Pointing, underlining and gaze as resources of instructional action in classroom interaction

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Abstract
This paper examines the role of pointing, underlining and gaze in a teacher's pedagogical practices in instructional activity in an English-as-second-language lesson. It illustrates how a teacher effectively uses linguistic and embodied means in her question design to draw students' attention to relevant aspects of content while aspiring to teach L2 and to guide student participation in the unfolding activity. It seeks to address the following question: how pointing, underlining and gaze are used to draw and to ensure students' attention on the relevant entities of pedagogical activities. The teacher's actions are analysed as a form of situated activity where participants draw upon both linguistic and embodied resources alongside with the material world in co-constructing meaningful, locally managed interaction (Goodwin 2000a, 2000b, 2003). Through a detailed analysis of two extracts, the paper thus demonstrates that the teacher's embodied devices are an essential part of a network designed to create meaning through the sequential organization of institutional communication. The analysis is performed through conversation analysis and gesture studies. It suggests that pointing, underlining and gaze function as highly communicative resources in the teacher's actions, and that they also play an essential role in the teacher's question constructions, when she is guiding students in producing right answers.[1]

Key words: *pointing, embodiment, classroom interaction, teacher questions, conversation analysis*

1. Introduction

The nature of institutional interaction of classrooms is highly defined: teacher and students have differentiated interactional obligations and constraints that define and are defined by their roles in the classroom (Heritage, 1997; Drew & Heritage, 1992). The teacher is to create different kinds of learning contexts for students, in order to enable the learning of the subject; and this goal determines her actions (e.g. Seedhouse, 2004). The students, for their part, should make good use of these contexts in trying to learn the subject. Nonetheless, it is evident that students have other agendas, which do not always coincide with that of the teacher, which in turn leads to teacher and students performing competing actions that need to be negotiated there and then. However, the sequential contexts as well as the pedagogical focus of each pedagogical task contribute to how the participants structure their interaction (e.g. Seedhouse, 2004; Mondada & Doehler, 2004) and what kind of an organisation the interaction takes in terms of, for example, linguistic formulations used to carry out instructional actions (Lerner, 1995; Thornborrow, 2002). In co-constructing interaction, the participants, and especially the teacher, draw upon different communicative systems – from talk to embodied practices – to the setting and its context relevant materials. Insofar as

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[1] The paper is part of my on-going doctoral research, in which I examine the role of embodied actions in teacher issued directives in classroom interaction.

learning can be viewed as a form of situated practice (Mondada & Doehler, 2004) accomplished through participants' situated activities, the different semiotic fields of the setting (i.e. talk, gestures, gaze, artefacts) need to be considered as intrinsically used and oriented to in the negotiation of meaning (Goodwin, 2000a, 2000b, 2003). Furthermore, in settings such as classrooms, where there are numerous artefacts for participants to use to make sense of their utterances, it becomes essential that students follow and understand what the teacher is saying and how she is constructing her discourse.

This paper tries to shed light on teacher questioning strategies and how teachers design their questions on the sequential level of instructional actions, thus contributing to the growing body of research on naturally occurring classroom interaction that examines the actual, everyday practices of institutional interaction. It aims to illustrate how a teacher, when guiding students' attention to relevant aspects of content while aspiring to teach L2 and guiding student participation, effectively deploys both talk and embodied resources in a highly context-sensitive manner on the turn constructional level of the unfolding activity. Through a detailed analysis of two extracts, it will be shown that a teacher while guiding students' attention on the task at hand is compelled to balance between two concurrent actions. First of all, the teacher tries to create learning opportunities by asking topically oriented questions, some of which are specifically designed to guide the students to find appropriate answers, and secondly, she guides the students' participation in order to obtain answers to her questions and thus to evaluate their learning. The analysis will demonstrate that pointing, underlining and gaze function as effective communicative resources in the teacher's actions.

2. Embodiment in interaction

In the last two decades, embodied practices have been the focus of many everyday and work-related studies, and pointing and its alternate realizations, in particular, have been examined in several of them. More importantly, studies that have examined referential and indexical practices from an interactionalist perspective (e.g. Hindmarsh & Heath, 2000; Goodwin, 2000a, 2000b, 2003) have shown that pointing alongside with other communicative resources has an essential role in the understandability of socially structured interaction, and thus pointing can be considered a crucial part of the network designed to generate meaning. As Goodwin (2003) points out:

> [p]ointing is not a simple act, a way of picking things in the world that avoids the complexities of formulating a scene through language or other semiotic systems, but is instead an action that can only be successfully performed by tying the point to the construals of entities and events provided by other meaning making resources. (p. 2)

The unfolding meaning is thus understood not only through the interconnectedness of different kinds of semiotic fields, but also through the sequential organization of interaction, the activity at hand, and the coordinated actions of the participants; the emergent participation framework, as well as the participants' mutual orientation to the relevant objects of the situation (Goodwin, 1996, 2000; Hindmarsh & Heath, 2000; Ochs et al. 1996; Roth & Lawless 2002). For instance, Roth and Lawless (2002) have illustrated how the gesture type, body position and the materials used as well as the proximity of the teacher in relation to them influence the way the content is mediated and rendered intelligible through interaction. In settings, such as classrooms, where there are a multitude of artefacts for participants to

exploit in the construction of meaning, it is essential that the interactants understand what kind of actions are performed and how they are being expressed, both on the sequential as well as on the turn constructional levels of interaction.

Hindmarsh and Heath (2000), in contrast, have demonstrated how participants' referential practices in workplace interaction are not only accomplished through talk and pointing gestures, but are also featured through the participants' posture, gaze orientation and their collaboratively achieved focus on the referent. The findings emphasize the sequentiality of participants' actions in terms of displaying understanding of what is rendered relevant in the current action and what kinds of actions are made appropriate for the addressee, for instance, in showing that a mutual referent has been established (Hindmarsh and Heath 2000). Participants' sequential actions in classroom interaction serve similar goals insofar as both the teacher and the students display their understanding of what the relevant next action will be, so that the emerging interaction keeps its course towards the pedagogical goal set for a task or a lesson.

Studies focusing on gaze have similarly shown its importance in construing meaningful interaction. Streeck (1993), for instance, has shown that speakers' gaze orientation is important to the communicative relevance of gestures as well as its implications in terms of recipient design (see also Streeck, 1994). His findings indicate that speakers draw their recipients' attention to their gestures by shifting their gaze to their gestures to mark their importance to the utterance meaning (Streeck, 1993).

In the classroom, or L2 learning contexts, gesticulation has been studied from different perspectives. While such studies differ in their theoretical background and methodology, they have all examined the relationship of speech to gestures when generating meaning and the role gestures play in it. Lazaraton (2004), in her study of teacher's vocabulary explanations, has illustrated the salience of gestures when analysing the quality of teacher input for second language learners. Her findings suggest that the gestures the teacher performs while explaining lexical items can help render the input more understandable (Lazaraton, 2004; McCafferty, 2002). Kumpf (in press), on the other hand, has studied deictic gestures in relation to the changing information flow on the given/new continuum. Her findings emphasize that the focus of students' attention on the content (i.e. on noun phrases emphasizing key items to be learned) is crucial as this is a condition for the retention of the content (Kumpf, in press). In terms of classroom interaction, it is important that the teacher is able to guide students' attention to the task at hand, and in particular, to the relevant items of each task as their attention can be considered a fundamental prerequisite not only to the learning process but also to any joint action taking place in the classroom. In teacher-fronted situations, such as teaching grammar, this is especially pertinent.

3. Classroom interaction and the organization of participation: teacher questions

In classrooms, the interplay between teachers' and students' actions have an important role as the inherent purpose of the situation is to enable students' learning through a variety of pedagogical activities (Seedhouse, 2004; Mondada & Doehler, 2004). The organization of these activities is dependent on several factors such as the activity type, the implementation of the activity and the pedagogical purpose (Thornborrow, 2002; Seedhouse, 2004). The participation organization, in turn, is greatly influenced, for example, by the sequential organization of the activity and turn design (Lerner, 1995). In contrast to the predominant

tripartite sequence organization, IRE (Mehan, 1979; Sinclair & Coulthard, 1992), which is acclaimed to be highly constricting for students' participation, Lerner (1995) has demonstrated that even teachers' question design affords differential participation opportunities for students in different activities, thus shedding light on the important effects small nuances in interaction can create. Considered from such a perspective cannot it be then acclaimed that the different turn constructional elements, including embodied resources, play a role in creating differing participation opportunities?

It is commonly known that teachers ask a considerable number of display questions the answers to which they also tend to evaluate, and as such the use of the IRE sequence is enforced (e.g. Delamont, 1983; Mehan, 1979; Lerner, 1995). However, teachers have various questioning strategies they can deploy (e.g. Delamont, 1983) and as Lerner (1995) has shown, teachers' questions can be of different type (i.e. elicitation questions or list completion questions). According to Delamont (1983, p. 128), focusing questions are the most common question type teachers employ and they are usually used for converging the students to find the correct answers. However, she does not expand on how such questions are shaped to be convergent (cf. Lerner, 1995). In my opinion, this is a shortcoming that needs to be addressed, and as such this paper is a beginning endeavour in trying to provide some empirical evidence on how teacher questions are constructed on the sequential, turn-by-turn level, both through linguistic as well as through embodied means.

4. Data

The two extracts analysed in the present paper are part of the data collection of my on-going doctoral dissertation. The data base for my dissertation consists of 24 videotaped lessons, of which 12 are English-as-second-language (ESL) lessons and 12 are content-and-language-integrated-learning (CLIL) lessons, and it is drawn from a larger corpus of a larger research project on classrooms conducted by a team of researchers in the department of languages in the University of Jyväskylä in Finland. My research is informed by conversation analysis and gesture and embodiment studies, among others.

The ESL lessons are upper secondary school lessons taught by three female teachers all of whom are native Finnish-speakers. The recordings were made with two cameras: one following the movements of the teacher, while the other one was recording the students. The languages of instruction in the recorded lessons were Finnish and English. The ages of the students varied from 16 to 18 depending on the particular courses during which the recordings were made.[2]

The two extracts come from one double lesson of the ESL data. The overall pedagogical activity is the teaching of grammar and the extracts are taken from different stages of the activity. The first excerpt is about the degrees of comparison of adjectives and it took place at the beginning of the activity, while the second excerpt took place towards the end of the activity and is about the comparison of adverbs. In Finland, teachers often choose to teach grammar in Finnish instead of using English, which is the case in these excerpts. Thus, I have made an idiomatic translation of the teacher's talk in the transcripts below the descriptions of embodied actions.

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[2] In Finland, there are no longer separate class levels in the upper secondary school: students advance in different subjects according to their own pace. This results in rather heterogeneous groups in individual courses both in terms of age as well as competence.

Before moving on to the extracts, a description of the setting and of the activity at hand warrants attention as it has an effect on how the activity is implemented. The classroom in general is set so that the students' desks are arranged in rows and the teacher's desk is in front of the classroom (figure 1). From her position, sitting behind the teacher's desk near the overhead projector, the teacher is able to monitor students' actions while carrying out the activity. As regards the implementation of the activity, the teacher writes down the main points about the degrees of comparison and the examples given on a transparency according to what she deems important for the students to learn. The students are expected to take notes, although the points the teacher brings forth for discussion are selected from the students' text book and thus can be found there as well. It is on the basis of the text book that the teacher proceeds with the teaching of the different items of comparison, and this can be seen in the way she looks at the text that is in front of her on her desk from time to time. Since the students need to both take notes and to follow the teacher's instruction simultaneously, their orientation is divided between their own actions (i.e. taking notes or some other actions signalling non-participation) and the teacher's questioning actions. As a result, the students are not always available for participation in terms of bidding for answering turns which, in turn, is consequential for the teacher's actions in that she really needs to seek students' participation and guide them in producing answers.

Fig. 1: The seating arrangement of students and the teacher.

5. Guiding student answers and participation by converging their attention

5.1 Pointing and gaze as resources in a teacher's question design

The first extract depicts the activity of teaching the degrees of comparison of adjectives and how the different comparative forms are used with different types of adjectives (for full transcription see Appendix I). It consists of two IRE sequences of the type: question – answer – evaluation, in which each additional question is built on the answer of the previous one. Although the teacher's questions are initially elicitation questions, the participants' emerging

actions influence the question design in such ways that the questions eventually take the form of alternative questions. When the teacher's turn design becomes more specified, her embodied actions go through a similar change in that they are more focused on constituting the relevant items to be learned. In terms of participation organization, the activity context allows little variation for interactional opportunities for the students (cf. Lerner, 1995) as the teacher's questions demand very precise answers. However, the students lack of responsive actions in terms of not bidding for answering turn or not following the activity affect how the teacher reconstructs her questions as well as nominates students to answer.

Extract 1. English 270103_L1_comparison (lines 1-14)

```
1       T        mi-  MIKÄ SULLA O  LÄHTÖKOHTANA  KU SÄÄ valitset
                 {gaze down at her book                                    }
                 what do you use as a starting point when you choose


2                >niitähä o-<
                 {gaze down at book}
                  there are


3                 mitkä kaks tapaa on englannissa tehä vertailu
                        {raises  }{beat}{lowers hand }{lowers it further}
                         hand            slightly
                 {gaze towards centre of class        }{gaze towards right}
                 what are the two ways of doing comparison in English


4                (2.6) ((Teacher looking at class))
5       T        Leena
6       Leena     no onks se ne päätteet tai sitte niinku <more ja (.) [the most>]
                 well is it like the suffixes or then you know more and the most
                 {Teacher looking at Leena                              }


7       T                                                     [hm↑m     ]
                                                     {gaze down at book}


8       T        kyl↑lä sielä on more ja most sanat
                 {gaze down at book}{gaze towards the tp}
                 yes there are the words more and most


9                (1.4) ((Teacher begins to write on a transparency))
10      T        tämähä o loppujen lopuks more ja most sa↑nat
                 this is after all the words more and most


11                ja sitte on päätteet (0.9) er ja
                 and then there are the suffixes er and


12      Leena    est=
13      T        =est (.) ja
                  est     and
                 ((T stops writing here))
14               (1.4)
```
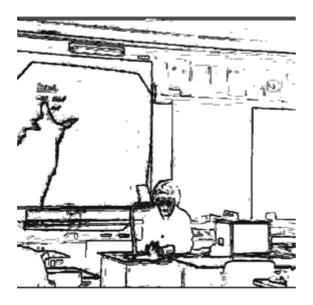
At the beginning of the extract (lines 1-3), the teacher directs a question about the comparison of adjectives to the whole class. The teacher begins with a more open question format, which she alters to a more specific construction in line 3 (i.e. 'what are the two ways of doing comparison in English'). That is, the teacher constructs the question so that there is a more open question in line 1, which she specifies with an additional question in line 3. The latter question includes a hand gesture, a beat, which coincides with the words 'two ways'. The teacher's gesture alongside with the question design places emphasis on the question's focus: there are two ways to do comparative forms, which further guides students' attention to the type of answer considered appropriate for the question. Almost throughout the entire turn the teacher has directed her gaze to the class. After a longish pause, during which the teacher looks around in the class, she nominates a girl student (Leena) – line 5 – as the next speaker. She is the only student who raises her gaze at the teacher after the question is uttered; the rest of the students keep looking at their books. Hence, Leena is the only student that has presented herself as available for being the next speaker while the other students are orienting themselves to their books, thus showing non-participation.

Once the correct answer is received, the teacher continues to ask questions from the whole class. At this point she begins to write the pupils' answers as well as some of the examples she brings up on a transparency. The notes she is making are minimal, for instance, the pupil's answer to the first question (the suffixes *er*, *est* and the words *more* and *most*) is written down as such in a list form (see illustration 1).

Ill. 1: Teacher pointing at word couplets *er – est* and *more – most* on the transparency

The design of the next question is again similar to the first one as there is a more general question 'what is the starting point' in line 15 followed by a more specific one in line 16 (see extract below). The relative clause of the question 'which one to use' includes the pronoun 'kumpaako' ('which one'), which is anaphoric to the two suffixes *er* and *est* and the particles *more* and *most*. Simultaneously as the teacher is saying the pronoun, she is pointing at the suffixes as well as the particles written on the transparency: she thus clarifies with the point

the entities her question refers to (see illustration 1). As she prepares to point, the teacher first looks down at the transparency as if to guide her hand in locating the target of the point from the domain of scrutiny (Goodwin, 2003). However, the gaze shift is minimal as by the time she is pointing, the teacher is already looking at class ready to select the next speaker. Streeck (1993, pp. 286-289) has suggested that when speakers shift their gaze to their gestures to indicate to their recipients when their gestures have communicative significance, the gaze usually precedes the part of the utterance the gesture is related to. Here (line 16) the onset of the point similarly precedes the pronoun to which it is connected, whereas the downward gaze is almost simultaneous with the onset of the point and extends only until the start of the actual pointing. Thus, the gaze-shift to the class seems to be performed already in anticipation of the current next action, selecting a speaker, while the actual point remains to mark the question's core for the students.

Extract 1. English 270103_L1_comparison (lines 15-24)

15   T   mikä lähtökohtana on ku (0.9)
                      {gaze at class   }{gaze down at her book}
                      what is the starting point when

16   valit- taikka valitsette nii kumpaako käytätte
                      {right hand}{lowers}{lowers }{points at transparency with
                      raised   hand   on top   middle finger
                      index finder   of the
                      extended,   transparency
                      beats
                      {gaze at   }{gaze down   }{gaze at class   }
                      class
                      choo- or when you choose which one you use

17   (1.0) ((Teacher looking at the right side of the class))
18   T   Iiro mitä sanosit
                      {gaze at Iiro   }
                      Iiro what would you say

19   Iiro   <more most [mi↑tä]>
                      more   most   what

20   T   [niin   ] nii millä perusteella sää valitset teet sää
                                {extends hand on}{points}{positions right}
                                the tp   at tp   hand fingers
                                            on the tp
                      {gaze down on the transparency   }
                      so so on what basis do you choose whether you do

21   näillä (.) apusanoil↑la   vai <u>pää</u>tteillä vertailun
                      {points on the words}{moves}{points at suffixes –er and –est}
                       more and most on   hand   on the transparency
                      the transparency
                      {gaze down   }{gaze at the right side of the class}
                      the comparison with these particles or with the suffixes

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22      Iiro      no jos on pitkä sana nii more most
                  well if it's a long word then more most
                  {Teacher's gaze at Iiro              }


23                 ja [sitte  jos    ]
                  and then if
                  {Teacher's gaze at Iiro}


24      T               [mitä  sä  la]sket siitä
                  {gaze at Iiro              }
                  what are you counting
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However, at this point (line 17) no one is bidding for an answer turn, and consequently, the teacher nominates a male student (Iiro) to answer the question (line 18). This she achieves by first calling his name and then asking his opinion about the matter. At the same time, the teacher has directed her gaze at Iiro expectantly. It seems that the student has not paid attention to the activity and has done something else to which the teacher reacts by nominating him as the answerer. The students' non-participation becomes evident as he cannot provide an answer immediately; rather he initiates a repair sequence. The teacher therefore asks the question again. This time she reformulates her question so that in line 20 it takes the form of a general interrogative (i.e. 'so on what basis do you choose'), which is specified in the following line, where the teacher reformulates the question by giving two alternatives to Iiro to choose from, which she further emphasizes with the deictic pronoun *these* and also by pointing at the particles and the suffixes at relevant places on the transparency. She succeeds in focusing his attention on the task as the student answers.

Interestingly, the teacher, when rephrasing her question in lines 20-21, no longer looks at Iiro but rather she has shifted her gaze down at the transparency as well as turned her body slightly towards the overhead projector. Since she has secured Iiro's attention to her with her actions in line 18, the gaze-shift now indicates that he should target his attention to the screen and to follow the lesson.[3] The gaze-shift in addition to the question thus seems to act as an invitation to the student to orient to the question and to produce the answer (cf. Hindmarsh & Heath 2000, pp. 1863). More importantly, the point the teacher performs in line 20 while pronouncing the pronoun *you* further emphasizes this. By the time the teacher reaches the end of her question in line 21, she has returned her gaze back at Iiro: her gaze functions here as an encouragement to him to provide an answer to the question, which he begins to give in line 22.

This extract exemplifies well that teachers have certain pedagogical goals they want to achieve with each task: hence the teacher takes the necessary steps to attain those goals and in this she deploys several communicative devices. First of all, her turn design in each question is constructed so that the question's focus is narrowed down as the turn progresses. This is done both on the linguistic level as well as by embodied means. To put it another way, the teacher in each three question turns uses either a gesture or a point in congruence with talk and gaze shifts in order to mark relevant features of each specifying turn element. That is, she uses the points to index to the students the core items of her questions that are relevant in

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[3] Another interesting point here could be made about the relationship of the gaze direction of the teacher and the students. As they have differentiated access to the items on the transparency, i.e. the teacher looks down at the transparency which is on the overhead projector, whereas the students are looking at the projected image on the screen, their gaze orientation is somewhat different.

finding the correct answers. Secondly, the teacher guides students' involvement in the unfolding activity by nominating them as next speakers, for instance, when they are not actively participating in it.

5.2 Underlining and gaze as resources in a teacher's question design

The second excerpt illustrates how the teacher is trying to make the students understand the difference between such adverbs as *less* and *fewer*, and especially the kind of nouns they are used with (for full transcription see Appendix II). It consists of three IRE sequences, in which each additional question is again built on the answer of the previous one. As in the preceding example, the teacher's questions are initially display questions, but the questions take a more specified form as the sequence progresses. In a similar manner, the teacher's embodied actions go through a change in that they are more focused in helping the students produce appropriate answers.

The extract begins with the teacher verbally directing students' attention to an upcoming grammatical feature and its importance (lines 1-2). This is further emphasized by the directive formulation in line 2 'you need to pay some attention to'. At this point, the teacher's gaze, shifting from the class to the book only to return to the class, indicates the relevance of the book for the students: the key items she brings up for discussion momentarily are to be found in the book. The gaze shift also gives weight to the teacher's directive utterance as at the same time as she utters the end of the clause in line 2 her gaze is directed at the class.

Extract 2. 270103_L1_less money – fewer friends (lines 1-17)

```
1        T        ja nyt sitte huomatkaa on semmone (.)
                  {gaze at tp           }{gaze down at book}
                  and now then notice there's


2                 mihi (0.5) >pittää vähän kiinnittää huomiota<
                  {gaze down  }{gaze at tp                    }
                  something you need to pay some attention to


3                 mites mulla on vähemmän ystäviä ku sulla
                  {gaze at class looking at the left side of the class}
                  how about I have fewer friends than you


4                 (3.8) ((Teacher looking at class fidgeting the cap of a marker in her hand))
5        T        Iiro
                  {places marker on top of tp ready to write, gaze at tp}


6        Iiro     <I have fewer °friends°>=
                  {Teacher writes on the tp   }


7        T        =°joo-o°
                  {writes on the tp}
                    ye-es


8                 kuka olis muistanut (1.3)
                  {writes on the tp            }
                  who would have remembered
```

9		fewer friends
		{writes on the tp}

10   (1.4) ((Teacher writes on the transparency, but glances quickly at Jari while
        writing))

11	T	miks Jari tässä pitää olla näi
		{writes on the tp }
		Jari why does this have to be like this

12	Jari	täh
		what

13	T	miks sä sanosit näi
		{writes on the tp }
		why would you say it like this

14	Jari	mulla (sanoo) kielikorva
		My linguistic instinct tells me
		{Teacher straightens herself still looking at the tp}

15	T	mut (0.5) jos ei sano kielikorva
		{gaze at class }
		but if your linguistic instinct doesn't help

16		nii voi turvautua johonki <pikku> sääntöön
		{gaze at class }
		so you can resort to a little rule

17		mikä se on
		{gaze at class}
		what is it

In line 3, the teacher asks the students to provide an example phrase 'I have fewer friends than you' while her gaze is directed at the class. A long pause follows during which the teacher looks at the class and fidgets with a marker cap in her hand as in waiting for someone to bid for a turn. In line 5 the teacher nominates Iiro as the next speaker.[4] Immediately after getting an answer, she begins to write the example sentence on the transparency. While she is writing she poses a question 'who would have remembered' (line 8), but as she keeps writing and looking down at the transparency her attention is directed towards the writing. Thus she is not available for the students, which seems to imply that her question does not require a response from the class, although the students, in contrast, are all looking towards the screen, thus being available for giving an answer if so required.

In line 9, the teacher repeats the core expression 'fewer friends' of the example sentence. During the pause in line 10, she quickly glances towards the left side of the class, after which she asks a new question about the reasons for why the example phrase needs to be

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[4] It is difficult to say whether Iiro bids for an answer turn or whether the teacher merely nominates him as he is not in the camera view at this point.

constructed that way (line 11). The question is directed to a male student (Jari) who evidently has not paid attention as he seems to straighten himself into an upright sitting position only at hearing his name called. He then directs his attention towards the teacher by initiating a repair sequence in line 12. Consequently, the teacher reformulates her question (line 13) but as she does not get the answer she is looking for from Jari she pursues the questioning in lines 15-17. It is only here that the teacher eventually stops writing and looks at the class. Interestingly, the teacher's gaze-shift to class here marks that she is addressing the whole class, while her utterance is explicitly build on Jari's somewhat impertinent answer ('my linguistic instinct tells me'). It is as if she is still speaking to Jari although she has directed her attention from him towards the other students.

In line 19 (below), the teacher asks a group of girls sitting at the back of the class whether they remember the reason why the phrase needs to be expressed as it has been. As she asks the question, the teacher leans on her left elbow and shifts her body slightly towards her left to be able to see the girls at the back. Her body posture and gaze together display the ratified recipients of her words: there are two groups of girls in the class and her question is directed to the ones sitting at the back. In response to the teacher's question, one of the girls shakes her head, while the others keep looking at their books.

Extract 2. 270103_L1_less money – fewer friends (lines 18-34)

```
18              (3.0) ((Teacher looking at the right side of the class))
19     T        muistaako tytöt
                {leans to her left, gaze at girls at the back}
                do you girls remember


20               (3.0) ((Teacher looking at the girls in the back leaning on her left))
21     T        kellään mitään mielikuvaa tästä (0.5)
                {leans to her left, gaze at girls  }{shifts posture and gaze towards tp}
                anyone have any idea about this


22              miks mulla on less mo↑ney (- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - )
                                              {underlines the    }
                                               expression less money
                why do I have less money


23              mutta fewer friends        puhekielihän
                        {underlines the }
                        expression fewer friends
                but fewer friends    in spoken language


24               tietysti voi sanoo miten vaan
                {gaze at class                }
                of course you can say it the way you want


25              (2.5) ((Teacher looking at class))
26     T        Kallella mitää mielikuvaa (.) °mistä° tää °johtuu°
                {gaze at the centre of the class                 }
                does Kalle have any idea  why it is like this
```

27	Kalle	onks toi less tulee sillo ku ei voi laskee

is it that less is used when you can't count
{Teacher's gaze at the centre of the class   }

28	T	joo elikkä aine ja abstrakti sa↑nat

          {pointing at the word money}
{gaze down at tp   }{gazes at   }
               class
yes in other words substance and abstract words

29		I have less food less money (.) ainesanat (1.0)

{gaze down}{gaze at class   }{gaze down}
                    substance words

30		ja (0.6) friends on countable sana eli tässä su- se mm-

{points at friends on the tp   }{moves marker}
{gaze at}{gaze at class   }{gaze down}
the tp
and friends is a countable word and here noun- it mm

31		substantiivi saa <u>mo</u>nikon

{points at the s in the word friends}
{gaze down }{gaze at class}
the noun is in plural

32		(2.5)
33	T	fewer cars fewer tables fewer books (1.6)
34		ja nii edellee

and so forth

After a long pause, the teacher reformulates the question still leaning towards her left with her gaze at the girls. The question design follows the format from more general to more specific (lines 22-24). While specifying her question in lines 23 and 24, the teacher straightens herself and directs her gaze down at the transparency. She also underlines the core noun phrases of the two example phrases written on the transparency.[5] She thus highlights the two expressions (i.e. 'less money' and 'fewer friends') so that the students can target their attention on them. The teacher's question formulation alongside with the underlining and gaze orientation provide assistance to the students in finding the appropriate answer to the question originally set in line 11 'Why this has to be like this'. The answer can basically be deducted by analysing the construction of the different noun phrases. However, since none of the girls are willing/able to provide an answer, the teacher finally redirects the question to a male student (Kalle), who has been looking at the teacher already from the line 22 onwards. The student has thus been available as a next speaker for quite some time, and the teacher not getting the girls to contribute to the problem at hand nominates him to answer. Kalle suggests a possible reason for the use of *less* in line 27.

After briefly providing positive feedback on the student's correct answer with the speech particle 'joo' ('yes') in line 28, the teacher continues by explaining the difference between

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[5] An example phrase 'I have less money than you' was written on the transparency shortly prior to this particular sequence, and the 'less money' part is thus being underlined as well. The examples are written one below the other.

the adverbs *less* and *fewer* and the kind of nouns they go with. As she is uttering the words 'uncountable, abstract' (line 28) she points at the expression 'less money'; she also points at the example 'fewer friends' while uttering line 30. In continuation, she further clarifies the meaning of countable word by pointing at the plural suffix 's' of the word *friends* in line 31. She then provides additional examples for the adverb *fewer* in line 33. The finding of the solution to the teacher's original question (line 11) appears to have been rather difficult considering the different actions the teacher needs to perform in order for the students to reach it. As a consequence, the teacher further explains the answer to the students (lines 28-31). In this she deploys pointing gestures alongside with talk to index to the students what kind of nouns the adverbs *less* and *fewer* take.

This example illustrates well how teachers are constantly balancing between guiding student responses and getting them to actively participate and to be involved in the current activity. In her balancing actions, the teacher again deploys several communicative resources. In her efforts to gain the students' attention on the task, the teacher nominates students to answer, especially as the students are not here actively seeking to bid for answering turns. In response, the teacher reconstructs her questions inasmuch as they seem to be progressively easier for the students to find the appropriate answer. It seems that the more difficulties there are to participate and to give answers, the more focused the teacher's questions need to be and the harder she needs to keep the students' focus. Consequently, to guide students in finding the proper answer, and thus to answer, the teacher here reformulates her question turns so that each additional question contains more specific details about the answer and how it can be reached. In other words, she alleviates her questions. Not only is the teacher reformulating her questions linguistically, but she is also using embodied resources (i.e. underlining and gaze) to mark the core elements of her question design to further guide the students in finding the answer.

6. In conclusion

As the goal of classroom interaction is to teach students the content matter, one of the prerequisites for enabling any joint activity and the process of acquisition to take place is to get students' attention to the task at hand. As such, I have tried to illustrate through a detailed analysis of two extracts that a teacher, when guiding students' attention and participation, deploys talk and embodied resources in a highly context-sensitive manner. In the examples, this has been executed via two concurrent actions that have simultaneously helped the teacher strive to attain the pedagogical goals set for the task, and for the lesson. First of all, the teacher has tried to create learning opportunities by asking display questions; and secondly, she has tried to gain students' participation in order to attain their contribution, i.e. to answer her questions, and to evaluate their learning.

In terms of student participation, the interactional opportunities for students seem to be two-fold: they can either participate actively by bidding for answering turns or resist participation by not paying attention, both of which are highly consequential actions for the emergent actions of the teacher. On the sequential turn constructional level, their participation is guided by what kind of answers they are required/able to provide as the teacher's questions are shaped to elicit certain types of answers in which embodiment plays a role.

As regards the learning contexts, the teacher, in asking elicitation questions, employs several communicative resources from talk to embodied devices. On the linguistic level, the teacher's question constructions tend to narrow down or to get a more focused perspective insofar as

these help to guide students in finding and producing the right answers. Consequently, the teacher's embodied actions go through a similar change in that they are focused on constituting the core elements of the questions. Hence, pointing, underlining and gaze function as highly communicative resources in the teacher's actions as well as form an essential part of the teacher's turn construction. As such, I am inclined to consider that the teacher's pointing and underlining actions are more or less instantiations of what could be called 'turn constructional grammar'. As Streeck (1994) has suggested, gestures can be seen as a part of speaker's turn construction and its communicative meaning to which addressees respond as such instead of to the individual construal of the turn, e.g. to pointing gestures alone. However, having said all this, one thing remains clear: in the extracts, the teacher uses pointing and underlining in a highly context-sensitive manner on the sequential level of interaction.

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Transcription conventions

LM/F	learner male/female; number indicates an identified learner
T	teacher
[ ]	the beginning and ending of overlapping talk
=	latched talk
↑↓	word/part of a word pronounced lower or higher than the surrounding talk
?	rising intonation
> <	speech faster than the surrounding talk
< >	speech slower than the surrounding talk
.hhh	audible in breath
a::n	stretched sound
°what°	word/part of a word pronounced more quietly than the surrounding talk
WHAT	word/part of a word pronounced louder than the surrounding talk
<u>what</u>	emphasis
(what)	unclear talk
wha-	unfinished word
((laughter))	transcriber's own comments
(.)	micro pause (less than 0.2 seconds)
(1.4)	pause, duration expressed in seconds
(- - -)	0.3 second pause; indicated like this to specify a duration of a point or underlining
tp	in transcript refers to the transparency
{gaze at class}	nonverbal action described and its duration is indicated by the beginning and ending of brackets

English 270103_L1_comparison   Appendix I

```
1       T       mi-  MIKÄ SULLA O  LÄHTÖKOHTANA  KU SÄÄ valitset
                {gaze down at her book                           }
                what do you use as a starting point when you choose


2                >niitähä o-<
                {gaze down at book}
                 there are


3                mitkä kaks tapaa on englannissa tehä vertailu
                       {raises  }{beat}{lowers hand }{lowers it further}
                         hand            slightly
                {gaze towards centre of class        }{gaze towards right}
                what are the two ways of doing comparison in English


4                (2.6) ((Teacher looking at class))
5       T       Leena
```

6   Leena   no onks se ne p<u>ää</u>tteet tai sitte niinku <more ja (.) [the most>]
well is it like the suffixes or then you know more and the most
{Teacher looking at Leena   }

7   T   [hm↑m   ]
                                                  {gaze down at book}

8   T   <u>kyl</u>↑lä sielä on <u>more</u> ja most sanat
{gaze down at book}{gaze towards the tp}
yes there are the words more and most

9   (1.4) ((Teacher begins to write on a transparency))
10   T   tämähä o loppujen lopuks more ja most sa↑nat
this is after all the words more and most

11   ja sitte on <u>pää</u>tteet (0.9) er ja
and then there are the suffixes er and

12   Leena   est=
13   T   =est (.) ja
                 est   and
                ((T stops writing here))

14   (1.4)
15   T   mikä lähtökohtana on ku (0.9)
{gaze at class   }{gaze down at her book}
what is the starting point when

16   valit- taikka valitsette nii kumpaako käytätte
{right hand}{lowers}{lowers }{points at transparency with
 raised   hand   on top   middle finger
 index finder   of the tp
 extended,
beats
{gaze at   }{gaze down   }{gaze at class   }
class
choo- or when you choose which one you use

17   (1.0) ((Teacher looking at the right side of the class))
18   T   Iiro mitä sanosit
{gaze at Iiro   }
Iiro what would you say

19   Iiro   <more most [mi↑tä]>
                 more most what

20   T   [niin   ] nii millä perusteella sää valitset teet sää
                           {extends hand on}{points}{positions right}
                            the transparency at tp   hand fingers
                                          on the tp
                   {gaze down on the transparency   }
                   so so on what basis do you choose whether you do

```
21                   näillä (.) apusanoil↑la     vai päätteillä vertailun
                     {points on the words}{moves}{points at suffixes –er and –est}
                     more and most on     hand     on the transparency
                     the transparency
                     {gaze down                    }{gaze at the right side of the class}
                     the comparison with these particles or with the suffixes


22       Iiro       no jos on pitkä sana nii more most
                     well if it's a long word then more most
                     {Teacher's gaze at Iiro              }


23                   ja [sitte  jos    ]
                     and then if
                     {Teacher's gaze at Iiro}


24       T               [mitä  sä  la]sket siitä
                         {gaze at Iiro          }
                          what are you counting
```


English 270103_L1_less money-fewer friends   **Appendix II**

```
1        T         ja nyt sitte huomatkaa on semmone (.)
                    {gaze at tp            }{gaze down at book}
                    and now then notice there's


2                  mihi (0.5) >pittää vähän kiinnittää huomiota<
                   {gaze down }{gaze at tp                    }
                   something you need to pay some attention to


3                  mites mulla on vähemmän ystäviä ku sulla
                   {gaze at class looking at the left side of the class}
                   how about I have fewer friends than you


4                  (3.8) ((Teacher looking at class fidgeting the cap of a marker in her hand))
5        T         Iiro
                   {places marker on top of tp ready to write, gaze at tp}


6        Iiro      <I have fewer °friends°>=
                   {Teacher writes on the tp }


7        T         =°joo-o°
                   {writes on the tp}
                      ye-es


8                  kuka olis muistanut (1.3)
                   {writes on the tp            }
                   who would have remembered
```

9   fewer friends
       {writes on the tp}

10   (1.4) ((Teacher writes on the transparency, but glances quickly at Jari while
        writing))
11 T   miks Jari tässä pitää olla näi
       {writes on the tp   }
       Jari why does this have to be like this

12 Jari täh
       what

13 T   miks sä sanosit näi
       {writes on the tp }
       why would you say it like this

14 Jari mulla (sanoo) kielikorva
       My linguistic instinct tells me
       {Teacher straightens herself still looking at the tp}

15 T   mut (0.5) jos ei sano kielikorva
       {gaze at class   }
       but if your linguistic instinct doesn't help

16   nii voi turvautua johonki <pikku> sääntöön
       {gaze at class   }
       so you can resort to a little rule

17   mikä se on
       {gaze at class}
       what is it

18   (3.0) ((Teacher looking at the right side of the class))
19 T   muistaako tytöt
       {leans to her left, gaze at girls at the back}
       do you girls remember

20   (3.0) ((Teacher looking at the girls in the back leaning on her left))
21 T   kellään mitään mielikuvaa tästä (0.5)
       {leans to her left, gaze at girls }{shifts posture and gaze towards tp}
       anyone have any idea about this

22   miks mulla on less mo↑ney (- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -)
                 {underlines the }
                expression less money

       why do I have less money

23   mutta fewer friends   puhek<u>ie</u>lihän
           {underlines the }
             expression fewer friends
       but fewer friends in spoken language

24   tietysti voi sanoo miten vaan
{gaze at class   }
of course you can say it the way you want

25   (2.5) ((Teacher looking at class))
26   T   Kallella mitää mielikuvaa (.) °mistä° tää °johtuu°
{gaze at the centre of the class   }
does Kalle have any idea of why it is like this

27   Kalle   onks toi less tulee sillo ku ei voi laskee
is it that less is used when you can't count
{Teacher's gaze at the centre of the class   }

28   T   joo elikkä aine ja abstrakti sa↑nat
                {pointing at the word money}
{gaze down at tp   }{gazes at   }
                    class
yes in other words substance and abstract words

29   I have less food less money (.) ainesanat   (1.0)
{gaze down}{gaze at class   }{gaze down}
                             substance words

30   ja (0.6) friends on countable sana eli tässä su- se mm-
{points at friends on the tp   }{moves marker}
{gaze at}{gaze at class   }{gaze down}
 the tp
and friends is a countable word and here noun- it mm

31   substantiivi saa <u>mo</u>nikon
{points at the s in the word friends}
{gaze down }{gaze at class}
the noun is in plural

32   (2.5)
33   T   fewer cars fewer tables fewer books (1.6)
34   ja nii edellee
and so forth