of studies has focused on the English as a lingua franca in HE, uncovering the issues such as interculturality in teacher education (Hahl, 2016), identity construction of ELF interactants (Virkkula & Nikula, 2010), and academic spoken discourse in ELF universities (Hynninen, 2013).

As for the research conducted on EMI in higher education settings, it can be clearly seen that these studies have tended to explore stakeholders' attitudes towards EMI (van Splunder, 2010; Khan, 2013). These studies rely on methodological tools such as surveys, questionnaires and interviews which are employed to investigate the perceptions of the participants towards EMI; therefore, there is a lack of in-depth investigation of the matter at hand as this focus on perceptions and attitudes can tell us little about the actual practices in the classrooms. To put it briefly, there might be discrepancies between the beliefs stated and situated practices in real classroom discourse. Therefore, it should be noted that there is an urgent need to investigate the situated EMI interaction so that we could explore what a typical EMI classroom looks like in a particular HE setting. English-medium instruction resides in a perspective of HE internalization which puts a special emphasis on the role of international staff and students in the globalization process. As these two specific groups have been the focal points in the implementation of EMI programs, a growing body of research comes from studies investigating their perceptions and attitudes towards the issue under study (Somer, 2001).

With the implementation of Bologna Declaration in 1999, EMI has increased steadily in Europe; most of the universities in Europe provide English medium courses with Business, Engineering, and Sciences leading the way (Coleman, 2006). Therefore, a substantial amount of research on EMI comes from the European perspective which aims to increase mobility at HE level. Moving to studies that come from Asian countries where there is an accelerating trend towards EMI, we can see that there is a growing body of research on the implementation of EMI in higher education institutions (Byun, Chu, Kim, Park, Kim, Jung, 2011; Hu & Lei, 2014). The countries

formerly colonized by English-speaking nations, such as Malaysia and Hong Kong have become strong performers of EMI and countries like Korea and China started to offer EMI since their national languages are not prevalent to be spoken outside the borders of these countries. As is seen, EMI programs are becoming rapidly embedded into the curriculum in response to globalization.

One strand of research suggests that the use of English in tertiary level has a number of adverse effects both in societal and educational aspects (Kirkpatrick, 2011; Marginson & van der Wende, 2007). Kirkpatrick (2011) states that EMI provides opportunities for western academic ideas to maintain and increase their control over HE, and it is achieved by the notion of privileged knowledge in English. To put it shortly, excluding the importance of research in other languages, EMI paves the way for the acceptance of English as a lingua franca in the academic world. Moreover, much of the research suggests that EMI is not exempt from concerns such as pedagogical challenges and difficulties (Kyeyune, 2004; Vu & Burns, 2014). In their study, Erling & Hilgendorf (2006) find that students and even lecturers may lack adequate language proficiency; therefore, their limited proficiency may result in their negative attitudes towards EMI regarding the learning of disciplinary content (Atik, 2010). Lastly, the reasons for the negative effects of EMI on the learning process might be related to demands put on language because of the increasing levels of abstract knowledge in HE settings (Airey, 2009). As can be seen from the previous research, implementations of EMI may result in negative educational outcomes.

Another line of research focuses on the positive aspects EMI brings to educational settings. It should be noted that although researchers have paid attention to potential benefits of EMI, prior literature suggests that these positive effects are not guaranteed, at least within the context of certain countries or settings. To give an example, in her study on the effectiveness of EMI at three Turkish universities, Sert (2008) notes that while students could improve their language skills through EMI, they lagged behind in the acquisition of academic content. Similarly, Smith (2004) found that although EMI entails more gains than losses, it also leads to domestic language attrition and cultural identity loss. Lastly, as for the gains from the adoption of EMI, Burger and Chretien (2001) show that there are tertiary-level outcomes and

positive contributions of EMI to students' language development without inhibiting academic achievement.

All in all, as stated previously, the international research agenda focuses on all levels of tertiary education. However, the research evidence for using English as the MoI is not so conclusive in the world. Existing literature on L2-medium instruction in HE provides fuzzy evidence of the positive and negative impacts of it. It should be noted that this inconclusive nature of the research studies might be related to different educational contexts in which there are a number of contextual factors on the effective implementation of EMI. In the following section, I will focus on EMI research in the context of Turkish HE, unpacking the historical roots of EMI at tertiary level education as well as existing research done in the local context.

2.1.2. EMI Research in Turkish Higher Education

Implementing EMI has always been a disputable and sensitive topic in Turkish education policy (Arkın, 2013; Selvi, 2014). While supporters of EMI argue for the benefits of it such as (1) the contribution of learning a second language to competencies in the first language (Alptekin, 1998) and (2) the facilitating trait of bilingualism to the child's cognitive and linguistic development (Kırkıcı, 2004), opponents consider its presence in education as (1) a violation of human rights (Demircan, 2006) and (2) a threat to Turkish culture (Sinanoğlu, 2000). There is a substantial body of literature investigating EMI in Turkey and many of these studies have been conducted through quantitative data collection tools such as questionnaires and surveys (Güler, 2004; Kırkgöz, 2005; Derintuna, 2006). Moreover, qualitative research has mainly focused on attitude and perception studies using mostly interviews as the focal means, which results in a failure of describing the comprehensive picture of EMI in Turkey (Sert, 2008), thus not helping much to further our understanding of how EMI functions as an instructional tool. To put it another way, unpacking the layers of the EMI debate, the review of literature shows that the field is still suffering from a lack of in-depth analysis as previous EMI research has tended to focus on the documentation of the beliefs and attitudes toward the matter at hand. As participants' beliefs and attitudes do not necessarily tell us how they actually interact in an EMI setting or what norms of language are established in the course of interaction, the current study is an attempt to deepen our understanding of actual practices and living norms in EMI classrooms, via

unpacking how situated practices are enacted, constructed and reproduced. Before moving on to detailing previous research conducted in Turkish HE context, as a necessary background information, a few words about the historical context of the use of English in Turkish HE are in order.

2.1.3. Historical Context of English Language in Turkish Higher Education

The development of English language in Turkish education dates back to the second half of the eighteenth century, which is considered as a milestone in the attempts to be Westernized. The first institution employing English as MoI was Robert College, which was an Anglo-American private secondary school established in 1863. When the Turkish Republic was founded in 1923, Turkey started to build close relationships with Europe and the USA, which in turn accelerated the use of English in the country. Moreover, English was more prevalent than other languages such as French, which was once a language of diplomacy, education and art (Kırkgöz, 2007). During the era of the newly founded Republic, there was an effort to maintain Westernization; as a result of it, a great number of tertiary-level students were given a chance to study in western countries (Alptekin & Tatar, 2011). This movement was important in that by pursuing academic degrees abroad, these people not only familiarized themselves with European languages such as French, English, and German, but also built a Turkish intelligentsia at universities (Selvi, 2014).

Despite its non-official status in Turkey, English is employed as the 'official language' by a number of universities. The Middle East Technical University, founded in 1956, is the first HE institution in Turkey to provide EMI in all its degrees. Following this initiation, Boğaziçi University was established in 1971 to do the same service and as the first private foundation-funded university to provide instruction in English, Bilkent University was founded in 1984. Apart from the three universities mentioned above which provide English-medium education in all its degree programs in universal standards, most of the universities in Turkey offer EMI partially, not employing English as the 'officially approved language' in their institutions. Importantly, since 2000, the number of private universities in Turkey has increased dramatically and as they are one of the strongest marketing points, they started to offer courses through English (Macaro, Akıncıoğlu & Dearden, 2016).

Since 1984, both public and private universities have been providing incoming students who had not been able to pass the English-proficiency examination, one-year intensive English courses, what is known as 'Preparatory Year Program' to improve their language proficiency. These programs help students prepare to study their academic subjects through L2; in this way, the potential problems related to inadequate language proficiency to comprehend the subject content would be eliminated as transition from largely Turkish-medium secondary education to English-medium tertiary education would be achieved. According to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) report (2013), Turkish HE is gaining a more international profile in terms of both students and academic staff, which results in a privileged status attributed to English through internationalization of education.

In sum, as Doğançay-Aktuna (1998) summarizes the role of English in Turkish education, "English carries the instrumental function of being the most studied foreign language and the most popular medium of education after Turkish'' (p. 37). As can be seen from the historical perspective of presence of English in Turkish HE, although Turkey belongs to the Expanding Circle of Englishes in Kachru's (1992) model of World Englishes[3], which refers to the territories where English is learnt as a foreign language, there are a number of domains such as HE where the language has become an important part of these institutions. Therefore, we can say that English has become "institutionalized entrenchment in the educational system'' (Bamgbose, 2003, p. 421). In the following section, I will review prior research on EMI in Turkish education specifically in HE. These studies mainly relate to the

[3] In his Three-circle Model, Kachru (1992) makes a classification of Englishes, namely (1) Inner Circle, (2) Outer Circle and (3) Expanding Circle. First one refers to the use of English as a native language and the countries involved in this circle include the USA, the UK, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. The second circle refers to the use of English as a second language and most of the countries included in this circle are former colonies of the UK or the USA, such as Malaysia, Singapore, India, Ghana, Bangladesh, and the Philippines. The third circle refers to the use of English as a foreign language and countries listed as being in this circle include Turkey, China, Greece and Japan.

debate over pros and cons of EMI adoption as well as perceptions and attitudes of the stakeholders towards the issue in question.

2.1.4. EMI Research in Higher Education in Turkey

Adoption of English as the medium of learning is responsible for the heated arguments in Turkish education system. There have been two groups of scholars, namely proponents and opponents of EMI in education. While the proponents of EMI argue for its multiple benefits such as cognitive advantages (Alptekin, 1998; Kırkıcı, 2004), the number of scholars who oppose EMI still outnumbers its advocates (Durmuş, 2009; Güneşligün, 2003). Many reasons have been put forward as disadvantages of this approach such as potential damages on the national language and culture (Sinanoğlu, 2000), creating an elite class (Duman, 1997), and feelings of alienation and separation (Köksal, 1995).

Investigating the pros and cons of EMI is not the concern of the present section; therefore, a number of studies on the issue at hand will be reviewed in accordance with the sides they belong, namely as a supporter or as a critic of English-medium instruction. From the positive perspective, Alptekin (2003) and Soylu (2003) focus on the benefits of EMI on cognitive development of the learners. Apart from contributing to mental development, the use of EMI is also claimed to help Turkish students prepare for similar experiences abroad (Alptekin & Tatar, 2011). In their study, Alptekin and Tatar maintain that EMI is not only a tool to help universities vying to attract more international academic staff and students, but also by contributing to cross-cultural development of the students, it aids them to become global citizens. Similarly, Sayarı (2007) shows that as a natural outcome of students' learning trajectories, students develop more positive attitudes toward English-speaking cultures and societies.

Another strand of research which focus on the negative effects of EMI in education reveals that EMI leads to difficulties with comprehending the concepts, lack of knowledge about the subject content, feelings of isolation and separation and unwillingness to participate because of the inadequate language proficiency (Arslantunalı, 1998; Kocaman, 2000; Sankur & Usluata, 1990). Sert (2006) attributes lower levels of academic attainment of students to EMI, while Zok (2010) maintains that students' insufficient involvement in the classroom activities and their

difficulties with writing and note taking result from the policies and applications that are inherent in EMI. Dalkız (2002) highlights that students mainly have difficulties in grasping the questions in EMI settings, and thus they cannot formulate a proper response for them. In a similar vein, collecting their data from prospective English language teachers, Atay and Kurt (2006) find that learners with high and average anxiety have problems with organizing their thoughts and producing ideas in English. In brief, what has come out as a general finding from the relevant research is that language development is positively affected by EMI, whereas disciplinary learning is impacted adversely as EMI seems to have a negative impact on the acquisition of academic content (Arkın, 2013; Atik, 2010). Last but not least, Demircan (1988) summarizes some potential dangers of EMI as indicated below:

(1) disregarding and looking down upon Turkish;

(2) unnecessarily lengthening education with preparatory year program;

(3) unequal teaching of courses;

(4) putting cognitive burden on mathematics and science courses;

(5) increasing the total cost of education;

(6) supporting an imbalance among university graduates;

(7) mistakenly trying to teach English through EMI.

As is seen in the existing literature, effectiveness of English-medium content teaching has been a concern in the field in Turkey. However, the data tools utilized to unpack the issue in question do not offer a comprehensive picture of actual EMI interactions as the data come from traditional methods of investigation (i.e. questionnaires and interviews), which can only provide a snapshot of the beliefs but not the lived experiences in EMI interaction and such claims regarding learning of academic content in EMI contexts can be enriched through a micro-analytic, empirical investigation.

Moving to studies that investigate the discursive structures of EMI lectures, we see that a small number of researchers investigate lived experiences of the participants at EMI universities. Relying on a discourse analytic framework, they successfully provide some characteristics of EMI lectures. In his video-taped data collected from a Turkish university in North Cyprus, Arkın (2013) found that although the lecturer

reduced his speech rate and used content redundancy, the students had difficulties with following the flow of the sessions and understanding the content. In a similar vein, Doyuran (2006), in her study of comparison of lecture discourse in Turkish- and English-medium courses at two universities, demonstrated that compared to EMI lectures, Turkish-medium courses were more interactional and less planned. Moreover, considering the use of cohesion and transition markers, the use of overt logical cohesion was more prevalent in EMI lectures than the Turkish-medium lectures. Both scholars call for an urgent need to conduct an in-depth analysis of actual classroom practices. In this regard, these studies paved the way for awareness of investigating classroom discourse.

In light of the summary of the above studies, it can be concluded that various streams of issues surround the heated dispute of EMI. While some scholars support the cognitive and pedagogical assets EMI brings together, the others oppose EMI from a sociopolitical and also educational perspective. Therefore, considering the richness of the existing literature on cultural, pedagogical and linguistic aspects of the issue, we cannot set a watertight boundary between the advantages and disadvantages of EMI in education. To better understand the dynamic and situated nature of classrooms, there is a need to explore classroom talk by paying close attention to the details of the interaction. Thus, I will provide an overview of classroom research conducted through CA-informed pedagogical approach in the following section.

2.2. A Conversation Analytic Approach to Classroom Interaction

The role of social interaction in acquiring a second language cannot be underestimated. As Firth and Wagner (1997) maintain, there is an urgent need for a more context-sensitive and participant-relevant methodology in second language acquisition (SLA) studies. Firth and Wagner's (1997) proposal for the reconceptualization of SLA has elevated an interest among SLA researchers who concern the significance of social and contextual dimensions (Kasper, 1997; Liddicoat, 1997) and since Firth and Wagner's seminal critique of mainstream SLA research, there has been a great increase in the number of studies feeding on CA's analytical tools (Hellermann, 2009; Mori & Markee, 2009; van Compernolle, 2010). These CA-informed studies of classroom and L2 talk provide a vivid picture of how

learning is accomplished through social practices, and they will be the focus of the present section.

Firth and Wagner (1997) summarized the elemental components of the proposed reconceptualization of SLA as follows: “(a) a significantly enhanced awareness of the contextual and interactional dimensions of language use, (b) an increased emic (i.e., participant-relevant) sensitivity towards fundamental concepts, and (c) the broadening of the traditional SLA data base’’ (p. 286). What the authors assert is that rather than putting a cognitive framework on L2 language acquisition by attributing learners’ failures or problems to insufficient knowledge of the L2 systems, they argue for a more context-sensitive and emic methodology to provide insight into how language learning in interaction is enacted and accomplished. Moreover, they maintain that language acquisition cannot be separated from language use; therefore, unlike their critics, they do not set a clear-cut boundary between these two concepts. By doing so, they note that in order to have a more comprehensive understanding of how language acquisition and language use intertwine, one must collect data from naturalistic settings rather than through artificial, experimental methods. Their attempt to transform the understanding of language learning from a cognitive perspective into a social action has been subsequently called as CA-for-SLA (Conversation Analysis for Second Language Acquisition) and later simply CA-SLA (Kasper & Wagner, 2011; Pekarek Doehler, 2010). In the meantime, a growing number of CA-oriented research have been carried out in classroom settings (Sert, 2011; 2013; 2015; Lehtimaja, 2011; Merke, 2016) as well as in everyday interactions (Kurhila, 2001; 2005; 2006; Lilja, 2014; Rossi, 2015).

In recent years, researchers working on second language interactions have been discussing the premises of the research on language learning in interaction (Firth & Wagner, 2007; Larsen-Freeman, 2007). According to Gass (2004) and Larsen-Freeman (2004), as CA is a demanding approach which requires intensive training to conduct analysis, SLA researchers may not find it useful to do research via this methodology unless it addresses their main concerns: ‘what has been learned, when it has been learned, and why it has been learned’ (Mori, 2007). Although there are critics of the appropriateness of the CA approach (Larsen-Freeman, 2004), there is a substantial body of research supporting to investigate second language interactions through CA methodology (Can Daşkın, 2015; 2017).

What is of interest is that among these CA-SLA researchers, stances on the notion of learning differ from each other. To give an example, while a group of scholars (Brouwer & Wagner, 2004; Hellermann, 2009) base their studies on certain theories such as Situated Learning Theory (see Lave & Wenger, 1991), others argue that CA's participant-relevant perspective is a tenant to observe learning as it occurs in interaction (Markee & Seo, 2009). Since Firth and Wagner's seminal paper in 1997, researchers have acknowledged a certain level of synthesis to explore the contextual dimensions of language acquisition and use. Therefore, they have produced their work on certain theories such as Vygotskian sociocultural theory, language socialization, sociolinguistic approaches (Walsh, 2006; Mondada & Pekarek Doehler, 2004). Basing their study on socio-cultural theory, Mondada and Pekarek Doehler (2004) investigate the interactive nature of tasks in French second language classrooms. Their focus is to show how tasks are reorganized by learners and teachers collaboratively. The findings of the study showed that it is possible to interpret and transform a task collectively. Actually, their work was a milestone for the applications of situated learning through CA methods. Put otherwise, the relationship between situated learning and CA has been built by them when they claimed "both of these frameworks converge in insisting on the central role of contextually embedded communicative processes in the accomplishment of human actions and identities'' (p. 504), which means that learning is situated in learners' interactional actions. In the same way, Young and Miller (2004) propose that situated learning is the best theory addressing the interactional competence in learning. In their study based on framework of community of practice (CoP) (Hellermann, 2008), they focused on the interaction between a writing tutor and a learner during four weeks to understand how change in participation occurs in weekly feedback sessions. The researchers observe the change related to the roles participants take upon and show that the learner could accomplish some interactional tasks such as giving candidate solution, for which the tutor was initially responsible for.

In the present section, I will discuss a number of CA-informed classroom studies, focusing on some of the prevalent themes such as L2 socialization, development of classroom interactional competence, orientations to knowledge gaps, and word search activities, to name but a few. Studies on socialization in educational settings

have explored the organization of classroom practices (see Watson-Gegeo, 2004 for a detailed review). As has been demonstrated in He's (2000) language socialization study based on Chinese-language heritage classrooms, participation in educational contexts entails socialization into the interactional norms and practices appropriate to a specific classroom activity. In this regard, in order to understand how turn-taking strategies develop over time, Cekaite (2007) examines how a seven-year-old Kurdish girl develops interactional competence in a Swedish L2 classroom by analyzing the use of self-selection techniques and participation patterns. An important feature of this research is that it employs a longitudinal approach to depict L2 socialization. What has come out from the data were the three developmental phases of the girl, namely silent phase, middle phase, and final phase. In the silent stage, the child used mostly non-verbal actions to take turns; in other words, visual cues were the child's primary tool for participation. In the middle phase, the child could use basic conversational devices to take the floor but they were generally inappropriate devices to utilize and according to the author, this way of interaction of the child was "overly assertive" (p. 54). In the last stage, the child could use appropriate interactional resources in multi-party conversations. Tracking down the turn-taking development over a long period of time, this study contributes to our understanding of how participation is influenced by turn-taking practices in classroom settings.

Another line of classroom research is on epistemics in interaction; it focuses on how participants orient to each other's epistemic status and reveal their epistemic stances (Heritage, 2012a, 2012b). Since the publication of Heritage's 2012 seminal papers, they have been a reliable point of departure for epistemics-grounded studies. In the first study, Heritage develops the concept of 'epistemic stance'. He proposes that by asking 'Are you married?', the questioner does not claim any knowledge on the recipient's marital status, thus displaying an 'unknowing stance'. However, by asking 'You're married, aren't you?', the speaker proffers some knowledge on the likelihood of the recipient being married. Lastly, by uttering 'You're married', the speaker demonstrates a rather 'knowing stance' which functions as a confirmation request from the recipient. In the second study, Heritage coins a term called 'epistemic engine' which is an interactional driving force triggered by knowledge asymmetries. He maintains that participants constantly orient to each

other's talk for signs of epistemic status asymmetries. Epistemic status refers to "an inherently relative and relational concept concerning the relative access to some domain of two (or more) persons at some point in time'' (Heritage, 2012b, p. 4). He investigates sequences initiated by statements of K+ (more knowledgeable) and K- (less knowledgeable) status. He claims that epistemic stance refers to how epistemic status is expressed through turn-design in the interaction and there is often a congruence between epistemic status and epistemic stance. However, although epistemic status is normally presupposed, participants may apply epistemic stance to position themselves as K+ or K− on an epistemic gradient. The following studies to be described are informed by epistemics of learning in the context of classroom interaction.

Collecting his data from mathematics classrooms, Koole (2010) demonstrates how teachers prompt students to produce two different types of displays of epistemic access, namely 'displays of understanding' and 'displays of knowing'. He maintains that displays of understanding and knowing bring about different interactional objects and curiously enough, they are observed in different sequential environments. To illustrate, in the instances of explaining to a student how to proceed with a specific problem, teachers typically close their turns by asking the student to claim understanding through questions such as 'Do you understand?'. Differently from this, in the 'dialogical organization' of task explanation in which the teacher leads the student via multiple question-answer sequences, the teacher demands a demonstration of knowing from the student. The author notes that in such cases, a claim of knowing is not sufficient but it needs to be supported with additional evidence. In sum, what has emerged from Koole's data is significant to our understanding of the complex relationship between institutional pedagogical purposes between teaching and learning. Another study that has implications for epistemics in L2 interaction was conducted by Sert and Walsh (2013). They examine the roles of 'claim of insufficient knowledge' (CIK) (Beach & Metzger, 1997) in the interactional practices in second language classrooms. Their data come from two 16-hour video-recorded English language classrooms in a secondary school in Luxembourg. A sequential analysis of classroom interactions reveal that students can indicate (in)sufficient knowledge through gaze and turn allocation practices. Moreover, multi-modal resources such as gaze movements, facial gestures and

headshakes turn out to be other interactional resources students employ for the CIK. For the pedagogical implications of their study, the researchers suggest that using embodied vocabulary explanations and 'designedly incomplete utterances' (Koshik, 2002a), teachers can successfully handle insufficient knowledge on the part of the learners so that teachers can practice one of the features of 'classroom interactional competence' (CIC), a term coined by Walsh (2006) for L2 classrooms.

CIC is defined as "teachers' and learners' ability to use interaction as a tool for mediating and assisting learning'' (Walsh, 2011, p. 158). Walsh puts forward some features of CIC to enhance instructional interaction. These features are described as follows: (a) maximizing interactional space, (b) shaping learner contributions (seeking clarification, scaffolding, modelling, or repairing learner input), (c) effective use of eliciting, (d) instructional idiolect, and (e) interactional awareness (Sert, 2015). Note that CIC primarily focuses on the ways in which participants' interactional actions facilitate learning opportunities. In order to better understand how learning is enhanced in interaction, we have to pay close attention to the details of interaction. Against this backdrop, a CA-oriented approach can help us advance our understanding of the development of CIC. In a similar vein, Escobar Urmeneta (2013) in her study of the development of CIC of a CLIL student teacher, focused on the way the teacher presented each activity. A sequential analysis of her data revealed that the student teacher decreased the use of L1 over time and provided the students with more participation opportunities in Initiation-Response-Feedback (IRF) sequences. The author concludes that such improvements in interactional teaching skills contributed to the development of teacher autonomy.

A more recent work on the development of L2 CIC was conducted by Watanabe (2017). In her collection of interactions of a novice English as a foreign language (EFL) learner, she provides a longitudinal investigation of how an L2 learner makes progress in participation in recurrent post-expansion sequences. Investigating how the learner engages in the post-expansions of news-telling sequences in teacher-fronted classroom interactions in the course of time, the analysis of the data reveals that a learner develops interactional resources for participation which include turn-taking strategies (choral or self-selected talk, and sequential positioning), sequence and timing (using the follow-up question at an appropriate slot in the talk with no overlap), turn design, deploying more linguistic resources (use of their first language

and L2, additional lexical items), and embodied resources (gestures and gaze). As the studies mentioned above track longitudinally occurring changes, they are a successful attempt to display how learning can be visible in interaction. As Sahlström (2011) notes, “learning is inherently longitudinal; [in] that it involves changes in the practices of individuals occurring over time’’ (p. 45). In this regard, CIC studies rely on longitudinal data which enables following the same participants to be observed for an extended period of time and as a matter of course, the development of CIC can be traced.

In recent years, a fair amount of studies has investigated word searching from a CA-informed perspective as it is a prevalent practice in ordinary conversation as well as in institutional settings (Hayashi, 2003; Kurhila, 2006; Lin, 2014). Relevant research has revealed that word search does not create serious interactional problems as it is resolved either through solitary engagement or with the help of a co-participant in mundane conversation (Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks, 1977; Schegloff, 2007). In other words, word finding problems are managed in a joint activity via interactants’ co-participation. Considering the educational settings, as word searching difficulties result in a cut of a turn in progress, word search resolution is of paramount importance. Therefore, understanding how word searches are managed by conversational participants is significant for maintaining progressivity of talk in the classroom. Mori and Hasegawa (2009) examined how word searches are deployed for the task accomplishments in a Japanese language classroom. Their focus was on how cognitive states are displayed and how students treat these displays interactionally while doing pair-work. The study found that the cognitive displays students employed to get out of the linguistic trouble were using the textbook as a resource, getting help from their immediate pair and combining L2 with L1 to circumvent the problematic vocabulary item. Drawing on EFL classroom data in Taiwan, Lin (2014) demonstrates that word searches are turned into explicit pedagogical discourse in which the teacher and the students are engaged in teaching and learning the searched-for-word. This explicit orientation to word searching activity is recognized when the students move on to elicit teacher’s confirmation on the correctness of their own candidate solutions to the search. Moreover, the study also reveals that by closely monitoring the progress of word

search activity and eliciting more clues about the target item, the teacher plays an important role in the resolution of word search activity.

In what follows, attention will be turned to analyzing classroom interaction in a different setting, namely CLIL classrooms. The section concerns how language is used for learning in these bilingual settings in which the foreign language carries high value. In this respect, the importance of institutional context will be visible as the very purpose of a CLIL classroom is to utilize a foreign language as an instructional tool to teach the related content.

2.2.1. Interaction in CLIL Classrooms

In recent years, CLIL research has focused on how content and language are best taught and learned (Llinares, Morton & Whittaker, 2012; Kääntä, Kasper & Piirainen-Marsh, 2016). Investigating the microdetails of CLIL classrooms, Nikula (2007) found that IRF sequences are longer in CLIL settings than EFL classrooms. Moreover, students produce longer responses and initiate more turns. Feedback moves are also of a more expanding nature and are generally followed by students' uptake. Additionally, Coyle (2006) notes that CLIL teachers have a demanding task of providing students with an adequate language support and scaffolding. The present section will outline a conversation analytic account of CLIL classroom research. As there is a considerable scarcity of EMI research from a conversation analytic perspective, the following studies on CLIL research will provide useful knowledge for possible EMI classrooms as these two instructed settings share an important common point: they are bilingual classrooms in which content is presented through L2.

L2 interaction in CLIL classrooms can be seen as a tool for learning; therefore, having an in-depth look at the content-based classrooms would contribute a lot to our understanding of how the real milieu of these settings are. Looking at the historical development of CLIL research, it can be seen that early CLIL studies in Europe in the 1990s were mostly experimental-driven with the efforts of practitioners to meet the local needs. In this respect, these types of research could not provide a rich source of data to understand the actual practices of these contexts. A number of researchers (Coyle, 2007; Coyle, Hood & Marsh, 2010; Perez Cañado, 2011) call for an urgent need to conduct more in-depth research on CLIL education and with

the publication of the edited volume by Dalton-Puffer and Smit (2007), CLIL as a powerful research field proved itself. A vivid framework was presented by Dalton-Puffer and Smit to outline and classify CLIL research and CLIL was positioned on two intersecting axes:

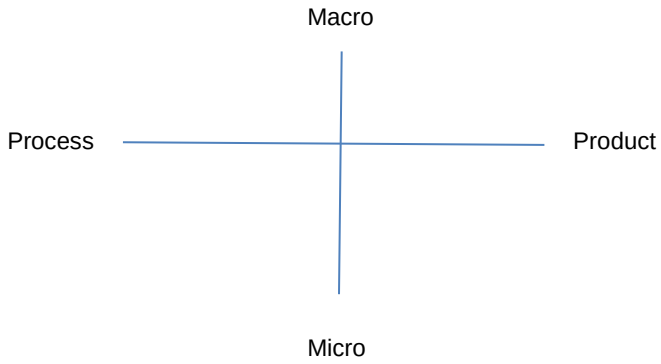

Figure 1. Research approaches in CLIL (Dalton-Puffer & Smit, 2007)

In the studies on the macro-micro axis, the closeness to the action is the concern. To illustrate, for the research with a macro approach, large-scale factors such as curriculum, teacher supply, time allocation and age of entry are examined and micro-level studies focus on attitudes and perceptions of learners and teachers towards CLIL. Turning to the other axis which is the process-product part, there is a distinction between research focusing on the outcomes of CLIL programs and those concerned with understanding the processes by which these products come out. The present study aims to fit in the process-product axis, more specifically, it fits into the process part as it will uncover the minute details of EMI interaction.

When it comes to the distribution of these axes in CLIL research, Dalton-Puffer and Smit (2007) claim that the literature is overly dominated by the studies on the outcomes of CLIL programs, especially on the students' verbal achievements. In other words, more research has been conducted on 'macro-product' quadrant than on other aspects (Mohan, Leung & Davison, 2001; Marsh & Wolff, 2007). For the scope of the current study, literature provided in this part will be exclusively on 'micro-process' quadrant. As pointed out before, the current thesis employs CA as an analytic framework to provide insights into EMI classroom practices and this quadrant is the appropriate perspective the current study fits into. Additionally, as research on the actual practices of CLIL classrooms is in its infancy and not much is known about the extent to which the use of EMI influences classroom interaction,

the studies to be described here will portray some of the characteristics of this particular educational setting.

In a number of recent studies, qualitative differences in teacher-class interaction have been examined in CLIL settings (Evnitskaya, 2012; Evnitskaya & Morton, 2011). These studies indicate that all the characteristics of CIC identified by Walsh (2006) should be present in CLIL lessons to define them as successful. These components can be summarized as follows: the use of learner-convergent language with abundant use of gesture, the facilitation of interactional space and the shaping of learner contributions by seeking clarification, modelling, paraphrasing, and repairing the learners' productions. In their study, Evnitskaya and Morton (2011) focused on negotiation of meaning and identity formation in two secondary CLIL science (biology) classrooms in two different sociolinguistic contexts, namely Barcelona and Madrid. The researchers based their study on the framework of CoP with conversation analytic methodology. The findings showed that teachers and students use different linguistic resources to interact; in other words, different patterns of participation have come out from their data. According to the researchers, to expand our understanding of the classroom processes in CLIL settings, further research is needed to work on different disciplines with detailed analysis of how teachers and students construct their CoP.

One of the challenges of CLIL is that students' cognitive and language levels do not usually correspond (Coyle et al., 2010). To be more specific, their cognitive level might be superior to their language level. Investigating the cognitively challenging nature of teachers' questions and measuring their possible effects on the students' use of the L2, Llinares and Pena (2014) showed how CLIL students use a foreign language to express academic meanings, that is, their language production has been a focal point. The design of the study firstly starts with the classification of academic questions posed by the teacher into genres and then flows with the analysis of length and complexity of the students' responses. What has come out from their data was that teachers tended not to ask questions related to prompt; instead, they were posing more factual questions which required less complex and shorter answers than the other types of questions.

Another important point in CLIL methodology is the design of lessons. Drawing on a genre-based pedagogy, Morton (2010) used a systemic functional linguistics

(SFL) framework to examine how content and language are integrated as specific successful interactional practices in secondary-level history lessons. The researcher introduces the notion of genre which acts as a useful perspective to bringing the linguistic demands of school subjects in CLIL contexts. In one of the data extracts, the teacher and the students attend to subject-specific ways of saying things as the teacher, after a student's response, asks the student to produce a more everyday version of his prior response by using his own words. The teacher's orientation to the different meanings of the different wordings indicates that this may be treated as a learning object in CLIL settings but in Morton's data, there were not many instances of such genre-awareness, only a few teachers used language modelling and reformulation as an interactional move. The author concludes that "genre-based approach provides a framework for the types of productive teacher-student (and student-student) spoken interaction which it is hoped will take place in CLIL or content-based instruction'' (p. 85).

As for the research focusing merely on teacher discourse in CLIL contexts, Dafouz Milne and Llinares-Garcia (2008) investigated teacher repetitions in secondary and tertiary settings. The researchers attributed utmost importance to this particular issue since learning through a different medium of instruction was making the learning process more complex to handle for the students. Their data was based on four content classroom sessions, each of which had a different content teacher whose mother tongue was Spanish. The research was conducted through comparisons between the two different educational settings. The study found that the university teachers and one of the secondary teachers used repetitions to ensure that students understand the content completely; there was no instance of repetition with the purpose of exemplifying, correcting or practicing any particular linguistic item, except the secondary teacher with EFL experience. The researchers reach a conclusion that language awareness is sometimes neglected by the content teachers but the use of language-focused repetitions might yield more potentials for the opportunity for learning for the students developing content knowledge in CLIL settings.

When it comes to the study focusing on group-work in CLIL contexts, in an attempt to find plurilingual group work interaction in a CLIL teacher training classroom, Moore and Dooly (2010) explored how verbal and non-verbal resources such as

repertoires, posture, gesture, gaze are used by the learners to accomplish different activities collaboratively. The findings of their study showed that despite the hegemony of English in multilingual context, participants still make use of plurilingual repertoires in their classroom interactions to make their collective learning process richer. In the constructing of community membership, learners use the multilingual verbal repertoire as a powerful resource.

In sum, the current review of CLIL studies has depicted this particular institutional context from a micro-process orientation. Drawing on the existing literature on the topic, it could be argued that the scope of CLIL is not clear-cut; therefore, we cannot identify its core features clearly. Although within a CLIL classroom, language and content complete each other, more specifically, content and language are based on a continuum without an implied preference for either, the integration of language and content is adapted to suit different needs and contexts in these institutional settings.

In the following section, I will focus on the literature that forms learner initiatives and questions in classroom discourse. The issue of how learner participation is facilitated and how it contributes to a jocular learning environment are recognized in the relevant research. In this respect, the section provides a comprehensive understanding of what learner initiative involves and how it is enacted and responded to by participants.

2.3. Learner Initiatives and Questions

Classroom discourse is one domain which is distinctive from everyday interaction. Its unique characteristics do not arise from physical settings but the distinctive nature of turn-taking system and sequence organization in classroom interaction make this institutional setting a special area of research (Kapellidi, 2015). Considering the turn-taking system in the institutional context of classrooms, students should orient to question-answer sequences which in turn excludes them from performing a number of actions such as initiating new sequences, criticizing, challenging or judging. Moreover, regarding the sequence organization of classroom talk, students are supposed to limit themselves to second pair-parts (SPPs), which means that they provide responses to the teachers' first pair-parts (FPPs). According to Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974), conversational turn-

taking is an interactionally contingent system in which participants accomplish the talk through minimization of gaps and overlaps. In other words, with the principle of 'one speaker at a time', a transition-relevance place (TRP) occurs at the end of each turn-constructional unit (TCU). This organizational system brings about the implementation of a set of turn-taking rules as follows: (1) 'the current speaker selects the next speaker,' (2) 'the next speaker self-selects,' and (3) 'the current speaker continues' (Waring, 2009). In this system, turn-taking is achieved one TRP at a time. However, this set of rules may not be applicable in all settings, especially in classroom interaction in which as McHoul (1985) states, "the 'next speaker self-selects' option is not available to student next speakers" and "the 'current speaker selects next speaker' option is only minimally available to them as current speakers" (pp. 58-59).

One of the most prominent studies on teacher-fronted interaction is Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975) discourse analytical work, more specifically, their three-part pattern of teacher Initiation, student Response and teacher Feedback or Evaluation (IRF/E), which is considered as a central structure in classroom interaction (Mehan, 1979; Wells, 1993). A number of studies have criticized the use of IRF exchange as this typical pattern limits opportunities and learning (Nystrand, 1997; Kasper, 2001). According to Kasper (2001), IRF exchange is "an unproductive interactional format in that teachers control topic management and therefore students are not provided opportunities for developing the complex interactional, linguistic and cognitive knowledge required in ordinary conversation'' (p. 518). On the other hand, there have been a couple of studies of language classroom discourse that have supported the use of IRF patterns as teachers can make the best benefit from their turns to promote learning (Hall & Walsh, 2002; Toth, 2011).

As can be seen from the controversial nature of this triadic pattern which has been found as the most prevalent structure in classroom interaction (Waring, 2009), although this particular triadic series has its own structured learning opportunities in which we see a teacher-fronted interaction, it also places limitations on the potential contributions learners can make to the classroom talk. Moreover, as discourse analytic approach puts a priori categories onto the data being analyzed, it cannot portray the variety of functions of language; therefore, it cannot unpack interactional complexities of talk (Garton, 2012). To give an example, comparing two excerpts

from language classrooms both of which have an IRF pattern, Seedhouse (2004) points out that “the IRF/IRE cycles perform different interactional and pedagogical work according to the context in which they are operating’’ (p. 63). To address this fundamental weakness discourse analytic studies have, i.e. a coding based approach to the data, the current study attempts to demonstrate how departures from IRF sequence are unfolded in classroom interaction with a microanalytic approach using the tools of CA analytic framework. In this respect, the study shows that IRF is not the only interaction that occurs in the classroom (Cazden, 2001). In the current section, a number of studies on the phenomenon in question - learner initiatives and questions - will be presented with a particular focus on CA institutional discourse.

Although a wide body of research exists on teacher questioning (Koshik, 2002b; 2010; Chin, 2006; Sert & Walsh, 2013), as Watts, Alsop, Gould & Walsh (1997) point out, “children’s own questions have only received very sparse exposure to research’’ (p. 1026). It might be related to a common notion which suggests that considering the lecture-style teaching, there is a limitation on student questions (Rop, 2002). In other words, classroom questioning is dominated by teachers as there is not enough space for student participation and intellectual engagement. However, to avoid vague speculations, we need to get into real classroom settings to portray the actual practices by using appropriate research methodologies so that we can understand what is occurring as an interactional work in classroom questioning. In this regard, as asking questions is of paramount importance for the teaching and learning processes, we should expand our work on student questions.

Learner initiative has been an important concept for creating learning opportunities in classroom discourse as students can push the boundaries of participation by starting a new sequence. In its simplest form, initiative refers to two dimensions: turn-taking and sequence (Waring, 2011). An initiation occurs if a student self-selects and starts a sequence-initiating turn. Student-initiated information-seeking actions are important interactional accomplishments in illuminating student agency. More precisely, students, by raising questions about problematic items important to them, are transformed into more active learners by constructing information-seeking sequences. According to Graesser and Olde (2003), “questions are asked when individuals are confronted with obstacles to goals, anomalous events,

contradictions, discrepancies, salient contrasts, obvious gaps in knowledge, expectation violations, and decisions that require discrimination among equally attractive alternatives'' (p. 525). Put it simply, as students' questions may be triggered by different reasons such as lack of knowledge or a desire to broaden their knowledge on a specific topic, resolving these emergent knowledge gaps in a classroom environment is crucial for the progressivity of pedagogical activities as it provides students with opportunities for learning. More importantly, as student initiatives may trigger the dialogic potential of classroom discourse, they play an important role in creating a specific classroom culture, drawing on interactive dialogic discourse (Nystrand, Wu, Gamoran, Zeiser & Long, 2003).

It is noteworthy that students do not ask known-answer questions as teachers but they pose their questions for a variety of reasons such as asking for clarification for an interactional ambiguity, requesting additional information or asking for confirmation for a prior turn. Moreover, as their questions might follow up a contribution someone else has made (Jacknick, 2009), they promote dialogic interaction in classroom discourse. Overall, by initiating questioning sequences, students achieve a sense of symmetry in classroom discourse. More specifically, they reverse the table by moving out of IRF series in which they are required to answer the teacher's questions within the constraints of it rather than initiating a sequence. As can be seen in the orientation to knowledge and epistemic positions in interactional sequences, learner-generated questions are of crucial importance for learning process. Against this background, a growing body of research is building on the issue, and drawing on data from different floors of classroom talk such as whole-class interaction (Skarbø Solem, 2015), small groups (Jakonen, 2014; Jakonen & Morton, 2015) or teacher-fronted activities (Jacknick, 2009; Kääntä, 2014). Due to space considerations, among the wide body of research existing on learner initiatives and questions, the most relevant studies will be presented here with a focus on conversation analytic approach.

One of the most influential work on learner initiative has been conducted by Waring (2011). Collecting her data from a 14-hour ESL (English as a second language) interaction, Waring provides an empirically based typology of learner initiative. She categorizes these initiatives as Type A, B and C. Type A refers to initiating sequences where learner agency is recognized in action in the classroom. In this

type, learners by both self-selection and action initiation show agency on the discourse. Type B refers to volunteering response where learners step in to the teacher's addressed or unaddressed questions. Type C is about exploiting an assigned turn through providing more than what is asked for or offering the unfitted answer. In other words, by giving more than what is required or the unexpected one, learners employ type C as learner initiative. What is particularly interesting with her study is that she demonstrates that learner initiative is not a straightforward concept but has a multidimensional aspect. To put it briefly, a number of factors such as participation, agency, symmetry, humor, and language play promote learning through these initiatives. Learner initiatives serve a number of purposes such as joking, resisting, redirecting, pleading, persuading, asserting stances, displaying knowledge, seeking understandings or bringing casual conversation into the classroom. Waring's Type A makes her study directly relevant to the current study as both solicited (i.e. teacher-initiated questions such as 'Do you have any questions?') and unsolicited questions when students pose their questions through either self-selection or asking for permission to be nominated are the focus of the present project. Although Types B and C also involve knowledge display, I exclude them from my corpus as they are not related to orientations to knowledge gaps the current study concerns.

Similarly, Sert (2017) provides a close analysis of how a teacher manages student initiatives and displays certain features of L2 CIC in a meaning and fluency context. In his data collected from EFL classrooms, the researcher found that the teacher deploys resources such as embedded correction, embodied repair, and embodied explanations in the management of learner initiatives and emergent knowledge gaps. An interesting aspect of his work is that evidence for potential learning is provided by following students' use of a phrase in the course of the lesson. Moreover, the study also describes how the teacher employs L2 CIC in a number of ways such as by (1) utilizing language convergent to the pedagogical goal (e.g. less interruptions, limited teacher talk time, avoiding a direct repair in a meaning and fluency context), (2) using wait time, and (3) shaping learner contributions (e.g. reformulation and embedded correction). The study contributes to relevant research on learner initiatives by demonstrating how opportunities of language learning are enacted by a teacher who deploys some features of CIC in meaning-based contexts.

Moving from the whole class interaction and considering the dyadic interaction in classrooms which can occur between peers or teacher and students, the following two studies have yielded important insights into the issue of epistemic authority. The first work was carried out by Koole (2012). Drawing his data from a multilingual mathematics classroom, the author investigates the epistemics of student problems in dyadic explanation interactions and thereby demonstrates how students' understanding problems are formulated in one-to-one interactions between the teacher and the students. He found that rather than first letting students articulate what their problem actually is, teachers tend to assume a particular problem and invite the student to accept this projected problem. His analysis consists of a trajectory of three basic steps as indicated below:

(1) a student makes his/her problem visible in terms of a problem localization,

(2) teacher treats it as a sufficient reason for providing an explanation,

(3) teacher requests a claim of understanding from the student and the student provides it.

Occasionally, students indicate a lack-of-fit between their problem and teacher's formulation and these disalignments are responded with another teacher explanation in which the teacher shows access to the problem. In the end, students display alignment with the teacher regarding the problem at hand. His analysis led the author to argue that the way participants attend to understanding problems in the institutional context of classrooms differs from everyday interaction: while teachers are considered to have epistemic authority over students' problems, in everyday conversation the experiences of an individual are oriented to as their 'own'. The second work was conducted by Jakonen and Morton (2015). Focusing on student-student interactions in a CLIL classroom, the authors find that claims of K-status commonly prompt the practice of epistemic search sequences. During the accomplishment of pedagogic tasks, students resolve their knowledge gaps in peer interaction by treating each other as potential knowers of the lacking knowledge. The authors specifically examine three different types of epistemic search sequences, namely (1) those in which a 'knowing' response is accepted by the initiator of the sequence, (2) those where 'unknowing' response occurs, and (3) those in which 'knowing' responses are contested. Student-initiated information

requests are used to fill the knowledge gaps as opposed to the 'known-answer' whole class sequences in which teacher-defined learning objects are publicly presented. In this regard, by producing an epistemic search sequence, a student admits the help of other students when met with K- answers or decides on the correctness of responses. Importantly, eliciting information from peers instead of the teacher shows that they treat each other as potential knowers. In this regard, they are likely to be held accountable for what they claim to know or not know. Their study is important in that it sheds light on three areas in CLIL classrooms: (1) the convenience of peer-interaction for learning as opposed to teacher-led 'known-answer' sequences, (2) the way how learners orient to rights and responsibilities around (non)knowing, and (3) how learners engage in their own learnables.

Another strand of studies has highlighted the specific environments in which teachers pursue or close learner-initiated sequences. Investigating the unsolicited learner participation in an ESL context, Jacknick (2009) proposes four sequential environments in which learner-initiated participation occurs: (1) following a teacher prompt for an initiation, (2) following the initiations of another student, (3) within teacher turns in progress, and (4) at activity boundaries. Discovering this division, the author maintains that learner initiation is conceptualized on a continuum from easier to difficult aspect. To illustrate, it has been considered as an easy initiation for the student to provide a response to a teacher prompt while it has been labelled as a difficult initiation when a student initiation overlaps with the teacher's attempt to move on. Therefore, considering the sequential environments student-initiated participation falls into, the author draws attention to the projectability and redirection of talk in determining the easiness or difficultness of learner initiation. In a more recent study, Jacknick (2011) finds that learner-initiated sequences occurring overlapped with the teacher's attempt to move on cannot be expanded but shut down. Different from the findings of Jacknick's studies, Waring (2009) demonstrates that learner-initiated sequence can be encouraged at major sequential boundaries in a lesson (e.g. the end of a task). Focusing on how one ESL student moves out of series of uninterrupted IRFs in the course of a homework review activity, Waring finds a number of contingencies transforming the interaction from uninterrupted teacher-initiated IRFs to learner-generated questions: (1) the sequence initiates at the end of the exercise, (2) the sequence initiator is the last person who spoke, that

is, the student is the one who just finished the final item on the homework activity, (3) without a gap, the sequence initiator produces a pre-sequence (i.e. 'I have a question') to take the floor, and (4) the teacher attends to prompting learner contributions by asking 'Does anybody-' which prefers a 'yes' answer and by giving the floor to the student in the subsequent turn.

Another line of research on learner-generated questioning sequences has concentrated on morphosyntactic structure of the questions. In her study on three different upper secondary schools in Norway, Skarbø Solem (2015) explores how students draw on interrogatives to initiate interactional sequences. The study reveals that the design of the initiating interrogatives positions students as 'someone who knows something'. These interrogative sequences perform a variety of actions from asking for clarifications to providing potential corrections, thus displaying students' knowledge in different ways. Therefore, in the floor of whole classroom interaction, these student-initiated sequences contribute to topical and interactional development of the talk-in-interaction. Of particular interest to this study is the demonstration of the asymmetry of classroom interactions in two ways: first, how students initiate sequences and second, how they claim epistemic authority by designing their questions. Moreover, by initiating other-corrections, students challenge the epistemic authority; in other words, they judge whether the content given by the teacher is correct or not. They also challenge interactional asymmetry as they occasionally self-select themselves and pose their questions. All in all, the study contributes to the relevant literature as it closely examines how students orient to the institutionally inscribed epistemic and interactional asymmetry.

In a similar vein, in Park's (2012) study, students use yes/no interrogatives (YNIs) and yes/no declaratives (YNDs) in distinct sequential environments. The data collected from one-to-one writing conferences show that students invoke their epistemic positions with syntactically different structures. By asking different types of polar questions, students show how the interplay between turn, sequential environment and context are dependent on each other in writing conferences. Regarding the distinctive types of sequences YNIs and YNDs provide, the author proposes those: (1) while students' interrogative questions start a new topic sequence, their declarative questions launch a sequence-closing sequence, (2) interrogative syntax invokes a less certain epistemic status compared to declarative

syntax which conveys a relatively more knowing stance on the matter in question (Seuren & Huiskes, 2017), and (3) while teacher produces an elaborate response for the interrogative questions for which subsequently students accept the teachers' answers, as the declarative word order invokes the students understanding of the just prior teacher turns, teacher confirms the students' candidate understandings and student displays a claim of understanding through acknowledgement tokens such as 'okay'. In sum, her study demonstrates how students' epistemic stance is made recognizable through the design of the question turn.

As can be seen above, management of learner-generated knowledge gaps in the praxis of classroom discourse has become an important topic to delve into. Therefore, the issue of how teachers treat these learner-initiations has been a fruitful research field. A number of studies have explored how teachers respond to student questions (Lemke, 1990; Shah, Evens, Michael & Rovick, 2002). Watts et al. (1997) found that teachers employ a number of strategies in responding to student questions during instruction. The authors propose what teachers do as follows:

> *-ignore the question, change the subject and move on;*
>
> *-give their best answer for the moment and then close the implied challenge;*
>
> *-admit ignorance and the need for help;*
>
> *-turn the question back on the student or into a 'three-turn sequence' so as to allow the teacher to regain control and get back on track;*
>
> *-change the incident into an empirical question for investigation* (p. 1028).

Interestingly, the authors provide the above options for a 'traditional classroom' in which teachers may face critical incidents. As already presented, the nature of classroom context has been transformed dramatically in recent years in which IRF might not always be the central structure. Giving students more space to contribute to pedagogical flow of the sessions might be a focal goal. Thus, let us review a couple of conversation analytic work on the phenomenon under scrutiny. The second part of Jacknick's (2009) study examines teacher responses to student-initiated participation. The researcher came up with two types of teacher responses, namely (1) closed teacher responses and (2) expandable teacher responses. The former spectrum consists of four teacher responses: no response, positive evaluation, explanation, and moving on. The latter spectrum involves the following

teacher responses: acknowledgement, negative evaluation, expansion sequence initiation, and insufficient answer. While closed teacher responses project no next student turn, expandable teacher turns invite further student participation by making next student turn conditionally relevant. Of particular interest to this study is the demonstration of a continuum of closed versus expandable teacher responses, thereby describing the (non)co-construction of the discourse by the participants through (non)establishing a chain of initiations and responses.

In a similar vein, in his study on the interactions taking place in an ESL context, Markee (1995) examines how teachers provide SPPs to the students' information-seeking sequences on vocabulary items. He argues that rather than providing direct answers to the information requests, teachers prefer to ask referential counter-questions to regain control of the discourse. In doing so, a local problem of understanding is resolved by jointly constructing public definitions. He concludes that his analysis demonstrates "how teachers and learners collaboratively construct conversationally - and perhaps also pedagogically - necessary definitions of problematic items'' (p. 82). Lastly, Fagan (2012), analyzing one ESL novice teacher's discursive practices, found that the teacher used two practices in dealing with students' unexpected contributions in whole group classroom interactions: (1) glossing over learner contributions, and (2) assuming the role of the information provider. The former occurred when the learners (1) did not produce a relevant SPP to the teacher's initiation which led the teacher to close the turn, (2) did not provide the particular answer the teacher expected, to which the teacher projected the response as problematic, (3) demonstrated continued issues with a previously addressed topic, to which the teacher would close the turn even though students did not display understanding. The latter occurred when (1) the teacher did not elicit a response to an initiation, (2) the learners provided a latent answer to an initiation, and (3) the learners started a sequence at a major sequential boundary in the session in which a next activity had been already begun by the teacher.

Overall, the existing literature on learner initiatives and learner-generated questions has shown that not constraining themselves within IRF pattern, students can engage in complex interactional work by reversing interactive roles. More precisely, by initiating a questioning turn, they can co-construct and direct the interaction in a way to resolve their emerging knowledge gaps. Importantly, a better understanding of

learner initiative and participation in classrooms can be achieved through a microanalytic approach which has been mostly described in the current section. In the following section, I will present a review of existing literature on the use of bilingual resources, namely L1 and L2 as pedagogic and communicative resources in the classrooms.

2.4. Use of Bilingual Resources in Classrooms

One of the most investigated phenomena in CA-informed classroom research is language alternation particularly code-switching (CS). In this respect, how participants navigate between L1 and L2 and how they reveal their own understanding of different roles and policies in classroom interaction have been an area of research interest (Lehti-Eklund, 2012; Cheng, 2013; Amir, 2013). These studies paved the way for a better understanding of how L1 can be used as an interactional resource both by teachers and students to manage the institutional business of teaching and learning in bilingual and multilingual educational settings. For example, investigating two German classrooms in a Canadian university, Liebscher and Dailey-O'Cain's (2005) argue that when students were allowed to code-switch, they effectively reestablished the classroom as a space in which their CS practices were similar to authentic multilingual interaction outside the classroom. To give another example, Bonacina-Pugh (2013) demonstrates how a teacher actuates the students to translate lexical items to their different L1s during an activity of labelling items in L2. The researcher argues that through these multilingual label quests, the use of mother tongue can be systematically embedded in multilingual classrooms.

In brief, the issue of language alternation has been a significant focus in research on bilingual and multilingual education; therefore, unpacking the institutional realities of these settings has been the concern of CA scholars as the methods and approaches to investigate the phenomenon at hand have not been always reliable. That is, earlier work on CS in classroom interaction has not provided a basis for considering how students and teacher accomplish a variety of interactional goals through the L1 use. For example, in her a two-decade review of classroom CS research, Martin-Jones (1995) states how earlier studies on CS which were based on quantitative methods and primarily emphasized on the amount of time CS devoted to different languages as well as their functional distribution (Wei & Martin,

2009). Against this backdrop, criticism against such quantification approach to classroom discourse has arisen (Canagarajah, 1995) and Martin-Jones moves on to detail other studies which offer a fine-grained account of CS in classrooms. It is worth mentioning here that rather than listing the functions of CS or counting the numbers of CS, it is more important to investigate the potential consequences and effects of CS on learning and teaching processes as well as identity formation and negotiation (Ferguson, 2013). For the scope of the present section which focuses primarily on CA-informed CS research in classrooms, an overview of the studies focusing on bilingual interaction in classrooms reveals how participants initiate repairs (Slotte-Lüttge, 2005), how they offer candidate understanding (Lehti-Eklund, 2012), how pedagogical focus and classroom micro contexts intertwine in the uses of multilingual resources (Ziegler, Sert & Durus, 2012), and how the management of language norms is enacted by teachers (Slotte-Lüttge, 2007) and received by students (Copp Mökkönen, 2012), to name but a few.

CS has been recognized as occurring frequently in multilingual settings in which plurilingual participants navigate between the languages available to them. Cenoz and Gorter (2011) describe this kind of language switch as a natural result of “soft boundaries” between languages, more specifically, they argue that “by establishing soft boundaries between languages that allow for codemixing and translanguaging, learners will be involved in language practices that are natural among multilingual speakers’’ (p. 361). Various scholars have illustrated how CS can evolve into a de facto instructional medium in these particular settings (Gafaranga & Torras, 2002; Ziegler et al., 2012). In their study of the student use of multilingual resources and teacher next-turn management from EFL classrooms in Luxembourg, Ziegler et al. (2012) emphasize that there is an alignment between the students’ use of multilingual resources and evolving interaction, as a result of it, students can produce discourse itself. Moreover, the teacher by providing modified repetition, monolingual reformulation and meta-talk about language, accommodates a number of multilingual resources in these instances of student-initiated CS sequences.

Different from the previously mentioned studies which focus on learner-generated CS practices, an influential work on pedagogical functions of teacher-initiated and teacher-induced CS has been conducted by Üstünel and Seedhouse (2005). In their data collected from EFL classrooms at a Turkish university, they show that teachers

switch from English to Turkish for a variety of purposes such as dealing with procedural problems, clarifying meaning via offering the Turkish equivalent, increasing learner participation, eliciting Turkish translation, checking understanding and providing metalanguage information. By unpacking the complicated relationship between language choice and pedagogical focus, the researchers argue that CS in L2 classrooms is systematic, based on the evolution of pedagogical purpose and sequence. As for the base codes used as the medium of interactions for various functional purposes, Bonacina and Gafaranga (2011) carried out a similar study in line with Üstünel and Seedhouse's (2005) findings. Drawing on data collected from a French complementary school in Scotland, the authors found three different patterns in CS practices: (1) French can be medium of interaction in certain conversations, (2) English can be the medium of interaction in other conversations, (3) an alternation between French and English can be the base code. Through their analysis, they demonstrate that the term 'medium of classroom interaction' is more appropriate to portray the bilingual practices in their specific classroom environment.

Thus far, the studies explored in the use of bilingual resources review have focused on the teaching and learning processes in classrooms. Another branch of CS research looks at the phenomenon of language alternation and language policing in bilingual classrooms. Amir and Musk (2013) define language policing as "the mechanism by which the teacher and/or the pupils switch or attempt to switch the medium of talk to the policy-prescribed medium in the foreign language classroom'' (p. 156). To investigate the situated practices in the field of LP by employing a micro-analytic approach through CA, recent studies have focused on how language policing practices are initiated, enacted or even rejected by participants in different educational contexts such as L2 (Amir, 2013; Amir & Musk, 2013; Sert, 2015), CLIL (Jakonen, 2016; Copp Mökkönen, 2012) and EMI (Papageorgiou, 2012) settings. As CS might be persistent in these particular settings, it might be considered as a direct challenge to official LP (Cromdal, 2005), more specifically, to the institutionally-assigned language. As within the scope of the current section, only CA-informed language alternation and language policing studies are presented, these studies look at the issue of LP in the actual interactions; it is not treated as a policy-as-workplan. Before moving on to show how these studies capture the co-constructed and situated nature of LP in classrooms, let us look at its stages.

Spolsky (2004) makes a distinction between three levels of LP: (1) language management (the formally agreed documentation), (2) beliefs (what people accept to be appropriate conduct), and (3) practice (what people actually do). It is noteworthy that these three levels are not necessarily congruent. Stated another way, there might be major discrepancies between what the national policies laid down as the LP and what people actually practice. Thus, as Spolsky (2004) rightly puts forward, we have to "look at what people do and not at what they think should be done or what someone else wants them to do'' (p. 218). In this sense, as language alternation in classrooms is a pedagogically significant concept, investigating the phenomenon from a microanalytic perspective will yield more reliable results. There is a need to look at the procedures used by participants in actual interactions which are interactionally relevant. In this way, we can identify the related normative expectations through examining the interactional moments in the instances of situated CS practices.

As stated previously, CS is widespread in bilingual classrooms in which language choice is negotiated as participants maintain bilingual norms in interaction. These settings can be the places in which normative practices to maintain L2 as the medium of instruction through marking the use of L1 as an unsanctioned and dispreferred language norm. Collecting their data from EFL classrooms in an international Swedish school, Amir and Musk (2013) investigate how participants manage the apparent normative conflict about language choice. A sequential analysis of their data reveals that a three-step pattern occurs for language policing: (1) a student's perceived breach of the target language - only rule, (2) teacher's language policing practice, and (3) the student's orientation to the target-language-only rule, typically in the way of switching language code to L2. The researchers found that the act of policy may appear in different forms such as reminders of the L2 rule, reproaches of having spoken in the L1, warnings and punitive measures (e.g. removing point); in this way, the teacher sets a monolingual (L2) norm regarding the language choice in an explicit way. Similary, Copp Jinkerson (2011) investigates the management of L2-only norm in a primary English-medium class in Finland but primarily focuses on different stances of the students on the use of English and Finnish in classroom interaction. Examining three students and the ways how they reformulate and contest this monolingual norm, the author finds that

these focal students differ from each other in interpreting and managing the officially-approved language norm, unfolding issues of L1 expertise and group membership. A more recent work on students' behaviors towards language policing was carried out by Jakonen (2016), focusing on how students respond to teacher turns of maintaining L2 only rule in a CLIL classroom. The study reveals that students align and disalign with the teacher turns that conjure the institutionally approved language by reminding the use of L2 only rule. The author argues that what occurs as a language policing practice in this bilingual classroom can be recognized as a 'monolingual bias' (May, 2014), mainly hindering students' ways of participating in whole-class interaction.

All in all, recognizing the teachers' and students' linguistic repertoires, existing research on CS in classroom interaction has investigated the issue in question from different perspectives such as bilingual, multilingual or language socialization, to name but a few. Providing an account of conversation analytic work on CS in instructed learning environments, I argue that CA can be used successfully to explore varied phenomena involving CS in bilingual classrooms. As has been mentioned before, one strength of this methodology is that data is analyzed from an emic perspective, which means the phenomenon of interest is not based on speculations of the researcher but visible patterns found in the data permit the researcher to interpret the data. As CA seems to be a well-fitted research tool to investigate the situated, moment-to-moment social practices, existing literature needs to be expanded on the micro-interactional findings to the social order of bilingual classrooms, particularly EMI classrooms.

2.5. Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I discussed the literature relevant to the current thesis. As the data come from an EMI setting, a detailed account of EMI research both in global and local contexts has been provided. Later, an outline of classroom research studies has been presented under three sections, namely (1) classroom discourse and L2 interaction, (2) learner initiatives and questions and (3) use of bilingual resources in classrooms. The existing research on classroom discourse was reviewed with a CA-informed pedagogical approach as CA is the one of the most appropriate models for analyzing the data in instructed environments. Such research has aided our understanding of classroom discourse in general and also showed some similarities

and differences in different educational settings (e.g. CLIL, foreign/second language classrooms). In brief, the chapter offered an account of EMI and classroom discourse research. However, as I stated previously, EMI research has mainly focused on attitudes and perceptions of the stakeholders, which results in a scarcity of micro analytical studies of EMI classrooms. Moreover, as can be seen clearly from the prior literature, much of the CA work has focused on foreign/second language and CLIL classrooms.

The current study highlights relevant features of the participants' orientation to English-medium interaction and thereby contributes to a better understanding of language alternation in the field of EMI and L2 research. Moreover, addressing the actual practices of learner-generated questioning, the research contributes to the limited literature on the interactional practices in EMI interaction, more specifically, to research how student-initiated questions are formulated and resolved in bilingual classrooms. The following chapter moves on to describe the data and the methods for collecting and analyzing the data. The chapter will also discuss the limitations of the study regarding the methodology.

3. METHODOLOGY

This chapter details the methods employed to collect and analyze the data for the current study. It firstly outlines the research questions addressed in the study followed by research site and participants. The data collection section illustrates how the data were collected with reference to the research context. The data analysis section details how the data were analyzed with a conversation analytic perspective. A brief overview of CA and its core types of interactional organization are also presented. Finally, ethical considerations are pointed out followed by the limitations of the present study.

3.1. Research Questions

The aim of the present study is to further our understanding of the situated practices in EMI classrooms. More specifically, the study sets out to provide a detailed description of how student-initiated question-answer sequences are constructed by students and treated by teacher in a HE setting. As the previous literature review has shown, research on EMI is overly loaded with the perceptions and attitudes of the stakeholders towards EMI via the data collection tools such as interviews, questionnaires and surveys. To the best of my knowledge, no study has yet examined moment-to-moment practices of learner-generated questioning turns in a full EMI context. Thus, employing CA to analyze the data, the current study will address the following research questions:

1. What are the characteristics of student-initiated (1) procedural and task-related, (2) content- related, and (3) terminology-related questions in EMI context?

2. What kind of interactional resources do participants utilize in the instances of these emergent knowledge gaps?

    a) the resources students use in the construction of questioning sequences?

    b) the resources the focal teacher uses in the treatment of knowledge gaps?

3.2. Research Context and Participants

The university where the study was conducted, The Middle East Technical University is one of the most prestigious universities in Turkey (Selvi, 2014). The medium of instruction in all its degree programs is English. As an exchange student, students from many different countries attend the university for a semester or a year-round. To describe the international profile of the university in numbers, the following facts which have been gathered from the updated official website of the university can be put forward: The university hosts over 1.700 international students from 94 different countries; it has 416 Erasmus agreements and 226 bilateral exchange and cooperation programs with universities; it has 25 international joint degree programs with European and American universities. The university is a member of a variety of associations and networks involving international education and exchange such as European University Association (EUA), European Association of International Education (EAIE), Institute of International Education (IIE), Global E³ (GE3), Center of Advanced European Studies and Research (CEASAR), Sustainable Energy Finance Initiative (SEFI), Council on International Educational Exchange (CIEE) and it is also an active participant of Association Internationale des Étudiants en Sciences Économiques et Commerciales (AIESEC) and Association for the Exchange of Students for Technical Experience (IAESTE) summer internship programs. In sum, all the things mentioned above depict the international perspective of the university which naturally necessitates implementing EMI in all its academic programs to act globally.

The focal teacher of this study is an associate professor of psychological counseling and guidance in the Department of Educational Sciences. She is an experienced lecturer with a teaching background over 20 years. Having earned her BA, MA and PhD degrees in Turkey, she received her postdoc in the USA. The participants, altogether 78 in both classes, were fourth year undergraduate students in the Faculty of Education. The students were majoring in different educational departments, namely Computer Education and Instructional Technology (CEIT), Elementary and Early Childhood Education (EECE), Foreign Language Education (FLE) and Mathematics and Science Education (MSE). In the first class, there were 37 female and 2 male students aged between 21 and 25 years old. In this class, 29 students majored in the Department of EECE while 10 were FLE students. In the

second class, there were 30 females and 9 males and their age varied from 22 to 26. As for the number of the students related to subject study, a majority of the students (n=22) majored in CEIT while 17 of them were students in the departments of EECE (n=8), FLE (n=8), and MSE (n=1).

As can be seen in the variety of different departments meeting in the same classrooms to take an educational course, the classes were heterogonous in terms of subject fields. Note that as exposure to the L2 has varied significantly in accordance with the departmental choice (e.g. FLE students were more immersed in the target language due to their curricular programs which involve more exposure to English compared to other departments), it was expected to observe the language proficiency imbalances in terms of participating in the classroom discourse. As for the interactional repertoires in this particular EMI setting, although there were 4 foreign students in the second class, they also had command on the local language, Turkish. Therefore, both English and Turkish were available to all the teacher candidates in the classrooms; they were shared languages for the students.

In Turkey, secondary education has been compulsory since 2013 and after graduating from high schools, students need to take university entrance exams which are centralized across the country. They are administered by Student Selection and Placement Center (ÖSYM). The examination is comprised of two stages. First step is Higher Education Entrance Exam (YGS) in which students need to score 140 out of 500 to take the second exam. This second stage is Bachelor Placement Exam (LYS) which is implemented in 5 separate sessions. As can be seen, admission to undergraduate programs requires taking the nation-wide university entrance examinations which are two-staged and held once a year. It is also important to mention here that most of the participants in the current study were Anatolian Teacher High School (ATHS) graduates. These secondary education institutions were the ideal schools for students who wanted to study a teacher training program as extra points were given to the graduates of these schools in the university entrance exam when they chose teaching departments. Therefore, by using the additional score advantage, these students could enter the best universities which offer teaching training programs. Since 2016, this implementation has been aborted due to reasons of creating a disadvantaged group of students who did not graduate from ATHSs.

3.3. Data Collection

The data for the current thesis come from detailed transcriptions of 30-hour video recordings of two content classes which were recorded for twelve weeks at a university which adopts EMI for all its degree programs in Turkey. Both classes were taught by the same lecturer. The name of the course is Guidance (424) which is offered to senior (4^{th}) year students as a compulsory course in the Department of Educational Sciences. The major aim of the course was to train the prospective teachers to become professionals in dealing with the possible problems of their future students. The course helps students acquire knowledge about interpersonal skills, development of the whole person, life management and so on. The classes met every week and the sessions were two hours and fifteen minutes long with a fifteen-minute single break.

Although of all the instructional methods used in the tertiary education, lecturing is still the most prevailing one, the course under research was not based on this predominant teaching technique. On the contrary, there were interactive activities such as peer and group works shaped mostly by educational tasks provided by the lecturer. Moreover, the content was also introduced by a sequence of teacher questions which aimed to elicit responses from the students. In contrast to the courses drawing on merely extended teacher speeches, the current course provided also enough room for student agency and participation. In other words, by self-selecting themselves or asking for permission to pose a question, the students could initiate new turns for a variety of purposes such as a desire to close a knowledge gap or to broaden their knowledge on a specific topic, which also reveals that on the linguistic level, these students could display their language and higher-order thinking skills in both answering and asking questions. These learner initiatives ended up becoming the main research focus of the study due to their wide prevalence.

The course was designed in such a way that apart from in-class sessions, panel speeches were organized to help the students receive first-hand experience on the topics under focus as guest speakers were invited to deliver a speech on the issues assigned by the lecturer for this particular week. Excluding these seminars from the data collection as the students participated as an audience, the data for the present study consist merely of in-class recordings. Additionally, the data include all the pedagogical individual and group tasks carried out in the classroom as part of the

course. As stated before, the classes under investigation progressed through in-class tasks in which students were supposed to participate actively for individual, peer, and group works. I observed the classrooms during the spring term of 2014/2015 academic year, starting recording the classes in late February and ended in early May. In total, I compiled a corpus of 30-hour video-recordings from both of the classrooms in three months and primarily recorded the sessions for the purpose of my PhD project.

The observed classrooms were large in size; there were 39 students in each class (total=78). For this reason, camera placement was particularly significant to capture all the details of the classroom interaction. Data was collected with three video-cameras placed in different parts of the class to scrutinize the participants' embodied actions during data analysis process (see Figure 2). One camera was positioned in the back of the class focusing on the actions of the lecturer and the teaching materials (i.e. power point slides) and I controlled the teacher camera to capture the movements of the teacher as closely as possible. The other two cameras, located in the right and left angles of the classes, were screening the actions of the whole class so that the data would be viewed and analyzed from multiple perspectives as the aim of the current study is to have a multimodal focus on the data. In the first week of the semester, audio recorders were placed on a couple of student desks to make the audio output more accessible for me, thereby facilitating the transcription process of participants' talk, especially for group and peer work talk. However, as the students felt uneasy with the presence of audio recorders, for the following weeks I had to take them away not to intrude students, thus providing a non-disruptive environment.

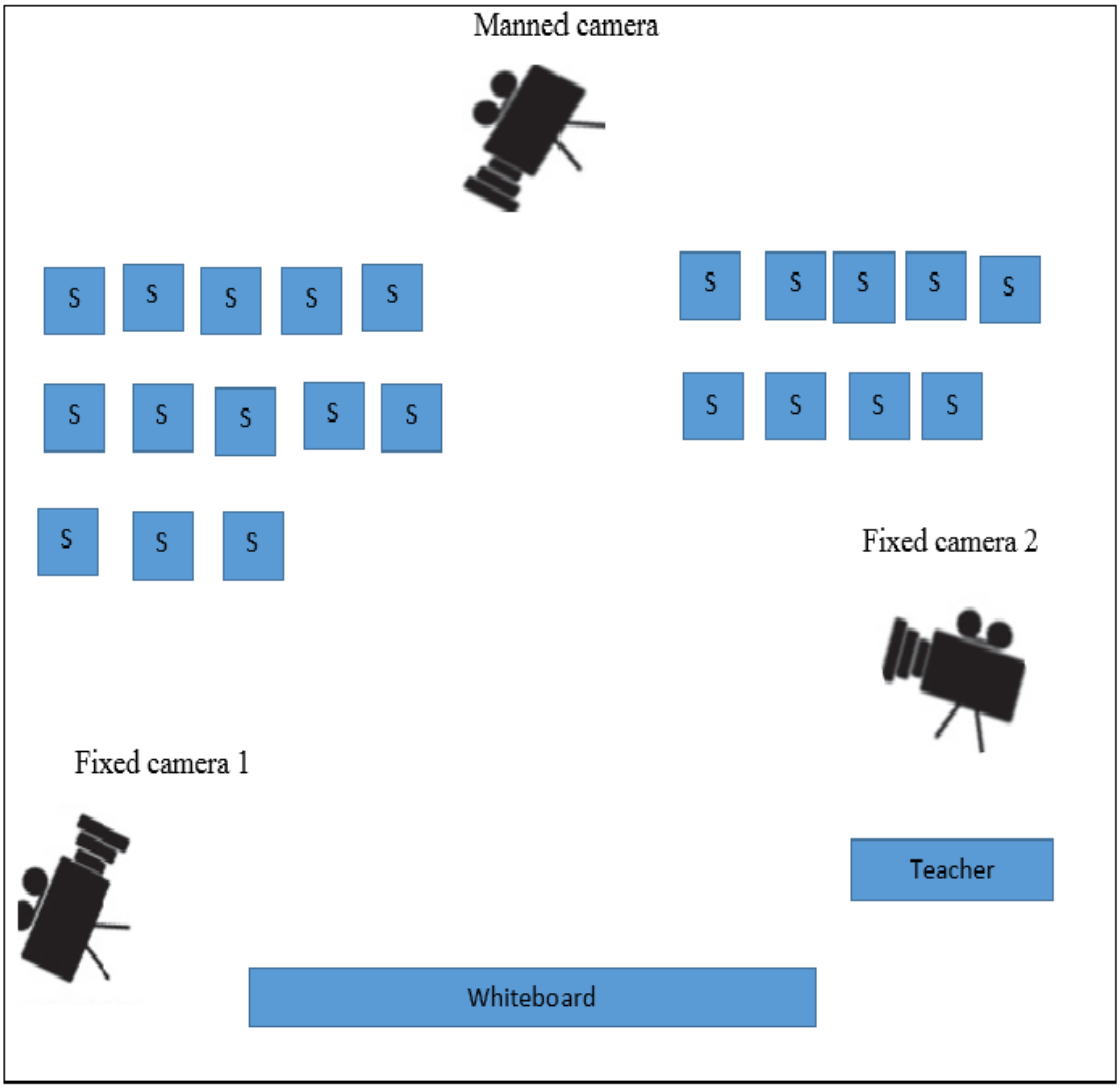

Figure 2: Camera placement

I acted as a non-participant observer with an insider perspective in this study; I sat in the back of the class, observing and taking field notes on the general organization of the sessions, more specifically, on student-teacher interactions. Blommaert (2007) argues that "good ethnography is *iconic* of the object it has set out to examine'' (p. 682) (emphasis original), which means that the primary aim of the study should be to offer an 'insider's perspective' through participants' experiences and perceptions which form the basis for the analysis. Therefore, participants' own orientation has been an issue for me so I tried to remain as an observer throughout the study. Before the recording process, I attended the first session of the both classes without cameras to mitigate the intrusiveness of a recording device on the very first day of the academic term. I explained all the participants the purpose of

the study which was to investigate the interaction between the teacher and the students. I assured them that judging the effectiveness of the potential interaction was not the concern of the current study by emphasizing my focal interest in close analyses of teacher-student interactions. I also focused on the confidential nature of the study in which anonymity of the participants will be guaranteed through sketched images and pseudonyms, and the videos would not be seen by any third party except for research purposes, which in turn had a positive impact on the participants as they told me in the break time that they would feel more comfortable during the data collection. Overall, I focused on making sure that my presence with the cameras would not be intrusive for them as confidentiality would be guaranteed and also participants, if they wish, could be informed about the transcripts and results of the study through contacting me.

3.4. Data Analysis

The data analysis is conducted within a conversation analytic framework which focuses on organization of interaction. The main reason for adopting CA methodology in the current study is that the analysis of the interaction is carried out without imposing a priori theoretical assumptions onto the data (ten Have, 1999) as CA focuses on "sequences and turns within sequences, rather than isolated sentences or utterances'' (Atkinson & Heritage, 1984, p. 5). In this sense, CA analysis can be defined as 'bottom-up and data-driven' (Seedhouse, 2004) as only visible things can be documented in the analysis rather than drawing on hypotheses about the participants' thoughts. In the course of conducting CA, Seedhouse reminds us to ask the question 'why that, in that moment, right now?' in all the phases of analysis. Against this background, in the analyses of the interactional structures of the student-posed questions which is the focus of the current study, as a CA researcher, I have kept this question in mind and the data analysis followed such a path described as below:

The initial stage of data analysis began with watching each video recording over and over again to get myself familiarized with the data. It was the stage in which I was looking at the data with an unmotivated looking (ten Have, 2007). The principle of unmotivated looking refers to the analyst's keeping an open mind while working on the data. Therefore, in the course of this process, I was looking at the data to understand what interactional work participants are achieving with every pause,

gesture and turn of utterance in classroom interaction which would help me discover my phenomenon of interest in the later stages. The video clips from each class session were transferred into the computer as MP4 files for subsequent transcription and analysis. Later, all of the recorded data were transcribed via Transana software, a computer program for transcribing and analyzing video and audio data. The data were uploaded to the software with the data information of date, time and camera to identify each excerpt for transcription. Based on a conversation-analytic framework, the transcriptions were produced in a fine-grained way including all the relevant features of the interaction such as linguistic, prosodic and embodied resources in the service of doing reliable analysis. The data have been transcribed according to Jeffersonian transcription conventions, adapted from Hutchby and Wooffitt (2008).

To ensure anonymity, I have changed the names of the participants into pseudonyms. 'T' refers to teacher and I used a three-letter system for the students' pseudonyms which remain consistent throughout the whole dataset. In each extract, the turns of particular importance are marked with an arrow to draw the readers' attention to that specific part. Please see Appendix 3 for the fine-grained transcription conventions. As the interaction revolves around both English and Turkish in this bilingual educational setting, I provided the English translation for each Turkish utterance. Three-line layout was used for the clarity and readability of the transcripts. The original Turkish sentence was on the top which was followed by a literal word-by-word translation in English. The second translation in which an idiomatic representation of the recorded language (Jenks, 2011) was presented in bold-face in the third line, thus enhancing understanding of pragmatic and social meaning of the recorded language. In the cases of one single word or phrase translations, a two-line layout was used; original talk above and direct translation of it below. As Turkish is my mother tongue, I did not have much difficulty throughout the translation process; however, I asked one of my colleagues to proofread my translations to confirm the accuracy of them.

With a close investigation of these detailed transcriptions together with the video recordings, I focused on turn taking, repair, and sequence organization. Following this, a recurrent phenomenon, namely 'student-initiated questions' was identified and subjected to close analysis. Once the identification of the analytic focus had

been determined; in other words, recurrent instances of student-posed questions had built up the collection, an orientation to search for similar and related cases started to compare them. As what attracted my attention in my corpus was the designs and sequential positions of learner-generated questions, I observed the related cases more closely in the data. Such observations ended up in 102 cases of student-initiated questions in total. In the later stage, initial rough transcriptions on student questions were transcribed more closely to incorporate multimodality into analysis through putting the details of nonverbal conduct (e.g. gestures, gaze, and posture). The final dataset consisted of three categories: 1) procedural and task-related questions, 2) content-related questions, and 3) terminology-related questions. The last stage of the data analysis involved meticulous analysis of each excerpt uncovering the interactional patterns in this unique environment.

I was not alone during the data analysis process as I consulted my supervisor regularly to confirm the reliability of my analyses. I also shared my data in two research centers, namely Hacettepe University Micro-analytic Network (HUMAN) and The Finnish Center of Excellence in Research on Intersubjectivity in Interaction. The former one is based in my university in Turkey where I work as a full-time research assistant and the latter one is in Finland, at the University of Helsinki where I spent an academic term as a visiting researcher in 2016. Through our regularly held data sessions in both centers, I could work on my data more deeply via mutual engagement. Put it more precisely, these two research networks offered a forum in which we could bring a piece of data from our corpus and receive feedback on both the quality of the transcriptions done and possible interpretation of the data. These sessions were so helpful in analyzing the data as all the practicing CA analysts were bringing their own analytic perspective on the shared data. Moreover, the data was subjected to analysis by CA analysts from different backgrounds such as sociology and social psychology apart from language related fields such as English language teaching or linguistics. In what follows, I will present the origins of CA which is followed by its unique characteristics and four cornerstones.

3.5. Conversation Analysis as the Methodological Framework

Drawing on CA as an analytic approach, the current study is concerned with student-initiated questions in EMI interaction. CA is suitably employed as the method as it enables me to describe the interactional practices embedded within classroom

interaction. Therefore, the study has potentials to further our understanding on the construction and resolution of emergent knowledge gaps in an EMI setting through a concise portrayal of the phenomenon under scrutiny, which is achieved with empirical strength of the method used in the research. In this section, I review the theoretical background and unique characteristics of this approach to understand why CA is the most appropriate approach to examine the complexities of teacher-student interactions in the current project.

Being young as a discipline, CA is rooted in ethnomethodology. Developed by Harvey Sacks, Emanuel Schegloff, and Gail Jefferson as an approach to examine the sequential organization of talk-in-interaction in the mid-1960s, CA is an empirical research field, focusing on how social action is structured and organised. The developers insisted on the orderly structure of social interaction rather than the inherently disorderly perspective of individual actions. Their core assumption on the social interaction has been expanded by Heritage (1988) in the following years by putting forward three elemental structures of doing CA analysis: 1) interaction is structurally organized, 2) each turn is structurally shaped by the prior turn and provides a context for the following turn, and 3) no detail can be accounted as 'trivial' or 'irrelevant'. As can be seen, starting its origins with Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson, CA started to build with the contributions of the subsequent analysts. It is noteworthy that the foundation on which it was built has not been changed in the course of the time, which was the orderly structure of social interaction. Having its origins in the organization of conversation on the phone (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973; Sacks et al., 1974), CA started to develop during the 1970s and it became a research discipline of its own. In the course of time it has expanded its scope of research and has been used in a wide variety of institutional settings such as medical (Peräkylä, 1997; Voutilainen, 2010), media (Clayman & Heritage, 2009), classrooms (Sert, 2011; 2015; 2017; Lehtimaja, 2011) and the growing shift in CA towards institutional contexts has led to the frequent use of 'talk-in-interaction' in contrast to 'conversation' as its object of study (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008).

One of the central tenets of CA is that the question 'why that, in that way, right now?' should be the main concern of the analyst (Seedhouse, 2004). The question is of crucial importance in the current study as it uncovers why particular types of questions are used in different pedagogical stages in classroom discourse. To

illustrate, keeping this central question in mind during the analysis process, I was asking to myself ‘why is that particular question framed in a multi-unit questioning turn (MUQT)?’ or ‘why is this particular question is designed as a wh- interrogative?’. In this respect, this guiding question of CA helped me look at the data skeptically to understand the interactional work being accomplished by the participants.

CA is data-driven and feeds on naturally-occurring data, that is, the data are not generated for the analyst. To illustrate, to examine teacher-students interactions, one needs to collect data from real classroom discourse, as is done in the current study. As conversation analytic data come from both mundane conversations and institutional settings, the relevant data for CA might be found in every walk of life. More precisely, by not relying on research-elicited data such as interviews or role-plays, CA provides an empirical basis for analysis through naturally occurring data which is a resource for the analyst to analyze and reanalyze the data. It should be noted that the empirical strength of CA also comes from detailed transcriptions, which make the details of sequential and temporal organization of the talk more public and available for readers. As in CA, no detail is considered as ‘trivial’ or ‘irrelevant’, all the details of the interaction, both verbal and nonverbal conduct should be documented in the transcript, and the set of transcriptions which was first developed by Gail Jefferson has become more or less standardized by scholars in the field. The micro-detailed transcriptions rather than just focusing on linguistic features of interaction focus on timing and sequential nature of talk as well as features such as overlapping talk, stress and voice quality. The transparency of fine-grained transcriptions is of crucial importance that it ensures the validity and reliability of the studies. That is, as both recordings and transcripts are examined through multiple viewings and made public for readers in CA research, these highly detailed and transparent nature of the transcripts permit readers to check the validity and reliability of the claims analysts are making on the data.

Another fundamental tenet of CA is that it unpacks the local contextualization of utterance; thereby demonstrating a turn at talk is made conditionally-relevant (Schegloff, 1968) by the talk preceding it. It is called as ‘next-turn proof procedure’ in CA terms. This ‘nextness’ is important in that it indicates talk is designed to be responsive to what came before; moreover, the talk shapes the context in which it occurs. In this regard, contributions to interactions are both ‘context-shaped’ and

‘context-renewing’ (Seedhouse, 2004). For instance, consider a question-answer sequence; the FPP which is the question makes an answer relevant as a SPP. Taking the sequential context into account, it can be said that as there is a structure and systematicity in interaction, participants design their turns connecting to preceding turns, thus displaying coherence with the ongoing talk. Moreover, each turn provides a context for the next turn to be followed by it. In this sense, each turn is considered as both context-sensitive and context-renewing regarding the preceding and subsequent environment of talk (ten Have, 2007).

In sum, CA, with its many unique characteristics differing from mainstream research approaches, can be an important tool to expand our understanding of how interactional work is being accomplished by participants in classrooms. As explained above, the aspects what make CA unique (e.g. emic perspective, data-driven, next-turn proof procedure) yield more reliable findings in social interactional research. More precisely, a focus on minute, situated practices of talk-in-interaction as well as adopting atheoretical stance towards it uncover the architectural organization of talk. Considering the context of the current study, as the focus is to investigate the interactional situated practices of the teacher and the students in an EMI setting, CA seems to be the best approach to be employed for the current project. In the following part, I will describe four cornerstones of conversational data from an interactional perspective.

3.5.1. Elemental Structures of Conversation Analysis

Normative architecture of conversational mechanisms, namely turn-taking, sequence organization, repair, and turn-design organization will be the focus of this section. Turn-taking is the principle machinery through which participants construct and allocate turns smoothly. Sequence organization refers to the practices that enable participants extend their individual stretches of talk in a coherent and cohesive way. Repair is a resource which contends with problems of hearing or understanding which hinder the maintenance of intersubjectivity, and lastly turn-design organization is one of the cornerstones of interaction through which participants construct their turns responsive to the prior talk. It is of interest that these elemental structures nest within one another. More specifically, the building of actions within turns (turn-taking organization) contributes to sequence organization (Heritage & Clayman, 2010), which in turn portrays the whole picture

on interaction, that is, the overall structural organization within both ordinary and institutional talk. In what follows, I will detail these four cornerstones within the methodological framework of CA.

3.5.1.1. Turn-taking Organization

Turn-taking is an interactive achievement and this organization details how participants orient to each other's turns in interaction. In this regard, as CA analysts, we focus closely on how turns depend on their preceding and subsequent environment as each turn is both context-sensitive and context-renewing (Seedhouse, 2004). Turn-taking organization is examined through the analysis of TCUs which can be of various sorts and sizes. A TCU can be built as a one-word unit or a longer stretch of talk. One important characteristic of TCU is that its production is always context-dependent and context-sensitive. Put it differently, as Ford, Fox & Thompson (1996) maintain, it is "contingent and interactionally achieved'' (p. 428) as it is determined only in its context of occurrence.

Turn-taking is collaboratively accomplished in interaction. Sacks et al. (1974) investigated the rules of conversational turn taking and many lines of subsequent CA research have continued to examine the nature of it in naturally occurring talk-in-interaction. Although institutional interactions do not differ so much from mundane conversations in terms of turn-taking organization, there might be some differences in certain institutional settings. These special turn-taking systems are worth mentioning to describe the institutional fingerprints of these settings. For instance, Peräkylä (1995) details turn-taking practices in counselling contexts to elicit the thoughts about death from the patients. Considering the context of the current study, it can be said that classroom interaction also functions differently from ordinary conversation with a different turn-taking apparatus. To put it more specifically, power dynamics are more recognizable between teacher and students as while the former has superior interactional rights (McHoul, 1990), the latter conforms to the canonical pattern of IRF in classroom interaction. It is noteworthy that the present study uncovers noncanonical turn-taking system in which students initiate question-answer sequences. In other words, rather than being entitled to participate in a three-part structure of sequences (IRF), students do not limit themselves to the SPPs of this structure, but they produce the FPPs of the new sequences. All in all, the organization of turn-taking is designed to get turns produced mainly one after

another, that is, with a temporal position within a sequence, turn taking is conducted smoothly in interaction.

3.5.1.2. Sequence Organization

Understanding how sequences work is important for the analysis of interaction as these are the mechanisms through which participants design their exchange collaboratively. The ways interactants link their turn to each other coherently is called sequence organization (Mazeland, 2006). For example, a question which is followed by an answer is an example of sequence. Two-part sequences such as question-answer, greetings-greetings are a type of sequence organization: adjacency pair. The basics of sequence organization consist of adjacency pairs and main forms of sequence expansion, namely (1) pre-expansion, (2) insert-expansion, and (3) post-expansion (Stivers, 2013). In the context of the current study which focuses on student-initiated questions, the question is treated as the FPP of a question-answer pair, and the answer is the SPP of this two-part sequence. This mechanism of sequence organization is very closely related to one of the basic tenets of conversation: utterances are ‘context-shaped’ and ‘context-renewing’. In other words, what has come before the talk and how the talk will create a space for the subsequent action demonstrate that a sequence is an ordered series of turns. In brief, sequence organization focuses on the contextually situated moves in interaction by showing that utterances do not occur in isolated actions.

3.5.1.3. Repair

In conversation analytic terms, repair refers to the set of practices in which participants interrupt the ongoing course of action to orient to the trouble in speaking, hearing or understanding. The concept of repair was first used by Schegloff et al. (1977); it is considered as a practice to modify the talk after its production. While turn-taking and sequence organization contend with how turns are constructed, allocated and linked to each other, repair organization is concerned with how establishment of intersubjectivity is achieved through using repair mechanism. To deal with such mutual understanding problems such as speaking, hearing, or understanding the talk, repair organization is employed in these cases (Kurhila, 2006). In this sense, repair is one of the most important cornerstones of conversation to reestablish mutual intelligibility between participants.

CA finds a key distinction between initiating repair and completing the repair by providing the solution; repair can be initiated by one participant and completed by the other party. In this sense, there are four types of repair sequences documented in CA research, namely 1) self-initiated self-repair, 2) other-initiated other-repair, 3) self-initiated other-repair, and 4) other-initiated self-repair (Kitzinger, 2013). In the first one, the repair is both initiated and carried out by the speaker. In the second case, the recipient initiates the repair but it is completed by the speaker. In the third one, the speaker initiates the repair but recipient completes the repair by producing a repair solution, and lastly in the fourth case, the recipient of a trouble source both initiates and carries out the repair. All in all, repair mechanism is not a straightforward concept as episodes of repair actions consist of many parts such as repairable or trouble source and the repair as well as the agents such as speaker itself or the recipient. Although the focal point of the current study is not to investigate repair mechanisms in classroom interaction, it has been observed that the notion of repair provides a way to bound language use in the current setting to social action via microanalytic perspective of CA as well as portraying the asymmetrical relations of power through embedded corrections, asking for clarification or directives.

3.5.1.4. Turn-design Organization

Turn design refers to the nextness in sequential context of conversation; there is a basic structure of adjacency or next position in talk-in interaction. Turns are constructed to demonstrate how they are connected with the preceding turns, thus showing the responsive nature of the turns to the prior talk. Turns are designed for their recipients so speakers generally construct their turn in accordance with whom they are speaking to and what shared knowledge they have in common. For instance, certain structures in turns demonstrate that the speaker is appealing to common knowledge that is shared by the recipients such as ‘we know’. Overall, any turn in talk is designed with respect to what has come before in the adjacent prior turn and thereby builds contiguity in interaction.

3.5.2. Validity and Reliability

In this section, I will elaborate on the concepts of validity and reliability in CA methodological framework. As the techniques of ensuring validity and reliability in qualitative research show a great variance from quantitative methods, the specific ways to secure these two critical concepts in CA studies will be pointed out here.

Validity

Validity refers to “the integrity of the conclusions that are generated from a piece of research’’ (Bryman, 2008, p. 32). In other words, it measures whether the data confirm what the research claims. Ten Have (1999) lists a number of features of CA ensuring validity. First of all, CA is obsessed with ‘trivial’ detail. In CA studies, no details can be dismissed a priori as disorderly or irrelevant; therefore, the rules for developing analyses are rigorous (Markee, 2000). Second aspect is related to its theoretically unmotivated nature, that is, CA does not attempt to generate theories of language or society to fit into the data. It is very closely related to emic perspective of CA in which participants’ own orientations are reflected rather than the analyst’s thoughts. More precisely, only if participants orient to such theories, analyst can explain the interaction in this perspective. Thus, by providing a detailed and emic perspective on the data, CA helps the readers analyze the data themselves by testing the validity of the researcher’s analysis and claims through documenting details of interaction from a participant-relevant perspective. The third aspect is that CA does not take the contextual features such as interactants’ social status and gender into consideration as these external characteristics cannot be potentially relevant in interaction. As mentioned above, from an emic point of view, if participants’ themselves are orienting to these features, analyst could make a claim on these contextual features.

Moreover, as both the recordings and transcripts are being through via multiple viewings in CA studies, the validity of the analyses is grounded in a close adherence to the data. That is, as CA data are recorded and transcribed according to certain conventions, transcriptions create a back stone for generating initial ideas on the piece of data at hand. As data analysis flows by looking at the instances of the same phenomenon, the description is gradually shaped and refined by validating evidence (Mazeland, 2006). At this point, it should be noted that in CA research, how actions are made relevant by preceding turns and how a current action makes the following actions over the course of a particular sequence of actions (next-turn proof procedure) are of paramount importance in establishing validity in this empirical research framework.

Overall, as Schegloff puts forward for the validity of CA approach, “if the goal of inquiry is the establishment and elucidation of recurrent phenomena and the

practices by which they are produced, then work will be grounded in collections of single instances, and collections provide a different sort of resource for addressing the problem of relevance'' (Schegloff, in Wong & Olsher, 2000, p. 117). Thus, it can be concluded that CA supports and ensures validity in its methodological framework through its emic perspective on the minute interactional details in the data.

Reliability

Bryman (2008) defines reliability as a matter of whether the findings of a study are repeatable. Considering CA's ontological and epistemological perspective, Markee (2015) proposes a term called 'comparative re-production research' which refers to "research whose fundamental results can intentionally be produced again in other interactional contexts, not in the sense of research whose results can be copied'' (p. 371). This type of research is a qualitative alternative to the 'replication studies' in quantitative research framework. Therefore, not sticking to the concept of repeatable studies but focusing on comparative reproduction perspective in qualitative research, Markee reminds us how studies on common pedagogical actions (i.e. the way teachers give instructions) can be productive as these actions are ubiquities in all classrooms and their familiar nature might conceal interactional complexities.

Considering conversation-analytic research in which transcription is the first analytical step, it can be said that readers can analyze the fine-grained transcript in the same way as the researcher to support or refute any claim that has been made. As it is customary for CA studies to provide the detailed transcripts of the data and also providing the audio and video files electronically through the Web in some cases, these studies make the process of data analyses more transparent and available for readers (Siegel, 2016). In this regard, in contrast to a variety of research methodologies which do not present a publicly available display of the data, with the quality of recordings and the adequacy of transcripts (Peräkylä, 1997), CA makes the process of analysis open to challenge for readers. Additionally, as the data is public for the audience, they can check the analysis provided by the researcher due to transparent nature of the data. Furthermore, as the style researchers use for transcriptions might enact the theories they hold on the data (Lapadat & Lindsay, 1999), generally CA analysts employ a widely used transcription convention system (e.g. Jeffersonian transcription system, Mondada multimodal transcription) to avoid

potential reliability problems. By doing so, analysts help the readers to interpret a convention as referring to same thing - for example, the equal sign '=' means there is no time lapse between the portions of talk.

It is important to mention the possible benefits regularly held data sessions bring to the reliability of the data. A data session "is an informal get-together of researchers in order to discuss some 'data' - recordings and transcripts. The group may consist of a more or less permanent coalition of people working together on a project or in related projects, or an ad hoc meeting of independent researchers. The basic procedure is that one member brings in the data, for the session as a whole or for a substantial part of it" (ten Have, 1999, p. 124). Data sessions help increasing reliability in CA work as by creating a collaborative environment in which alternative perspectives are elicited, they help participants ground their interpretations of the data with reference to published literature. In other words, the observations are not provided in a random way but there should be an evidential demonstration of analytic claims based on the existing research on the phenomenon in question. Additionally, considering their pedagogic functions, data sessions are helpful to train CA practitioners who support their distinctive observations on the data at hand through theoretical points. Another issue of reliability is concerned with the amount of data that is being worked on to support a claim in the analysis. In CA research, there is not a straightforward answer for this issue as Seedhouse (2004) maintains, "the main interest is in uncovering the underlying machinery which enables interactants to achieve this organization and order'' (p. 12). Keeping this particular concern of CA in mind, it can be said that the results of this 'machinery' are locally determined.

In sum, although researchers who have been working on quantitative data have been critical of the validity and reliability of the qualitative data (Gass, 2004), bearing in mind CA's fundamental features such as having an emic perspective, drawing on next-turn proof procedure, being obsessed with minute-detailed data, and having publicly displayed data would be helpful to explain the issues of validity and reliability in CA work. In other words, certain CA concepts mentioned above should be explained to the broader readers both in applied linguistics and SLA studies (Markee & Kasper, 2004). It should also be noted that CA is concerned with providing

appropriate descriptions of the sense-making procedures employed by participants in interaction.

3.6. Ethical Issues

Cavan (1977) gives the definition of ethics as “a matter of principled sensitivity to the rights of others. Being ethical limits the choices we can make in the pursuit of truth. Ethics say that while truth is good, respect for human dignity is better’’ (p. 810). Being qualitative in nature, this study is based on classroom observations so it was crucial to follow the principles of informed consent as research ethics requires (Dörnyei, 2007). Before the classroom video recordings, research ethics committee approval was taken from the university for the permission of recording the lessons (see Appendix 1). In addition to this, all the students were given informed consent forms to participate willingly in the study (see Appendix 2). In the introduction of the consent form, I explained my general academic interest for the current project. The consent forms were given in Turkish to avoid any misunderstandings on the part of the participants. In the form, there was a detailed description of the study with its aim, data collection and confidentiality, ensuring that participants would remain unidentified in the video clips and written transcribed data. More specifically, I informed the participants that pseudonyms would be given to secure their anonymity and sketched version of the videos would be used to mask their identity. I also explained them the data would be shared with the third parties for only research purposes such as scholarly publications and presentations at academic conferences by emphasizing preserving their anonymity. Therefore, all participants in this study voluntarily took part in the research as there was no risk for their involvement. All in all, in this study basic principles of ethics in a qualitative study have been implemented.

3.7. Limitations of the Study

The present study has certain limitations which might yield future directions in the field of EMI in higher education. One of the limitations is related to the scope of the study: two content classes taking a specific course called ‘Guidance’ for an academic term were involved in the research. Thus, generalizing its findings would not be called into question. However, with his proposal of ‘comparative re-production research’, Markee (2015) touches upon the issue of generalizability which has been a controversial topic among experimental researchers who look at this value in

qualitative studies. Markee maintains that although making universal claims is a primary theoretical priority in quantitative research, in qualitative studies, researchers put forward “general statements that are applicable to other context-free examples of talk-in-interaction are CUMULATIVE BY-PRODUCTS of empirical research’’ (p. 372).

It might be worthwhile to examine the whole institution as a system by having a close look at the different departments to further our understanding of EMI interaction in depth. Additionally, expanding the research time period over three months may provide important insights into the developmental nature of interaction. In this sense, conducting a research with a bigger sample size and over a longer period of time might yield more reliable results to depict the characteristics of EMI in higher education settings. However, as Hutchby and Wooffitt (1998) maintain, CA aims to produce “analytic accounts which are both *particularized* and *generalized*’’ (p. 90) (emphasis original). It is a study based on ethnographic approach and its main concern is validity which refers to the fact that the study and its findings are accurate and truthful. Note that this validity is accomplished through fine-grained transcripts in which no detail is discounted as any piece of detail can be potentially relevant to the analysis.

Another limitation of this study is that the issue of to what extent students’ disciplinary acquisition is being influenced by EMI has not been addressed as the study was conducted in the context of Faculty of Education. Therefore, more research in this direction might help implementing more effective English-medium courses not only in the related faculty, but also in other faculties, thus yielding a richer description of academic lectures in EMI contexts. Moreover, as the research focuses on only one institution, an EMI university in Turkey, expanding the context to other EMI universities may yield different findings in terms of the student-teacher interactions.

Lastly, as the scope of the study only includes ‘student-initiated knowledge gaps’ under three categories, namely procedural and task-related, content-related, and terminology-related questions, this study does not portray all instances of learner initiatives. As the most important restriction concerns ‘on-task’ questions which promote the pedagogical purposes in the on-going classroom interaction, I narrowed down the issue of knowledge gaps into this specific frame for the purposes of

manageability and readability of the present study. In short, despite the limitations described above, drawing on methodological perspective of CA, the current study can contribute to work on epistemics and classroom interaction as well as student agency in institutional settings. What these limitations might further direct as a potential research avenue will be discussed in section 5.3, 'Recommendations for Future Research'.

3.8. Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I outlined the research questions as well as the data and the methodical considerations of the current study. Additionally, I presented various research issues such as validity, reliability, ethics and permission for the data. Finally, I concluded the chapter with a brief discussion on the limitations of the current project. As an overview of the data and method, the following can be presented: The data collection was conducted in an EMI university in which two content classes were observed in twelve weeks. A total of 30-hour video recorded data were gathered, transcribed and analyzed. The participants (n=78) were fourth year undergraduate students in the Faculty of Education. CA was employed to depict the situated practices in classroom interaction with a multimodal focus using multiple cameras and the Jeffersonian transcription convention was adopted to transcribe the data. The data were analyzed with a special interest in learner-generated question episodes.

The following chapter will present the detailed analyses of the examples selected from the learner-generated questions. Three categories of student-initiated questions, namely (1) procedural and task-related questions, (2) content-related questions, and (3) terminology-related questions will be the focus of the chapter.

4. ANALYSIS

This chapter presents an analysis of student-initiated question-answer sequences in an EMI setting. The cases to be examined here are categorized under three sections, namely management of procedural and task-related questions (section 4.1), management of content-related questions (section 4.2), and management of terminology-related questions (section 4.3). The interaction in section 4.1 occurs in task-based environments in which students are engaged in an individual, peer or group task-work. The focus in this section is on language policing practices of the teacher in the interactional unfolding of display of knowledge gap. In this respect, this part develops the phenomenon of micro-level LP in EMI contexts (see chapter 2, section 2.4). In section 4.2, an investigation of student knowledge gaps related to content problems will be pursued. The analysis of content-related problems aims to demonstrate how students orient to knowledge objects other than the language-related problems such as vocabulary items. In section 4.3, student-initiated terminology-related knowledge gaps are investigated. These language-related problems mainly occur in content-based instruction of classroom interaction.

A close analysis of sections 4.2 and 4.3 reveals that there is not always a tight boundary between content- and language-related problems. The systematic analysis of all the three sections will demonstrate the following: Students need to ask different questions based on the different participation frameworks in classroom interaction, namely task-based and lecture-based environments. Their questions have the capacity to reveal both basic and sophisticated thinking to resolve their emergent knowledge gaps. In brief, the present chapter develops the phenomenon of ‘student-initiated knowledge gaps’ in different sequential contexts in EMI classroom interaction. It promotes an understanding of how students initiate question-answer sequences to reveal their own understanding of the subject matter at hand as a side product and how teacher addresses these knowledge gaps while validating student participation and promoting a richer learning environment.

4.1. Management of Procedural and Task-related Questions in EMI Classroom Interaction

This section explicates the ways procedural and task-related questions are initiated by the students and how they are treated by the participants. Different from the

content- and terminology-related questions which will be analyzed in sections 4.2 and 4.3, the analyses of the extracts in the present section indicate that apart from the teacher, peers can also become resources in the resolution of emergent knowledge gaps. It is also evident in the data that procedural and task-related issues mostly revolve around L1 (Turkish) which has put the phenomenon of 'language policing practices' that are demonstrably oriented to by the participants under focus in the data. The analysis of these sequences will demonstrate how language policing practices are initiated and conducted by the teacher. In short, the data analyzed in this section highlights certain characteristics of interaction in terms of language alternation in this particular EMI setting.

4.1.1. Language Policing Practices

The use of available languages in EMI settings is not just related to linguistic and affective factors but also an issue of LP. Regarding LP as a practice, Spolsky (2004) maintains that we need to "look at what people do and not at what they think should be done or what someone else wants them to do'' (p. 218). In this sense, to contribute to our understanding of the LP field, situated language policing practices as interactional devices will be examined in a particular EMI context. As the research site is an EMI setting, in which participants have access to at least two languages (Turkish and English), it is not uncommon to switch between their L1 (Turkish) and L2 (English). This phenomenon is in alignment with what Butzkamm (2003) has described bilingual settings: "a kind of monolingualism with small concessions'' (p. 29).

As for the general observations from the data, re-establishing the institutionally-assigned target language, English as the medium of classroom interaction, is achieved by the teacher, that is, no instances of peer-initiated language policing has been observed in the data. Except one case in which the teacher does not allow the student to speak in Turkish explicitly as the student asks for permission to speak in Turkish (can I speak in Turkish?), all the other instances of language policing have been performed implicitly. By explicit language policing, I refer to the situations in which participants negotiate an explicit repair of the language code (Gafaranga, 2000) through the means such as 'directives', 'reminders of L2 rule', and 'threats to use the target language'. Put otherwise, participants' code choice is flagged up as being at odds with normative expectations. On the other hand, by implicit language

policing, I refer to the cases in which participants are treated as not conforming to the language use norms, on the basis of an absence of expected language resource (Hazel, 2015). As opposed to explicit language policing acts, implicit actions are "indirect and tacit ways of doing language policy'' (Amir, 2013, p. 12).

Taken together, this section approaches language policing as a situated practice shaped by covert norms as what Ricento (2006b) has defined LP: "implicitly acknowledged and practiced, in all societal domains'' (p. 19). In what follows, I will describe the implicit language policing practices conducted by the participants under two subsections, namely (1) 'teacher's self-policing practices' and (2) 'teacher's implicit other-policing practices'. While the first subsection will focus on the teacher's self-policing practices during one-to-one and whole-class interaction and in the transitions between the two, the second subsection will explore the students' displays of linguistic alignment following the teacher's implicit other-policing practices.

4.1.1.1. Teacher's Self-policing Practices

In this subsection, teacher's self-policing practices during the transitions from dyadic encounters to the whole-class interaction will be discussed. Amir and Musk (2013) define self-policing as "a special type of language-alternation that can be defined as a mechanism whereby the classroom participants themselves switch back to the target language'' (p. 56). In the data, it has been observed that switching the linguistic code from Turkish to English occurs depending on the interaction between the individual students and classroom cohort, respectively. More specifically, as for the manner in which this change is brought about, it can be said that while attending to an individual student question, the teacher tends to use Turkish and while addressing to the whole class, she switches back to English as the medium of instruction. This characteristic of the self-policing practice demonstrates that the teacher restores the prescribed medium of interaction through switching her language code back to English in whole-class interaction. This practice is relatively frequent compared to the practices in subsection 4.1.1.2 (Teacher's implicit other-policing practices). Three extracts to be examined here come from a collection of seven cases in learner-generated knowledge gap sequences and they are the representative cases. Although the number of the cases is provided here, it should

be noted that the current research does not aim at calculating quantified data as it is a qualitative study.

The first extract describes a typical example of the interactional pattern between the teacher and the individual students in task-based environments. A characteristic feature of this type of context in which the interaction revolves around the teacher and an individual student is that the language choice is mainly L1 (Turkish). In other words, the teacher orients to the L1 as the medium of interaction in managing relations with individual students. In Extract 1, one of the students projects a trouble with the term 'positive regard' during task work and solicits help from the teacher to carry out the individual activity. What is remarkable in this example is that help also comes from a peer so the resolution of a knowledge gap through teacher-student and peer talk in L1 will be exemplified.

Extract 1: Positive regard, 25_02_15

01 Sen: hocam (0.5) positive regard ((inaudible))
my teacher

02 T: positive regard kişiyi olduğu gibi kabul edebilmek
positive regard a person as s/he is accepting
positive regard is accepting a person as s/he is

03 *(0.3) tek bir şeyi yok*
a single () of it there is not
there is not a single (definition/dimension) of it

04 (1.3)

05 olumlu olarak (0.2) kişiyi er:(0.9)>kabul edebilmek<
in a positive way the person being able to accept
being able to accept the person in a positive way

06 (0.7) başka bir açıklaması yok
other explanation there is no
there is no other explanation of it

07 (0.6)

08 Sen: yani dediğiniz gibi kişiye nasıl kabul ettiğimizi ↑mi °edicez°
so as you said person how we accept will we do
so as you said will we work on how we accept the person

09 T: evet (0.3) na[sıl açıklıyorsun
yes how you express (it)

10 → Ham: [kendini *nasıl gösteriyorsun

yourself how you show

how you show yourself

11 T: *gazes at Ham-->

12 → T: nasıl gösteriyorsun

how you show (yourself)

13 (0.9)((T gazes at Sen))

14 (1.1)((T turns back and orients to the other ss))

15 Ham: veya kızgınlığını

or your anger

16 (1.1)

17 Sen: °((inaudible))°

18 (0.8)

19 Ham: feelings *diyo ya

it says

*looks at Sen

In line 1, using the Turkish address term (hocam, tr: 'my teacher'), Sen initiates her turn by referring to the term under focus 'positive regard' and what follows it is unfortunately inaudible to us; however, it is clear that she speaks in L1. In the following turns (lines 2-6), first providing a definition of 'positive regard' (kişiyi olduğu gibi kabul edebilmek, tr: 'accepting a person as s/he is') , T specifies that there is not a single (definition/dimension) of the term (line 3). A 1.3 second silence emerges as T might be treating her turn as 'complete' and this silence would therefore be a relevant place for turn transition for the student to demonstrate understanding. However, no uptake from the student is received and giving a second definition of the term (olumlu olarak (0.2) kişiyi er: (0.9) >kabul edebilmek<, tr: 'being able to accept the person in a positive way', line 5), T closes the SPP of the adjacency pair with turn-terminating linguistic device (başka bir açıklaması yok, tr: 'there is no other explanations of it', line 6). Note that T draws on L1 in the resolution of the knowledge gap in the interaction. In the following turn, employing L1 as the medium of interaction, Sen prefaces her turn

with ‘so’ and thus attempts to draw an inference from T’s just prior talk and moves on (dediğiniz gibi, tr: ‘as you said’).

Designing her question in YNI syntax, Sen requests for a confirmation of her potential work on the task (kişiye nasıl kabul ettiğimizi ↑mi °edicez°, tr: ‘will we work on how we accept the person’). In line 9, T produces a type-confirming response (evet, tr: ‘yes’) (Raymond, 2003) and following a brief pause, she designs her turn as a correction of Sen’s understanding of what to do in the task (na[sıl açıklıyorsun, tr: ‘how you express (it)’) and at the earliest point of her utterance, Ham overlaps with T’s turn and contributes to the dyadic interaction between T and Sen through his declarative statement ([kendini nasıl gösteriyorsun, tr: ‘how you show yourself’, line 10) in L1. T gazes at him at that point (line 11) and keeps gazing at him in the following turn when she repeats Ham’s contribution (nasıl gösteriyorsun, tr: ‘how you show (yourself)’, line 12) without putting the reflexive pronoun (yourself). By doing so, T engages in a reformulation of Ham’s just prior contribution, which “links back to some prior version of things talked about’’ (Deppermann, 2011, p. 118). In line 13, T keeps gazing at Sen as a pursuit of ‘claiming understanding’ (Schegloff, 1978), but how her gazing behavior is responded to by Sen is not accessible to us due to the placement of the camera.

Following this, T turns back and orients to the other students. When T is not available to them, Ham and Sen continue to go through the task as seen in line 15. Prefacing his turn with the alternative marker ‘or’, Ham adds one more dimension of ‘conveying positive regard’ (veya kızgınlığını, tr: ‘or your anger’). After a 1.1 second silence (line 16), Sen produces a SPP to Ham’s contribution which is inaudible (line 17). Following an approximately one second silence, in line 19 referring to the pedagogical artefact under focus, Ham produces a justification for his just-prior turn (or your anger) by talking about the generic name provided in the task (feelings). It is also of interest that with his turn (feelings diyo ya, tr: ‘feelings it says’), he refers to the first-hand information source, the handout in their hands as a reference point so his contribution is somewhat grounded. That is, what he utters is worth of consideration as it is accounted in the task under focus. As Jordan and Henderson (1995) have maintained, “the nature of production tools, display spaces, and other aspects of the material environment significantly enter

into the interaction and become an important part of the analysis'' (p. 65). In this regard, the current extract is a vivid example of how learners draw on pedagogical resources to conduct the interactional tasks by helping their peers to resolve the task-related problems (Kääntä, 2010) and, more specifically, it describes the design of Ham's role in the interaction. First, by self-selecting and even overlapping T's turn, Ham contributes towards resolving the knowledge gap of Sen. Secondly, when T orients to the other side of the class, by grounding his contribution on the pedagogical artefact, Ham provides more information to treat the trouble source; therefore, he seems to lead a more competent participation framework through his gradual contributions. Moreover, it should also be noted that the whole interaction is performed in L1 in which one-to-one interaction between the teacher and the individual student has also involved the peer and with the absence of the teacher, interaction has moved on between the peers in L1 to resolve the knowledge gap.

To summarize, Extract 1 has described the language practices through which the teacher and the students have resolved an emergent knowledge gap. Employed by the participants as the medium of classroom interaction, L1 (Turkish) offers resources and opportunities for resolving trouble items in this bilingual classroom. As a language choice, the mother tongue shared by all the participants in the classroom has become an important local resource in specific interactions, namely in private sphere of the classroom between the teacher and the individual students. On the current floor of classroom talk, no participants polices each other's use of the L1. It is worth to note that the type of question Sen poses might affect it. In a way, Sen seems to be asking a terminology-related question, which can quite typically be answered by providing a translation. A great deal of negotiation of meaning is performed by the teacher and the individual students and also among the peers without the teacher's interference. Thus, the present extract may uncover important findings in terms of the participation format in classroom interaction (one-to-one and peer group talk) in bilingual classrooms.

A micro-analytic investigation has shown that although the educational context under investigation might be requiring a monolingual norm (English) from a top-down policy perspective, there is room for negotiation between the teacher and the individual students and also between peers in private sphere of classroom interaction. Against this backdrop, the present extract is a vivid picture of depicting

how disalignment towards the institutional monolingual norm can be tolerated in addressing the individual student problems. Moreover, it is interesting to see how the situation seems to begin as a language/terminology related problem but which is then transformed into a task-related one (based on line 8).

Extract 2 comes from a classroom activity during which the students are working on a task called 'social mapping'. They are provided a sample work beforehand and supposed to perform this pedagogical task through thinking about their own relations with the people around them. The segment starts at the beginning of the activity when Can initiates a request for clarification by designing his question in a YNI format.

Extract 2: Will I do the same thing, 12_03_15

01 Can: aynısından mı yapıcam.
the same thing will I do
will I do the same thing.

02 (0.7)

03 → T: yok (.) yani *sen* *kendin için düşün
no I mean you yourself for think
no I mean you think for yourself
*points *holds her hand up
at Can

04 (1.2) ((T smiles at Can))

05 °aynısı değil°
the same thing it is not
it is not the same thing

06 (1.4)((T moves away from Can))

07 Can: $°iyi yazıp bırakayım o zaman°$
okay writing let it go then
okay I will write it quickly then

08 ((T laughs))

09 (0.5)

10 → T: *this is just an e↑xa:mple o↑kay you don't <u>have</u> to
*T shows the handout to the whole class -->

11 <u>copy</u> the same thing (0.5) think about your <u>o:wn</u>

12 social relations (0.2) °okay?°

At the beginning of the extract, Can inquires whether he will do the same thing as illustrated in the sample work (aynısından mı yapıcam., tr: 'will I do the same thing.'). As is seen, he uses L1 (Turkish) as a medium of interaction to make his knowledge gap visible. Following a 0.7 second silence, T produces an unmodulated 'no' (yok) as a rejection device in the same code, Turkish. The fact that the explicit rejection performed with 'no' is delayed in T's turn might indicate the mitigated nature of the turn-of-action (Kääntä, 2010). Following the turn-initial negation, maintaining Turkish as the communicative tool with Can, T moves on to provide an elaboration as a response (yani sen kendin için düşün, tr: 'I mean you think for yourself'). Using (I mean) to forewarn an upcoming adjustment (Fox Tree & Schrock, 2002), T asks Can to personalize the task for himself. Following a 1.2 second silence during which T smiles at Can, she makes it clear that it will not be the same thing as the sample work and produces it in a quiet voice (°aynısı değil°, tr: 'it is not the same thing', line 5).

After a 1.4 second silence during which T moves away from Can and orients to the whole class, Can produces a follow-up statement on T's response; he says ($°iyi yazıp bırakayım o zaman°$, tr: 'okay I will write it quickly then') which is formatted with laughter tokens. T displays alignment with Can by laughing at his utterance in line 8 (Sert & Jacknick, 2015). According to Sert and Jacknick (2015), in moments of trouble, students use smiles to resolve the interactional problems generated by epistemic issues. After a 0.5 second silence, showing the sample handout to the whole class, T reminds the students that it is just an example and they do not have to necessarily perform the same thing (lines 10-12). By using a prosody-rich language for the key words (e↑xa:mple, have to copy, o:wn), T guides the students towards the successful accomplishment of the activity-related goal. Stated another way, both through embodied conduct (orientation to the class and hold of paper) and prosodically-marked linguistic devices, T promotes her pedagogical purpose with the task at hand and closes her turn with a marked upwards shift (okay?) as an understanding check question (UCQ) (line 12). It is worth mentioning that the whole interaction is performed in L2 in the public sphere of the classroom.

What is remarkable in Extract 2 is that the same content presented to Can in Turkish has been addressed to the whole class in English by the teacher and in this case by switching her linguistic code to English, she upholds language policing implicitly. Through transition from one participation framework to another (Schwab, 2011), T re-establishes the normatively-declared official language as the medium of classroom interaction (Bonacina & Gafaranga, 2012; Amir & Musk, 2013). While in one-to-one interaction, she draws on Turkish, the shared mother tongue in the classroom as the medium of interaction, in orienting to the classroom cohort, she switches back to English as a 'practiced language policy' (Bonacina-Pugh, 2012). This policing trajectory is called 'self-policing', which refers to self-initiating the one-language-only policy by the participants (Wei & Wu, 2009). Focusing on the communicative repertoires and normative treatment of language choice in a bilingual classroom in which participants have access to two different languages, i.e. Turkish and English, this extract reveals important dimensions of language policing practices. Firstly, as the participants share the same mother tongue, Turkish in this bilingual classroom, the use of L1 can be a significant resource for classroom interactional practices. Secondly, by navigating classroom language norms in an agentive way, the teacher maintains 'institutionally-assigned L2' through language policing practices, more specifically, via self-policing. That is, language choice shifts from Turkish in dyadic interaction into English in 'multilogue' contexts; that is "pedagogical intended face-to-face interaction including more than two participants'' (Schwab, 2011, p. 3). While the treatment of the individual student questions is conducted in Turkish, the same content is provided in English in whole-class interaction as a concern of being potentially relevant to the other students.

The following extract is an example of the similar phenomenon in which the teacher switches her language code from Turkish (in one-to-one interaction) to English (in whole-class interaction). However, the present extract differs from the previous one in that the teacher displays linguistic disalignment and does not attend the student's subsequent Turkish utterance in whole-class interaction, thereby invoking and reinforcing a locally-established L2 rule in the public sphere of the classroom. The term 'linguistic disalignment' is used here to depict the cases in which the teacher makes an unreciprocal language choice with the students by remaining in L2 (English) mode. In the following extract, the class is going through an activity in

which the students are supposed to write down their personal steps to achieve a specific goal. The extract begins with Ham's assertion turn in which he makes a claim concerning his actual practice on the task with a personal stance attached to it.

Extract 3: The resource, 25_03_15

01 T: bak↑lava [or kind of things sounds well
02 Ham: [*hocam ben (0.2) o engellerin kaynağı diye
my teacher I these obstacles source as
my teacher but I wrote (it) as the source of
03 T: *orients to Ham physically
04 Ham:(0.2) yazdım ↑ama=
wrote but
these obstacles
05 T: =*huh↑
*moves her head towards Ham
06 (0.8)
07 Ham:mesela
for instance
08 (1.1)((Ham turns the handout))
09 Ham:buraya hani (1.2) kaynak derken engelin kaynağı mı?
right here resource when we say source of the obstacle
right here when we say resource is it the source of the obstacle
10 °yoksa.°
or.
11 (1.4)
12 T: yok >hayır hayır< kaynak (0.5) positive (.) anlamda=
no no no resource in positive aspect
13 Ham:=tamam o zaman
that's okay then
14 T: destek olabilecek
support that would
that would support
15 ((T walks towards the middle of the class))

16 T: *resources means (0.2) sup↑ports (0.3) o↑kay ↑positive
*walks towards the middle of the class
17 things (1.1) ↑obstacles negative things
18 (2.6)((T walks towards the middle of the class and faces ss))
19 if you ha:ve a for instance very ↑supportive (0.7)
20 *↑family members ↑husband wi:fe=
*moves her hands like semicircles
21 →Ham:*=ben o engellerin kaynağı* *sandım da °o yüzden°=*
I these obstacles source I thought that's the reason
I thought it's the source of these obstacles that's the reason
22 T: *gazes at Ham *gaze shift
23 →T: *=or sometimes obstacle **can be (0.2) a parent**
*gazes at Ham **moves her hand towards Ham
24 *one of the parents maybe i don't know it depends on
*orients to class -->
25 your o:wn concern

Overlapping with T's turn, Ham initiates a sequence regarding his own practice on the task. Prefacing his turn with a Turkish address term (hocam, tr: 'my teacher'), Ham demonstrates an alternative understanding of the task at hand in L1 (ben (0.2) o engellerin kaynağı diye yazdım ↑ama=, tr: 'but I wrote it as the source of the obstacles'). The use of (ama, tr: 'but') in turn-final position implicates an uncertainty (Üstünova, 2006). From the beginning of his turn, T orients to the student physically (line 3). Following Ham's turn, in line 5, T produces an open-class repair initiator with no gap (huh?) (Drew, 1997), projecting a trouble of non-hearing with the embodied conduct of moving her head towards Ham. Following approximately one second, Ham modifies the syntactic structure of the trouble source from declarative (lines 2-4) to an alternative question (lines 7, 9, 10) and thus makes his knowledge gap more noticeable. Designing his alternative question with a quiet turn-final '°or.°' (mesela buraya hani (1.2) kaynak derken engelin kaynağı mı? °yoksa.°, tr: 'for instance right here when we say resource is it the source of the obstacle? °or.°') instead of presenting two alternative

options, Ham might indicate an uncertainty or presence of an alternative answer (Kääntä, 2010).

He asks whether when they say ‘resource’ it is the source of the obstacle or not, to which T responds negatively and she repeats the negative auxiliary ‘no’ three times and then offers the ‘right’ understanding of the word under focus (yok >hayır hayır< kaynak (0.5) positive (.) anlamda= tr: ‘no no no resource in positive aspect’, line 12). Designing her turn in L1 but just codemixing the word ‘positive’, T displays linguistic alignment with Ham, both sharing the same language code, Turkish. The explanation leads to T receiving a specific acknowledgement from Ham; he claims understanding (tamam o zaman, tr: ‘that’s okay then’, line 13). In the following turn, T adds an increment to her prior talk (destek olabilecek, tr: ‘that would support’). In line 15, T changes her place and walks towards the middle of the class. By employing L2 as the classroom language norm, T gives a definition of ‘resource’ and ‘obstacle’ using prosodically-rich language (resources means (0.2) sup↑ports (0.3) o↑kay ↑positive things (1.1) ↑obstacles negative things). In line 18, during the 2.6 second silence, T still walks towards the center of the class and faces the students. T orients to the whole class as her gaze is directed towards the class (Niemela, 2008). In lines 19-20, T exemplifies ‘resource’ with a real life example and her turn is latched by Ham.

Using L1 as the medium of interaction, Ham provides a justification for his misunderstanding (ben o engellerin kaynağı sandım da °o yüzden°=, tr: ‘I thought it is the source of the obstacles that's the reason’). This turn represents Ham’s understanding of the specific matter at hand with a reason of his misunderstanding beforehand. In her study Vatanen (2014) has found that demonstrations of understanding lead to early-onset response types and in the present extract demonstrations of understanding give some clues about the boundaries of responsiveness which is in the form of latching in this case. What is noticeable in this turn is that at the beginning of Ham’s turn, T attends visually to the side sequence of Ham by shifting her gaze towards him. In the middle of his ongoing turn, T shifts her gaze from him and by latching his turn, she initiates her turn in line 23. In other words, the gaze shift makes T’s next action relevant which is projecting the recipient’s disaffiliating stance (Haddington, 2006). In line 23, ignoring the

previous unsolicited L1 turn of Ham, T continues to explain ‘obstacle’ by gazing towards Ham and moves her hand towards him while talking about ‘parents sometimes being the obstacle’. Note that ‘or’ works as a way to incorporate Ham’s turn in the continuation of the T’s explanation. Through her embodied conduct (gazing and gesturing towards Ham), T in a way performs an inclusive act in which Ham is not eliminated from the whole-class interaction. In the following turns, T reorients to the class and closes the sequence.

To sum up, this fragment exemplifies the phenomenon of ‘invoking L2-only rule’ in addition to the teacher’s self-policing practices. Describing the shift of language codes on two classroom floors (individual students and class cohort) (Jones & Thornborrow, 2004) and in transition between two floors, the extract also demonstrates how the teacher does not attend the L1 turns in whole-class interaction. Even though the same code (Turkish) used by the same student is addressed by the teacher in one-to-one interaction, in the subsequent turn when L1 comes out in whole-class interaction, it is addressed as a nonnormative orientation; therefore, it is treated as ‘unseen’. According to Lee (2013), producing no response for the subsequent turn, respondents might indicate an example of disalignment and in the current example a connection might be drawn with Lee’s finding. The finding of the extract is significant in that it shows how norms for language choice is treated differently in different participation frameworks even if the participants remain the same.

4.1.1.2. Teacher’s Implicit Other-policing Practices

Teacher’s implicit other-policing practices to uphold the English-only rule is the focus of this section. The main distinction between self- and other-policing is accounted as the members’ orienting to their placement, initiator techniques and trajectories (Amir, 2013). To put it more simply, as presented in the previous extracts (2 and 3) in which the teacher switches her code between the languages as a way of enforcing the communicative code, the following four extracts will investigate implicit actions of doing other-policing in which both the teacher and the students are involved in the interactional work. Regarding the implicit ways of doing language policing, they are indirect ways of performing the language policing in contrast to explicit actions which are direct and visible ways. In what follows, I have an example of an explicit language policing practice from the dataset of Sert (2015), which describes the

multilingual resources (student's switching to the L1) in a multilingual classroom setting and the way the teacher orients to a monolingual mode through explicit language policing practices (in English?).

Data set from Sert (2015, p. 150)

```
26    Tea: can you give us an ex↑ample.
27         (1.2)
28 →  Eml: °dei fragezeichen do°.
           those question marks
           +points on the marks on the page
29         (1.3)
30 →  Tea: in English?=
31    Eml: =i don't £know£.
32    Tea: a question mark, yes: (.) for example there is a
33         big question ↑mark.
           +hand gestures
```

As it is evident in the sample case, orienting to the main institutional language norm (L2), T initiates a language policing sequence through an explicit directive 'in English?', which marks the just-prior talk of the student as not conducted in the target language. Different from these explicit confrontations, in my dataset, medium switching to L2 as a response to L1 talk of the students is one of the techniques the teacher has employed for language policing. A general observation is that as a response to this kind of teacher-to-student policing, students tend to orient to the teacher's preference for English by switching their medium which is an example of participant-related code-switch (Liebscher & Dailey-O'cain, 2005). In what follows, I will investigate four cases in which different dimensions of implicit other-policing practices are presented; apart from the instances in which students show a linguistic disalignment towards the teacher (Extracts 4 and 5), I will also examine the cases in which students display alignment with an L2 rule invocation, thereby unfolding the normative organization of language choice in this particular EMI setting (Extracts 6 and 7). The total number of the instances of this phenomenon (displaying linguistic alignment by the students) is relatively rare compared to other sections in the student-initiated question-answer sequences of the whole dataset.

Extract 4 is a rather typical example of the phenomenon of this category: 'teacher's implicit other-policing practices'. It describes how the teacher upholds English-only rule by showing linguistic disalignment towards the students drawing on L1 in whole-class interaction. In the extract, the class is going through an activity in which they are supposed to write down their 'must do' and 'preferred to do' activities; however, there is confusion as regards to the period of time for calculation among the students.

Extract 4: My only regular day, 11_03_15

```
01    T:    now calculate them (0.5) >separately<
02          (0.6)
03    Sx:   °yirmidört saat yapmıcak mıyız?°
            twenty four hours  won't we do
            won't we do it for twenty four hours?
04 →  T:    *for a day
            *looks at her table
05          (1.1)((T looks at her table))
06    Yel:  bunları *bi dakika yirmi dört saate göre mi
            these     just a minute twenty four hours  based on
            these just a minute were we supposed to divide it
07                  *T looks at Yel -->
08          bölecektik              °bunu°=
            were we supposed to divide it
            based on twenty four hours
09    Ham:  =°ay[nen°
            exactly
10    T:        [ye:s
11          (0.9)
12 →        i ↑asked you *to think a↑bout your one typical da:y
                         *holds her index finger -->
```

The fragment begins with T's instruction to conduct the next step in the task (now calculate them (0.5) >separately<). Following a 0.6 second gap, designing her question in a negative YNI sotto voce, Sx makes her knowledge gap interactionally detectable (°yirmidört saat yapmıcak mıyız?°, tr: 'won't we

do it for twenty four hours?', line 3). This question might be addressed to the peer or the teacher as Sx is not in the scope of the camera but in the following turn, T responds and thereby treats it as a turn addressed to her and by showing a visual disorientation to the class (T looks at her table), T specifies the period of time for calculation (for a day).

Following a 1.1 second silence, in lines 6-8, Yel initiates her information-seeking sequence in a self-initiated self-repair format (bunları bi dakika yirmi dört saate göre mi bölecektik °bunu°= tr: 'these just a minute were we supposed to divide it based on twenty four hours'). By employing past tense to refer to 'should have been done' task, Yel refers to the trouble source. In the following turn, her question receives an intensifying adverb from Ham (°ay[nen°, tr: 'exactly', line 9) which is an example of co-participant's turn. In line 10, this response is overlapped by T with a type-conforming response ([ye:s) which is emphatically-produced with emphasis and elongation; thus, it functions as a 'no-trouble' response (Fox & Thompson, 2010) in contrast to a hedged response. Following approximately one second silence, by using past tense, T refers to the prior interactional event in which she (↑asked them to think a↑bout their one typical da:y), thereby making her pedagogical purpose visible once more.

To recap, Extract 4 is an illustrative example of how the teacher upholds L2-only rule in whole-class interaction through implicit other-policing practices. Some signals of disalignment between the FPP and the SPP are observed in interaction. While the students maintain the L1 use, the teacher establishes the L2 rule by remaining in L2 mode, thus making an unreciprocal language choice in which the teacher displays linguistic disalignment with the students through her medium of classroom interaction (English), an example of the recipient's disaligment with the previous speaker's talk. It is worth mentioning that what the teacher is doing is not enforcing an L2 rule and thereby demanding that it is followed but she is simply bringing as much L2 into the classroom as possible. Therefore, it is most certainly a very soft way ensuring and promoting L2 use.

In the following extract, a similar instance occurs as a language policing practice by the teacher; however, it differs from Extract 4 in that peers are treated as the potential sources to resolve the knowledge gaps. Extract 5 comes from a warm-up

exercise called ‘visual bio-sketch’ in which the students are required to think about their life experiences up to the present. They are expected to dwell on their experiences on the other side of the sample paper by drawing, picturing, and writing.

Extract 5: Will you collect the papers, 25_02_15

01 Fer: hocam?
my teacher?
02 (0.3)
03 *will you (.) collect the papers (0.5) or do we
04 *T walks towards Fer -->
05 ha:ve to write our names on it.
06 (0.5)
07 T: *no
*shakes her head
08 Fer: *okay
*moves her lips and looks at her paper
09 (1.6)
10 T: *keep all the activities in a folder (.) o↑kay
*orients to the class and moves her hand downwards
11 Fer: *looks at T -->
12 ((Fer nods))
13 (6.2)((T walks around the class))
14 → Ham: °*portfolyo gibi mi yapıcaz°
portfolio like will we do it
will we do it like portfolio
*asks Sen
15 Bur: hocam?
my teacher?
16 ((T walks towards Bur))
17 → Bur: portfolyo şeklinde mi olacak.
portfolio in the form of will it be
will it be in the form of portfolio.
18 → T: i am *not going to collect a:ll the (.) folders just

```
                *shakes her head
19          *keep them
            *moves her hand downwards
20          (0.9)
21          it is quite useful for you
```

The sequence begins as Fer addresses T (hocam, tr: 'my teacher') and she waits until she gets the attention of T. By walking towards Fer (line 4), T already treats the question being formulated by Fer as legitimate. Stated another way, Fer's prospective question comes in a moment that is treated as legitimate by T. The address term (hocam, tr: 'my teacher') summons projecting a request for asking a question so it is presented as a FPP and the fact that T orients to her embodiedly functions as a SPP (Kääntä, 2010). That is, the address term and embodied action of T might be considered as a preliminary adjacency pair and immediately thereafter, the base adjacency pair which is the question and response appear.

By asking an open question in the form of 'either or', alternative questioning, (will you (.) collect the papers (0.5) or do we ha:ve to write our names on it.), she invites T to answer one of the alternatives in the question (Koshik, 2005). T answers the first question and produces a bald (no) as a response along with head shaking (line 7). Following the negative polar particle by T, Fer produces a silent 'okay' as an acceptance token and orients to her handout again (line 8). Following a fairly lengthy silence, T elaborates on what they should do with the activities by orienting to the whole class and showing the required action (keeping the folders) embodiedly (moving her hands downwards) (line 10). By orienting to T while she is providing a response related to her question, Fer nods as a display of understanding (line 12). After a 6.2 second gap during which T walks around the class, Ham asks Sen (sitting next to him) whether they would do it like a portfolio or not (°portfolyo gibi mi yapıcaz°, tr: 'will we do it like portfolio') in L1 and it is produced sotto voce (line 14) which might be related to the fact that Turkish is not the sanctioned language in this bilingual classroom. Bur who sits next to Sen and who overhears Ham's knowledge gap regarding the ongoing task revoices the question and delivers the same question to T in Turkish (portfolyo şeklinde mi olacak., tr: 'will it be in the form of portfolio.', line 17), which is an example of co-assistance of peers in the problematic moments of dealing with the

task. Interestingly, although the question is not addressed to her, by being the voice of Ham, Bur makes the current knowledge gap a relevant concern for the whole class. Between lines 18-21, T provides the SPP in English; in this way, she performs language policing implicitly (Amir & Musk, 2013). By speaking English, T upholds the LP implicitly in response to Bur's question in Turkish. In other words, Turkish is not the sanctioned language by T in whole-class interaction; therefore, the language choice of Bur is not aligned to by T.

All in all, Extract 5 illustrates how peer interaction in bilingual educational settings is conducted and how the teacher typically interacts in English in the public space of the class when the student questions are received in L1. Thus, the current data sheds light on both the normative language choice for peer interaction and the issue of interactional disalignment. It has shown that the student (Ham) draws on the use of L1 to backstage (Jakonen, 2016) and the students treat each other as likely knowers for missing information. As addressing the peer instead of the teacher to resolve the knowledge gaps might be related to the progressivity of the session (Stivers & Robinson, 2006), the students might rely on L1 as it is the hidden language among peers especially in those parallel talks in the private setting of the classroom. Curiously enough, revoicing of the missing information by the neighbor peer in an information-seeking sequence is a good example of how an individual trouble source has been turned into a public problem. It also demonstrates that although the management of a monolingual norm in an English-medium is invoked through the practices of the teacher, there is room for negotiation of language code among peers (Copp Mökkönen, 2012) and when it is made public in whole-class interaction, the teacher shows linguistic disalignment towards L1 turns by maintaining institutional practices for using the target language. In the following fragment, instead of showing disalignment through the L1 use as what occurred in the previous two extracts, the student displays alignment by switching the linguistic code to English.

Extract 6 comes from a task activity in which the students are supposed to list their 'must do' and 'preferred to do' activities in a chart. As it might not be clear from the teacher's instruction for which days the students are responsible to document their activities, Mur designs his question in YNI syntax to initiate the inquiry.

Extract 6: Is it for each day, 12_03_15

01 T: must do activities in a (.) day (1.2) a:nd (0.8)
02 *de↑ci:de (0.7) preferred to o:r (1.1) choo:se to
*draws on the board -->
03 activities
04 (2.9)
05 Mur: her gün için mi.
each day for is it
is it for each day.
06 (0.6)
07 T: yes (0.2) for a typical *day
*holds her index finger up
08 (0.7)((Mur nods))
09 T: okay?
10 (0.7)((T gazes at the class))
11 → Gok: ↑weekend (0.2) *or week[day.
*moves index finger to the left side
12 T: [er::
13 *fo:r (0.2) fo:r both let's say (0.3) o↑kay
*moves two fingers to both sides
14 (1.2) #1

Figure 1

15 ((T keeps gazing at Gok and nods))
16 → Gok: *it changes a lot

```
          *moves his hand to the left side
17        (0.2)
18   T:   yeah probably cha:nge a lot…
```

At the beginning of the sequence (lines 1-3), using the blackboard as a multimodal tool (Kääntä, 2010; Sert & Walsh, 2013; Sert, 2015), T draws a sample chart for the students to write their 'must do' and 'preferred to do' activities in a day. Using emphatic talk on key words for the task (must do, day, choo:se), T asks the students to decide on these activities in a day. After a 2.9 second silence, Mur initiates an information-seeking sequence via a YNI question type: (her gün için mi., tr: 'is it for each day.', line 5). Although English is the institutional norm for talk in this specific classroom, Mur indicates his lack of knowledge through L1 (Turkish), one of the two languages available to all the participants in the classroom. Following a 0.6 second gap, first with an emphatic type-conforming response (yes), and then specifying the day (a typical day) accompanied with nonverbal conduct (swinging her hand, holding her index finger), T provides a response to the question, forming the SPP of the adjacency pair. In the following turn in line 8, Mur produces a nodding token. Using 'okay?' as an UCQ for the whole class, in line 10, T gazes towards the students.

Gok self-selects and delivers his question on the issue in the format of alternative questioning (↑weekend (0.2) or week[day.) in L2. In this alternative type of question with two choices, in the same line with what Koshik (2005) has found in her data, there is a rise on the first alternative and the second choice receives a downward final intonation. This specific intonation pattern of alternative questions is also documented in the literature; according to Quirk and Greenbaum (1973), the alternative question "contains a separate nucleus for each alternative: a rise occurs on each item in the list, except the last, on which there is a fall, indicating that the list is complete'' (p. 198). While producing the second alternative, drawing on embodied conduct, Gok moves his index finger to the right side to mark the second choice. His question sheds light on the establishment of alignment towards the language norm in this bilingual classroom. When Mur's question comes in Turkish, T treats the question in English; in this way, she displays linguistic disalignment with Mur. Following this, the subsequent question regarding the topic is produced in English by Gok.

The interesting example of the management of normativity in this case shows us how a particular student (Gok) subsequent turn is shaped by T's implicit language policing practices which softly enforce an L2-medium of interaction in this bilingual class. Gok's second choice is overlapped in the middle of the turn with T's hesitation marker ([er::) in line 12. Continuing her turn by self-repairing herself, T includes both alternatives to keep in mind (fo:r (0.2) fo:r both let's say (0.3) o↑kay) by moving her two fingers to the both sides (line 13). According to Kääntä (2004), the use of forms such as 'let's' or 'we' by teachers demonstrate that both the teacher's and students' joint actions are conjured. This answer receives a 1.2 second silence during which Gok looks up and pouts his lips (see Figure 1), which are documented as nonverbal conducts displaying dispreference in the previous literature (Kääntä, 2010; Sert, 2013). In line 15, T keeps gazing at Gok and nods. What happens next is that Gok provides a follow-up turn to T's response (it changes a lot) by moving his hand to the left side (line 16). Placing emphasis on the word (lot), Gok marks the contrast between the two alternatives he has provided before. After a brief silence, T acknowledges Gok's statement and elaborates on both weekdays and weekends which are not illustrated in the extract for space constraints.

In summary, Extract 6 is an interesting example of how normative organization of language choice in an EMI context is performed by a particular student, Gok. It has shown that students' interactional work regarding language choice has differed from each other as they take different approaches to dealing with normative language practices. I have seen how the norm for English is invoked, resisted and maintained in different participation frameworks. Through the teacher's implicit other-policing practices (remaining in an L2 mode), the student (Gok) shows linguistic alignment with the teacher, which indexes a locally-established classroom language norm in this bilingual classroom. Although English is the institutionally-assigned medium of instruction in this bilingual classroom, there is also another language norm (Turkish), an unsanctioned language code in this educational context. The teacher invokes English-rule in her interactional turn by displaying a stance of disalignment with an avoidance of CS into L1, thereby playing a key role in re-establishing English as the institutionally-assigned medium of classroom interaction.

The following is the last example in this section; it differs from the previous extract in that the knowledge gap is addressed to the peer rather than the teacher. The segment starts following the teacher's instruction in which she has asked the students to decide about the roles they will take upon for the activity, namely teller/describer and drawer/writer.

Extract 7: First drawer, 09_04_15

```
01    Gok: *çiziyor muyuz Met=
            drawing  are we  Met
           ***are we drawing Met***
02    T:   *gazes at Gok
03 →  T:   *=yes
04         (0.9)
05         ↑one will (0.3) ex↑plai:n (0.6) and the other one
06         (0.3) will (1.1) d↑ra:w (0.7) the figure (0.4) o↑kay
07         (0.9) so the most important thing is (1.0) first
08         decide about who will be the ↑first (0.4) person
09         *you will (0.3) change the role (0.2) shift the ro:le
           *moves her two fingers to both sides -->
10         o↑kay in the second round
11         ((Gok raises his hand))
12 →  Gok: *first drawer. değil mi?
           ***first is drawer, isn't it/right?***
           *his hand is up
13         (0.4)
14    T:   *okay
           *gazes at Gok and swings her hand towards him
15         *s- for ea:ch one (0.3) decide about the role okay
           *shifts gaze and orients to the class
16         let me let me see your hands
```

The sequence begins with Gok's indication of a knowledge gap related to the task at hand and it is addressed to the peer (Met) instead of T (çiziyor muyuz Met=, tr: 'are we drawing Met') in L1. Designing his question as a polar interrogative, Gok initiates a request for information sequence during which T gazes at Gok. Being

available to the students and aware of the knowledge gap Gok has indicated, with no gap, T provides an emphatic type-conforming response (yes) to Gok's question (line 3). It is noteworthy that although Gok solicits help from the peer instead of T, T intervenes and provides a response as if the peer might have no rights and responsibilities regarding knowledge in classroom interaction. Stated another way, it might be an unconventional case for T as teachers are considered as "the institutionally-assigned default individual with primary epistemic status in the classroom'' (Jakonen, 2014, p. 86). Following approximately one second silence, T provides more information about the roles in the task with emphatically-produced key words (ex↑plai:n, d↑ra:w, lines 5-6).

Between lines 7-10, T instructs that they will shift the roles but now it is time to decide which person will start with which role. In the following turn (line 12), Gok raises his hand to bid for a turn but without waiting to be nominated by T, he poses his question in tag question format, the tag of which is uttered in L1 (first drawer. değil mi?, tr: 'first is drawer, isn't it/right?')', an example of code-mixing which is employed "at every level of lexical and syntactic structure by bilinguals'' (Shin, 2010, p. 90). A closer look at the design of his question shows that the declarative form (first drawer.) is produced with a falling intonation and the confirmation request (isn't it/right?) is delivered with rising intonation contour; which is described by Schleef (2005) as a 'progression check question tag' pursuing an agreement from T. That is, the addition of the tag particle seeks T's confirmation of the proposition conveyed in the declarative syntax (Stivers & Rossano, 2010; Hepburn & Potter, 2010).

It is remarkable that although Turkish is the common practice among the peers as described in the first question in this case, the expected norms and practices of the students in addressing to T or whole class are conducted in English although code-mixing is implicated in language norms for use. Interestingly, Gok's hand is still up during his talk which might function as an attention-seeking device. Following a 0.4 second silence, gazing at Gok and swinging her hand towards him, instead of treating polar interrogatives in a conventional way through a confirmation token like 'yes' or a disconfirmation marker 'no', T produces the discourse particle (okay) as a response. It is curious that 'okay', bearing neither a knowing nor unknowing stance, functions as a token of recognition that Gok's question has been received;

thus, it functions as a hedged response. In the following turns, T specifies the task by shifting her gaze from Gok towards the students (lines 15-16).

To sum up, what is observed in the present fragment is that the students treat each other as a likely knower to conduct the pedagogical purpose of the task at hand. Instead of addressing the teacher, the student attempts to solicit the missing knowledge from the peer by means of a polar interrogative. In the whole dataset, it has been seen that many peer interactions revolve around L1 and procedural matters as also described in this extract. As the use of L1 can be hidden in peer talk of group works in contrast to the whole-class interaction (Jakonen, 2016), the inquiry comes in Turkish as it is not addressed to the teacher or the whole class but to the peer and the treatment that comes from the teacher is in L2. Curiously enough, in the subsequent turns when another question related to the same issue is addressed to the teacher and the whole class, the code chosen for it is English. More specifically, the inquiry is designed in a code-mixed format in which the gist of the question is produced in L2 and the confirmation part is designed in Turkish with a tag. All in all, as the previous extracts (6 and 7) have illustrated, students' alignment practices are addressed to the teacher and the whole class.

4.1.2. Summary

This section has examined the teacher's language policing practices, "the orderly management, negotiation and (re)construction of norms for language choice and use'' (Leppänen & Piirainen-Marsh, 2009, p. 262). For this purpose, two types of practices that do language policing in classroom interaction, namely 'teacher's self-policing practices' (Category 1) and 'teacher's implicit other-policing practices' (Category 2) were investigated. Taken together, the excerpts displayed in the former one illustrate that the teacher switches her linguistic code from Turkish to English in the transition from individual student problems to the whole-class interaction and thus performs self-policing practices. The analysis of the first category expands our understanding on how the kind of activity contexts, namely individual and class cohort, shapes the language policing practices and also how the perceived problem of individual students is turned into public concern for the other students. Although it is not an L2 language classroom setting, it is noteworthy to talk about the differences in the classroom contexts as put forward by Seedhouse (2004) as

almost all of the language policing practices of the whole dataset are conducted in task-based interactional contexts.

In the second category, it has been observed that by showing linguistic disalignment with the students drawing on L1 in whole-class interaction, the teacher remains in the institutionally-specified L2 which triggers the L2 use in the subsequent turn both by the same student (Extract 7) and another student (Extract 6). Extracts 4 and 5 are different in this regard as they are the examples of how the students do not seem to be taking the teacher's language implicit policing actions as enforcement and simply continue using L1. In the cases I have examined under this category, no instances of explicit language policing practices such as punishment or reminders of the L2-only rule have been observed unlike the previous research on the language policing acts in classroom interaction (Copp Jinkerson, 2011; Amir, 2013; Jakonen, 2016). On the contrary, the teacher re-establishes the 'officially-approved language' norm by making her disalignment towards the L1 use evident and in the subsequent turn the student secures alignment by switching back to English. All in all, this section has presented an empirical investigation of the teacher's practical methods of doing language policing by both examining the micro-contexts (Category 1) and the participation framework in terms of alignment in interaction (Category 2) in learner-generated question-answer sequences. As all the language policing practices examined in this section fall under the student-posed questions, students seem to play an agent role in navigating language norms in this particular setting. In this respect, the current section sheds light on the normative expectations regarding the language repertoires in bilingual classrooms.

As regards the design and treatment of the procedural and task-related questions in this section, what has emerged from the data is that the primary aim is to promote progressivity of the activity under focus. That is, questioning is primarily concerned with obtaining or confirming information to make progress in the task. Yes/no polar questions are the most commonly employed resources to indicate lack of knowledge in task-based contexts. According to Heritage (2012b), polar interrogatives indicate a more 'knowing' K- epistemic stance compared to wh- interrogatives. As these questions convey a more knowledgeable stance than wh- interrogatives, in the collection they generally tend to appear for requests for confirmation during task work. They are mainly designed in a grammatically affirmative format which expects

an affirmative response in the subsequent turn. As YNIs depict a more expansive interest in the matter at hand, they make a type-conforming token relevant in the related sequence (Seuren & Huiskes, 2017) and in the data the preferred responses for the related questions were quite recognizable.

According to Sorjonen (2001), in the investigation of responses to polar questions, one should keep the following issues in mind: (i) the structure of the question, (ii) the kinds of epistemic assumptions the question encodes, and (iii) the sequential placement of the question. As these questions generally come up in task-oriented contexts (iii), they are mostly designed for confirmation request (ii), and they are almost always formatted in affirmative syntax (i), the response type for these questions are straightforward and simple, thereby not launching larger interactional sequences. These questions are employed as a powerful tool in achieving progress in pedagogical activities and the way the teacher addresses such questions also illustrates how pedagogical agendas set up constraints on the treatment of the questions. In other words, to exploit the instructional benefit of the related questions for students' task-accomplishment, the teacher produces straightforward and knowing responses without engaging in extended talk, thus not initiating larger interactional sequences. Providing such straightforward answers is a very related part of these task-based environments in which a preference for the progressivity (Stivers & Robinson, 2006) of the ongoing activity is a main concern; in this way, the teacher secures the progressivity of the sequence by providing clear and unelaborated responses.

4.2. Management of Content-related Questions in EMI Classroom Interaction

In this section the focus is on the management of content-related questions in pursuits of missing information. A close examination of these questions has indicated that they convey an 'unknowing' K- epistemic status on the inquired topic under focus; therefore, wh- interrogative morphosyntax is most commonly used in these information-seeking sequences. This type of questions brings up deeper and delicate issues that need to be treated in a longer stretch of talk and it is what exactly occurs in majority of the cases in the collection. As these deeper questions differ from common task and procedural-related questions in terms of sophisticated thinking, students need to focus on designing their questions in a more detailed way

such as formulating them in MUQTs which “consist of two or more TCUs, which are delivered together, either in one single turn or in a close-knit turn sequence with no intervening substantial responses from the responder’’ (Linell, Hofvendahl & Lindholm, 2003, p. 540). In what follows, I will present a detailed analysis of how the design and treatment of the related questions have distinctive features compared to the previous examples in section 4.1.

The first extract in this section is a typical example of how content-related questions are enacted and addressed in the data. Generally framing their questions with pre-announcements (Schegloff, 1980), reference to the act of asking a question (e.g. can I ask a question?), and backgrounding statements, students design their questions in wh- interrogative morphosyntax, thereby projecting an ‘unknowing’ K-epistemic status. Teacher takes an extended turn to explain the issue under focus and mostly closes the sequence in order to judge the correctness of students’ understanding via understanding check devices (Koole, 2010) such as ‘okay?’; ‘is it clear?’. As a third turn position, students provide no-problem responses (e.g. okay, nodding) that embody confirmation of understanding (Waring, 2012); thus, these minimal responses are taken as a basis for sequence-closing.

In extract 8, the teacher talks about the voluntary nature of counselling, emphasizing the individuals’ own preference to receive help. She engages in an extended telling sequence on how counsellors cannot change individuals but help them discover their own potentials. When her telling sequence has come to a completion and the teacher is about to move on to another slide, Bir indicates lack of knowledge and brings up an issue regarding the just-prior explanation of the teacher.

Extract 8: Receive help, 26_02_15

```
01   Bir: *can i ask a quest[ion.
          *raises her hand
02   T:                     [su:re
03        (0.3)
04   Bir: *er:* *how can we provide students to receive °help°.
          *gazes *gazes at T -->
          at the slide
05               *T walks towards Bir -->
06        (0.6)
```

07 T: er: usually we use different (0.3) er: strategie:s
08 (0.4) er: *first we should inform them (0.8) what
*shows her thumps
09 kind of services provided (0.4) in the school (1.1)
10 the under (.) title of of course school counselling
11 activities (0.4) and in class (0.4) er: if the
12 classroom guidance teachers (0.5) *you are a:ll er:
*smiles,points at
the class
13 candi↑date of er: (0.5) classroom guidance tea↑chers
14 er: whenever you notice whenever you ob↑se:rve
15 something is wro:ng (0.8) o:r (0.4) the person needs
16 some kind of sup↑port (0.2) from other individuals
17 (0.4) er: or professional help in this case we use
18 re↑ferral system we will discuss ho:w to make
19 referral later (0.5) in which conditions er: (1.0)
20 usually your *po↑sitive attitude* (0.4) *also
*moves hand forward abruptly
21 *Bir nods
22 influence your students (0.9) sometimes (0.4) er:
23 classroom teachers talk about (0.3) guidance and
24 counselling activities like ohho:: they are doing
25 °nothing° (1.2) so we create *a kind of impression*
*holds hands up
26 tha:t (0.3) there is an office (0.5) and someone is
27 sitting the:re and doing nothing (0.9) so no one
28 wants to get help (1.0) and er: you may introduce
29 (1.2)((Bir nods))
30 you may suggest (0.3)*$not force$
*moves hands as pushing
31 (0.5) er: but you can also follow up the process
32 (0.3) whether the person is getting he:lp or not
33 (0.3) what kind of hesitation he or she has (0.6)
34 open communication is always (0.3) the best policy

35 (0.8)((Bir nods))
36 T: okay?
37 Bir: *°okay°
*smiles and nods
38 ((T changes the slide))

The current interactional event begins with a pre-positioned meta-statement (can i ask a quest[ion.) from Bir, announcing that a particular question is on its way (Linell et al., 2003). It is an interesting example on how a student's hand-raising and self-selection practices can work in tandem. In line 2, by overlapping with Bir's permission to ask a question, T provides an explicit agreement token ([su:re) as a go-ahead response to welcome the student-initiated practices for learning. Following a brief silence (0.3 sec) and hesitation (er:) during which Bir gazes at the pedagogical artefact (slide), in line 4, she maintains mutual gaze with T and uses the interrogative form to indicate her lack of knowledge (how can we provide students to receive °help°.). Note that drawing on interrogative questioning, students position themselves in K- position (Heritage, 2012b) and deploying modal auxiliaries such as 'can' integrated in their questions, students mark the epistemic asymmetry in classroom interaction (Park, 2012). That is, the epistemic asymmetry between the participants is highlighted through such modal auxiliaries.

Whilst Bir is issuing the question, T shows a physical orientation by walking towards her (line 5). Following a 0.6 second silence and prefacing her response with the hesitation token 'er:', T provides an elaborate response as Bir's unknowing stance is in sight through the interrogative morphosyntax (lines 7-34). In the course of her extended turn, T addresses both the individual student (Bir) and the whole class through gazing and pointing gestures and Bir establishes 'listenership' through nodding (lines 20, 27, 33). What is noticeable with this long explanation is that it does quite delicate work and perhaps the delicateness is in play in the student's question. For example, by dealing with critique towards guidance counsellors (the student's future profession), the extended response seems to deal with something more than 'content', such as the professional mindset or sophisticated thinking. Following T's UCQ 'okay?' in line 36, Bir accepts T's detailed answer, (°okay°) accompanied with smile and nod. That is, with a transition-relevant

acknowledgement token (okay), the information-seeking sequence comes to completion. In the following turn, by changing the slide, T explicitly marks the shift of the interactional context; from student-initiated questioning to teacher-led lecturing.

In sum, interactional work conducted in this extract is a rather typical example in the data. The information-seeking sequence is typically designed as follows: an interrogative for the act of asking a question (e.g. Can I ask a question?) + a K- position question commonly in wh- interrogative (e.g. How can we …?) + an extended teacher turn + understanding check devices for students (e.g. Okay?) + a no-problem response (e.g. Okay, nodding) from students. Table 1 below represents the related sequence in the collection.

Table 1. A typical sequence pattern in content-related questions

1. Reference to the act of asking a question	May/can I ask a question? I have a question
2. K- epistemic position	How can we..?
3. An extended teacher turn	Explanations
4. Understanding check devices	Okay? Is it clear for you? Is it maybe helpful for you?
5. A no-problem response from students	Yes Okay Nodding

It is noteworthy that this recurrent pattern in student-initiated question-answer sequences in content-based environments is dominant in number in the collection and I will illustrate some interactionally distinctive 7 cases among 23 cases in the whole dataset. The following fragment of interaction presents how student weak agreements in third turns prompt the teacher to elaborate more on her response. Extract 9 is taken from a post-task setting. The task for the students is to create a group of three and share the roles of helper, helpee, and observer. While the helpee is supposed to talk about one of his/her concerns, the helper has to guide the helpee in accordance with the helping skills the teacher has explained in counselling interaction. As for the role of the observer, s/he has to examine the interaction between helper and helpee closely by using an observation check-list, more specifically, by noting the strong and weak points of the current meeting. Following the task, the students are engaged in a whole-class discussion on their experiences

during the task work. Most of them have admitted giving advice to the helpees which should have been avoided in the helping process. While the teacher is providing the possible reasons why the students have needed an urgent desire to give a piece of advice to the peers, Yap raises her hand to bid for a turn and the teacher nominates her using a pointing gesture.

Extract 9: This is also advice giving, 15_04_15

```
01    Yap:*>i have a question< (.) if we ↑ask (0.2) something
02        *T walks towards Yap -->
03        like if you ever think of
04        (0.4) ((T nods))
05        this is also advice givi:ng. (.) o::r.=
06    T:  =*no:
          *shakes her head laterally
07  → Yap:°o↓kay°
08        (0.7)
09  → T:  have you ever think (0.4) a↑bout this o:r (0.2)
10        have you ever ta:lked to (0.3) someone e:lse this
11        is a question (0.6) °o↓kay°
12        (2.5)((T steps backwards and gazes at the class, Nur
          says something to Yap and they smile))
13        *but if you are **↑forcing the person to (0.4) ↑think
          *gazes at Yap -->
14                          **Yap nods
15        or a:sk (0.2) $questions kind of things$ (0.6) then
16        (0.3) it's mo:re than suggestion
```

The segment begins when Yap enters her agenda and establishes the right to ask a question (`>i have a question<`).The declarative question frame marks her act of questioning as just previous interaction has been based on student-initiated participation through commenting on the task at hand but not through posing questions. Therefore, the sequential placement of the upcoming question favors a reference to the act of asking a question. Yap moves on to pursue a response from T through alternative questioning design (`if we ↑ask (0.2) something like if you ever think of (0.4) this is also advice givi:ng. (.)`

o::r.=) (lines 1, 3, 5). As a characteristic feature of T's receiving the questions, she walks closer to the information-seeking student (line 2). After providing a probable condition (if we ↑ask (0.2) something like if you ever think of), Yap presents her information-seeking sequence through a declarative alternative questioning (this is also advice givi:ng. (.) o::r.=) (line 5). By deploying the particle 'or' as a turn-final component in her pursuit of knowledge, she mitigates the effect of expanding the scope of possible answers (Lindström, 1999). That is, she resolves the constraint of a choice between only two alternatives.

Note that, the questioning turn is latched into by T's type-conforming response '=no:', marking the disagreement (Raevaara, 1989) (line 6). It is important to mention here that the immediate negation shapes what the questioning turn ends up. However, speech perturbations (Schegloff et al., 1977) such as micro-pause, sound elongation (o::r.) and falling intonation function as signals to invite T to come in with her response. Therefore, T might orient to that place as being relevant to intervene. After the verbal (no) and nonverbal (shaking head laterally) disagreeing response, Yap produces (°o↓kay°) with a falling intonation in a quiet voice (line 7). It is evident that the down-toned 'okay' suggests a weaker type of response as an acknowledgement of T's just-prior turn. Following a 0.7 second silence, T provides an expansion on the response with further elaboration (have you ever think (0.4) a↑bout this o:r (0.2) have you ever ta:lked to (0.3) someone e:lse this is a question) (lines 9-11). By doing so, she produces syntactically complete sentences as a response to Yap's candidate understanding of 'if you ever think of'. Moreover, she completes her turn by marking what these constructions refer to: 'questions but not advice giving'.

It is noteworthy that what makes the response get expanded is related to previous plain and down-toned 'okay'. In the data I have observed that in the cases of 'okays' in falling intonation, T provides further information as a way of presenting her knowledge as being more satisfactory and responsive. Following a 0.6 second silence, T produces a sequence-closing (°o↓kay°) (line 11). In the following turn, she steps back towards the middle of the class and scans the class. In the meanwhile, Nur, who is sitting next to Yap, says something to her, which creates laughter among the two but it is inaccessible to us. In line 13, shifting her gaze from

the whole class back to Yap, T elaborates more on the issue in question. The turn initial 'but' in her turn projects a contrast to follow (`but if you are ↑forcing the person to (0.4) ↑think or a:sk (0.2) $questions kind of things$ (0.6) then (0.3) it's mo:re than suggestion`) (lines 13, 15, 16) and in her turn, T presents what is more than a suggestion with the same bipartite conditional construction, 'if-then' (Lerner, 1996) Yap has also employed.

To summarize, Extract 9 demonstrates how a third position student response, an acknowledgement in falling intonation, pushes the teacher to expand more on her previous response turn by presenting further information. It is worth noting that in the treatment of the issue in question, the teacher draws on the same structure (if-then) as the student has provided in her information-seeking sequence. By doing so, the teacher might orient to the familiarity of the response being given with the issue in question so that it might be a way to clarify a problem that has been hanging in the air with the student's own terms. The extract also offers an insight into how sequential environment of an upcoming question shapes the delivery of the question structure, favoring a question frame rather than a single-unit turn. As the adjacent question follows a whole-class discussion in which no questions have been observed but the students share their experiences during the activity, the student marks her act of questioning through questioning frame.

The following extract bears similarities with the previous one concerning the teacher's breaking off the student turn and particular student third turns eliciting further turns from the teacher. The sequence takes place after an independent task work. The students were supposed to write sample sentences for each classroom communication roadblock on the handout (e.g. praising, accusing) and later they were provided with the second handout on which sample sentences were available. The teacher asks the students to compare their own sentences with the sample ones and while the teacher is going through the list of the roadblocks, one of the students asks a question via interrogative morphosyntax.

Extract 10: Why praising a roadblock?, 08_04_15

```
01   Mel: hocam (0.3) why (0.3) er: praising or motivating
          my teacher
02        a student *is a roadblock (0.4) i mea:n **er::=
03   T:             *looks at the handout in her hand
```

```
     Mel:                                          **looks at the
                                                        handout
04   T:    *=↑if it is not a honest feedback (0.3) don't
           *holds her index finger -->
05         give (0.3) positive feedback
06         (0.6)((T laughs))
07 → Mel: o↓ka:y
08         ((Mel nods))
09         (0.6)
10 → T:    *try to find the strength of the person (0.3)
           *gazes at the class -->
11         honestly (0.4) o↑kay everyone (0.4) ha:s (0.5)
12         *at lea:st one strength
           *gazes at Mel
13         (0.6)
14         okay?
15         ((Mel nods))
16         (1.1)
17         but (0.4) $don't make up$
18         ((T smiles at Mel and Mel nods))
```

In line 1, prefacing her turn with the turn-initial address term (hocam, tr: 'my teacher'), Mel self-selects and initiates a questioning sequence through wh-interrogative morphosyntax (why (0.3) er: praising or motivating a student is a roadblock). Curiously enough, the 'why' formatted question contains an element of critique, that is, it asks the teacher to justify a particular categorization, which could implicate that it's somehow wrong or inappropriate. In this regard, it is a type of question that challenges the assumption on the task. It is also noteworthy that even though 'motivating a student' is not listed as a roadblock in the task, Mel interprets the roadblock 'praising' as motivating a student; therefore, she designs the agent of her question as two alternative components. When Mel makes which roadblocks she is referring to revealed, T looks at the handout in her hand as a reference point to check. Following a 0.4 second silence, in line 2, Mel initiates a repair using (i mea:n) to think about the comprehensibility of what she

has requested (Schiffrin, 1987), followed by hesitation during which Mel orients to her handout. It is worth mentioning that interaction is mediated by the availability of the pedagogical artefacts such as handouts at the moments of trouble in the current case.

While Mel moves on to produce a continuation to the line of her question, T cuts off Mel's turn at a point where her utterance is neither prosodically nor syntactically complete. However, speech perturbation signals such as hesitation marker in this case can invite T to come in with her contribution. T starts up providing a SPP with a prosodic emphasis added to her responsive turn (=↑if it is not a honest feedback (0.3) don't give (0.3) positive feedback) (lines 4-5). She supports her ideas through nonverbal conduct by holding her index finger as an attention-seeker. Following T's responsive turn, a laughter particle occurs (line 6). According to Haakana (2001), laughter in interaction is generally related to 'misdeeds' of various sorts and as the laughter follows T's entire turn in the current case, it might mitigate T's just-prior direct response turn. Mel produces a down-toned (o↓ka:y) in the third position immediately followed by nodding (lines 7-8). The 'okay' employs falling intonation to convey that Mel conducts a weak agreement. A 0.6 second pause follows and in line 10, T further offers more information regarding the issue by shifting her gaze from Mel to the whole class, thereby embodying an orientation to the relevance of individual problem to the whole class (Jakonen, 2014). T produces the following: 'try to find the strength of the person (0.3) honestly (0.4) o↑kay everyone (0.4) ha:s (0.5)' and gazing back to Mel, T completes her turn (at lea:st one strength). By doing so, T builds increments to an already completed turn. After a 0.6 second gap in line 13, T produces an UCQ 'okay?' which receives a nodding from Mel (line 15). After a long silence, prefacing her turn with the conjunction 'but' as a warning marker, T laughingly warns the student not to make up (but (0.4) $don't make up$) (line 17). T's turn comes to a completion when T smiles at Mel and it is responded back through nodding by Mel.

In conclusion, similarly to Extract 9, Extract 10 demonstrates how a student's weak agreement in the third position prompts the teacher to elaborate more on her prior turn. Different from the previous information-seeking questions, the current interrogative morphosyntax entails an interactional challenge as it presents an

assertion that challenges the assumption presented in the task: ‘praising is a roadblock’. The response turn comes at a point where the information seeking turn is not yet complete similar to Extract 9. While in the previous extract it was the sound prolongation and falling intonation (o::r.) that serve the teacher to come in, in this extract it is one of the speech perturbations (Schegloff et al., 1977), a lengthy hesitation marker (er:::) that invites the teacher to take a turn.

Students do not always engage in a knowledge-seeking activity drawing on single-unit questioning turns. They employ MUQTs for a variety of reasons such as establishing a new topic, bringing up a delicate issue and so on. Consider the following extract in which instead of indicating lack of knowledge straightforwardly, one of the students provides a background information on the local agenda. Extract 11 is an example of how student-initiated interrogative question does not necessarily introduce a new topic sequence. It illustrates how a student builds her information seeking-sequence on an issue made relevant by the preceding talk of the teacher. Before the interaction unfolds, the teacher has been talking about the importance of parent involvement in counselling to receive the first-hand information about children. When the teacher has finished her telling sequence and orients to the computer probably to change the slide, the student raises her hand to bid for a turn, which receives a gaze behavior from the teacher as a turn-allocation construct.

Extract 11: Parent involvement, 05_03_15

```
01 → Evi: we said that er: parent involvement *is the most
                                               *points at
                                                the slide
02        important *part of the counselling but (0.5) er: if
03                  *T nods
04        parents (0.3) do not er: attend (0.6) °*this process*
                                               *parallels her
                                                     hands
```

05 what will we do° (0.4) so:=

#1

Figure 1

06 T: =usually we ha:ve problem (0.4) especially in low
07 (0.3) ses schools er: when we come together with
08 school counsellors working at the lo:w ses (0.3)
09 a↑rea:s (0.5)*they mention (0.4) the same thing
*points at Evi
10 (0.5) er: pa- (0.3)*only ↑mothers (0.7) come to the
*gazes at Evi
11 er: sessions er: in order to learn a↑bout a:nd (0.6)
12 er: (0.4) because of the educational le:vel or
13 because of (0.3) some ↑kind of bar↑rie:rs (0.2) of
14 er: (0.5) barriers to communication (0.6) er: it is
15 ↑ha:rd for them (0.5) to: (0.3) ex↑plai:n the process
16 and (0.6) er: what they are going to do (0.4)er:
17 even at the ↑highly (0.5) er: high ses schools
18 (0.5) er: for instance *in this school (0.3) er:
*points at the school from
the window
19 whenever the teacher says ↑something about the
20 chi:ld (0.4) parents know the best they kno:w a lot
21 better than teacher (0.3) so this kind of attitude
22 is quite common er: (0.3) it (0.3) what happens

23 it happe:ns to chi:ld i mean er: decrease the quality
24 of the er: (0.3) NOT the ↑service provided by the
25 coun↑sellor but mo- mostly it is ha:rd to ob↑se:rve
26 cha:nge (0.7) ge↑nerali:ze to home condition or
27 other settings (1.2) that's the main problem but
28 definitely we need it

Evi starts providing a just-prior mentioned information for her upcoming question (we said that er: parent involvement is the most important part of the counselling) accompanied with orienting to the teaching material, slide as a reference point (lines 1-2). It is interesting that she uses a collective claim of a previously uttered statement by T (we said that...). Her statement in a way contextualizes the upcoming question through backgrounding statements (Clayman & Heritage, 2002); Evi introduces the local agenda and topic for the forthcoming question. T displays listenership with the statement provided by Evi through nodding (line 3). Employing 'but' as a preface, Evi projects that the upcoming turn will be a contrast to her just prior stretch of talk. Moving on with a pause and hesitation token (er:) as a speech perturbation, Evi presents an information request through a 'if X does not happen, what will happen?' format and thus presents a possible scenario in real life (but (0.5) er: if parents (0.3) do not er: attend (0.6) °this process what will we do°) (lines 2, 4). In line 5, following 0.4 second silence, she moves on with the concluding particle (so:=) (Keevallik, 2000) accompanied with opening her hands wide open (see Figure 1) and the hand gesture looks like an invitation for teacher response. This gesture might be the reason why T's response turn latches Evi's noncompleted turn (=usually we ha:ve problem (0.4) especially in low (0.3) ses schools, lines 6-7).

It is noteworthy that even though Evi's turn is not syntactically complete, T produces a SPP as she might have received the main question; in other words, the response onset follows the summarizing particle 'so' which would possibly conclude the main question. Between lines 6-27, as a typical behaviour of T in addressing wh-interrogative questions, she provides an elaborate answer. In the course of her extended turn, T orients to Evi through embodied conduct (pointing at her in line 9; gazing at her in lines 10, 12, 14, 15). To put it more precisely, by means of embodied

resources along with her telling on the truthfulness of the issue Evi has brought up, T treats the question as relevant and important in interaction. Employing 'so' as a summarizing marker turn-initially, T moves on to a conclusion of the prior explanation accompanied with maintaining mutual gaze with Evi (so this kind of attitude is quite common) (line 20) and the rest of the turn raises the dangers of no-parent involvement. Interestingly, in the course of her explanation, T does not provide a relevant and precise response to the question (if parents (0.3) do not er: attend (0.6) °this process what will we do°(0.4) so:=) instead, she develops the idea that 'it is a common issue and the consequences harm children'. In this respect, this example represents a unique case in which T produces an extended stretch of talk but does not provide the response sought for. It is recognizable that the absence of third-turn receipts tokens such as 'uh-huh', 'okay' or 'nodding' as a means to indicate agreement or acknowledgement by the student might be related to the missing response in the course of teacher extended telling.

To summarize, Extract 11 illustrates an example of an unsuccessful treatment of a knowledge gap concerning a matter which has been handled in the teacher's just-prior explanation. The data is interesting in that firstly, it demonstrates that question frames do not necessary project an upcoming new and untouched issue. Secondly, it shows how successful interruptive turn leads the first speaker to abort her turn (line 6). Having recognized the knowledge gap in pursuit in interrogative question, the teacher takes the turn even though the student's utterance is not syntactically complete. According to Schegloff (1996), a turn can be considered as pragmatically complete when it noticeably implements an action. In the same vein, the teacher might orient to the incomplete turn as legitimate to come in the student's ongoing turn as the pursued knowledge gap has been recognized in questioning turn. Lastly, in contrast to the previous extracts in which the teacher has provided elaborate and relevant responses to the questions, the current extract demonstrates that providing an extended stretch of explanation does not necessarily mean the content includes the sought-for answer.

In a similar vein to the previous extract, the following extract demonstrates the enactment and treatment of MUQTs; however, it differs from the previous example in that it demonstrates that peer answers can involve complex negotiations in terms

of different rights regarding knowledge between the teacher and the students. This extract occurs following a group presentation, the topic of which is ‘child abuse’. Following the presentation, one of the students asks the group members a question about children’s right to play. After the question is treated by the members, the teacher attempts to trigger more student participation through ‘any other questions?’, which also implicates a problem of understanding (Waring, 2012). Raising her hand to bid for a turn, Fer is selected as the next speaker through pointing gesture by the teacher.

Extract 12: How to explain sexual abuse, 25_03_15

```
01   Fer: hocam i wanna ask something to you
          my teacher
02        (0.3)
03   T:   *to me↑
          *shows herself
04   Fer: ye:s=
05   T:   =okay
06   Fer: you said that children (.) may not know their rights
07        and we should ex↑plai:n them they have rights also
08        (0.2)
09   T:   yeah
10   Fer: ↑but (0.2) i don't know how to ex↑plai:n the (0.2)
11        *sexual er: ab↑u:se is↑sue:s to a chi:ld
          *moves her hand -->
12   T:   *uh-huh uh-huh=
          *nods
13   Fer: =so how should we teach them to protect themselves
14        from the=
15   T:   =okay (0.4) [normally
16   Sim:             [*actually
                       *raises her hand
17   T:   *huh?
```

*nominates Sim

18 Sim: *there was a video

*gazes at T

19 #1

Figure 1

20 Sim: (0.3) amir khan °i don't know [(inaudible)°

#2 #3

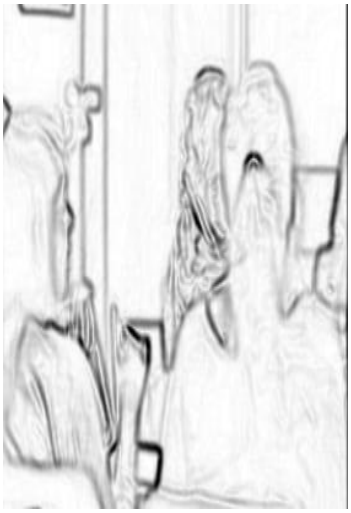

Figure 2

Figure 3

21 #4

Figure 4

**T smiles at Sim -->*

Fer: [because they don't know ↑anything about sexu↑ality: (0.5) and °(incomprehensible)°

T: o↑kay so er: there are (.) prog↑ra:ms depending on their a:ge of course er:: depending on their a:ge level and deve↑lopmental level (0.4) er: (0.7) mostly we er: ex↑plai:n *the (0.2) the li↑mits (0.2)

**moves right hand on left arm*

the boun↑darie:s of the chi:ld o↑kay (0.4) a:nd we ex↑plai:n >*good touch bad touch<

**moves her hands to both sides*

(0.5)((Fer nods))

((53 lines omitted during which T provides an extended stretch of talk on sexual abuse))

*is it (0.8) maybe helpful °for you°

**orients to Fer -->*

87 Fer: *yes

*nods

88 T: yeah but there is also vid↑eo: (.) er: facebook or

#5

Figure 5

89 any other social ↑media: that you can easily (.) see:

90 er: it is quite wonderful one (0.7) i really like it

91 (.) very short one i can *send you the link as well=

*points at Fer

92 Fer: =*yes

*nods

93 T: if you like

94 Fer: °of course°

95 (0.8)

96 T: *to a:ll of you °actually°

*covers with her hands all class

97 (1.6)

98 any other question?

Prefacing her turn with an address term (hocam, tr: 'my teacher'), Fer produces a pre-announcement for her upcoming question (I wanna ask something to you) (line 1). Adding the pronoun 'you' into her reference to the act of asking a

question, she shows that her question is only reserved for T but not for the group members. In this way, T is being projected as the 'ratified speaker'. After a brief silence, in line 3, T requests for confirmation (to me↑); in a way depicting herself as the default person to answer a question at that very moment. Fer produces 'yes' as a confirmation token and immediately thereafter, T provides an 'okay' as an acceptance token (line 5). In line 6, Fer sets a background for her adjacent question by referring to previous teacher talk (you said that children (.) may not know their rights), which seems to explain why Fer solicits the missing information from T but not the group members as she provides a background information based on prior teacher talk. Furthermore, in line 7, she holds T accountable for providing a knowledgeable response (and we should ex↑plai:n them they have rights also), which also functions as a pre-expansion for preparing the grounds for the forthcoming question.

Following a brief silence, T employs a positive particle (yeah) as an acceptance token. In the following turn (line 10), Fer starts up a contrastive part (↑but (0.2) i don't know how to ex↑plai:n the (0.2) sexual er: ab↑u:se is↑sue:s to a chi:ld). The way Fer claims insufficient knowledge is interesting in that even though she does not employ a question form, 'I don't know' functions as a marker of uncertainty (Sert & Walsh, 2013). In this case such a display of uncertainty indexes Fer's lack of knowledge and it is produced as an 'indirect how-question' (Sacks, 1992). Kärkkäinen (2003), in her large systematic study of conversational stance taking, showed that epistemic stance markers were often part of multi-unit turns typically in turn-initial or turn-medial position. The case in the current extract is in alignment with Kärkkäinen's study. In line 12, through embodied conduct (nodding) and nonlinguistic device (uh-huh), T provides listenership tokens. In line 13, prefacing her question with summative (so), she engages in an information-seeking sequence through wh- interrogative (how should we teach them to protect themselves from the=). Before she has reached the end of the ongoing TCU, T latches Fer's turn (=okay (0.4) [normally) in line 15. T seems to receive the missing information Fer is pursuing in her incomplete question; thus, she starts up her response before Fer has completed her question. T receives the question with the acknowledgement token (okay) which is followed

by a 0.4 second silence. T's response ([normally) and Sim's initiation ([actually) overlap. Sim initiates her turn by raising her hand (line 16). T produces an open-class repair initiator (huh?) (Drew, 1997), projecting a non-hearing and nominates Sim as the next speaker.

What happens next is that by orienting to T through gaze behavior, Sim talks about availability of a video (there was a video) during which Fer shifts her gaze from T to Sim (see Figure 1) (line 19). In line 20, Sim continues her turn ((0.3) amir) during which she maintains mutual gaze with Fer and produces 'khan' orienting to T (see Figure 2) and in the same way, Fer keeps gazing at T from then on (see Figures 3 and 4). By shifting her gaze back again towards Fer, Sim claims insufficient knowledge through (°i don't know [(inaudible)°) which is spoken softly (line 20). Unfortunately, it is inaccessible to us what her lack of knowledge is related to as the next bit of turn becomes inaudible. By gazing at Fer again, Sim might have nominated her as the next person to speak through engaging in mutual gaze. Lines 20-21 are an interesting example of the participants' use of gaze in peer participation in the pursuit of missing information. In the course of Sim's turn, T keeps smiling at her (line 22). In the following turn, Fer overlaps with Sim's inaudible talk ([because they don't know ↑anything about sexu↑ality: (0.5) and °(incomprehensible)°) (lines 23-25). In doing so, Fer seems to not pay attention to Sim's contribution to her pursuit of response. Designing her turn possibly as an explanation of why the video Sim has mentioned is not a proper way to protect children from sexual abuse as 'they(children) don't know anything about sexuality', Fer seems to highlight to receive a more sound response from T. That is, Fer is reorienting to T for the solicitation of the missing information by cutting off the Sim's turn.

In the following turn (line 26), T takes the floor with a turn initial 'okay' and starts up talking about certain programs to handle the issue in question. Between lines 26-85, T elaborates on the topic through examples, explanation and anecdotes (i.e. the case of her own son). In the course of T's telling, Fer displays listenership and affiliation through nodding. In line 86, T's UCQ (is it (0.8) maybe helpful °for you°) designed specifically for Fer receives an explicit claim of understanding, 'yes' along with nodding. UCQ is delivered in such a way that it

prefers a no-problem response in the preferred format (Waring, 2012) as Fer's production of a yes-problem response (the answer is not helpful for me) might invoke negative attributions to her own competence. After receiving a no-problem response from Fer, T makes reference to Sim's previous contribution (yeah but there is also vid↑eo:) in line 88. T starts her turn with the appositional beginning (yeah) that signals incipient speakership (Jefferson, 1993) and orienting to Sim through embodied conduct (pointing at Sim) (see Figure 5), T refers to the video Sim has mentioned previously. It should be pointed out that T employs the conjunction 'but' which does not construct a contrast but functions as a resumption marker (Mazeland & Huiskes, 2001) to go back to the previously mentioned matter (the video). In lines 88-91, T describes what kind of a video it is and offers to send the link to Fer which receives a strong agreement (°of course°) from her in line 94. In the following turn, T announces to make the same source available to the whole class (line 96). After a 1.6 second gap, T attempts to trigger more student participation with the summative and formulaic question 'any other question?' and no question follows.

Overall, Extract 12 illustrates how a student presents her request for information through a MUQT; the first construction unit is composed of setting a background by referring to prior teacher talk, the second unit identifies a claim of insufficient knowledge through a negative epistemic stance marker (I don't know how to…) and wh- interrogative morphosyntax constructs the end point of the particular MUQT. The knowledge-seeking activity is about a delicate issue; 'child sexual abuse'. According to Linell and Bredmar (1996), a sensitive topic might be difficult to handle interactionally when delivered in a normal single-unit questioning turn. This finding is in alignment with what occurs in the current data as the considerable amount of interactional work seems to be addressing this issue.

The extract also brings some insights into co-participant's talk in solving the knowledge gap. It has been observed that instead of the peer as a likely knower, the information seeker considers the teacher as having the epistemic authority over the matter at hand and this authority is demonstrably invoked by the student through termination of mutual gaze with the peer and orienting to the teacher and also cutting off the peer's turn. In a way, this is also invoked by virtue of addressing the question to the teacher in the first place. Furthermore, the treatment of the MUQT is worth

mentioning; the teacher starts up answering with the final concern (how to explain the sexual abuse to a child) and moves on to children rights which is the starting point of the question under focus. This observation is in line with what Sacks (1987) has maintained as a general rule in responding to multiple questions which are treated as follows: “where two questions are produced, and you are going to have two answers, then the order of the answers is the reverse of the order of the questions’’ (p. 60). In this case, although the current case does not consist of multiple questions but one complex question, as there are two concerns in the MUQT, we can say that by responding the second concern first, the teacher preserves the adjacent positioning between the questions and answers.

The following sequence of interaction depicts a rare phenomenon in the collection: teacher’s asking for clarification for the question at hand. Curiously enough, in what follows, the intervention shapes the delivery of the questioning structure. The extract is taken from a just-completed teacher talk on transitional services in counselling. She elaborates on the kind of counselling activities for smooth transitions from childhood to adolescence. As the teacher has just finished, she aims to promote student participation through solicitation and a student initiates a new topic sequence by raising an untouched issue.

Extract 13: True approach, 11_03_15

```
01  T:  do you have any question? any com↑ment?
02      (1.2)((T scans the class for a potential answer))
03      ((Sel raises her hand))
04  T:  *yes
        *moves her hand towards Sel
05      (1.4) ((T walks towards Sel))
```

06 Sel:i wondered something (0.4) er: when do you think a
07 person can define himself herself (0.4) er: truly or
08 #1 #2

Figure 1 Figure 2

09 is there a true approach (0.5) about defining °himself herself°
10 (1.2)((T looks up))
11 T: *ohh: it- it based on* *the experiences of the person
*gaze upwards *gazes at Sel -->
12 (0.4) individual's characteristics at the same time (0.3)
13 → can [you] broaden the question.=
14 Sel: [i mean]
15 Sel:=i am from early childhood education *de↑partment we
16 *T nods
17 have some activities to er: (0.4) direct children (0.3)
18 about *philosophing theirselves (0.6) er: but (0.6)
19 *T nods
20 er: *i am >thinking about myself< (0.4) i am really deeply
21 *T nods
22 different person now er: *compare (0.6) high school years
23 *T nods

24 T: *uh-huh
*nods
25 Sel: and maybe i'll be more *different (0.3) er: five *years later
26 *T nods -->
27 *T smiles
28 (0.4)
29 T: *su:re
*opens her hand to the left side
30 Sel: then how can i er: make decision about myself
31 when (0.6) the true time
32 #3

Figure 3

33 T: *there is no true time there is no exact time °okay?°
*steps back
34 (0.4) so er: it depends on individuals' personal
35 exploratio:ns individuals' characteristi:cs (0.5) er:
36 *background er:* *characteristics (0.5) er: the
*gaze shift *gazes at Sel
towards classroom
35 opportunities available in the environment (0.3) okay?
36 so there is no: single er: ti:me that i can say so
37 *when you become or when you come to age of *this (0.4)
*gaze towards classroom *raises her
index finger

38 you will know yourself *(0.6) completely (0.3) so
*steps towards Sel

39 it's ↑never ending process (0.4) *but what we suggest
*T steps back

40 is it should start as early as possible (0.7) so we

41 should *start from the kindergarten level (0.4) to
*moves her hand forward

42 help the child to explo:re himself (0.3) okay

((During 14 lines, T elaborates on the pedagogical and professional dimension of the question and concludes her answer with a laughter token which demonstrates the mismatch of what Sel has requested; 'a precise time for true self-definition' and what T has provided as a response; 'there is no precise time'))

The sequence begins with an invitation for the students to have their say on what they have been dealing with (do you have any question?) and elicitation for student participation (any com↑ment?) through which T prompts participation (Jacknick, 2009). Following a 1.2 second silence during which T scans the class for a potential answer, Sel raises her hand to bid for a turn (line 3). T nominates Sel through both verbal (yes) and nonverbal means (moving her hand towards Sel) as the next speaker (line 4) and performs embodied orientation by walking towards Sel (line 5). Sel frames her upcoming question with a reference to cognitive activity (i wondered something). According to Lindström and Lindholm (2009) the type 'I was wondering' commonly frames topics that are being touched for the first time in interaction and this is what exactly occurs in the current extract. That is, Sel initiates a new topic sequence by bringing up a new issue. After a delay and hesitation token (er:), Sel initiates her first information-seeking sequence via wh- interrogative morphosyntax (when do you think a person can define himself herself (0.4) er: truly) and in the middle of the production of the question, T furrows her eyebrows (see Figures 1 and 2) which might project something repairable with Sel's question. Following T's observed facial expression, Sel engages in formulating her second question prefacing it with the particle 'or' (or is there a true approach (0.5) about defining °himself herself°) in polar interrogative.

It is worth mentioning that how T's observed facial expression (furrowed eyebrows) might have an impact on the production of the subsequent question. In other words, T's perplexed facial expression might prompt Sel to reformulate her question by fitting it into a more academic and scientific context. Another interpretation for this case can be that as the reformulation is quite subtle; there's no massive repair and the second part is quite smoothly weaved into the turn, the student might be reformulating an unclear question. Interestingly, although there is the silence and the perturbation (er::), these take place before the first question has come to the end. Therefore, this raises the question of whether the student is reformulating because of teacher's embodied action or she is just reformulating a 'bad' question. To elaborate on the characteristics of two adjacent questions, while the first question inquiries on the 'opinion' of T about defining oneself, the second one delves into a kind of scientific framework/theory on defining oneself. More specifically, while the former question tends to appear outside the institutional setting of the classroom, the latter question is guided towards a scientific approach. As opposed to particularizing or generalizing nature of question cascade (Clayman & Heritage, 2002) in MUQTs, what I have observed in this case is moving from a more colloquial style to a more institutionalized type of language in the design of the questions.

What happens next is that 1.2 second silence emerges during which T looks up (line 10). In the following turns, T produces an 'oh-prefaced' response (`ohh: it- it based on the experiences of the person (0.4) individual's characteristics at the same time`) (lines 11-12). According to Heritage (2002), oh-prefaced answers to questions demonstrate that the question is problematic in relation to its relevance, presuppositions or context; thus, it is irrelevant. In this respect, as Sel launches a new and unexpected issue, the question might be unlooked for or "out of left field'' (Heritage, 1998, p. 294) for T and also the preceding silence might be evidence of the problematic and unexpected nature of the question.

In line 13, T initiates a repair sequence through a clarification request (`can [you broaden the question.`) which is overlapped by Sel's turn (`[i mean`), aiming at securing comprehensibility of what has just been said (Schiffrin, 1987). That is, Sel demonstrates that she will engage in adjustments in terms of the negotiation of meaning by introducing new information. Following T's request for clarification to

expand the focus, in line 15, Sel launches a sequence to provide a background information to secure a response from T and continues until line 22 during which T displays listenership through nodding (lines 16, 19, 21, 23, 24). In the course of her telling, Sel positions herself into her subject field, early childhood education. Therefore, she engages in a self-categorization and her last statement (and maybe i'll be more different (0.3) er: five years later) receives an explicit agreement (su:re) accompanied with nodding from T in line 29. Note that by doing so, T shows that she has now heard enough and she is ready to receive Sel's question; therefore, it possibly affects the timing of Sel's new formulation of her question. Having provided some contextual background, prefacing her adjacent questions with summative 'then', Sel personalizes her question (then how can i er: make decision about myself, line 30) and immediately after that, she presents the same question she has asked previously in a shortened version with an emphatic speech (when (0.6) the true time, line 31) which receives laughter from T (see Figure 3). The laughter particle in this case is related to a potential mismatch between what Sel is yearning for a response (when) and the upcoming response provided by T (no exact time).

In the following turn (line 33), T provides a straightforward answer to Sel's second question (there is no true time there is no exact time °okay?°) accompanied with stepping back. It should be pointed out that T's movement trajectories have a bearing in different floors of the classroom interaction. That is, it is very typical in the data that T tends to orient to questioner physically in the course of questioning and in the treatment phase, she has a tendency to move a little away from questioner, thereby marking her movement from individual student questioning to whole-class answering. Between lines 33-55, T engages in an extended explanation turn by providing details on the issue of not having an exact time for self-defining. T provides the response in two units; first, she develops the issue of 'there is no true time' until line 39 and then she moves on to the professional dimension of the issue by making some references to the Sel's backgrounding information through embodied conduct (moving her hand forward) and emphatic speech (kindergarten) (lines 40-41), which continues till line 55.

In conclusion, in Extract 13 how a student delivers a new agenda in MUQT has been made recognizable. This example differs from the previous framed questions in this

section in that there are two multi-unit turns which is shaped by the teacher's clarification request. First multi-unit turn follows a pattern as follows: statement + question + question and after teacher's asking for clarification, second multi-unit turn emerges as such: statement (background) + question + question. The characteristic way of providing background information preceding question is not represented in the first multi-unit example. The reason of the current deviation is the expansion sequence initiator (clarification request) employed by the teacher. The expandable teacher response prompts the student for further elaboration on the initial contribution, which makes the structure atypical in the data. As is seen, the teacher engages in an elaborate response in a multi-turn construction unit, which indexes the steep epistemic gradient between the participants. More specifically, the design of the question (interrogative and framed) shapes the treatment of the question (a detailed and extended telling sequence).

Questioning form is not the only way students indicate lack of knowledge but they can make their knowledge gap visible through backgrounding statements serving as an entrance to an agenda. Consider the last example in this section, which illustrates a deviant case in the sense that instead of a main question marking a pursuit of missing information, background information presented by the student serves as a recognizable resource for the teacher to provide a response and this was also the case in the second attempt in the previous transcript. The interaction in Extract 14 occurs after the teacher has explained the ethical codes counsellors should adhere to, and after the long stretch of talk concerning the issue, Sul bids for a turn by raising her hand.

Extract 14: Different backgrounds, 11_03_15

```
01   Sul: *may i ask a question.
          *her hand is up
02   T:   *sure
          *nods
03   Sul: *er: (0.3) for example er: each (0.4) teacher have
04   T:   *walks towards Sul -->
05   Sul: different background different worldview (0.3) and
06        *different (0.5) rights
07   T:   *sits down on her own table
```

08 (1.3)((T nods))
09 Sul: er: and (0.3) while the counsellors (0.4) er:
10 *talk with the **children they always i guess
11 *T nods continuously -->
12 **T smiles -->
13 Sul: reflect their background (0.5) er: their proposals
14 are different (0.3) er:
15 (0.6)
16 T: *yeah o[kay
*nods
17 → Sul: [*or >they exist somewhere [°i don't know°<
*parallels her two hands
18 → T: [okay another
19 ethical code is (0.4) you may have your o:wn value:s
20 beliefs (1.4) philosophy of li:fe (1.1) but (0.3) we
21 shouldn't (0.8) impose our o:wn value:s and
22 expectations on client
23 (0.8)
24 Sul: *yeah [this
*nods
25 → T: [this is the ethical responsibility of the
26 client ↑sey counsellor (0.5) er: in the counsellor
27 (0.6) we work a lot (0.8) about this process
28 education we help them as an act as a professional

((During 18 lines T engages in an extended turn in which she provides an answer for how to help counsellors to be neutral in their interactions with clients))

Sul initiates the sequence with a permissive formulation (may i ask a question.), through which she seeks legitimacy for asking a question. It receives a strong agreement from T (sure) accompanied with nodding in line 2. Employing hesitation marker (er:) in the initiating turn followed by a short silence, Sul initiates her turn by giving an example (for example er: each (0.4) teacher have different background different worldview (0.3) and different

(0.5) rights) (lines 3, 5, 6) during which T walks towards Sul and sits down on her table just opposite to Sul. The way she changes her place and finds a suitable place to receive the question is interesting in terms of paying special attention to the questions. Sul's exemplification receives T's nodding as an agreement token in line 8. In the following turn, preceding her turn with a hesitation marker (er:), Sul increments her turn by referring to their focus 'ethical codes for counsellors'; therefore, she changes the agent from teacher to counsellors (er: and (0.3) while the counsellors (0.4) er: talk with the children they always i guess reflect their background (0.5) er: their proposals are different (0.3) er:) (lines 9, 10, 13, 16) and in the middle of her turn, T starts smiling at Sul accompanied with nodding gestures as an indication to recognize where Sul is heading for (lines 11-12).

After Sul completes her utterance grammatically, 0.3 silence emerges followed by a hesitation marker (er:). A 0.6 second silence follows the hesitation in line 15 and as discussed before, pauses and hesitation markers are potential signals for the recipients to come in with their contributions and it is what exactly occurs in the current case. T initiates her turn 'yeah o[kay' which is overlapped by Sul's turn continuation in line 17. As for the turn-initial 'yeah' of T, it produces a minimal acknowledgement as what Jefferson (1981) has maintained: "the token is observably, albeit minimally, 'on topic'; observably, albeit minimally, attending to the rights and obligations entailed by the fact of talk-in-process with participants distributed as 'speaker' and 'recipient'. It is, albeit minimally, 'responding to' prior talk and not-not quite yet, introducing something new'' (p. 36). Overlapping T's turn, Sul prefaces her turn with the conjunction 'or' to provide an equivalent alternative ([or >they exist somewhere) accompanied with paralleling her hands to locate the unknown place and ends her turn by explicitly doubting her epistemic authority ([°i don't know°) (Haakana & Kurhila, 2009) in a quiet voice (line 17). By adding epistemic downgrade as an increment, Sul might be allocating the speakership to the teacher. Her claim of insufficient knowledge is overlapped by T's turn prefaced with an 'okay' (line 18), which indicates that Sul's concern has been received by T.

T starts up talking about another ethical code which has not been mentioned before but it has been an issue with Sul's information-seeking sequence. Therefore, the

knowledge-seeking activity is treated as an asset by T by adding more content ([okay another ethical code is (0.4) you may have your o:wn value:s) and her turn continues until line 22. In the following turn a 0.8 second silence emerges and after this in line 24, Sul produces an acknowledgement of T's turn (yeah [this) which is overlapped by T's continuation of response turn ([this is the ethical responsibility of the client ↑sey counsellor (0.5) er: in the counsellor education). T's overlapping turn invokes an orientation to epistemic competition in the sequence. The fact that T overlaps Sul's minimal contribution and moves on to specify the 'ethical code' demonstrates that she presents herself as the authority in the domain. In the rest of the interaction, T elaborates on how they help counsellors not to impose their ideas and beliefs on the clients. T marks the signals of her turn completion by changing her place (standing up, heading towards her table and changing the slide).

All in all, Extract 14 demonstrates an alternative resource for resolving the knowledge gap. This example thus differs from the other extracts in this section in that the student draws on providing background information for her information-seeking. She sets an agenda for her knowledge-seeking activity and claims not to know about the matter in question, which makes it a relevant point for the teacher to come in with her contribution. In other words, even though no question form is employed, the student marks her uncertainty by downgrading her epistemic stance (I don't know) and the epistemic downgrading and indexing of the teacher's primary rights to the related knowledge create a relevant point for the teacher to break off the student's turn to provide a response. Furthermore, the teacher overlaps the student's account before the TCU is complete, thereby displaying an understanding of the trajectory of her turn as the backgrounding statement has been recognizable for the teacher.

4.2.1. Summary

The analysis in this section has shown that in pursuit of content-based knowledge gaps, students deploy mainly wh- interrogative morphosyntax to initiate a sequence on the just-prior talk or raise a new issue. The interrogative inquiry they use invokes their K- position while conveying the teacher's K+ position and thus entails asymmetry of knowledge. The analysis of the sequential unfolding has shown that the students orient to epistemic authority in the design of their questions for example

by using hedging devices (e.g. can) (Extracts 8, 12 and 13) and referring to previous teacher talk (Extracts 11 and 12). In this sense, the design of their questions communicates their epistemic stance toward the response. Note that in most of the cases, wh- questions which have predominated the information-seeking sequence are framed for a variety of purposes such as setting an agenda for a new topic and referring to a past learning to link the current issue at hand. Therefore, rather than drawing on single-unit questions, students are able to accomplish more than asking a specific question by employing MUQT as a question delivery structure, which makes these questions distinctive from the procedural and task-related questions which are delivered in a more straightforward manner as discussed before.

It is also worth mentioning that as opposed to interaction revolving around L1 (i.e. Turkish) in the previous section (4.1), the normative language in pursuits of resolving content-related knowledge gap is L2 (i.e. English). Furthermore, these questions tend to launch a larger sequence on the teacher's turn. Stated another way, the treatment of these kind of questions are conducted in an elaborated way of explanation mostly in the form of extended teacher talk. In the course of the extended sequence, students display minimal third turn receipt tokens such as nodding. That is, they do not demonstrate understanding but display or claim; therefore, the current section differs from the examples in section 4.3 in which the instances of demonstrations of understanding will be explored.

As for the sequential placement of these questions, they tend to appear more in the content-centered phases of the sessions in which the teacher is pursuing an extended telling sequence. Overall, a close inspection of content-related questions has demonstrated that the design of the questions in particular sequential places shapes the response provided as these raised issues are delicate and deep. In the same vein, there has been a normative pressure toward elaboration in these response types on the part of the teacher. In other words, there are significant similarities in the teacher's responses in terms of content and design: the teacher takes extended turn to explain the students the missing information which is frequently followed by an understanding check device (e.g. okay?). This particular design of response turns reveals the orientations to content over the language in EMI classroom interaction.

4.3. Management of Terminology-related Questions in EMI Classroom Interaction

This section is concerned with student-initiated question-answer sequences related to terminology problems. In the educational setting of EMI, terminology-related problems may potentially emerge due to gaps in vocabulary knowledge in an L2 and lack of terminological knowledge related to the content. More precisely, the cases to be examined in this section include a variety of interactional work between participants such as formulating an understanding in L1, and engaging in meaning negotiation between two terminology-related items. Additionally, the cases of proposing a candidate understanding and demonstrations of (mis)understanding are also presented.

By exploring the sequential organization of vocabulary explanations, the present section also shows that the interactional organization of enactment and treatment of terminology-related problems reflects the possible institutional goals in EMI. More precisely, sequential analyses reveal that the subsequent teacher actions depict the institutional fingerprints of EMI in which the goal is not to teach L2 but the related content. Furthermore, the last three extracts in the section include demonstrations of understanding, and are thus may be indicators of learning. The way the teacher designs her turn in cases of (mis)understandings provides some hints about the interactional competence of a particular EMI teacher.

As for the nature of the collection in this section, 8 extracts will be provided among a total of 12 cases. The following is the first example in this section. This extract comes from a whole-class plenary talk during which the teacher relies on power point slides to explain four activities a school counsellor provides in every level of education, namely counselling, consulting, coordinating and appraising. Following this presentation, one of the concepts turns out to be unknown to one of the students and he initiates his information-seeking sequence through a wh- interrogative which conveys an ‘unknowing’ K- epistemic status on the inquired topic under focus.

Extract 15: What is appraising, 05_03_15

```
01  T:  *counselli:ng
        *shows it on the slide
02      (1.1)((T gazes at ss))
03      *con↑sulti:ng
```

*shows it on the slide

04 (1.0) ((T gazes at ss))

05 *coor↑dinati:ng

*shows it on the slide

06 (1.1) ((T gazes at ss))

07 *and app↑raisi:ng (0.3) okay?

*shows it on the slide and gazes at ss

08 (1.3)

09 *fou:r activities (1.1) are (0.2) sa:me (0.6) or

*shows her four fingers

10 app↑lie:d (0.4) in every (0.2) level (0.4) okay?

11 (0.2)

12→ Mur:what is appraising?

#1

Figure 1

13 (1.0)

14 T: er: *>assessment< (.) *>i'll explain it<

*moves hand forward *looks at the class

15 (0.3)

16→ Bir: these are activities?

#2

Figure 2

17 (0.3)

18 T: these a:re *co:re (0.4) ser↑vi:ces we provided
*holds her open hands up -->

19 (1.4) #3

Figure 3

20 you can arran- >i mean< counsellors ar↑range different

21 activities (0.8) *>i'll explain< (0.4) them in de↑tail
*moves her hands -->

22 later okay? (1.0) actually after the break

Between lines 1-10, T engages in a reading aloud of power point slides through which she introduces four activities provided by school counsellors. It is worth

mentioning that T does not only employ talk in her explanation but through a variety of semiotic resources such as orienting to the slide and immediately after that gazing at the students, she draws on both pedagogical artefacts and embodied actions. Jordan and Henderson (1995) maintain that when "interaction is instrumental, the nature of production tools, display spaces, and other aspects of the material environment significantly enter into the interaction and become an important part of the analysis'' (p. 65). In this case, we see the instrumental nature of interaction in which T has a pedagogical agenda to get the students familiar with the four activities in counselling and she conducts it through the teaching material (slides). The telling sequence has come to a completion and following a brief pause in line 11, Mur self-selects and initiates an information-seeking sequence via a wh- interrogative; his knowledge gap is related to what the term 'appraising' refers to (`what is appraising?`). 'What is X?' format is used in this case to request information on the meaning of the terminological item. Note that during his knowledge-seeking activity, he orients to the pedagogical artefact (slide) by pointing his pen towards it (see Figure 1).

Following a long pause in line 13, prefacing her turn with the hesitation marker (`er::`), T produces the SPP in a quick pace by providing the synonym of the term under focus (`>assessment<`). Orienting to the whole class, T claims to explain the terminological item. It is interesting that referring to teaching of the concept draws T's attention to the whole class; in other words, the term to be dwelt on is not only for a particular student but a relevant concern for all the participants in the classroom. Following a 0.3 second silence in line 17, Bir self-selects and by formulating her knowledge gap in YND (`these are activities?`) and marking her pursuit prosodically, she engages in a confirmation request action rather than an information-seeking sequence. That is, declarative syntax with the rising/questioning intonation conveys a relatively more knowing stance on the targeted information than interrogatives (Seuren & Huiskes, 2017); therefore, these morphosyntactically unmarked questions behave differently in terms of epistemic status compared to interrogatives.

It is noteworthy that Bir orients to the slide by pointing her pen towards it and looking at it as what Mur has done to make his knowledge gap visible (see Figure 2). Interestingly, she also gazes at T as an embodied action which indexes lack of

knowledge regarding the issue in question (see Figure 2). Following a brief pause, in line 18, by providing a SPP to the FPP, T does not provide a type-conforming answer to the related question which generally requires a 'yes' or 'no' answer (these a:re co:re (0.4) ser↑vi:ces we provided). Packaging her turn prosodically (co:re, ser↑vi:ces) , T provides a negative answer indirectly as they are not activities but they are core services they provide. Curiously enough, the avoidance of a type-conforming response seems interesting as 'activities' is the word that T has uttered before and she uses it later in this turn (line 21). In line 19, Bir starts to take notes (see Figure 3) which demonstrates what T has provided as a response is worth noting (Svinhufvud, 2015) and the shift from listening to note-taking is remarkable in that it tells when students move from not writing to writing. It is of interest that the transition to writing marks a moment of understanding and recording that understanding is an action that potentially follows change in epistemic states. In lines 20-21, T engages in a self-initiated self-repair while providing the answer (you can arran- >i mean< counsellors ar↑range different activities) and this repair is interesting from the point of view of students' professional identities. T closes the sequence through a future reference for explanation for the activities by providing a precise time for it (after the break).

To summarize, Extract 1 demonstrates how a student initiates an information-seeking sequence for a definition of a terminological item in L2. The student indicates his lack of knowledge in a FPP positioned turn via interrogative morphosyntax. In doing so, he requests a definition of the unfamiliar term to which the teacher responds by giving a straightforward synonym of the word as the problem term would be addressed later. The extract provides insights into the intertwining relation between verbal and nonverbal resources. The student engages in an information-seeking activity not only through his questioning (linguistic device) but also through semiotic resources (orienting to the power point slide) available to him. Therefore, the slide is woven into the evolving sequence for the service of a potential explanation of the problem word. The subsequent question by the other student is also important in that it provides different versions of questioning (declarative syntax) which is employed in this case for the purpose of confirmation; therefore, it bears a more knowing stance. Additionally, the way the student handles the information provided by the teacher is noteworthy to depict the moments in

which students move from listening to taking notes. The way the teacher handles the knowledge gap is an example of repair initiating in which the teacher reformulates the confirmation request (these are activities?) through emphatic speech and increments (these a:re co:re (0.4) ser↑vi:ces we provided).

In the following three extracts (16-18), I will focus closely on cases in which students try to resolve emergent terminology-related gaps by formulating an understanding in L1 (Turkish). Extract 16 comes from a whole-class lecturing during which the teacher is talking about three concepts put forward by Carl Rogers, namely empathy, unconditional positive regard, and genuineness. Explicating the term 'genuineness' first, the teacher defines what it includes and the fragment begins:

Extract 16: Is it consistency, 25_02_15

```
01   T:   *genuineness mea:ns (0.4) being (0.5)↑real o↑kay
          *walks towards the middle of the class -->
          *holds her one finger like counting -->
02         (0.4)
03         >whatever you< think >whatever you< fee:l
04         (1.2)
05         ↑whatever you (0.3) *↑do:
                               *moves hand forward, downward
06         (1.0)((T holds her finger again, gazes around the
           class))
07         should be con↑sistent
           #1
```

Figure 1

08 (0.9) #2

Figure 2

09 T: and you should be rea:l honest person (0.7) okay?

10 (0.4)

11 Suz: °tutarlılık mı hocam.°

consistency is it my teacher

is it consistency my teacher.

#3

Figure 3

12 (0.5)

13 T: *er: **consistency** (.) genuineness being

*orients to Suz -->

**moves her head down

slightly

14 ↑rea:l (0.2) yes

15 #4

Figure 4

16 being ↑real person and congruence (0.5) °also° yes

17 (1.1)

18 °tutarlılık°

consistency

T provides the meaning of 'genuineness' accompanied by a hand gesture of holding her one finger. After providing the first meaning (being ↑real), followed by an understanding check token (o↑kay) and a 0.4 second silence, she moves on to elaborate more on the term at hand (>whatever you< think >whatever you< fee:l ↑whatever you (0.3) ↑do:, lines 3-5) and moves her hand forward and downward during the production of verb 'do'. Such an embodied action makes the word under focus more action-oriented. In the following turn in line 6, during the 1.1 second silence when T holds her finger again and gazes around the class, she completes her sentence (during which Suz is engaged in notetaking, see Figure 1) with an emphatically produced 'con↑sistent' (line 7). Immediately after T has produced the word 'consistent', Suz stops taking notes and gazes at T (see Figure 2). In line 9, prefacing her turn with additive particle 'and', T continues on how a genuine person should be by recycling the word (rea:l) also and adding more to what genuineness includes (honesty). T uses 'okay?' as an UCQ for the second time, which is followed by a brief silence in line 10.

In the following turn, by using polar interrogative syntax, Suz requests confirmation for the L1 equivalent of the term in question (°tutarlılık mı hocam.°, tr: 'is it

consistency my teacher.') in a quiet voice (line 11). She provides a candidate translation of the term 'genuineness' to resolve a meaning-related knowledge gap, namely by providing an L1 equivalent of the term in a confirmation check mode and in this case, it becomes clear that the reason why she has stopped taking notes and paid close attention to T in the production of word 'consistent' is her interpretation/translation of the word. As her turn can be glossed as a request for confirmation, her question is delivered from a relatively knowing K+ stance (Jakonen, 2014). While delivering her question, Suz frowns slightly (see Figure 3), thereby explicitly displaying her uncertainty.

There is a noticeable micro-pause before T produces the SPP in line 12 and T employs a "pre-positioned remark'' (Macbeth, 2004, p. 716), which is the hesitation token (er:) to demonstrate that Suz's question has been heard and now she is formulating a response for it. T produces the word 'consistency' by moving her head down slightly and this is also some kind of a remark that precedes a type-conforming answer 'yes'. Perhaps, this is work done by T to say to the student that genuineness is 'not quite' consistency and she moves on to provide more words mentioned before (genuineness being ↑rea:l). Raymond (2003) investigates how presuppositions associated with a polar question can be either accepted or rejected in the form of the response and he categorizes two kinds of answers, namely type-conforming (yes or no answers), and nonconforming answers (expressing affirmation or disaffirmation through other tools). He maintains that type-conforming responses are generally preferred and nonconforming answers are produced 'for cause'. Although in the present example, there is not an account given for the related question, the provided response is not a type-conforming at the first stage. Put another way, delaying her response with the hesitation marker, T provides a couple of equivalent words and then confirms Suz with an emphatically produced (yes), which is a way of marking emphasis (line 14). After receiving the confirmation token 'yes', Suz starts taking notes (see Figure 4, line 15). It seems thus that Suz needs an explicit confirmation token to rely on the accuracy of the knowledge provided (tutarlılık, tr: 'consistency'), that is, the response worth taking notes should be enriched through a positive assessment and her note-taking activity demonstrates that she orients to the problem word as a learning object (Pekarek Doehler & Ziegler, 2007).

In the following turn in line 16, T goes on recycling the phrase (being real) and also adds the term 'congruence' in the synonyms list. After a 1.1 second silence, in line 18, T provides the L1 equivalent provided by Suz in her question turn (°tutarlılık°, tr: 'consistency') and she produces the word sotto voce, thereby marking the use of L1 as breaching the L2 rule. In other words, both producing the L1 equivalent prosodically-marked and repeating the word after providing L2 synonyms, T demonstrates that she prefers to use institutionally-assigned target language (English) over L1 in whole-class talk, thus performing implicit language policing (see section 4.1.1.2). Motivated by Suz's orientation to a terminological problem by asking a synonym of the target word (genuineness) in L1, a possibly unknown item has constituted a teachable moment for T, and in the same vein, the specific vocabulary item has become a learnable for the students as Majlesi and Broth (2012) describe learnables as "parts of the activity or the setting which one of the participants in the classroom orients to as unknown and which are then attempted to resolve through a side sequence'' (p. 202).

In summary, Extract 16 explicates how an unexpected student turn in the course of a whole-class lecturing brings up a knowledge gap related to a vocabulary item. In this case, the requested information is about a terminological word related to the content and the student makes her knowledge gap noticeable by drawing on her L1 (Turkish) to formulate an understanding of the word (genuineness) under focus. Resolving the knowledge gap through switching into mother tongue shows that L1 can offer important resources in the management of knowledge gaps and creating learning opportunities. The way the teacher addresses the question is notable in that avoiding providing a type-conforming response first, the teacher provides a couple of synonyms of the word. This practice might be one of the unique institutional characteristics of the conversation classroom; the teacher is in a way "doing vocabulary teaching'' (Mortensen, 2011, p. 136). Furthermore, by drawing on the analytic approach to vocabulary explanation (Waring, Creider & Box, 2013), the teacher delivers the meaning of the terminological item by deploying a number of synonyms. Following this, the teacher confirms the L1 equivalent (tutarlılık, tr: 'consistency') in a very quiet voice, thus marking the presence of L1 as breaching the L2 rule in the current EMI context.

As in Extract 16, the extract that follows describes the way in which a student proposes an understanding in L1 for a terminological item. Designed both as a responsive turn to the teacher-initiated question and a request for a confirmation sequence, the question under focus has a dual focus. This extract comes from a teacher-led plenary talk in which the teacher is explaining 'inclusive education'.

Extract 17: Mainstreaming, 12_03_15

01 T: er: we used to ↑ca:ll inc↑lu:sive education
#1

Figure 1

02 as main↑streaming have you ever heard it
#2 #3

Figure 2

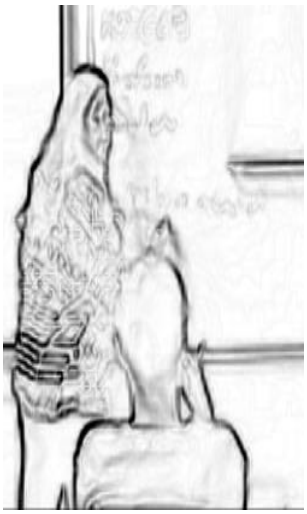

Figure 3

03 (0.6)

04→ Bir:kaynaştırma [°mı hocam.°

mainstreaming is it my teacher

is it mainstreaming my teacher.

#4

Figure 4

05 ((T still writes on the board))

06 T: [yes

07 → (0.7) #5

Figure 5

08 T: e↑xactly

09 (1.7) #6

Figure 6

10 ((T ends writing on the board))

11 T: still they call it (0.2) in most of the schools as

12 main↑streaming (0.6) it is ↑no:t >i mean< the er: the

#7

Figure 7

13 recent (0.3) trend (0.8) especially a de↑ca:de (0.3)

14 i guess (0.6) we've been using the term

#8

Figure 8

15 inc↑lu:sive inc↑lu:siveness (0.6) er: so it ↑covers

16 all of them ↑kapsayıcı they call in turkish

inclusive

The sequence takes place as T has just talked about 'inclusive education' which has been also written on the board. In line 1, drawing the students' attention to the term 'inclusive education' by orienting to it on the board (see Figure 1), T makes the learnable item salient both through embodied conduct and prosody-rich language (er: we used to ↑ca:ll inc↑lu:sive education). According to Mondada and Pekarek Doehler (2004), by doing so, teachers serve two purposes, namely drawing attention to the form of a lexical item and its communicative content, which they see as shifts of focus between different learning objects. In the following turn, T completes her turn by talking about what they used to call inclusive education as (main↑streaming) and T faces the board writing 'mainstreaming' on it (see Figure 2) which continues until line 8.

Designing her question with the inclusion of negative polarity item (ever), T asks the students if they have ever heard about the term (line 2) which requires the students to demonstrate a 'having heard before' type of knowledge. In doing so, T explicitly initiates a 'dialog' approach (Koole, 2010) that engages learner participation. T faces towards the students (see Figure 3) while keeping writing the term on the board, performing a particular 'body torque' (Schegloff, 1998) through which she orients to two parallel actions. While T's gaze is oriented towards the whole class to receive a

potential answer for the related question, she still keeps writing the term ‘mainstreaming’ on the board. The initiation is followed by a 0.6 second silence in line 3. In the following turn, Bir self-selects and provides a responsive turn in a request for confirmation format (kaynaştırma [°mı hocam.°, tr: ‘is it mainstreaming my teacher.’) in L1, the confirmation and the addressing part of which are produced in a soft voice. It should be pointed out that what Bir produces as a SPP accomplishes more than a claim of knowledge as she produces a demonstration of epistemic access to the matter in question (Jakonen, 2014). In other words, rather than providing a type-conforming answer to T’s FPP, Bir proposes her own understanding of the target word by formulating a candidate L1 equivalent of it. T produces an overlapping turn after receiving the right word (kaynaştırma, tr: ‘mainstreaming’) and she provides a response overtly confirming Bir’s remark by evaluating it as correct ([yes) (line 6).

Having received the emphatically produced affirmative assessment, in the following turn during the 0.7 second silence Bir changes her sitting posture and leans towards T (see Figure 5 and compare it with Figure 4). Curiously enough, this case demonstrates how receiving positive assessments for the right answers might have an impact on the nonverbal behaviors of the students. In line 8, T provides a more explicit assessment with the intensifying adverb (e↑xactly) (Waring, 2008) which triggers Bir to lean closer towards T (see Figure 6). In the data, it has been observed that a typical behavior of the teacher is that she produces prosodically-marked speech in agreeing responses, which may be related to her commitment to the issue at hand. In lines 11-12, with an exclusive pronoun ‘they’, T states that (still they call it (0.2) in most of the schools as main↑streaming it is ↑no:t) and self-repairing herself with (I mean) and pointing at 'inclusive education' on the board (see figure 7), T states ‘the recent (0.3) trend’.

Following this, substituting ‘recent’ with ‘a decade’ with the phrase ‘I guess’ which introduces a supposition, T points at ‘inclusive education’ on the board again (see Figure 8), thus the blackboard continues to be a significant component in the emergent interaction (line 14). T wraps up the issue with her last statements employing an inclusive pronoun ‘we’, and specifies the recent trend (we've been using the term inc↑lu:sive inc↑lu:siveness) and later accompanying with embodied conduct (moving her hand like a semicircle), T adds more to her

statement by prefacing it the summative ‘so’, (so it ↑covers all of them) and provides the Turkish equivalent of the term with an exclusive pronoun (↑kapsayıcı they call in Turkish, tr: ‘inclusive they call in Turkish’). In other words, she uses an ‘us and them dichotomy’ (Yuval-Davis, 2010) to mark the use of different terminologies for the same issue.

To sum up, the current extract demonstrates how a student initiates a confirmation-seeking sequence by drawing on L1 as a resource. Different from the previous extract, Extract 17 depicts how a student’s request for confirmation bears two functions; namely (1) a responsive turn to the teacher’s FPP, and (2) a genuine confirmation request; it seems like it is a way to ‘try-mark’ the response. The way the student designs her turn reveals that she has a stronger epistemic position compared to ‘K-’ recipient (Heritage, 2012a). The subsequent teacher action depicts the institutional fingerprints of EMI in which the teacher keeps English as the normative language norm and thereby displays linguistic disalignment with Bir in the public space of the classroom. It is noteworthy that the L1 turn has not been exposed to any repairs that invoke the L2-only rule as re-establishing the target language norm is accomplished implicitly. The extract also provides some insights into the use of multimodal resources as it depicts how the teacher relies on the board to highlight the target words by writing and displaying them on it (lines 1, 2, 10). That the writing is initiated in overlap with the verbal form of the word (Mortensen, 2011) demonstrates how writing and talk are coordinated successfully. In the course of this coordination, visually attending the students along with talk to engage them in learning process is also a good example of ‘body torque’ (Schegloff, 1998).

The following extract illustrates a different type of question design: YND. It demonstrates that the interrogative turn design is not the only way for the students to indicate their lack of knowledge. The extract also reveals fingerprints of EMI context in which content is being prioritized over language. More specifically, the case of unattended word searches demonstrates how content is given more privileges over language in this particular educational context. This fragment begins after the teacher has lectured on famous historical figures and their actions in the field of ‘vocational counselling’. When the teacher has just finished talking on the relevant topic, Esi raises her hand and the teacher walks towards her to nominate her.

Extract 18: Vocational counselling, 25_02_15

01 Esi: when when we say vocational coun- counselling we
02 ↑mean the ↑human resources (0.3) in in the
03 (0.5)
04 °you know°
05 → T: #1 #2 #3



Figure 1 Figure 2 Figure 3

06 (0.7)
07 T: ↑no vocation occu↑pa:tion (0.3) i am talking a↑bout
08 occupation (0.4) so it's human er: *↑using the hu:man
*gaze shift -->
09 (0.3) as *an important re↑source (0.2) is also
*gazes at Esi -->
10 important (0.4) in this field but (0.2) it's
11 completely different field
12 (1.6)((T looks at Esi with furrowed eyebrows))
13 T: *human resources manage↑ment=
*loosens her clenched hands and moves
14 Esi: =since *in human resource (.) in human resource-
15 T: *nods-->
16 (1.1)((T gazes at Esi))
17 Esi: *re-sour-ces=
*spells the word

18 T: =*huh-huh
*nods
19 Esi: er: (0.2) the ca- *the the >i don't know< the exact
20 → T: *nods -->
21 Esi: name but the the (.) that person match the (.) person
22 with the (0.4) *correct (.) position in in the
23 T: *smiles -->
24 (0.2)
25 T: *uh-huh
26 Esi: er: in the structure of the
27 (0.2)
28 T: uh-huh uh-huh <u>just</u> one part of (0.2) >his or her< job
29 (0.8)
30 o↑kay so [try to help individuals
31 Esi: [but it is ↑not vocational
32 T: qualities (0.4) but they are not vocational
33 counsellors so vocational coun↑sellors *look at the
*steps back,
orients to the class
33 qualities and <u>u:se</u> *different sys<u>tems</u> in order to
*gazes at Esi -->
34 understand the qualities

((During 17 lines, T elaborates on career options decided together with counsellors, focusing on how the individuals' strengths, weaknesses, hobbies and interests are at play in choosing an appropriate occupation))

The sequence begins with Esi's initiation of a knowledge gap formulated in declarative syntax; an inquiry on whether the term 'vocational counselling' refers to human resources (when when we say vocational coun- counselling we ↑mean the ↑human resources (0.3) in in the (0.5) °you know°, lines 1-4). As a form of indicating emergent knowledge gaps, declarative syntax seems ambiguous in that it is not clear whether it is doing requesting or asserting information (Jakonen, 2014). In this regard, in the present extract it has been observed that Esi relies on other resources such as employing rising intonation to mark her turn as a question rather than asserting information which is the general function this morphosyntax serves (Seuren, Huiskes & Koole, 2015). Her question

is marked with repetitions and self-interruptions and by formulating her question in YND, she claims to be relatively knowledgeable about the matter under focus (Raymond, 2010). It is also important to note that she constructs contrast through intonation as there is a rising pitch on the word '↑human'.

Within her turn, she engages in a word search activity which is initiated with a pause (0.5) in line 3 and continues with 'you know' which receives T's head shake simultaneously (see Figures 1, 2 and 3). The use of 'you know' is remarkable in that it invokes a symmetrical relation between speakers. In the institutional context of classroom in which asymmetry between teacher and students is generally obvious, Esi in a way indicates that what she is trying to formulate is something they share in common, thereby invoking more symmetry in this respect. As the relevant question has almost come to a completion, T starts to shake her head as a recognizability of the question to her. T does not attend to Esi's word search and by shaking her head at the relevant point, she makes it evident that 'vocational counselling is not human resources'. Following a 0.7 second silence in line 6, T initiates her turn and verbalizes her head shake with a rising-pitched (↑no) and with a self-initiated repair (vocational counselling) she specifies what she is referring to (i am talking a↑bout occupation).

Between lines 7-11, in the course of her talk, T positions herself in such a way that the talk seems to be designed only for Esi and the students in the back row. The students outside T's scope are not observably attending to her answer even if there is not a 'parallel activity' (Koole, 2007) among them. In line 12, T looks at Esi with furrowed eyebrows, marking her uncertainty and in the next turn, T initiates her turn with (human resources manage↑ment=) which is latched by Esi's turn in line 14; she attempts to formulate her sentence through justification (=since in human resource (.) in human resource-). However, she initiates repair on the word 'resources' which is acknowledged by T through listenership tokens 'huh-huh' and 'nodding' in line 18. Esi initiates her turn with a hesitation marker (er:) and after a short pause (0.2), she self-interrupts and engages in a word search activity which is made obvious with the verbal expression (the the >i don't know< the exact name). T does not attend to this word search activity either and through nodding, she lets Esi continue her turn without providing the missing word. In the

following turn (lines 21-22), as the initiated word search is not oriented to, Esi compensates the lack of knowledge through substituting the searched word with the generic pronoun 'that person' (but the the (.) that person match the (.) person with the (0.4) correct (.) position in in the).

Between lines 23-26, T smiles at Esi when Esi elaborates on her ideas and the smile seems to be student-oriented which mitigates the mismatch between what Esi is presenting as an idea and what the correct answer is, thus somewhat bypassing the trouble source (Sert & Jacknick, 2015; Petitjean & González-Martínez, 2015). It seems to indicate that T understands what Esi is heading towards and T will let her continue a little bit before she provides her own answer. In line 25, Esi is close to end her turn and following a short silence, T initiates her turn with the acknowledgement marker (uh-huh) and agrees with Esi's ideas to some extent (just one part of (0.2) >his or her< job, line 28); by putting emphasis on the word (just), she possibly downgrades the contribution. Following a 0.8 second silence, with an upward (o↑kay) T continues to explain the issue and her utterance is overlapped by Esi's turn in line 31 ([but it is ↑not vocational). This overlapping turn in which Esi overtly demonstrates her understanding of the just-prior T's turn clearly shows that she has an independent access to the matter at hand (Vatanen, 2014). Following the overlap, in line 32, T responds to the overlapped turn (but they are not vocational counsellors). Note that it demonstrates that T has had an access to what Esi has provided in her overlapping turn and now T confirms Esi's candidate understanding by repeating the gist in the displaying understanding sequence. Between lines 32-49, T elaborates more on what vocational counsellors do through exemplification and her talk as in the previous turns seems to be addressed to Esi only through proximity (walking closer) and gazing behavior. Following a brief silence, both through verbal (a sequence closing 'o↑kay') and nonverbal devices (through displacement, changing her position towards slide), T marks the end of the sequence.

In conclusion, in Extract 18 I have examined the sequences in which a student initiates a confirmation-seeking sequence through YND. The issue formulated in declarative syntax concerns the teacher's epistemic domain, that is, the student's declarative turn invokes the teacher's epistemic right to confirm or disconfirm her proposal on the knowledge. As opposed to interrogatives deployed to index their

epistemic status as less certain, YNDs position students and teachers in relatively more equal domains in terms of the access to knowledge compared to interrogatives. Considering the relative knowing stance with these kind of questions, declarative syntax conveys a relatively more knowing stance on the targeted information than the interrogatives (Seuren & Huiskes, 2017). Against this backdrop, the present extract is important in the depiction of how the design of questions sets different degrees of epistemic gradient between participants. Additionally, it is of interest that the unfolding interaction borders on disagreement in the sense that Esi does not immediately settle with T's response and there's also the 'but' beginning turn in overlap (line 31). The extract also points that the unfolding of interaction in an extended stretch of talk triggers demonstration of student understanding (line 31) even though the student is not provided enough learning space to elaborate on her ideas. It also reveals that by employing certain linguistic (uh-huh) and nonlinguistic (nodding) devices, the teacher prioritizes content over language by not attending to word searches, which might be considered as a unique fingerprint of EMI contexts in which the primary aim is not to teach L2 but the related content.

The extracts that follow (19, 20 and 21) reflect a similar delivery structure. Emergent knowledge gaps are formulated via wh- interrogative and the common linguistic format is 'What is the difference between X and Y?', in which X and Y refer to key terms (Extract 19) and helping skills (Extracts 20 and 21) in counselling interaction. More specifically, in the following information-seeking sequences students attempt to close their knowledge gaps related to distinctive features differentiating two terminological items in counselling field. They are delivered in MUQTs. Extract 21 is an exception, designed in a single-unit turn. The last three extracts (20-22) in the section focus on the issue of demonstration of (mis)understanding, second assertions which are modifications of first one, being more specific (Vatanen, 2014).

Extract 19 is the first example of this interactional phenomenon. The extract comes from the beginning phase of the lesson during which the teacher is lecturing about comprehensive programs and in the course of the telling, she mentions the terms 'counselling' and 'consulting' without going into any details.

Extract 19: Consulting and counselling, 25_03_15

01 T: the most important thing is *needs assessment okay
02 *Esi raises her hand
03 ((T clears her throat))
04 ((T nominates Esi by pointing))
05 Esi: hocam i think i have *missed (0.3) a point
my teacher
*moves her index finger-->
06 what was the difference between con↑sulting and
07 (0.6) co- counselling?
08 (0.6)
09 T: o↑kay >*what what< is the difference?
*looks at the class
10 ((T gazes at Esi and moves her hand towards her))
11 *o↑kay what is the difference between consulting
*walks towards the middle of the class
12 and (0.5) er: coun↑selling?
13 (5.0)((T scans the class and smiles))
14 #1

Figure 1

15 (1.1)((Fer raises her hand))
16 ((T nominates Fer by pointing and walks towards her))
17 Fer: i think er:

18 (2.7) (Fer shifts her gaze down and T nods)
19 Fer: you consult someone and he or she (0.3)
20 *gives you ↑counselling
*moves her hands forward
21 (0.9)((T shifts her gaze up))
22 Fer: i mean
23 → (1.4) #2 #3

Figure 2

Figure 3

24 Fer: *one part is the receiver one part is the (0.3) pro↑vider
*moves her hand to left/right sides
25 (1.4)
26 →T: mh[mm::
27 →Fer: [as far as i know
28 (0.5)
29 T: o↓ka:y it's *↑not e↑xa:ctly so consulting doesn't
*moves her hand upwards
30 include coun↑selling *relationship (0.5) counselling
*gaze shift
31 *Mec raises her hand
32 ((T nominates Mec by pointing and walks towards her))
33 T: uh-huh
34 Mec: i am not sure about the as a school counsellor
35 parent *counsel a ↑student but when a teacher or

```
36                  *T nods -->
37          a parent (0.6) is included in the counselling it
38          occurs (0.6) con↑sulting
39          (0.8)
40  T:      <oka:y oka:y> *some↑how correct
                          *points her hand at Mec
                          *steps back to the middle of the cl.
41          ((T laughs))
42          (0.4)
43          or partially correct (0.5) so in the counselling
44          we pro↑vide (0.3) one to one relationship if it is
45          individual counselling con↑fidential relationship
```

While T is explaining comprehensive programs which are presented on a power point slide, Esi raises her hand to bid for a turn. Noticing Esi, T uses '`okay`' as a closing sequence device and the telling sequence comes to a completion. T nominates Esi through pointing gesture in line 4. Prefacing her question with the address term (`hocam`, tr: 'my teacher') and a cognitive discourse marker '`I think`', Esi makes her K- epistemic status (Heritage, 2012a, 2012b) visible (`I have missed a point`, line 5). It is important to note here that by framing her question with an explicit mark of lack of knowledge, Esi projects that a question of some kind is on its way (Lindström & Lindholm, 2009). Interestingly, it's not hard to imagine a situation in which this, i.e. taking the blame on oneself for not 'getting it', could be a device for conveying that perhaps the difference should have been dealt with somehow better. Esi's information-seeking question, an inquiry on the difference between consulting and counselling, is related to a past learning event and she marks it with the grammatical form (past tense) (`what was the difference between con↑sulting and (0.6) co- counselling?`, lines 6-7). Designing her question in a MUQT, a "question delivery system'' (Heritage & Greatbatch, 1991, p. 99) consisting of two more turn-constructional units, Esi initiates a new topic rather than pursuing the current issue under focus.

The beginning of the response is delayed (0.6 sec.) and in the following turn (line 9), T receives the question with an emphatically produced receipt marker (`o↑kay`) (Beach, 1993). It is noteworthy that 'okay' is neither a K+ positioned knowledge

display nor a claim of K- epistemic status but it functions as a token of recognition that signals that the student's request has been received (Jakonen, 2014). Orienting to the class, T redirects the FPP (>what what< is the difference?) to the whole class, to which Esi also belongs. Interestingly, by redirecting the question back to the whole class, T might maintain control of the overall structure of the interaction (Watts et al., 1997; Kappellidi, 2015) by reinitiating the IRF sequence. Interestingly, by this particular behavior of T, a question addressed to the teacher is treated as a collective representation as the relevant knowledge gap issue is made salient to the whole class. Moreover, T explicitly launches a 'dialog' approach (Koole, 2010) for the matter at hand in the public sphere of the class. Such behavior of T to promote learner participation is in alignment with negotiation being a milestone in vocabulary learning (Nation, 2001).

T gazes at Esi and moves her hand towards her (line 10), thus displaying her recognition of Esi's question as legitimate and an asset for checking their understanding of the difference between the terms of 'consulting' and 'counselling' which have been the key items in the classroom content. By readdressing the question, T delivers the original question of Esi to the whole class in lines 11-12 (o↑kay what is the difference between consulting and (0.5) er: coun↑selling?), and she also walks towards the middle of the class which makes her question more available to the other students. In line 13, during a long silence (5.0), T scans the class for a potential answer and smiles at the students. In the following turn, by moving her hand to the left side, she demonstrates that an attempt to provide a response from the students is desirable at that very moment (see Figure 1). This embodied invitation of T which is followed by allocating the response turn to Fer through gesture accompanied by gaze (line 16) is a remarkable example of promoting progressivity of the interactional sequences in the classroom context (Sert & Jacknick, 2015).

In line 17, Fer initiates her turn with a stance taking marker (I think), which is followed by a hesitation marker (er:). What happens next is that a lengthy silence (2.7 sec) emerges during which Fer looks down and T keeps nodding at her. This nodding functions as a 'go-ahead' sign and in the following turn (lines 19-20), Fer manages to complete her utterance (you consult someone and he or she (0.3) gives you ↑counselling). An approximately one second silence takes

place (line 21) when T withdraws mutual gaze and looks up, non-verbally displaying ‘something less than agreement’ towards the received answer. In line 22, Fer attempts to build more on her previous formulation with the elaboration marker (I mean). During the 1.4 second silence, T shifts her gaze from Fer to up displaying a ‘thinking face’ (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1986) accompanied by the movement of her body to the right side (see Figures 2 and 3); a combination of these nonverbal conducts might signal that there is something dispreferred with Fer’s response. Stated another way, embodied displays of T towards Fer’s turn indicates that the received response is not what T is looking for. T’s projection of the repair work triggers Fer to elaborate more on her previous idea through explanation in the following turn (line 24).

After a 1.4 second gap, in line 26, by using the minimal acknowledgement token (mhmm::), T displays that Fer’s answer is not what she is looking for; marking dispreference again. Overlapping with T’s hedging turn, Fer displays her personal epistemic stance when she utters the phrase (as far as I know) in line 27, thereby making it obvious that the piece of knowledge she claims to possess concerning the issue is within the scope of her epistemic domain to which she has an independent access; however, there are chances of its being not right. This instance is a clear example of how T’s dispreferred turn design and observed bodily behaviors push the student to produce an additional clause, a subordinate clause with ‘as far as I know’ in this extract, thus promoting more complex L2 production at morpho-syntactic level. Furthermore, it demonstrates how T’s relevant turn makes the student reanalyze her previous turn. After half a second silence in line 28, by giving an opportunity to Fer to self-repair, T acknowledges what Fer has uttered with a downward toned (o↓ka:y) in line 29. The downgraded acceptance as the teacher evaluation is overlapped with Mec’s hand raising to provide an alternative answer for the related question.

The incorrectness of Fer’s response becomes more apparent when T aborts her own turn to allocate the turn to Mec; in other words, T is still looking for something else as the received answer from Fer is insufficient and unsatisfactory. T selects Mec as the next speaker through vocalization of (uh-huh) with a combination of pointing gesture as the turn nomination device. Prefacing her telling with a hesitative clause (I am not sure), Mec marks her upcoming response as uncertain and

downgrades her epistemic stance on the matter in question (line 34). It might be related to being selected as the next speaker following Fer's inappropriate answer. Thus, Mec is now positioned to complement and revise Fer's answer which T has shown to be insufficient. Between lines 34-38, Mec responds to the question as an attempt to provide the response T is looking for and T keeps nodding at Mec as an indicator of listenership. In the following turn (line 39), a 0.8 second silence delayed turn projects a negative evaluation of the student's prior response (Macbeth, 2004). In line 40, speaking with a slower pace, T acknowledges what Mec has explained (<okay okay>), and assesses her contribution (some↑how correct) by stepping back and moving closer to the middle of the class.

T's movement trajectories are interesting in that in the course of Fer's turn, T has maintained her static position; however, during Mec's responsive turn through nodding, she accomplishes displaying listenership. Moreover, immediately after Mec's completed turn, T goes back to the middle of the class by introducing a new movement pattern (stepping back). Put otherwise, receiving a dispreferred answer does not bring up any teacher movement trajectories as exemplified in Fer's response case but receiving a 'somehow correct' answer might help T orient more directly to the other students, which indicates that movement is involved in the evaluation phase. Immediately following this movement, T laughs (line 41). The laughter seems to function as a modifier of the previous assessment of T (somehow correct). Laughter tokens are generally associated with 'misdeeds' of various sorts (Haakana, 2001) and in the current case, the laughter follows T's entire turn but not targeting any particular word; therefore, it seems to mitigate T's just-prior assessment turn. As of particular interest to me is what T does next after the laughter token. T evaluates Mec's knowledge display as (or partially correct) (line 43). In the first assessment, with the vague word 'somehow', T marks her assessment 'unclear' and with the second assessment 'partially correct', T produces a more specific assessment compared to the first one and which also still includes 'somehow troublesome' nature of the received answer. In the rest of the turn, T provides a true account for the question and closes the sequence.

To conclude, Extract 19 demonstrates that by marking the students' responses as problematic or inadequate, the teacher deploys a variety of verbal and nonverbal resources in her dispreferred turn design. By employing specific embodied conduct

such as pointing at the student, shifting her gaze or moving her body to the right side, the teacher treats the student contribution as something repairable. The example reveals interesting perspectives on how preference organisation can become a domain to show the ways teachers' turn designs trigger L2 complexity at grammar level as the student modifies her turn upon the projection of disagreeing answers. Stated another way, noticeable silence (line 25) and turn beginning sentence preface in the form of hesitation marker (line 26) are treated as disalignment-implicative. As Davidson (1984) notes, weak agreements such as 'uh huh', 'mm hm' are treated as rejection-implicative in an invitation/request sequence. In the same vein, after a long silence and a weak agreement, Fer treats the teacher's turn as a projection of a dispreferred answer which in turn triggers her to display uncertainty (line 27). By doing so, she also produces L2 at a more complex grammar level in her formulation of her own understanding of the concepts under focus.

Similar to Extract 19, the following example demonstrates how the teacher manages dispreference in interaction and how the production of more complex L2 morphosyntax is achieved by the students at the early moments of the teacher's possible indication of dispreference. The present extract also uncovers the institutional goals of this particular setting in which content is being prioritized over language. Before this segment begins, the teacher is talking about dangers of teaching students 'interpretation skill' as they might move barriers of communication. As it is a delicate skill to be handled, she makes it clear that she does not want to teach it so she moves on to 'action stage' in which individuals are supported to set a goal. While the teacher's telling turn is still in progress, Fer bids for a turn through verbal (hocam, tr: 'my teacher') and nonverbal (raising her hand) conducts. The teacher first completes her turn and orients to Fer:

Extract 20: Interpretation and summarizing, 15_04_15

```
01   Fer: *hocam
          my teacher
          *holds her index finger slightly
02        may i ask something?
03        (0.5)((T nods))
04        er: hocam last week we talked a↑bout er:
              my teacher
```

05 *sum↑mari:zing and paraphrasing the (0.3) words that
*moves her hand forward -->
06 the patients told his er:
07 → (1.0) #1

Figure 1

08 → T: >↑helpee let's say<=
09 Fer:=*yeah
*nods
10 T: *not patient
*lifts her hand up to a 'hold-on' position
11 Fer:*okay
*moves her head to both sides
12 (0.3)
13 T: *we don't have any patient
*moves her hand to both sides quickly in air
14 Fer:°okay°
15 T: °okay°
16 Fer:what is the difference between interpretation and
17 sum↑mari:zing,

18 T: in in [the interpretation
19 Fer: [the information
20 (0.6) #2 #3

Figure 2

Figure 3

21 T: °okay° in the interp↑retation (0.3) you t↑r:y to show
22 the person the ↑reason of his or her be↑havio:r (0.3)
23 by considering your theoretical perspective (0.3) in
24 the sum↑mary (0.5) you s↑tate (.) what you hea:rd
25 (3.2)((Fer nods and moves her lips as 'okay'
silently))
26 (1.0)((T keeps gazing at Fer and nods)
27 so er: they are *↑completely different ski:lls (0.3)
*moves her hand up abruptly
28 in the summary we (.) <t↑r:y to sho:w the pattern>
29 (0.7) that we ob↑se:rve (0.5) you stated
30 *this o:ne (.)ₜhis o:ne (.) this o:ne
*counts with her fingers -->

31 → Fer:we just repeat what we heard.

32 (0.7)

33 → T: er::=

#4

Figure 4

34 → Fer:=with different wo[rds

35 T: [in a mo:re (.) in a mo:re advanced

36 way let's say it's not just the parroting o:r (0.3)

37 er: we tr:y to er: help the person see the connections

((During 20 lines, T engages in an extended explanation during which Fer shows listenership through nodding))

Prefacing her question with the Turkish address term (hocam, tr: 'my teacher') and self-referencing frame (may i ask something?), Fer invokes her intention to pose a question (Clayman & Heritage, 2009). In a way, by preceding her question with a frame functioning as a preliminary question, Fer demonstrates that a question of some kind is on its way. According to Lindström and Lindholm (2009), the permissive type 'may I ask' is generally employed to reintroduce and focus on previously learned item and what occurs in the data is in alignment with this finding. Having received the permission to deliver the question, in lines 4-6, Fer provides a background context for her prospective question via a past learning reference (Can Daşkın, 2017) (er: hocam last week we talked a↑bout er: sum↑mari:zing and paraphrasing the (0.3) words that the patients told his er:). She initiates the repair first through hesitation marker

(er:) and later with the pause during which she shifts her gaze up in line 7 (see Figure 1).

According to Lerner (1996), word searches are "specifically designed for conditional entry by recipients, a place where the recipients aid in the search by suggesting candidate words'' (p. 261). In this sense, gaze can be used by a speaker as an interactional device for inviting recipients' co-participation in word searches (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1986). However, in the data, Fer shifts her gaze up which might convey that Fer carries out a solitary word search activity. What happens next is that T does not attend to this word search and instead repairs the word (patient) produced by Fer in her previous turn. T substitutes this word with (helpee) and provides an inclusive discourse marker (let's say) following it (line 8). It receives an acknowledgement through verbal (yeah) and embodied (nodding) means from Fer. In line 10, T asserts a stronger claim with the explicit rejection (not patients) accompanied with nonverbal conduct (lifting her hand up as a 'hold-on' position). It receives the second acknowledgement by Fer through (okay) and movement of her head to both sides slightly (line 11). Following a brief pause, in line 13 T repairs the problematic word 'patient' for the third time, in this case via declarative syntax, adding an inclusive pronoun (we don't have any patients). This third repair receives only an acknowledgement marker (°okay°) sotto voce from Fer (line 14) and following this the same quiet (°okay°) is produced by T (line 15) but in this case, it seems to serve a different function. While Fer's 'okay' is an indication of acknowledgment and acceptance of T's repair, T's 'okay' functions as a closure of the insert-sequence on the related repair issue.

Having gone through the pre-sequence of the FPP, in lines 16-17, Fer produces the FPP of the adjacency part by a K- positioned indication of a knowledge gap. Fer asks T to identify the meaning difference between two concepts, namely 'interpretation' and 'summarizing', in interrogative inquiry (what is the difference between interpretation and sum↑mari:zing,). In line 18, T attempts to highlight the difference by providing the SPP of the question-answer adjacency pair by explaining 'interpretation' (in in [the interpretation); however, her response turn is overlapped after the repeat of the preposition in turn-initial position by Fer, who completes her question in line 19 ([the information).

In this case, Fer makes a non-transitional overlap that starts up at a point more remote from possible completion. According to Schegloff (2002), these overlaps are more vulnerable to being considered as 'interruptive'. What happens next in the following turn is that T marks Fer's overlapping turn as an interruption through her embodied conduct; during the 0.6 second silence, T raises her eyebrows and shifts her gaze from Fer (see Figures 2 and 3) (line 20). In other words, this early overlap is being heard as 'interruptive' by T.

Prefacing her response with '`okay`', as a token of recognition, T conveys that Fer's request has been received completely and in lines 21-24, T provides a response for the related question starting with 'interpretation' and moving on with 'summarizing'. In the following turn, a long silence takes place during which Fer demonstrates receipt of information through non-verbal (nodding) and nonvocalized (`okay`) listenership tokens. In line 26, T keeps gazing at Fer and nods and this nonverbal behavior of T seems to function as a wait time for Fer to process the information provided. In line 27, T flags the difference between these two terms with a so-prefaced formulation, which functions more like a summative particle, and between lines 28-30, T goes on to explain it drawing on an imaginary talk by counsellors (`you stated this o:ne (.) this o:ne (.) this o:ne`) and closes her turn with a gestural demonstration (counting with her finger).

Immediately thereafter, Fer formulates her (non)understanding (`we just repeat what we heard`) (line 31). Fer joins in the activity of the prior turn and proposes a candidate understanding of the explanation provided by T. The demonstration of understanding turn responds to what has been sequentially projected in the prior turn (Vatanen, 2014) and in her candidate understanding, Fer demonstrates having gained epistemic access to the matter in question as a result of T's explanation. Keeping the institutional nature of this interaction in mind, it is obvious that such a claim for understanding triggers an evaluation, or at least a follow-up by T, who is still positioned as the knowledgeable participant in this interaction. Instead of confirming Fer's candidate understanding as correct, T initiates a repair sequence in the following turn (lines 32-33). What follows Fer's utterance in this post-expansion is a long silence first (0.7 sec.) that precedes a hesitation marker (`er::`) accompanied by gaze aversion as T shifts her gaze up (see Figure 4); all being features of dispreferred turn design. To put it differently, a combination of factors

(the emergent silence and T's observed embodied orientation) in this extract suggest that Fer's response is treated as 'unsatisfactory'.

In line 34, possibly treating the delay in T's response and the hesitation together with the shift in T's gaze as a projection of a dispreferred answer, Fer provides a completion of her turn, syntactically tied to her formulation provided in her previous turn (with different wo[rds). By doing so, Fer may be trying to bypass the potential negative evaluation and disagreement and also by adding more, Fer slightly modifies her epistemic position from knowing into more knowing. Her pushed output, in which Fer produces a prepositional phrase, syntactically tying this new utterance to her previously produced turn; an action that is known as format-tying (Cekaite & Aronsson, 2004), is overlapped by T's turn in the following turn (line 35). This also resembles what has been observed in extract 20, in which the dispreferred turn design of T and non-verbal indicators of it push the student to produce an additional clause (a prepositional phrase 'with other words' in this extract, and a subordinate clause 'as far as I know' in Extract 20). In line 35, T's follow-up turn overlaps the prior turn slightly or terminally (Jefferson, 1983) ([in a mo:re (.) in a mo:re advanced); in other words, it is a transitional overlap which begins at a point very near to completion of the utterance. The overlapping turns concern gaining power and the overlapping speaker exercises an agency concerning the matter under focus (Vatanen, 2014).

In this institutional context by overlapping with the student, T might convey demonstrating power. In lines 35-36, T puts emphasis on the comparison marker and repeats it twice (mo:re), as she suggests the alternative understanding by using a collective suggestion marker (let's say), thus avoiding explicit disagreement and negative evaluation, which could potentially be face-threatening. Stated another way, as correction is one tool to negotiate epistemic authority (Heritage & Raymond, 2005), the degree of modulation depends on how strongly the speakers depict themselves as the knowledgeable participant (Haakana & Kurhila, 2009).Therefore, modulation of correction can be achieved through this collective suggestion marker and avoidance of explicit disagreement which in a way downgrades the strong assertion on the issue at hand. In the rest of the extract (lines 35-57), T describes what 'summarizing skill' is by drawing on gestures especially fingers, to explain the meaning of the concept, which shows that the definition is

supported with the use of emphatic stress and gesture. During this telling part, Fer nods at certain points to demonstrate her listenership (lines 50, 55, 58) and T closes the sequence with an understanding check marker (okay?) which receives a nodding and 'okay' from Fer and these receipt tokens index that Fer's epistemic status has been changed from unknowing to knowing.

In sum, Extract 20 has shown how a student formulates her question in a MUQT and demonstrates a candidate understanding as result of the response provided by the teacher. The turn design of the teacher that includes nonverbal as well as verbal elements for dispreference (in particular line 33) is visually available to the students and can push turn completions by the students themselves, creating more space for interaction and meaning negotiation. Non-evaluative nature of the follow-up actions of the teacher also (from lines 35 to 59) helps avoid face-threatening potential of dispreferred turn designs, and thus successfully creates alignment. A closer understanding of these practices brings to light a variety of issues such as preference organization (co-occurring verbal and embodied means to display dispreference).

Moreover, as presented in the beginning of the interaction in which Fer engages in a word search activity which is not resolved by the teacher, the teacher does a mild sanction for using a word (patient) that is not in some sense 'politically correct' in the present context. In this way, she does not attend the word search activity but engages in other-initiated other-repair action. Keeping in mind that interaction unfolds in an EMI context in which content is generally being prioritized, this case is a vivid example of how priority of content over language is in play. Furthermore, if we take an L2 use perspective, we observe opportunities created by the teacher for more complex language production. That is to say, the action performed by the teacher in line 33 generates pushed output, in which the student produces a prepositional phrase, syntactically tying this new utterance to her previously produced turn; an action that is known as format-tying (Cekaite & Aronsson, 2004). Against this background, negotiation for meaning at content level and production of more complex L2 morphosyntax are simultaneously enabled. Note that preference organization has acted as a catalyst for this interplay. This finding is similar to what Schegloff (1992) has noted for dispreferred answers; when a dispreferred answer is projected through silence or hesitation, it is common that the questioner

reformulates the original question in the subsequent turn. In the data, reformulation part was observed on the proposed candidate understanding but not on the question.

As is the case in the previous extract, the following extract illustrates an instance in which a student demonstrates her understanding by providing some analysis of the information provided by the teacher. Different from the previous case, demonstration of understanding (Sacks, 1992; Mondada, 2011) is achieved collaboratively between the teacher and the student through interactional orientation to each other's turns. Extract 21, which takes place right after the teacher has finished playing a video on paraphrasing skills in counselling interaction, illustrates an example of a request for information regarding the difference between two terminological items, namely 'clarifying' and 'paraphrasing'. While the video is on, the teacher says 'paraphrasing' loudly when paraphrasing occurs without stopping it. Consider that before the video on paraphrasing skills, the students have already watched a video segment on the combination of skills in which clarifying skill is also included and the teacher has defined what clarification is with the examples on the slides, which she uses as a teaching material.

Extract 21: Clarifying and paraphrasing, 08_04_15

```
01   Eli: *hocam.
          my teacher
          *raises her hand
02        (1.5)((T looks at Eli and nods))
03   Eli: *what are the difference between cla↑rif:ying and
04   T:   *walks toward Eli -->
05   Eli: paraphrasing.
06        (0.8)
07   T:   in the para- in the cla↑rif:ying if we ha:ve aproblem
08        to *↑really under↑sta:nd what what the client is
               *rounds her hands
09        saying    (0.4)    we    ask    the    question
10        (1.0)
11        could you tell me mo:re about this is↑sue: (0.3) i
12        didn't get what what you said (0.2) can you ex↑plain
```

13 it one mo:re (0.3) okay?
14 ((Eli nods))
15 in this situation (0.6) in the paraphra:se (0.5) we:
16 (0.3) re↑state (0.2) what we hea:rd (0.4) from

#1

Figure 1

17 the client's story or from the person's story
18 (1.3)
19 o↑kay
20 (0.6) ((Eli nods))
21 so we (0.7) er: re:↑state by using our o:wn er: of

#2 #3

Figure 2

Figure 3

22 course words or sentences (0.6) *to ↑cover a:ll the
*rounds her hand-->

23 (.) content (0.2) em↑phasi:zed by the person
24 Eli: in paraphrasing (0.2) we actually *we understand
*shows herself
25 but we=
26 T: =yes
27 Eli: er:
28 T: and we=
29 Eli: =restate
#4

Figure 4

30 T: yes we *restate and (0.2) reflect back the ↑content
*moves her hands forward -->
31 part (0.5) to the *clie:nt (0.5) or to the helpee
32 Eli: *nods
33 (0.4)
34 T: o↑kay
35 ((Eli nods))
36 in the clari- in the clarif:ying skill (0.2) it wasn't
37 clear in our *mind that's why we ask (0.3) question or
38 Eli: *nods
39 (0.9)
40 T: we need more information
41 ((Eli nods))
42 °okay° (0.3) they are different °in this sense°

43 (1.3)((T goes to her table and orients to the whole class))

44 any (0.4) other (.) question?

This fragment begins with Eli's bid for a turn with the address term (hocam, tr: 'my teacher') accompanied by hand raising. Having established mutual gaze with T and following T's nod that grants the floor to her, Eli formulates a question seeking on the difference between two terminology-related items (what are the difference between cla↑rif:ying and paraphrasing., lines 3-5), during which T bodily orients to Eli by walking closer to her. Eli formulates her question in a way that indicates some knowledge on her part as she seems to have an understanding on these terms and also knows that there is a difference between them. Following a 0.8 second silence, after a restart, T starts explaining clarifying skill (in the para- in the cla↑rif:ying if we ha:ve a problem) (line 8). During her explanation (lines 7-13), she uses a prosody-rich language accompanied with embodied actions on the key terms defining what clarifying is (e.g. ha:ve a problem to ↑really under↑sta:nd). The presence of 'really' functions as emphasizing the claim (Goodwin, 1981). In lines 11-13, T seems to build an enactment of a dialogue between characters (Riessman, 2008), drawing on an imaginary dialogue possibly for drawing students' attention to a possible encounter in real life (e.g. could you tell me mo:re about this is↑sue:, i didn't get what what you said, can you ex↑plain it one mo:re). In line 13, she uses 'okay?' as an UCQ which receives a nod from Eli.

In the following turn (lines 15-17), T explains what paraphrasing is and through the same prosody-rich language she focuses on the word (re↑state) by moving her hand forward (see Figure 1) and thus supports the definition paralinguistically. Following a 1.3 second silence, T checks the understanding with (o↑kay) which receives another nod from Eli (line 19). Starting her turn with the summative 'so' (Bolden, 2009) in line 21, T continues her elaboration on the term 'paraphrasing' (so we (0.7) er: re:↑state by using our o:wn er: of course words or sentences (0.6) to ↑cover a:ll the (.) content (0.2) em↑phasi:zed by the person). By producing the same word (re↑state) with a high pitch and using repetitive gestures (see Figures 2 and 3), T continues to

explain the term by putting emphasis on certain words with the nonverbal conduct (re↑state, ↑cover).

In the next turn (line 24), Eli obtains the floor and starts explaining what paraphrasing is and her demonstration of understanding turn is formed as a declarative sentence (in paraphrasing (0.2) we actually we understand). When she attempts to explain more by projecting a contrast with 'but' and moves on 'we=' (line 25), T latches with Eli's turn and confirms Eli's proposed understanding with a type-conforming '=yes'. Following a hesitation marker by Eli in line 27, T takes the turn as an attempt to complete the unfinished sentence of Eli and attempts to start a new utterance using a turn initial connector (and we=) and in line 29 Eli completes T's turn and provides the previously (lines 18, 23) emphasized word (=restate) with the same gesture T has produced before (see Figure 4).

Sacks (1992) states that there are many devices for showing demonstration such as puns, proverbial expressions, utterance completions and in this case, Eli demonstrates her understanding by latching with T and by orienting to each other's turn closely, she proposes her candidate understanding in a collaborative way. In her candidate understanding, Eli seems to draw on both the 'clarifying' and 'paraphrasing' explanation provided by T (we understand but restate). It is noteworthy that she uses the same embodied conduct while producing the word 'restate', which in a way functions as a 'return gesture' (Eskildsen & Wagner, 2013), thus Eli displays on-going understanding of T's embodied action. Eli formulates a simplified version of the long explanation of T and reformulates her turns in a minimal way.

In the following turn (line 30), T confirms this with a positive evaluation (yes) and she recycles the word (restate) again and with the same hand movement she explains what paraphrasing is during which Eli nods once (line 32). Following a short silence, T solicits Eli's claims of understanding through an understanding check device (o↑kay) as well as closes the turn for her first explanation. It receives an affirmative response from Eli; she nods (line 35). Between lines 36-37, T moves on to explain what clarification is and emphasizes the negation (wasn't) and Eli claims understanding by nodding (line 38). After a 0.9 second silence, T completes her explanation and Eli nods again. Beginning her turn with 'okay' sotto voce, T wraps

up her explanation for both terms with (they are different °in this sense°) and she marks her closure with a quiet voice (line 42). She changes her position, goes towards her table and orients to the whole class. The vocabulary explanation sequence is closed with the UCQ (any other question?) by which T invites more participation from the students. It is worth mentioning that the formulation of the question with 'other' marks the question as seeking-agenda type items that will be related to the current context (Waring, 2012).

To sum up, in Extract 21, I have described an example of doing demonstration of understanding on the part of the student. The instances of demonstration of understanding are valuable in the data as they provide insights into how students formulate their own understanding of the matter in question following the response turn provided by the teacher. The definitions for both terminological items are supported with the use of emphatic stress and nonverbal behaviors by the teacher. In this respect, it is a clear example of how the teacher utilizes gesture alongside verbal resources, particularly rising intonation for key words. This way of handling the vocabulary items brings up the issue of when teachers utilize gestures most, that is, "that gestures and other nonverbal behaviors are more apt to be used in focus-on meaning teaching, rather than in focus-on-form lessons'' (Lazaraton, 2004, p. 109). More specifically, this extract is a vivid example of how the teacher elaborates on the concepts and their relations through exemplification and how the student displays her candidate understanding drawing on the teacher's just-prior explanation. Therefore, it is an interdependent way of demonstration of understanding on the part of the student by proposing her candidate understanding through displaying an understanding of the teacher's prior turns.

Our last example in this section explicates the way in which a student initiates an information-seeking sequence through multiple questions. Formulating her multi-unit turn in a narrowing 'question cascade' (Clayman & Heritage, 2009), the student particularizes components of the unit to secure a response. The extract is also of interest in illustrating a reformulation and demonstration of understanding of the student. This extract follows an activity in which the students have assessed their own wellness level (e.g. emotional, physical, spiritual and so on). After they have calculated their scores on different components of wellness, the teacher asks them about their scores for each dimension and any chance for future improvement for

them. A student obtains the floor and talks about how well she has done in certain aspects and how she needs improvement in other dimensions. Following this contribution, the teacher attempts to promote more student participation and learning opportunities and the sequence begins:

Extract 22: Spiritual wellness, 04_03_15

```
01    T:   any other ex↑plana:tion?
02         (9.0)((T scans the class for a contribution))
03    Nil: actually *i am ask some >question<
                    *raises her hand -->
04         ((T walks towards Nil))
05    Nil: *what is (0.2) actually* *spiritual °wellness°
           *looks at paper           *gazes at T -->
06         (0.7)
07    T:   a::hh
08         (0.6)((T looks at the handout))
09 →  Nil: and (0.7) *what kind of (.) °spiritual wellness°
10    T:              *nods
11 →  T:   ahh: it has
12         (1.1)((T shifts gaze up and steps back from Nil))
13         it's *↑not only re↑lated to: (.) re↑ligion (0.2)
                *mutual gaze with Nil -->
14         o↑ka:y (0.3) if you be↑lie:ve i:n (0.6) er: the
15         pur↑pose of life (0.2) o↑kay (0.5) the mea↑ning of
16         your *existence*(0.5) if you de↑fi:ne yourself (.)
17    Nil:      *nods
18    T:   in that *wa:y (0.8) er: (0.4) being a be↑liever
19    Nil:          *nods
20    T:   actually be↑lieving your↑se:lf *na↑tu:re go:d (0.4)
                                          *holds her hands up
21         any kind of religio:n (0.6) it's up to you: actually
22    Nil: °okay°
23    T:   o↑kay
24         ((Nil nods))
```

```
25   T:   it's *↑no:t only religious thing o↑kay
                  *orients to class -->
26        ((T shifts her gaze towards Nil))
27        (3.2)((T scans the class))
28        ((T smiles at Nil))
29 → Nil: then i don't have any problem
30        (0.6)
31   T:   $ohh okay$
32        ((Nil laughs))
33        (1.2)((T orients to the class))
34        no one else has problem (0.3) °i guess°
35        ((Ss laugh))
36        (0.6)
37        *looking at one test result and **you cannot say okay
          *looks at her paper at hand -->
38                                        **Ss laugh -->
39        (0.5)
40        i am okay i discovered that i am $p↑roblem person$
```

The extract begins with T's somewhat formulaic question (`any other ex↑plana:tion?`) which is meant to invite more participation on the matter in question (Waring, 2012). Following T's elicitation, a 9.0 second gap emerges during which T scans the class for a potential contribution. In line 3, Nil breaks the silence and initiates her turn with 'actually' and moves on to provide the reason to bid for a turn (`actually i am ask some >question<`) accompanied by hand raising. The intent to ask a question is specified by the word 'actually', which "marks the introduction of touched-off material'' (Clift, 2001, p. 286). In line 4, T orients to Nil by walking towards her. Nil poses her question firstly looking at her paper (`what is (0.2) actually`) and later maintaining mutual gaze with T, she completes her wh- interrogative question (`spiritual °wellness°`, line 5). The question comes in wh- interrogative syntax which functions for a genuine request for information. It is noteworthy to state that the use of second 'actually' (now in turn-middle position) by Nil seems to indicate that she has understood the word 'spiritual wellness' for the purpose of completing the task but now she wants to engage in a deeper discussion

of ‘what actually spiritual wellness is’, thereby requesting for more elaboration on the concept.

The initiation is followed by a silence and in line 7, T produces a stretched change of state token (a::hh). This reaction by T seems to fit into the context in that she treats it as an inserted phase and a starting point to talk about this concept which in a way functions to reserve a space for a long explanation for the item. Heritage (1998) maintains that a responder’s ‘oh’ displays that “a question has occasioned a marked shift of attention. Conveying a marked shift of this kind can imply that a question was unexpected, unlooked for, or out of left field’’ (p. 294). What happens next is that a 0.6 second silence emerges during which T looks at her paper in her hand. In line 9, Nil asks a follow-up question related to first one (and (0.7) what kind of (.) °spiritual wellness°) during which T nods at her and thus displays listenership. Prefacing her question with the boundary marker ‘and’ which is an explicit means to indicate linkage between utterances (Kalliokoski, 1989), Nil makes it clear that the question is an expansion of the previous one and the form of the new question indicates that she has some kind of idea about what spiritual wellness is but she invites a more specific answer from the teacher with the limits and boundaries of the concept. In other words, the question might be after exploring dimensions of spiritual wellness.

By designing her information-seeking sequence through two questions in a narrowing ‘question cascade’, Nil formulates the first question as a basic unit (head) and produces the second question to direct T to provide a more specific information on the topic. Put otherwise, MUQT in this extract is based on a statement + question (head-general) + question (specific) format, through which Nil can accomplish two things as she could not achieve it through a single-unit question turn. In line 11, prefaced with the vocalization particle ‘ahh:’, T’s turn starts with ‘it has’ and following a 1.1 second silence during which T shifts her gaze up and steps back from Nil, she self-repairs and continues to explain (it's ↑not only re↑lated to: (.) re↑ligion) (line 13). Between lines 13-21, T begins first with the negation of ‘what spiritual wellness is not related to’ and then continues on the other dimensions the concept includes. T provides the SPP in such a way that it indicates that religion is the most evident connection with the concept but as spiritual wellness is not a straightforward concept to dwell on, she provides different dimensions of it

by using nonverbal conduct (holding her hands up to depict supreme, super power of any dimensions, lines 20-21). Employing the conditional conjunction 'if', T indicates that the term is strongly conditioned to certain instances. In the course of her telling, T keeps gazing at Nil and Nil responses back through nodding at several points as an indication of listenership (lines 17, 19). In line 22, after Nil has produced an '°okay°' in a quiet volume as an acknowledgement token, T produces a raising pitched 'o↑kay' as an UCQ which receives a nod from Nil.

Following this, orienting to the whole class, T restates what she has provided at the beginning of her turn in line 25 (it's ↑no:t only religious thing o↑kay). In line 26, T shifts back towards Nil and it is followed by a 3.2 second of silence during which T scans the class. In line 28, T smiles at Nil and Nil comments on her own spiritual wellness level (then I don't have any problem) which conveys her understanding of the just-prior T's turns (line 29); this formulation illustrates a demonstration of understanding (Sacks, 1992; Mondada, 2011). By prefacing her turn with 'then' which is used as a summative and inference marker, Nil shows that her evaluation is based on prior talk. With the negative assertion (I don't have any problem) she might state that if the concept had been defined in another way, she would have had problems. After a 0.6 second gap, in line 31, T prefaces her turn with the change of state token (ohh) (Heritage, 1984), which is immediately followed by an 'okay' and accompanied with laughter tokens. This turn displays that Nil's comment is somewhat unexpected.

Immediately after that, by showing alignment with T, Nil also laughs. Following a silence of 1.2 second during which T orients to the whole class, in line 34 T includes the whole class in having no problems 'no one else has problem'. Following a brief silence (0.3), T's evaluation turn has come to a completion with the epistemic marker (°I guess°) (Kärkkäinen, 2007) sotto voce. It receives laughter from the students in line 38 and between lines 37-40, using embodied conduct (looking at her own paper), T in a way dramatizes the scene and provides a kind of take-home message which is (looking at one test result you cannot say okay I am a problem person) and it receives laughter from the students.

All in all, this fragment depicts a case in which a student presents an information request in not a total unknowing (K-) epistemic stance (Heritage, 1984). The way

she formulates her MUQT positions her in the epistemic gradient as having epistemic access to the matter as she includes the object of prior 'knowing' of the terminological item addressed. In the treatment of the terminology-related problem word, there is a clear orientation towards contextualizing the trouble source through personalizing the topic. It could also be a hint of criticism or disalignment with the teacher in the student's question (insofar that the concept could target religion), that is, something that is in a way defused at the end of the sequence when the student says that she has no problems with the concept. Then the laughter would be a display of relief. It is also worth mentioning that in response to the teacher's explanation, the student demonstrates her independent access to the domain at hand by displaying understanding with a new formulation related to issue being discussed. Note that that the kind of resources the teacher has employed are influential in promoting participation, and thus leads to demonstration of understanding. More specifically, using embodied behavior along with emphatic speech might provide a responsive and understandable answer for the student and also waiting for a possible contribution following her telling completion may provide a learning space for the students in which they can join in the prior turn by incrementing it.

4.3.1. Summary

This section has presented learner-generated question-answer sequences on terminology-related problems. A close inspection of the analyses reveals that related knowledge gaps emerge due to a need to confirm a vocabulary item in L2 and lack of terminological knowledge related to the content. More specifically, I have illustrated that students attempt to resolve knowledge gaps (i) by asking a definition for an L2 item (Extract 15), (ii) by formulating an understanding in L1 (Extracts 16 and 17), and (iii) by engaging in meaning negotiation between two terminology-related items (Extracts 19, 20 and 21).

The data presented in this section provide new insights into EMI educational settings. Firstly, by examining the normative treatment of language choice in the educational praxis of classroom interaction, the data uncover hidden norms that shape language choice in bilingual classrooms in the resolution of knowledge gaps, thereby shedding light on the very interplay of student-oriented norms and classroom language rules. Secondly, student questioning sequences are not

presented immediately after the problematic terms occur, instead they come either after the teacher's turn has come to a conclusion (for individual term definitions and confirmations) or much more afterwards (to explicate the link between two terms). This finding shows that repair initiations are delayed as the students are in pursuit of closing knowledge gaps related to unknown terms rather than just reacting to unfamiliar items to them and it has been an observation which relates to the overall sequential organization of whole-class talk. Thirdly, sequential analyses reveal that the subsequent teacher actions depict the institutional fingerprints of EMI settings in which the goal is not to teach L2 but the related content.

Explicating the ways the teacher addresses lexical-related problems through contextualization and exemplification, the data reveal that the vocabulary explanation sequences are formed through 'genuine' examples rather than 'made-up' examples. More specifically, by relying on examples from real life issues, the teacher creates a genuine environment in which no 'made-up' examples are provided as a response turn. In cases of negotiation of meaning sequences, students indicate their epistemic access to the domain following the teacher's turn by displaying understanding through providing some analysis of the information. In other words, through (mis)understanding-display sequences, students become agents of their own learning. Moreover, in cases of misunderstandings, the teacher's embodied behavior strongly projects a possible disagreement to which students respond by problematizing their candidate understanding. Such a teacher behavior generates pushed output, through which students produce a prepositional phrase, syntactically tying this new utterance to their previously produced turns; an action that is known as format-tying (Cekaite & Aronsson, 2004). Therefore, the section also provides important insights into pedagogy and the organization of repair in this particular educational setting as well as understanding how student-initiated vocabulary negotiation is enacted and treated in EMI contexts.

4.4. Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I have looked into the analyses of the extracts which emerged from student-initiated question episodes. 22 learner-generated questioning examples from the dataset have been presented. The analyses in (4.1) which focused on student-initiated procedural and task-related questions revealed that the resolution of the problems was achieved through CS, that is, using L1 was helpful in resolving

these questions in task-based environments. L2 was the teacher's default medium of instruction, especially in one-to-one interaction in the classroom. Put it differently, while attending to a student's question individually, she tended to use Turkish, and while addressing to the whole class, she generally used English as the medium of instruction. As a response to that kind of teacher-to-student policing, students tended to orient to the teacher's preference for English by switching their medium. The analyses in (4.2) explored management of content-related questions in this particular academic setting. A close examination of the data showed that students did not ask their content questions as they presented task and procedural-related inquiries which emerged as straightforward and direct questions. On the contrary, content questions were mainly designed in MUQTs, the treatment of which was also done in extended turns by the teacher. Lastly, the analyses carried out in (4.3) which focused on terminology-related questions demonstrated that students attempted to resolve knowledge gaps (1) by asking a definition for an L2 item, (2) by formulating an understanding in L1, and (3) by engaging in meaning negotiation between two terminology-related items.

In short, the analyses in this chapter have shown that providing insights into the very interplay of student-oriented norms and classroom language rules (see section 4.1), the study depicts the institutional fingerprints of EMI in which the goal is not to teach L2 but the related content. Therefore, the treatment of content and language-related questions is done in a distinctive way, differing from each other. The following and the last chapter will provide the main findings of the current study as well as pedagogical implications for bilingual and language classrooms. I will conclude the chapter with recommendations for further research followed by a conclusion.

5. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

In this last chapter, I will discuss the major findings of the study in line with the research questions, and summarize the main conclusions based on the presented results. I will then provide a discussion on the implications of the findings as well as suggestions for further research. I will end the chapter with a brief conclusion.

5.1. Summary of Results

The current study sets out to explore three research areas: use of bilingual resources in classroom interaction, CA work in learner initiatives, and research on EMI interaction. Drawing on conversation-analytic methodology, the study investigated how students initiated question-answer sequences, an underinvestigated research field, at an EMI university in Turkey. The study revealed that students were actively involved in lectures through voicing their concerns in the instances of emergent knowledge gaps, thereby showing that IRF is not the only interactional sequence that occurs in the classroom. The study also examined how these learner-generated questions were in turn handled by the teacher and thus revealed all the linguistic and multimodal resources teacher was using in the management of these knowledge gaps.

The study is an attempt to unveil the complex and interactional nature of student-initiated questions and the data confirmed the presence of a substantial number of learner-generated questions. Therefore, in the formulation of my research questions I first asked: 'What are the characteristics of student-initiated procedural/task-related, content-related and terminology-related questions in EMI context?' This first research question dealt with both the structural and interactional aspects of these three types of questions. As the current study adopted a multisemiotic perspective, I needed to look beyond linguistic resources in these questions in order to provide a multimodal analysis of the data. Accordingly, second question was designed as follows: 'What kind of interactional resources do participants utilize in the instances of these emergent knowledge gaps?' This question was categorized under two subsections as I had to distinguish between what students and teacher had done separately. Thus, I looked at the resources students used in the construction of questioning sequences and then turned my focus to the resources teacher used in the treatment of knowledge gaps. This section will briefly summarize the major

findings of the present project in relation to the aforementioned three research fields and by doing so, the research questions of the study will be addressed.

Conceptualizing norms and normativity has been an important issue in the current thesis to unpack the institutional fingerprints of EMI interaction so the study provides the complex management of institutional norms for language use. In other words, based on the findings, the present study makes a number of significant contributions to the existing literature on language policing (see section 4.1). Apart from cases in which students were formulating an understanding in L1 for terminology-related problems, all the language policing practices have been conducted in task-based environments, that is, procedural and task-related questions were the bases in which teacher conducted language policing practices. Two types of practices that do language policing have been observed: (1) 'teacher's self-policing practices', and (2) 'teacher's implicit other-policing practices'. In the first category (see section 4.1.1.1), teacher switches her linguistic code from Turkish to English in the transition from individual student's problems to the whole-class interaction (Extracts 2 and 3) and thereby performs self-policing practices. Although it is not an L2 language classroom context, it is noteworthy to mention the differences in the classroom contexts. That is, in different classroom floors, teacher navigates between two language resources available to all the classroom members by changing the participation framework (Goffman, 1981) and she accomplishes it by moving away from the individual students and orienting to the whole class. In brief, these practices demonstrate how the kind of participation frameworks, namely individual and class cohort shape the language policing practices.

In the second category (see section 4.1.1.2), the analysis of the data shows how language norm is maintained by the teacher (Extracts 4-7), and how students tend to attend the teacher's preference for English by switching their medium (Extracts 6 and 7), which is an example of orientation to a practiced language policy. By showing linguistic disalignment with the students who produce talk in L1 in whole-class interaction, teacher continues to adopt the institutionally-approved language (i.e. English) which triggers L2 use in the following turn both by the same student (Extract 7) and another student (Extract 6). Curiously enough, there has been no instances of explicit language policing practices such as punishment, reminders of the L2-only rule or directives unlike the existing research on the language policing

acts in classroom interaction (Copp Jinkerson, 2011; Amir, 2013; Jakonen, 2016). Moreover, searching the whole database, it has been observed that in individual treatment of student questions in task-oriented environments, there is far more deviation from the monolingual rule in interactions between the peers. These L1 turns are not subject to any language policing practices except when they are addressed to the whole class; in other words, in the public floor of the classroom, teacher remains in the institutionally-specified language, no matter from which medium student talk comes. This practice shows the participation structure of these specific environments in which there is a transition from dialogue to 'multilogue' in which more than two participants interact face-to-face with each other (Schwab, 2011).

Such micro instances of language policing indicate that institutional norms are not necessarily universally accepted (Copp Mökkönen, 2012), that is, people co-construct language norms continually in the unfolding interaction. Teacher makes use of bilingual resources in her pedagogical activities by orienting to two languages available to them as the unmarked medium of interaction. Moreover, teacher distinguishes between these two language resources based on the nature of interaction, namely individual students and classroom cohort. What is of interest is that it is the students who set the language policy with their questions, and it is the teacher who shows contingency at language choice level by conforming to the choice of the students. In summary, although the current research site is an 'English speaking class', it does not employ an English-only principle for the medium of instruction. In this regard, the normative use of English can be considered as an institutional policy in the current educational setting but it is quite clear that changing norms are constructed by the students and the teacher who engage in a great deal of interactional work to navigate the bilingual resources.

Another contribution of this study to research on normativity of language choice is language alternation in bilingual classrooms. The context in which the current study is situated lends itself well to the L1 use; in other words, in EMI context where there is a shared language (Turkish) apart from English in the class, the interactional repertoires come into play in the everyday praxis of bilingual classrooms. Reliance on code-switching has been observed as a distinctive feature of students' interactional behavior. The most visible part of this activity was the use of L1 for a

variety of purposes in the formulation and resolution of knowledge gaps. Students resort to L1 for terminological problems by formulating an understanding in L1 (Extracts 16 and 17). For formulating an understanding in L1, students make their knowledge gap visible by drawing on L1 to propose a candidate understanding of the lexical item under focus. The way teacher reacts to these L1 initiations is notable in that for example, teacher does not provide a type-conforming response (Raymond, 2003) to the candidate understanding (Extract 16) but instead she offers a couple of synonyms and produces the L1 word sotto voce in the end, thus demonstrating that L1 is an unsanctioned language in whole-class interaction. As L1 is flagged as an unsanctioned language by the teacher with its production in a soft voice after providing a couple of synonyms of the terminology item, the study reflects the institutional fingerprints of EMI interaction. That is, although EMI context requires an 'English speaking environment', students do not necessarily adhere to this principle and by engaging in code-switching activities, they resolve their lack of knowledge through the use of L1. In this respect, it is important to note that L1 can be allowed in order to reduce students' anxiety over their language competence and promote more participation. This finding is in alignment with what is proposed strongly in language alternation literature which supports the occasional use of L1 in contrast to exclusive use of the L2 language (Macaro & Lee, 2013; Gierlinger, 2015; Jakonen, 2016). Moreover, the use of L1 and L2 resources contributes to the construction of an emergent discourse identity where multilingual competence is an asset (Creese & Blackledge, 2010) in plurilingual contexts.

Another main research issue identified in the current study is CA work in learner initiatives and questions. As the focal concern of the present study is student-posed questions, the negotiation of epistemics in interaction has naturally become one of the main contributions of the project. For example, how knowledge gap sequences play out depending on the epistemic position taken by the students was an interesting point to look at to uncover the linguistic formats indexing K- stance in the emergent knowledge gaps. When students engage in indicating a lack of knowledge, the degree of unknowingness is an important factor to determine whether the knowledge gap is related to an information seeking or a confirmation of some information. Put otherwise, different kinds of questions bear different K- epistemic stance on the epistemic gradient related to 'more knowing and less

knowing' such as routine employment of polar questions to seek confirmation while using generally wh- interrogatives for information-seeking sequences (Jakonen, 2014). Of particular interest to the current study is the demonstration of the different designs of questions for the three types of concerns, namely (1) procedural and task-related questions, (2) content-related questions, and (3) terminology-related questions.

To start with the questioning formats of task-accomplished environments, there was a dominant of use YNIs (polar interrogatives) and alternative questions. According to Heritage (2012b), polar interrogatives convey a more 'knowing' K- epistemic stance in comparison to wh- interrogatives. In the whole dataset, these questions tend to appear generally for requests for confirmation during task work and teacher-led instruction. They are mostly designed in a grammatically affirmative format which expects an affirmative response in the subsequent turn. Moreover, as YNIs reflect a more expansive interest in the matter at hand, they make a type-conforming token relevant in the related sequence (Seuren & Huiskes, 2017) and it has been observed that mostly preferred responses are provided. This might be related to the pedagogical goals of these particular cases; as the focal aim is to complete tasks, teacher might orient to progressivity of the activity under focus. Therefore, the way teacher treats these questions can be related to achieving intersubjectivity to make progress in tasks. By securing the progressivity of the activities in the lessons, the teacher may allow the student to carry out the task uninterrupted, thereby helping students accomplish the relevant institutional and pedagogical goals in the classroom.

Students also rely on alternative questioning format either by providing two alternatives in the question or producing turn-final 'or' questions as interrogatives. Interestingly, a turn-final 'or' counteracts the narrowing character by opening up for other responses. Moreover, it "works as an epistemic downgrade, indexing a stance of uncertainty about the proposition encoded in the *or*-turn'' (Drake, 2013, p. 169). In this way, by employing turn-final 'or', students ensure the preference for a confirming answer as both disconfirmation and confirmation can be provided in a preferred manner without running the risk of any dispreferred turn design features (Drake, 2013). Most notably, questions which emerged in task-based interactional environments were produced mainly in L1. As has been discussed widely in

language policing part, L1 can be adopted to manage the progression of the ongoing activity. Additionally, as the pedagogical focus of EMI classrooms is not to teach language but the related content, it has been observed that L1 is allowed in task-accomplishments. Note that while these task and instructional matters revolve around L1, teacher also uses the same medium for the maintenance of progressivity of tasks. Interestingly, these interactions are mainly in one-to-one interactions with the teacher; in other words, these interactions are taking place in the private sphere of classroom in which there is not an L2 rule enforcement conducted by the teacher.

As for the structural formatting of the questioning turn of content-related questions, they differ distinctively from task and procedural-related inquiries. Content-based questions are mainly designed in wh- interrogative morphosyntax, which is an interactional structure for introducing new topics (Couper-Kuhlen, 2012) and shifting from one topic to a related one. In this regard, these questions are in pursuit of seeking information, which convey a relatively 'unknowing stance' toward the responder. However, it is noteworthy that not all wh- interrogative questions are seeking new information but they can also be used for the purpose of challenging (Koshik, 2002a; 2003). Extract 10 is a case in point. In this example, the student designs her question in a 'why' questioning format which contains an element of critique rather than being 'information-seeking'. The question asks the teacher to justify a particular categorization, which could implicate that it's somehow wrong or inappropriate. In this sense, one cannot claim that wh- interrogative morphosyntax merely displays an 'unknowing' epistemic stance as this linguistic format can be used to conduct different actions such as challenging, as is in the related extract.

Most notably, content-related questions were mostly designed in MUQT rather than in single-unit questioning turns. The questions tend to be framed as either with a syntactic form of a declarative (I wondered something) or an interrogative (Can I ask something?) (Lindstrom & Lindholm, 2009). Making sure that a question of some kind is on the way, students tend to give a background knowledge in the form of a statement followed by their main question. They sometimes formulate their knowledge gaps through compound questions which consist of several questions building on each other. According to Linell et al. (2003), "the general and simple answer to the question why speakers use MUQTs seems to be that speakers try to do two (or more) things that are not straightforwardly compatible and cannot be

easily expressed in and through a single-unit utterance'' (p. 566). This finding is in alignment with my finding as what is happening in these related questions is that students are dealing with sensitive topics such as 'sexual abuse of children' (Extract 12) or 'true meaning of life' (Extract 13) which would be difficult to ask otherwise, that is, in a single-unit turn straightforwardly.

What is particularly interesting with this category of questions is that the normative language in pursuits of resolving content-related knowledge gaps is L2 and students can handle quite complex professional issues using L2. Some questions might be off topic but teacher seems to be particularly good at 'getting the gist' of the students' questions, which are not always that clearly formulated (Extract 14). Moreover, teacher generally produces very long responses for these questions in the form of extended explanation turns. These detailed explanations seem to do quite delicate work and actually delicateness is at play in student questions - for example, by dealing with critique towards guidance counsellors; the students' future profession (Extract 8). The response turns deal with something more than 'content', such as the 'professional mindset' or 'sophisticated thinking'. In this regard, the thing that strikes me with many of the examples in this category is how 'professional' content questions are, which is related to the specific EMI context. That is, the questions address practical concerns, guidelines for conduct, ways of handling specific situations and so on, more specifically, what it truly means to work as a counsellor. This finding in a way frames the phenomenon of EMI with respect to one of its institutional value, that is, content teaching is at the heart of this specific context, and this institutional goal is intertwined with the interactional practices, such as students' question designs. Overall, the way students formulate their questions reflects the content-oriented focus in this particular educational setting which concentrates on the content with the use of English as the medium of instruction.

The design of the terminology-related question is based on both YNIs and wh-interrogatives but these questioning formats serve different purposes in interaction. YNI questions are mostly adopted for confirmation requests and these pursuits revolve around L1 (Extracts 16 and 17), that is, students are formulating an understanding in L1 through these questions. For wh- interrogative morphosyntax, one of the most common linguistic formats is 'What is the difference between X and Y?', where X and Y refer to helping skills in counselling interaction and construction

of these questions is in L2. Different from the other terminology-related questions, the treatment of these questions on the negotiation of two meanings is given in an extended teacher turn. What is also notable with some of the questions in this category is that repair initiations are delayed as the students are in pursuit of closing knowledge gaps related to unknown terms rather than just reacting to unfamiliar items to them, which relates to the overall sequential organization of whole-class talk and not all student initiations in this section are repair initiations – for example, the last example (Extract 22) seems 'just' an ordinary question, even if it does in some sense target understanding.

The findings therefore have also shed light on the issue of students' demonstration of understanding. These cases are important in that they describe the productiveness of interaction. First, by voicing their concerns through questions, students indicate their incomplete understanding of the task or content at hand. Second, through producing demonstration of understanding turns following teacher's response, they engage in a more productive stretch of talk as they are now doing some sort of analysis of teacher prior talk (Sacks, 1992). These examples are also significant as they contribute to our understanding of turn-taking organization including the turn and transition relevance place. More precisely, students overlap with the teacher's turns (Extract 18) or use certain linguistic (i.e. conjunctions) (Extract 22) and embodied resources (i.e. return gestures, Eskildsen & Wagner, 2013) (Extract 21) for interactional purposes in these sequences.

Turns which convey students' own understanding mostly come from terminology-related questions. Students participate in constructing the activity of the prior turn by making contributions to it. These activities involve arguing (Extract 18), describing (Extract 21), and drawing a conclusion (Extract 22). Overall, in the demonstration-of-understanding turns, students respond to what has been sequentially presented in the prior turn. These turns orient to assertions which are formulated from a 'more knowing' position (K+) (Heritage, 2012a) and they are designed as declarative clauses in the data. Moreover, they are prefaced with disagreeing (i.e. but) or summative (i.e. then) particles. In this regard, it can be said that that turn-initial conjunctions play an important role in projecting the interactional function of the related turn and students achieve linkage between the turns through these linguistic resources. For example, in Extract 18, the student does not

immediately affiliate with the teacher's answer but produces an overlapping 'but' at the beginning of her candidate understanding. To give another example, Extract 22 shows how a student proffers a candidate understanding following an extended teacher talk by prefacing her turn with the summative particle 'then'. These cases in which students produce demonstrations of understanding are valuable in that they describe how students engage in some sort of analysis of the prior interaction, thus showing the content relation between the turns (Duran & Sert, manuscript submitted).

However, what students offer as candidate understandings might also turn out to be misunderstandings. Extracts 20 is a case in point. What is notable with this example is that preference organization can act as a catalyst for more complex L2 production and enhance student participation. More precisely, following the student's misunderstanding of the matter in question, teacher designs her turn with verbal (hesitation markers) and nonverbal (diverging gaze) resources, projecting a dispreferred answer. This turn design signaling something dispreferred with the previous student turn can push students to produce language at more complex level. By demonstrating how the teacher adapts to the student's display of misunderstanding, the data is a vivid example of how negotiation for meaning at content level and production of more complex L2 morpho-syntax are simultaneously enabled, and of how preference organization has acted as a catalyst for this interplay. The appearance of (dis)preference organization does not come into play only in demonstration of misunderstanding cases. Extract 19 is a salient example in which a student-posed question is redirected to the class by the teacher and the response provided by the student is not considered as appropriate. In this case, utilizing a variety of interactional resources such as changing body position, diverging gaze trajectories, hedging, and delaying devices to project dispreference, teacher marks the student response as dispreferred. Similar to Extract 20, the dispreferred turn design of the teacher pushes the student to produce a more complex language use.

Regarding the the intricate relationship between dispreferred turn designs of teachers and their potential to push complexity in students' use of English, it can be concluded that these cases are important in unpacking how students reanalyse their own turns in the subsequent turns when dispreference has become an issue. In this

sense, the current finding shows how participants orient to the preference structure in interaction (Park, 2015). As one of the most visible features of a dispreferred SPP is its sequentiality, that is, a preceding silence and delaying markers (i.e. well, mhmm) project a dispreferred SPP (Schegloff, 2007), extracts (19 and 20) show that students display orientation to the teacher's response or its relevant absence. Moreover, the findings contribute to growing body of research on multimodality (Stivers & Sidnell, 2005; Mondada, 2007). First, the role of gaze in the related extracts shows how diverging gazes can be used to display repair initiation (Seo & Koshik, 2010). Second, the body posture of the teacher is also a visual cue to convey dispreference along with the other sources (i.e. silence, hesitation markers, divergent gaze). All in all, following the teacher's possible projection of a dispreferred answer, students engage in producing L2 at a more complex grammatical and syntactic level, which demonstrates that preference organization can be a departure for students to design their turns in a more complex morphosyntax. This finding also points that students orient to receiving confirmation from the teachers (Jurow, 2005), which relates to institutional goal in pedagogical contexts (Park, 2015).

The third research area on which the current study has operated was research on EMI interaction. Although some preliminary observations on the institutional nature of EMI classrooms have been provided in language policing and language alternation parts, there is still much more to investigate in EMI interaction. Previously, how language policing is conducted in an implicit way by the teacher in whole class interaction and how L1 is allowed and also used in one-to-one interaction with the students have been explained. These findings show that there is an intricate, though not watertight, alignment between language policy of the university and practice in lectures, especially in whole-class interaction. Additionally, adopting a language policy which is EMI in all class interactions does not guarantee successful policy implementation as there might be various elements such as individual agency of teachers and students (Tatzl, 2011; Baldauf, 2012). As presented in the current study, teacher and students navigate between the bottom-up norm and the top-down prescribed norm through classroom actions and what seems to be center of their actual practices is their agency. In other words, despite the mandated language norm from the top down, classroom participants play an

agentive role at the local level which is in alignment with research on language-in-education policy at the local level (Menken & Garcia, 2010; Tollefson, 2013). In this regard, the present study contributes to our understanding of EMI interaction by drawing particular attention to teacher's actions in mediating language policy as no policy is "transmitted directly and unmodified to local contexts'' (Liddicoat & Baldauf, 2008, p. 11).

Another issue related to institutional fingerprints of EMI was CS which has been a contested area in EMI classrooms (Dearden, 2014). Although in the previous studies researchers consider CS as an unacceptable tool rather than a beneficial resource (Adendorff, 1996; Setati, Adler, Reed & Bapoo, 2002), in the current study, both the teacher and the students resort to L1 strategically as a valid linguistic resource as it is the shared language in the classroom. Moreover, the interactional consequences of their CS activities turn out to be successful both in the construction and management of knowledge gaps. Against this background, it is noteworthy to mention what Probyn (2005) maintains. According to him, teachers' code-switching should be considered as a legitimate classroom strategy; thus, it needs to be integrated into the classroom practice to get the best benefit from content learning.

These two issues (i.e. language policing and code-switching practices) have been handled to unveil the complex and dynamic nature of EMI classrooms. Therefore, I turn my focus to another contribution of the findings to unpacking institutional fingerprints of EMI: 'unattended word search activities'. Word searches are a specific kind of self-initiated repair, i.e., forward-oriented self-repair (Carroll, 2005). In a couple of examples in student-posed questions (Extracts 18 and 20), it is a typical behavior of the teacher not to orient to the students' word search activities when teacher orients to the progressivity of the student talk or when there needs to be something repairable with the content or terminology, thus prioritizing content over L2 (i.e. English) use. As in EMI classrooms, lecturers typically do not include an emphasis on language learning (Tatzl, 2011; Aguilar & Rodríguez, 2012), that is, language problems are not treated as a concern that takes precedence of content-problems as EMI does not follow the same dual objective of CLIL which is to integrate content learning with language acquisition.

For example, Extract 18 describes how a word search activity is unattended as the focus has been on content learning and student participation rather than providing

the missing lexical item. The unresolved word search is marked with the teacher's go-ahead behaviors such as 'uh-huh', nodding and smiles. In this regard, the example shows that EMI approach has its own peculiar characteristics concerning its context of learning. To give another example, Extract 20 shows how a word search activity is not resolved by the teacher as instead of providing the missing word, she conducts recurrent repairs on the misinterpreted content, that is, the distinction between 'patient' and 'helpee'. Therefore, teacher's correction-initiations on the miscomprehended content rather than orientation to the ongoing word search activity demonstrates that teacher prioritizes content over language, thereby uncovering reparative organizations in EMI classrooms which focus on content learning. More precisely, revealing the complexity of EMI practices, the example illustrates how teacher employs resources for doing the correction on the misguided content rather than resolving an emergent word search. In sum, in these cases of orientation to content instead of the language issues, a pattern as following occurs:

(1) a student is involved in a word search,

(2) teacher gives go-ahead signals rather than orienting to the word search,

(3) the student clearly displays word search (speech perturbations, explicit verbalizations, nonverbal cues),

(4) teacher does not resolve the search either by orienting to the meaning of the student's talk or engaging in a repair activity as she finds something repairable in the student's turn.

It is also important to mention here that students initiate word search activities through code-switching, publicly visible resources such as gaze, body orientation, gestures, and explicit linguistic expressions such as 'I don't know the exact name'. These resources as Lin (2014) summarizes can be put as follows: (1) Speech perturbations (i.e. sound stretches, hesitation markers (e.g. um, uh, ehm 'uh's), cut offs, pauses and repetitions), (2) Lexical expressions (i.e. 'wh- questions' (e.g. what is it?) and metalinguistic comments (e.g. I don't know how to say it)), and (3) Nonverbal resources (i.e. a 'thinking face' (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1986), gaze aversion, iconic gestures). Employing these interactional resources, students show that they are competent individuals who are in pursuit of achieving a collaborative

solution of a word search with the co-presence of their teacher or classmates (Hayashi, 2003).

In summary, the findings of the study have contributed to three research fields, namely language policing practices, learner initiatives and EMI interaction. Having discussed the main contributions of the study to the existing literature on EMI interaction in higher education, which is an under-researched area in Turkish context, I tried to provide a comprehensive picture of EMI interaction from a microperspective. That is, lived experiences of the teacher and the students were an attempt to provide a fuller and more sophisticated understanding of EMI interaction. In what follows, I will present a discussion on the implications of the findings for the field of classroom interaction; more specifically, EMI classrooms.

5.2. Pedagogical Implications

Student talk in classroom has been a fruitful avenue for research from a variety of perspectives such as interactionist second language acquisition (Kick, 2005), sociocultural theory (Mercer & Howe, 2012), and conversation analysis (Lehtimaja, 2012; Merke, 2017). The present study drew on conversation analytic methodology to explore student-initiated question-answer sequences so I can say that the study is motivated by the sociocultural notion of learning as participation. Although the current study has precisely focused on learner-generated questions, a number of interactional resources have turned out to be important findings in the data analysis process. For instance, students' word search activities have been one of the tools uncovering the institutional goals of EMI interaction as these word searches were mostly unattended by the teacher (Duran, Kurhila & Sert, manuscript in preparation). That is, by not resolving these word search activities, teacher demonstrates that content is being prioritized over language. In this regard, the study has implications for understanding the institutional fingerprints of EMI and classroom interaction.

Moreover, the analysis of word search activities made contributions to our understanding of EFL students' interactional competence. Relying on various interactional resources such as code-switching, hesitation markers, gaze, body orientation, gestures, and explicit formulaic expressions such as 'How can I say it?', students demonstrated that despite their lack of linguistic competence, they were competent learners in the resolution of word search activities to maintain

intersubjectivity in interaction. Thus, the study has several implications for pedagogy in EMI contexts and beyond by demonstrating how participants deploy a variety of interactional resources to pursue pedagogical goals while maintaining the progressivity of talk-in-interaction.

Another important contribution of the study to unpacking the institutional fingerprints of EMI context is the use of L1 in interaction (Üstünel & Seedhouse, 2005; Kontio & Sylvén, 2015). Both the teacher and the students in the current study used their full language repertoire (Turkish and English) in order to express meaning. Although students attempted to resolve their knowledge gaps in L1 especially in task-based environments, the English norm is shown to be maintained by the teacher through remaining in L2 mode in whole-classroom interaction. Although this kind of language policing is not enforced in a strict way, students mostly uphold the English language norm in the public floor of the classroom. In a way, having navigated between L1 and L2, students reestablished the L2 language norm collaboratively with the teacher. This observation is in line with EMI institutional norms. Additionally, even if teacher's implicit language policing actions sought to prevent students from using their first language, students nevertheless employed it meaningfully, particularly in task-accomplished environments. Despite EMI institutional goals, the study suggests that classroom interaction should aid students to develop as bilingual individuals (Bouchard, 2015). Moreover, it is recommended that teachers should be responsive towards the linguistic needs of their students to promote more participation in classroom activities. In this regard, the present study has implications for research on interactional repertoires in EMI and CLIL classrooms, and also feeds into the growing body of research on L1 use in EFL classrooms.

A few examples (Extracts 19 and 20) in this study also shed light on preference organization in teacher's repair practices in cases of misunderstandings. Emerging in the situations of students' misunderstanding of the matter at hand, teacher's bodily observed behavior projects a possible disagreement to which students respond by problematizing their candidate understanding. The resources teacher employs include changing body position, diverging gaze trajectories, overlap, laughter, hedging, and delaying devices. Such a teacher behavior generated pushed output through which students produced a prepositional phrase or a subordinate clause, syntactically tying this new utterance to their previously

produced turns (Duran & Sert, manuscript submitted). Therefore, the study also provides important insights into pedagogy and the organization of repair in this particular educational setting.

Moreover, regarding the issue of demonstrating understanding, it is worth mentioning Sack's (1992) distinction between 'claiming' and 'exhibiting' understanding. Although there are a couple of examples of students' demonstrating understanding especially in terminology-related questions (Extracts 21 and 22), most of the examples came in the form of a 'plain' claim of understanding by the students. These claims did not emerge just as verbal contributions but also visible engagement (i.e. nodding) was there. Therefore, the study has implications for epistemics in interaction. That is, by demonstrating how students sometimes indicated their epistemic access to the domain following the teacher's turn by displaying understanding through providing some analysis of the information and how they generally provided a simple claim of understanding at the end of the teacher extended explanation, the study adopts a situated perspective on the problem of understanding.

The study makes contributions to raising EMI and L2 classroom teachers' awareness of their pedagogical practices. To give an example, in resolving students' knowledge gaps, teacher relied on both verbal and nonverbal resources to provide the best response. For the linguistic resources she used clarification requests (Extract 13) or directed the question back to the class (Extract 19) to promote more participation. For the nonlinguistic resources, she made use of multimodality by relying on her own body and classroom physical setting. In terms of the way teacher projected dispreferred answers, she was observed to change her body posture and diverge her gaze along with hesitation markers (Extracts 19 and 20). Thus, if teachers want to engage in a repair activity, in particular, promoting students' self-repair actions, it might be a good starting point to look at the actual practices of the focal teacher in the current study. In a similar vein, in the example where the teacher addressed terminology-related problems through contextualization and exemplification (Extracts 21 and 22), it should be borne in mind that the vocabulary explanation sequences were formed through 'genuine' examples rather than 'made-up' examples in these particular classrooms. In brief, a close examination of teacher's participation in the treatment of student questions contributes to our

understanding of teachers' verbal and non-verbal strategies and one of the aims of this study was to "demonstrate the effectiveness of what they (participants) do and so provide reassurance about good practice'' (Hepburn, Wilkinson & Butler, 2014, p. 252).

As can be seen above, the detailed description of the teacher's actual practices can be helpful for teachers who wish to improve their pedagogical practices. In this regard, it is noteworthy that there is an orientation towards the maintenance of interaction between the lecturer and the students. As the focal course was an interactive one in which there was enough room for both lecturing and task-oriented activities, students took initiatives to pose their questions in the trouble cases. This knowledge of the arrangement of the current course might be helpful for lecturers who wish to promote more student participation in their classrooms. In other words, planning their lessons in a more interactive discourse, lecturers might remove the obstacles to interaction. These empirical findings of this study can be used as a resource for better educational settings in which teachers provide their students participatory rights in the moment-to-moment interactional life of the classroom. To illustrate, as a similar model of Sert's (2015) Teacher Education Model, which is summarized under the acronym of IMDAT: "(I)ntroducing classroom interactional competence, (M)icro-teaching (D)ialogic reflection, (A)ctual teaching, and (T)eacher collaboration and critical reflection'', a teacher educator programme can be developed to manage teaching in EMI programs. As these institutional settings require teachers to have a good command of both subject matter and language skills, any prevailing interactional problems in these particular settings can be eliminated. Through analyzing naturally occurring classroom data from EMI classrooms, teacher educators (trainees) can have a better understanding of how lecture phase (i.e. warm-up, content delivery, conclusion), teaching style (i.e. questioning, task-oriented teaching), and discourse of the medium (i.e. face-to-face, online learning) are presented in EMI classrooms. Trainees can be supported to discuss the potential effectiveness of these EMI video-recorded classes with a particular attention to the institutional goals of these settings (i.e. the extent of integration of content and language, use of bilingual resources). More generally, successful EMI classrooms and their interactional architecture can nourish research and practice in EFL and CLIL classrooms, as showing good examples of interactions

from a micro-analytic perspective in EMI contexts can create models of language use to convey meaning through L2 successfully. Overall, the pedagogical implications presented above demonstrate that this dissertation contributes to the field of conversation analysis in general and to research on language alternation and learner initiatives in EMI settings in particular. In the following section, I will present possible directions for future research.

5.3. Recommendations for Future Research

Although the current study was able to unveil some aspects of EMI interaction, more specifically, language alternation and negotiation of epistemics in an EMI context, more research on EMI universities is still needed. This study deals with a particular classroom environment; therefore, beside in-class contexts, collecting EMI interactions from different settings such as study groups, tutorials or laboratory classes would throw up other dynamics and language use of this particular interaction. Another fruitful avenue for future research would be to investigate whether different subject disciplines bring about different linguistic problems for students. The current project has focused on one course in the Faculty of Education. Grounded in social sciences, the focal course (Guidance) was more descriptive by nature and linguistically more demanding. Therefore, an investigation on interactions in symbol-oriented disciplines such as 'engineering' would unfold useful information about the effect of different disciplinary fields on the practices in EMI context.

The issue of involving lecturers who do not share the same L1 with students in EMI classrooms can also be explored. It would be worth investigating whether the interactions between students and lecturers differ, especially in terms of language alternation as L1 would not be the shared language anymore. In this way, we can explore how a change in teachers' linguistic background may bring up differences in the organization and development of learner-generated questions. This would be an interesting question for further research to find an answer. Regarding code-switching in these bilingual classrooms, in the current study I have looked at the language alternation just in student-initiated questioning sequences. The other instances of code-switching were not covered in the study. In the future, I will investigate these instances of L1 use in bilingual classrooms in the accomplishment of other actions.

While for the focal group of participants, senior (4th) year students were chosen in order to ensure that English language competency did not emerge as a barrier for students' initiations, there is more to explore on the nature of student-initiated questions in classes of lower ability levels. In this way, we can understand how language proficiency affects taking initiatives on the part of the students. A final further direction for research would be to observe the same students at different times during their undergraduate years. Starting observing students during their freshman years and continuing until senior years, the work would offer important insight on the tracking the development of language use of students. In other words, this study would be within the growing interest in student development and longitudinal work in language learning employing CA methodology (Kasper &Wagner, 2014).

Overall, future research should look into other interactional practices in EMI classrooms, and there is a need to undertake such research in countries beyond Turkey. For instance, conducting similar research in other countries and EFL settings to get comparative perspectives will paint a clearer picture of EMI practices.

5.4. Conclusion

In the current study, I have investigated a type of interactional practice, i.e. 'student-initiated questions', which is characterized by students' orientations to knowledge gaps in the pedagogical context of classrooms. Specifically, I have analyzed how learner-generated questions are formulated and thus made recognizable by the students and how the teacher contributes towards the resolution of these knowledge gaps. A discussion of the study findings has been presented in the light of the overarching research questions. The turn design of the questions and the use of multimodal resources along with the bilingual resources have provided insights into the content-based classroom context. Considering the institutional goals of EMI settings, in which the core aim is to teach content through L2, the present study has unpacked how management of knowledge is conducted through interactional work. In sum, the study has demonstrated that in an EMI context where institutional-defined goals are formulated with different learning objectives (i.e. content is the core focus), students orient to 'learning' through displaying their lack of knowledge as agent learners while teacher attends to 'learning' through managing these emergent knowledge gaps through interactional and material resources.

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