REVISTA DA **ABRALIN**

RESEARCH REPORT

“I’ll tell you a secret”: socialization into oral social practices in elementary school whole group interaction

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DATES
- Received: 15/09/2021
- Accepted: 06/01/2022
- Published: 17/05/2022

HOW TO CITE
Malabarba, T.; De Souza, J. (2021). I’ll tell you a secret: socialization into oral social practices in elementary school whole group interaction. *Revista da Abralin*, v. 20, n. 3, p. 1595-1619, 2021.

ABSTRACT

This paper investigates children's socialization into classroom whole group participation by means of ethnomethodological conversation analysis. Drawing on the single case of a moment of explicit socialization into the participation norms of elementary school classroom interaction, it shows how such norms become a ‘learnable’, i.e., the object of teaching/learning. Specifically, it demonstrates in detail how a teacher turns a single student’s complaint related to the student’s trouble accessing the floor into an opportunity to socialize the group of students into the practice of raising hands to bid for the floor and waiting until being selected to deliver a turn-at-talk. This includes avoiding treating the complaint as a matter for reproaching the students who are not following the norms, and instead, explicitly stating the interactional trajectory of what constitutes – from the teacher perspective – a successful manner to get access to the floor and contribute to the whole group discussion. The sequential analysis of this moment unpacks the multifaceted and contingent nature of the teaching and learning of oral social practices and unveils: (1) divergent orientations and methods for managing and contributing to the classroom talk; and (2) underlying moral issues connected both with the student’s complaint and with how it is treated by the teacher. The findings resulting

from the fine-grained analysis constitute a potentially relevant resource for further research on other cases and contexts, and for professional reflection as well.

RESUMO

Este artigo investiga a socialização de crianças para a participação em interações no grande grupo em sala de aula a partir da Análise da Conversa Etnometodológica. Partindo-se de um estudo de caso de um momento de socialização explícita acerca de normas de participação na interação de sala de aula no ensino fundamental, o artigo mostra como tais normas tornam-se 'aprendíveis', constituindo-se objeto de ensino-aprendizagem. Especificamente, este artigo demonstra em detalhes como uma professora transforma a reclamação de uma aluna relacionada à própria dificuldade em acessar o piso conversacional em uma oportunidade de socializar o grupo de alunos a respeito da prática de levantar o dedo e esperar ser selecionado/a para proferir seu turno de fala. Isso inclui evitar tratar a reclamação como uma razão para repreender os alunos que não estão seguindo as normas e, em vez disso, explicitar o que se constitui como – do ponto de vista da professora – uma maneira bem sucedida de se conseguir acesso ao piso conversacional e assim contribuir para a discussão no grande grupo. A análise sequencial da fala nesse momento evidencia a natureza multifacetada e contingente do ensino e da aprendizagem de práticas sociais orais, revelando: (1) métodos divergentes para gerenciar e contribuir com a interação de sala de aula; e (2) questões morais subjacentes relacionadas à reclamação da aluna. Esses resultados constituem um recurso potencialmente relevante para pesquisas futuras e também para a reflexão dos profissionais da educação.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE

Ensino fundamental. Interação em sala de aula. Gerenciamento de participação. Socialização da linguagem. Análise da Conversa Etnometodológica.

KEYWORDS

Elementary school. Classroom interaction. Participation management. Language socialization. Ethnomethodological conversation analysis.

Introduction

Contributing to ongoing talk is part and parcel of socialization processes involving children, be it in the family or within institutions. At school, mastering the interactional organization of the classroom is crucial for children to participate in whole-group discourse. Specifically, since classroom interaction is largely organized around the ubiquitous Initiation-Response-Evaluation (IRE) sequence (SINCLAIR; COULTHARD, 1975; MEHAN, 1979; WELLS, 1993), providing answers to the teachers' questions that are considered to be correct or appropriate is one of the core skills young learners are expected to acquire in order to succeed at school (FRENCH; MACLURE, 1981; CEKAITE, 2017). How are elementary-school students socialized into how to appropriately participate in whole-group discussion? How does explicit teaching of oral social practices to participate in this specific interactional format emerge? In the present study, we address these questions by offering a single case analysis of a classroom episode in which a first-year elementary-school student struggles to win the competition for the conversational floor. Our aim is to unpack the interactional practices used by the teacher to, on one hand, help the student to overcome this issue and avoid animosity among the students; and, on the other hand, maintain the progressivity of the classroom talk and explicitly enforce an ideal set of practices that support her management of students' contributions in classroom interaction.

Our analysis of this multi-layered and locally emergent episode is informed by the theoretical and methodological tenets of Ethnomethodology (EM) (GARFINKEL, 1967) and Conversation Analysis (CA) (SACKS; SCHEGLOFF; JEFFERSON, 1974), sociological approaches to the study of human sociality in mundane or task-focused contexts (CLAYMAN; GILL, 2012). Both EM and CA understand language as a component of culture and as a tool for social interaction and situated meaning making (HUTCHBY; WOOFFITT, 1998; SACKS; SCHEGLOFF; JEFFERSON, 1974; SACKS, 1992). Accordingly, they are interested in the methods used by members of a given culture to create, negotiate and maintain social order. One of the main assumptions of research within EM and CA, referred to as EMCA (see GARCEZ, 2008; ESKILDSEN, 2020), is that social interaction contains "order at all points" (SACKS, 1992, p. xlvii), i.e., that participants' multimodal conduct (eye gaze, pauses, prosody, talk, among others) is not trivial or redundant, but reflect participants' sensemaking practices to accomplish actions. In order to uncover such methods, EMCA research draws on naturally occurring data and seeks to understand interactional phenomena from the point of view of the participants, i.e., through an emic stance towards the data (TEN HAVE, 2007).

From this perspective, we understand socialization into classroom participation routines as a situated interactional achievement collaboratively constructed by participants of talk-in-interaction and publicly available for scrutiny (MEHAN; GRIFFIN, 1980; CEKAITE, 2017; KEEL, 2016). Furthermore, in line with the paradigm of 'language socialization' (DURANTI, OCHS; SCHIEFFELIN, 2011; OCHS; SCHIEFFELIN, 2011), children are not seen merely as passive participants whose behavior changes as a result of adult-led socialization processes. Rather, in relation to socialization processes, a child is seen as an "active and competent member of society who accomplishes specialized social interactions in concern with peers and adults" (MEHAN; GRIFFIN, 1980, p. 360).

This paper contributes to EMCA studies on classroom interaction by showing how a teacher turns a single student's complaint related to the student's trouble accessing the floor into an opportunity to socialize the group of students into the practice of raising hands to bid for the floor and waiting until being selected to deliver a turn-at-talk. This includes avoiding treating the complaint as a matter for reproaching the students who are not following the norms, and instead, explicitly stating the interactional trajectory of what constitutes – from the teacher perspective – a successful manner to get access to the floor and contribute to the whole-group discussion.

In what follows, we review relevant literature on participation in and socialization into classroom interaction and provide information on the context of our data as well as the methods of the study. Following the analysis, we will discuss potential implications of empirically driven accounts, such as the one offered in this paper, for early childhood teacher education programs.

1. Participation in whole group classroom interaction

As any other form of participation, whole group classroom interaction requires specific methods to secure one's successful engagement in it. In comparison to the methods that most children learn through participation in mundane social interaction in their first years of life, e.g., that a speaker may self-select to continue at the end of a turn constructional unit (TCU[1]) or transition relevant place (TRP) (SACKS; SCHEGLOFF; JEFFERSON, 1974), participating in whole group interaction may be particularly challenging. For one, as it usually involves a large number of participants, students must 'compete' for the floor with their peers and monitor each other's actions in order to produce appropriately positioned actions, which may be hard to do without having full visual and acoustic access to everyone present in the classroom. Second, a great deal of classroom interaction takes place within a participation structure canonically known as Initiation-Response-Evaluation (IRE) (SINCLAIR; COULTHARD, 1975; MEHAN, 1979; WELLS, 1993; MARONI, GNISCI; PONTECORVO, 2008; MARGUTTI; DREW, 2014)[2], within which students' participation rights are somewhat limited to responding to the initiations made by the teacher in the prior turn. As Sahlström (2002) explains, students form one collective speaking party, "the Student", which responds to the other party, the teacher (SAHLSTRÖM, 2002, p. 48). The Student is often represented by one single individual at a time, who is selected by the teacher and expected to provide a relevant response.

All in all, the organization of whole-group classroom talk makes access to the interactional floor a skillful matter. An array of interactional practices is used in this enterprise, e.g., hand-raising, whose multimodal organization during whole-group classroom interaction has been described by

1 The end of a turn constructional unit is characterized by syntactical, prosodic and pragmatic completion.

2 The IRE sequence comprises a. the teacher initiates a new sequence with a question or directive addressed to one student or group of students in particular or to the whole class, b. a response is provided by the student(s), and c. the sequence is closed by the teacher through the provision of a comment addressing the provided response.

Sahlström (2002) and is particularly relevant for the present paper. The results of Sahlström's study of eight-grade classroom interaction in Sweden showed that hand-raising involves the mobilization of multiple embodied resources, e.g., eye gaze and torso, which must be directed to the teacher, and has several functions. It serves not only the purpose of getting selected as next speaker, but also of displaying that one is listening or that one knows the 'right' answer for a question posed by the teacher, which is evidenced by hand-raising done at points in the interaction with very low chances of one being selected. In turn, being the first to raise a hand in whole-group classroom interaction does not secure speaker selection since teachers may draw on other methods for selecting students, e.g., the number of instances a single student has contributed to the classroom talk in a given lesson. Additionally, Sahlström's study pointed out that students' hand-raising influence the length and content of the teachers' initiating turns. Teachers may, for example, cut off their projected extended turns when a significant number of students has raised their hands before the teacher's turn conclusion. Alternatively, teachers may extend their turns beyond a TRP if only a few students have self-selected or may not alocate the turn to any student until a significant number of students has raised their hand. In Sahlström's study, these techniques were used to increase participation, principally of students who were hesitant to contribute a turn or self-selected less often.

Indeed, turn allocation and student selection can be seen as part of teachers' 'stocks of interactional knowledge' (PERÄKYLÄ; VEHVILÄINEN, 2003) and constitute one of the number of tasks that teachers, as the ones expected "to ensure that the discussion proceeds in an orderly manner" (NASSAJI; WELLS, 2000, p. 378), must coordinate during whole-group conversational activities. Such tasks include monitoring students' knowledge by, e.g., designing questions in ways as to elicit specific responses on notions that they are expected to have already learned (e.g., MARGUTTI, 2006), encouraging students' participation (e.g., SAHLSTRÖM, 1999), displaying affiliation with the students' contributions (e.g., TADIC; BOX, 2019; HALL; MALABARBA; KIMURA, 2019), and fostering students' agency (e.g., WILLEMSEN *et al.*, 2019; PETERMANN; JUNG, 2017). For example, in their study of a fourth-grade classroom in the Netherlands, Willemsen *et al.* (2019) showed how teachers dealt with students' questions and comments during whole-group conversation by returning the floor over to the students instead of responding to the questions themselves. Teachers' 'pass-on turns' were accomplished through a variety of practices (e.g., repeating the question turn) and prompted students to formulate appropriate answers to their peers' turns. A similar yet distinct practice was reported by Petermann and Jung (2017) in a study of a mixed-grade secondary History classroom in the South of Brazil. The teacher fostered students' agency during a group activity by not promptly answering their questions, and instead making further questions addressed to all the students on the subject at hand. This practice supported the students in the organization of their reasoning based on what they already knew and allowed more room for students to negotiate and maintain what the authors called a "shared agenda" (2017, p. 840).

In contrast, teachers may also allocate turns to the students to minimize potential disruptions that may breach the progressivity of the ongoing interaction or activity (e.g., DE SOUZA; MALABARBA; GUIMARÃES, 2020) or keep students 'on-task' (MARKEE, 2005; ISHINO, 2007). Ishino (2007),

in her exploration of participation management in Japanese junior high-school classrooms, detailed the interactional workings of teachers' 'exam questions', which were addressed to one single student in order to halt parallel talk in which this student was engaged. The lack of a relevant answer to the question by the selected student implied that they were not paying attention to the central teacher-led activity, and offered grounds for reproaches from the teacher. Finally, De Souza, Malabarba and Guimarães (2020), drawing on the same dataset used in the present paper, described the use of 'hold-up actions', i.e., turns designed to interrupt or delay students' contributions, in order to secure the progressivity of the instructional agenda. As we will show in the excerpt analysed in this paper, the norms for participating in whole-group conversational activities are not established *a priori* or fixed, but rather negotiated and (re)established as teacher and students navigate the demands and contingencies of classroom interaction. Before coming to that, however, a note on socialization and morality is in order.

2. Socialization and morality in the classroom

The organization of the social order of the classroom – as outlined above – runs parallel with the process of socialization into the norms of the classroom. Thus, being interactionally competent to participate in educational settings results from recurrent participation in these settings, which children experience early on. Teachers' crucial role in shaping students' classroom participation methods has been pointed to in a number of studies (e.g., CEKAITE, 2017; MARONI; GNISCI; PONTECORVO, 2008; JUNG; GONZALEZ, 2009). For example, in her study of multilingual immigrant children in a school in Sweden, Cekaite (2017) showed how becoming a more competent participant in whole-group instruction involved not only learning what the teacher considered to be relevant and timely contributions to the classroom talk. Rather, it also required mastering how these contributions should be designed and framed in relation to expectations from the teacher pertaining both to the overall class culture and to ongoing affective stances. This was evidenced by the different treatment given to the contributions from two language novice children. The turns-at-talk from the student who contributed to whole-group conversations in a disruptive manner were less positively evaluated by the teacher in comparison to the contributions from the other language novice child, who demonstrated higher mastery of the classroom discursive norms and procedures.

Similarly, Jung and Gonzalez (2009) described how the organization of the turn-taking system was negotiated by teacher and students in a first-year elementary classroom in a bilingual community in a Southern region of Brazil. Their study showed that students were reproached when they answered a question addressed to another classmate. The reproaches helped convey to the students that, in multiparty interaction, self-selecting at a TRP is not an applicable norm when the teacher has selected a specific student. Altogether, these studies point to the fact that the methods through which children learn to participate in classroom interaction vary significantly across settings. Nonetheless, what students learn in terms of participation is essentially attributed to the interactional work done by teachers, principally in the first years of schooling.

Research has also shown that classroom interactions and the socialization processes that take place within and through them are embedded in moral expectations that are calibrated turn by turn and may impact the course of the instructional activities (MARGUTTI; PIIRAINEN-MARSH, 2011; CHURCH; BATEMAN, 2017; ARONSSON, 2020). For example, in their study of secondary school English-as-a-foreign-language classroom talk in an indigenous village in Mexico, Sayer, Malabarba and Moore (2019) showed how a teacher ended up bypassing an emergent moral conflict between two students (i.e., students treating each other offensively) in order to maintain and further the ongoing instructional agenda (the teaching of a specific grammar point). In the context of a first-grade elementary classroom in Sweden, Cekaite (2020) investigated the disciplining practices that the teacher implemented to deal with one child's moral transgressions, which resulted in "discursive sites for the children's moral socialization" (CEKAITE, 2020, p. 674). The study unpacked the practices that this child used to resist and subvert the moral accountability while also complying with it by, for example, using bodily behavior to show resistance, but verbally acquiescing wrongdoings. It also showed the teacher's efforts to deal with the child's disruptive behavior by, for example, explaining to the child the potential consequences of their misconduct.

Particularly relevant is the fact that, in classroom contexts, narratives of past negative events and affect displays on peers' conduct are subjective to teachers' validation of the narrated events as accurate and in line with the teller's projected stance. Evaldsson and Bowden's (2020) case study of a special needs classroom with children aged 9-11 illustrates this point. In their analysis, they showed how, during a dispute between two children on the school yard, a child's negative stance regarding a troubles-telling, which included explicit accusation of one of her peers, was systematically downgraded by the teacher. The authors pointed out that this move dismissed the child's negative feelings attached to the narrated events and, at the end, put the teller's moral character at stake.

The present study builds on this prior work to show how one student's telling of trouble accessing the conversational floor during a whole-group activity occasions a moment of collective socialization into desired forms of participation in this context. Through close analysis of this interactional event, we will empirically show that children's moral claims regarding their peer's conduct may reveal implicit norms and moral understandings of classroom interaction and thus become a valuable *locus* for socialization into oral social practices.

3. Context and Methods

The data source for the present study is a large corpus of classroom lessons that were video-recorded within the scope of a project on literacy and textual genres supported by the Brazilian Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel (CAPES, 2011-2014). It involved eight public elementary schools and focused on the continuing education of teachers of Portuguese through the planning and development of Didactic Projects of Genres – DPG (GUIMARÃES; KERSCH, 2012), a methodology for the development of literacy through which one particular textual genre is the focus of a series of workshops. The recordings were done in 2014 with a first-year group in a public elementary school located in a

medium-sized city in the South of Brazil. The group consisted of 24 students aged six to seven years old and the textual genre was the self-portrait, which was the topic of the classroom activities throughout eight lessons, generating a total of about nine video-recorded hours.

The current analysis stems from a 30-minute video taken from one of the eight lessons about the textual genre self-portrait. On that particular day, one of the main activities of the lesson consisted of students drawing and coloring their own self-portrait. What followed the drawing and colouring activity was a whole-group conversational activity introduced by the teacher as a moment for the students to think about what they had just done. Whole-group conversational activities[3] were moments in which the teacher would stand in front of the blackboard and ask students questions related to the ongoing activity or topic. Generally speaking, they served different purposes, e.g., having students reflect upon the just-prior activity and checking how much the students knew about a particular point of the lesson before moving to the next one. As they were recurrent and happened in the midst of other larger small-group activities, e.g., drawing, the spatial configuration of the classroom established by the teacher at the beginning of each was maintained. As students were often sitting in clusters of desks, with members of the same group facing each other (as shown in Figure 1 for Group 1 and Group 2, the only groups captured by the camera frame at that moment), most of the conversational activities also followed this format, which resulted in some students having privileged visual access to the teacher in some of the lessons.

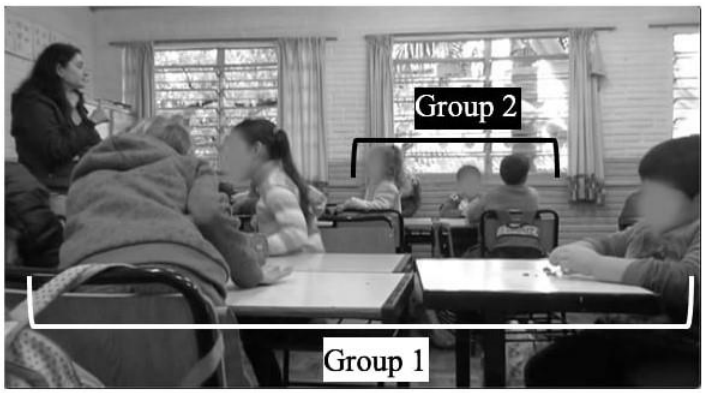

FIGURE 1 – Seating arrangement during whole-group conversational activity (screenshot taken just prior to the beginning of Excerpt 1).

The interaction involved three main participants (all names are pseudonyms): Maria, the teacher, aged 25; and Lia and Alice, students, aged 6-7. The complete set of video-recorded sessions shows that Lia was a very active participant and often contributed to the classroom discussions. However,

3 Similar types of activities have been referred to in the literature on classroom interaction in several different ways, e.g., as 'dialogic teacher-led discussions' (ESCOBAR URMENETA; EVNITSKAYA, 2014) or 'teacher-led instructional interaction' (KÄÄNTÄ, 2012), in the context of content and language integration learning, and 'plenary classroom interaction' (SAHLSTRÖM, 2002) in comprehensive elementary education.

Lia's engagement in parallel talk with her classmates was sometimes considered disruptive and was reproached by the teacher. Alice was also an active participant, but her contributions were not as frequent as Lia's. Different from Lia, Alice seldom disrupted the classroom flow and seemed to be seen by the teachers and her classmates as a diligent student.

The recordings were made with a single camera operated by a research assistant. In line with CA methods, the video recording of the excerpt analyzed in this paper was seen a number of times and transcribed in detail using an adapted version of the transcription convention system developed by Jefferson (2004) (see Appendix). The translation of the original talk in Portuguese into English follows a three-tier system (when the translations in the second and third tiers are identical, only one tier is listed):

First tier: original talk (plain text)
Second tier: gloss translation (italics)
Third tier: prose rendering (bold)

Additionally, we used descriptions of participants' relevant bodily conduct in double parentheses. These descriptions are sometimes accompanied by screen shots to aid understanding.

4. Analysis

For this paper, one excerpt has been selected. To capture the details of this interaction, the excerpt has been divided into 3 shorter excerpts. The interest in doing a single-case analysis of one of the interactions of our database stemmed from extensively reviewing our recordings for a previous study on participation management (DE SOUZA; MALABARBA; GUIMARÃES, 2020). This excerpt sparked our interest due to how an issue raised by one of the students, Alice, became a 'learnable', i.e., the object of teaching/learning (MAJLESI; BROTH, 2012), related to oral social practices. Here, we understand oral social practices as ways of producing spoken talk in the classroom that is not attached to the structure of one specific oral genre (as it would be the case with, e.g., the genre classroom presentation), but to the various forms of participating in classroom discourse. As our analysis shows, teaching/learning moments of such practices may emerge during situated classroom events and are contingent upon participants' joint orientation.

Our analysis thus considers the sequential organization of what we understand to be an explicit moment of socialization into the desired institutional norms of participating in whole-group conversational activities. Through the analysis, we shall unpack the practices and concurrent layers of action that render this moment a compellingly rich case for understanding the complex nature of socialization processes at early stages of formal education.

The complaint

We join the interaction when the teacher is transitioning out of the whole-group conversation about the activity of drawing and painting their self-portrait (see the sequence-closing tokens in lines 01, 04 and 06, delivered as the teacher is addressing the cohort). The questions posed by the teacher had to do with specific ways of describing one's face, such as the color of the eyes, the length of the hair, etc. The teacher asked questions such as "as you were drawing your self-portrait, what did you notice about your hair?" and "what can we say about one's eyes?". During the activity, Alice had attempted, without success, to get access to the floor multiple times by raising her hand and offering candidate answers to the teacher's initiations in low voice volume[4]. This occasioned Alice to complain to Lia, who was sitting opposite her. Figure 2 shows the moment when Lia leans forward looking at Alice (who is off camera) as Alice delivers her complaint (inaudible, not shown in the transcript). Lia's summoning of the teacher (line 2) has to do with what she has just heard from Alice, which Lia formulates as *a alice tá falan do que ela não respon deu nada* ('Alice is saying that she hasn't answered anything', lines 3 and 5).

FIGURE 2 (reproduction of page 7) – Lia gazing at Alice, who is off camera, to the left side.

Excerpt 1

01	TEA:	okei?= **okay**
02	LIA:	=sora:: *teacher* **teacher**
03		a alice [tá falan]do= *the alice is speaking*

4 Although Alice is off camera most of the time during the recording, it is possible to hear her voice. The content of her turns is, however, inaudible. Arguably, Alice's lack of success in having her contributions validated by the teacher has to do with the fact that, on that particular day, Alice was sitting slightly out of the teacher's visual field, which could have constrained her access to the floor during the whole-group activity.

alice is saying

04 TEA: [okei;]
okay

05 LIA: =que ela não respon [deu] nada.
that she not responded-2-SG nothing
that she hasn't answered anything

06 TEA: [então tá;]
so PTCL
okay then

07 (0.9)

08 que que tu quer falar minha princesa;
what that you want speak my princess
what do you want to say my princess

09 (0.8)

10-> ALI: é que (.) sempre quando eu quero falar uma coisa,
is that (.) always when i want speak-INF a thing
it's that whenever I want to say something

11-> o- os outros percebem e ↑fa:lam.
the-SG the-PL others realize and speak
the others notice and say it

As the teacher closes the sequence while gazing forward to the cohort (line 4), she turns to Alice and asks her what she wants to say. Note that the teacher addresses Alice as *minha princesa* ('my princess', line 8), which seemingly aligns with Alice's established identity of 'good student'. The teacher's question *que tu quer falar* ('what do you want to say', line 8) opens up a slot for Alice to provide responses to the questions posed by the teacher during the conversational activity. However, Alice treats the teacher's turn as an opportunity to voice her complaint to the teacher and to the whole group. Accordingly, what she offers in response is a new, perhaps more elaborate version (yet not very specific) of the complaint revealed to Lia some seconds earlier. Now, Alice specifically complains about what she considers to be transgressional behavior from the part of her classmates. Similarly to what has been reported by other microanalytic studies on children's telling of problems or report of events and misconducts (EVALDSSON; BOWDEN, 2020; EVALDSSON; SVAHN, 2017), Alice's turn is designed with an extreme case formulation (POMERANTZ, 1986) *sempre que eu quero falar uma coisa* ('whenever I want to say something', lines 10 and 11), which maximizes the legitimacy of her complaint as well as her peers' misconduct. The fact that the narrated event is reported by Alice as being ubiquitous to all her attempts to speak in class along with Alice's turn prosodic design (higher pitch contour and whining voice – on these specific prosodic features, see Butler and Edwards, 2018) suggests the emergence of a 'micro moral drama', i.e., "mundane conflicts in children's lives involv[ing] the display of strong emotion and successively heightened affect" (ARONSSON, 2020, p. 700).

At this point, it is not clear what the exact nature of Alice's complaint is. It could inferably be heard as a complaint about her classmates being able (differently from her) to contribute to that

day's whole-class discussion by raising their hands before her, and thus being selected by the teacher. Alternatively, she could be complaining about the fact that her classmates contributed turns without being specifically selected by the teacher. As both occur during the whole-group activity, this cannot be specified. Nonetheless, by negatively evaluating her peers' methods of providing appropriate answers to the teacher's questions, which she does implicitly via her complaint, Alice is doing moral work (DREW, 1998). Such moral work involves reproducing a version of past events that questions the moral dimension of her peers' behavior. By narrating her problem to the teacher, she invokes accountability and invites an action from the teacher, e.g., reproaching the students. And indeed, previous research has shown that students are commonly disciplined for competitive interactional behavior (e.g., CEKAITE, 2017; MARGUTTI, 2011). Alice's complaint also invites a remedial action (GOFFMAN, 1971; ARONSSON, 2020), i.e., an action designed to change the understanding of an offensive act into one that is considered acceptable, like an apology. What follows, however, is the teacher's revelation of what she calls a secret (line 14).

The reason for the problem

Excerpt 2 shows that Alice's rather unspecified complaint is treated by the teacher as referring to repeatedly having the content of her turns 'stolen' by the other students, who, having heard what she has just said (in lower voice volume), end up delivering Alice's turn's content as if it were theirs.

Excerpt 2

12		(0.6)
13	TEA:	↑a:: sabe qual é o problema, (.) *o::h know-2-SG what is the problem* **oh you know what the problem is**
14		vou te contar um segredo; *go-1-SG OBJ-2-SG tell a secret* **I'll tell you a secret**
15		é que tu não pode fa↑lar (.) antes de deixar *is that you not can speak before of allow-INF* **the thing is that you can't say it (.) before you let**
16		a professora dizer ↑alice tu fala; *the teacher say-INF alice you speak* **the teacher says alice go ahead** ((camera is turned to the teacher))
17		porque senão eles escutam tu falando *because otherwise they hear you speaking* **because otherwise they hear what you say**

18		e daí eles saem falando o que tu fa↑lou. *and then they leave speaking the what you spoke* **and say it first** ((gazing at Alice, fingers crossed in front of body, Figure 3)

FIGURE 3 – Line 18.

The teacher's response takes place after a pause (line 12). It includes a high-pitched, stretched change-of-state token (Heritage, 1984) and a pre-question (line 13) and the announcement that a secret is about to be told (line 14), which project more talk by the teacher. The teacher moves on to explain that Alice cannot say what she wants to say before the teacher says *Alice tu fala* ('Alice, go ahead', line 16). The instruction is followed by an account of this procedure, *senão eles escutam tu falando e daí eles saem falando o que tu falou* ('otherwise they hear what you say and say it first', lines 17 and 18). This turn's falling final pitch contour, with rising pitch in its last word, while the teacher's torso and gaze are directed to Alice and the teacher's hands are clasped together in front of her, seem to ascribe the responsibility of the 'problem' mentioned in line 13 to Alice's own conduct. This interpretation is supported by what the teacher says next, *tu não pode falar antes de deixar a professora dizer Alice tu fala* ('you can't say it before you let the teacher say go ahead Alice', lines 15 and 16), which somewhat constitutes a reproach (KLATTENBERG, 2020) addressed to Alice for not having waited to be selected by the teacher.

We argue that by responding in such a manner to Alice's complaint the teacher does interactional work related to classroom socialization and rapport. For one, by not explicitly treating the students' participation methods as misconduct and not singling out any student or small group nor inspecting who exactly is being accused by Alice (note the use of the neutral 'they' in line 17), the teacher avoids fostering animosity among the students. At the same time, she uses this opportunity to socialize the students into the participation methods that she has been trying to implement throughout the semester: that students only respond to the teacher initiations in whole-group conversational activities after raising their hands and having been allowed, by the teacher, to speak.

The instructions to avoid similar problems

That Alice's complaint constitutes a 'learnable' related to socialization into the oral social practices of the classroom is further evidenced in Excerpt 3. It contains the continuation of the teacher's response to Alice, which unpacks the specificities of participating in whole-group conversational activities in that context.

Excerpt 3

19 (0.8)
((*body slightly turned towards Alice, nodding slightly, gazing at Alice*))

20 TEA: então tu tem que ser be:m esper↑tinha,
so you have that be-INF very smart-DIM
then you have to be really clever
((alternating gaze between Alice and forward, open hands palm down in front of body, Figure 4))

FIGURE 4 - Line 20

21-> e aí tu le↑va:nta o dedo primeiro,
and then you raise the finger first
and raise your hand first
((gazing forward, frowning, index finger pointing upwards, Figure 4; turns gaze to Alice, Figure 5))

FIGURE 5 - Line 21.

FIGURE 6 - Line 21.

22-> e daí quando a professora maria falar,
and then when the teacher maria speak-INF
and then when teacher maria says
((gazing at Alice, frowning, index finger pointing upwards))

23-> fala alice;
speak alice
go ahead alice
((gazing at Alice, both hands open in front of torso at waistline, torso slightly projected frontward, Figure 7))

FIGURE 7 - Line 23a.

24-> daí tu fala.
then you speak
then you speak
((gazing at Alice, arms open, elbows at waist level, both hands open in front of torso at shoulder line, torso slightly projected backward, Figure 8))

FIGURE 8 - Line 23b.

25 (.)
26 $entendeu$?
understood-2-SG
do you understand
((gazing at Alice, smiling, hands together in front of the torso at waist level, head tilted to the right, Figure 9))

FIGURE 9 - Line 25.

27 ALI: (.)
((nods))

28 TEA: $então tá bom$.
so is good
great then

The unpacking is prefaced by the use of the qualifier *bem espertinha* (roughly translated as 'really clever', line 20) and accompanied by a gesture done with both hands at shoulder level, which seems to support the preparation work for what is to be revealed as the secret (line 20, Figure 4). According to the teacher, in order to be successful in securing that her answers to the teacher's questions will not be stolen by the others, Alice should raise her hand, wait until the teacher selects her, and only then deliver her turns (lines 21-23). The teacher's turns include several multi-semiotic resources, such as hand gestures. The hand gestures[5] comprise iconic ones, e.g., depicting the raising hand (in

5 According to McNeill's (2005) classification.

Brazil also referred to as "raising one's finger"), with the index finger pointing upward (Figures 3-5); and metaphorical ones, e.g., the one shown in Figure 7. This gesture is made with both arms and hands open in front of torso at shoulder level and the torso slightly projected backward; it seems to depict the idea of an outcome resulting from a just-unveiled process. The sequence ends as the teacher checks Alice's understanding in a smiley voice (line 26), to which Alice nods. According to Nguyen (2007), smiling (here, the smiley voice) is one of the resources that teachers make use of to display affiliation and build rapport, i.e., in order to sustain a "positive environment", a "friendly atmosphere" in the classroom (NGUYEN, 2007, p. 298). It could be suggested that, in our case, the smiley voice helps frame the teacher's response to Alice less like a reproach (which her initial uptake sounded like, as shown in Excerpt 2) and more like the delivery of a 'secret' (despite it being accessible to all the other pupils) that the teacher has shared with Alice only. It could thus be understood as an attempt to seal their agreement. As such, it would contribute, along with the framing of such an agreement as a 'secret', to build a sense of intimacy between them. Alternatively, one could argue that by framing what is being told to Alice as a secret despite the fact that it is being shared with the whole group, the teacher is actually orienting to the adult in the room (the research assistant responsible for recording the lessons). The smiley voice would, in this case, contribute to imprint a jokey tone to the teacher's turn.

Of relevance here is the fact that the teacher's responses to Alice's complaint (as shown in Excerpts 2 and 3) are above all used as an opportunity to instruct not only Alice but also the other students into the practices involved in what can be considered a core practice within what one could call the 'spoken genre of whole-group conversation', i.e., raising one's hand in order to bid for floor and, upon selection, contributing a turn. This is further evidenced by the fact that the teacher's explanation includes gaze shifts from Alice towards the cohort, as illustrated (see, for example, Excerpt 3, line 20). The teacher also keeps her torso not entirely directed towards Alice, nor does she approach Alice's desk. Instead, she remains in a spot where everyone can visually reach her. As for the other students, they display attention to what the teacher says by gazing at her and keeping silent throughout the interaction.

What is noticeable about the teacher's instructions prompted by Alice's complaint is that the methods outlined by the teacher seem to run counter to the actual methods used by the students to bid for the floor. For the most part in this classroom, the students simply candidated their contributions prior to being selected by the teacher, i.e., they simply said what they wished to say instead of raising their hands and waiting for the teacher to give them a go ahead to speak. For her part, the teacher often ended up validating such answers[6], i.e., accepting and commenting on the students' answers despite their not following the classroom participation norms. Thus, one could estimate that, if Alice were to follow the teacher's explicit instructions regarding contributing to whole-class discussions, she would still be likely not to access the floor in time for her contributions to be taken up and validated as novel and timely since other children might shout out

6 This validation is also accompanied by frequent reminders about the hand-raising procedure, which is in line with the multiple involvements and multiactivity characteristic of the work of teaching, especially young children (see De Souza; Malabarba; Guimarães, 2020).

their turns without raising their hand. Furthermore, in order to be seen by the teacher, students must necessarily be positioned in a way that makes their bodies (or at least their arms) visually accessible to the teacher, which the desk set up normatively used in this classroom (clusters of desks for group work) did not always favor. As the analysis of this extended interaction involving Alice suggests, the distribution of desks on that day may have contributed to Alice's trouble accessing the floor. In sum, if Alice were to enhance the odds of having her answers taken up by the teacher, she would have to follow the other students' methods of shouting out answers and speak louder; alternatively, she could slightly lift her upper body from the chair she is sitting on and move it forward in order to get the teacher's visual attention.

However, the fact that the lack of mutual visual access is not brought up by the teacher in her response to Alice's complaint deserves further attention. As Sahlström (2002) convincingly argued, the main interactional function of hand-raising is "the monitoring of class participation in teaching" (p. 47). As mentioned earlier, Alice was an attentive student, who would often participate in the whole group classroom discussions in relevant and appropriate ways. Arguably therefore, Alice's sitting location may have favored an intentional overlook of her bidding for the floor by the teacher, who could have wanted others to participate at that particular moment.

Excerpts 1-3 empirically show how socialization into the social order of whole group classroom interaction with young learners takes place. In the case analyzed in this paper, Alice is introduced to the maxim that, in order to secure one's access to the floor and protect one's authorship regarding the content of a turn, one must raise one's hand and wait to be called. The analysis also unveils the moral work that is inextricably intertwined with the ecology of the classroom and shows that in practice, the methods idealized by teachers may diverge from what teachers and students implement and thus co-construct as classroom participation routines.

5. Discussion and Conclusions

The three excerpts analyzed here highlight the complex interactional work of participating and managing participation in early years classrooms. They also provide insights into the tension between conversational norms and the morality embedded in socializing students and being socialized (as a student) into these norms.

In excerpt 1, we showed how a complaint by a student addressing transgressional behavior from her peers was designed so as to invoke accountability and invite an action from the teacher. In excerpt 2, we highlighted how the complaint was treated by the teacher as occasioned by the student herself, as she did not seek the teacher's permission to proceed with a turn. We have noted that this could be understood as a reproach of Alice's action while also ascribing the responsibility of the outcome of such action to her. By ascribing the responsibility to the student and not aligning with Alice's accusation of her peers, the teacher avoided stirring up feelings of resentment among the students that Alice's complaint might have caused. Finally, excerpt 3 showed how the unpacking of the ideal methods – from the teacher's point of view – for students to participate in whole group

conversational activities was designed not to Alice only, but rather to the entire cohort. This is evidenced by the multi-semiotic resources mobilized by the teacher, e.g., the index finger pointing upward to visually explain the hand raising procedure and the eye gaze alternating between Alice and the other children.

As it is the case with our data, when moral issues emerge in classroom interaction in the first years of schooling, teachers may frame them as issues related to students' understandings of classroom participation norms, which are still in the process of being learned. In prioritizing the socialization of oral social practices over moral issues, teachers may frame the ongoing talk as a more collective-oriented one. They also act prospectively since this new 'knowledge' could potentially foster participation that complies with the classroom norms and thus prevent similar moral issues from happening at the first place. However, in not explicitly explaining to the group that they should not steal the content of someone else's turns, depicting the event as likely to happen ("they hear what you say and say it first"), and labeling the agents responsible for such types of events as 'very clever' could have unwanted implications to students' socialization. For instance, it might convey the idea that, contrary to acting towards social solidarity, stealing the content of other people's turns is normative and acceptable conduct, against which one should learn to protect oneself.

By exploring an episode of unplanned teaching that emerges from a contingent, unforeseen event in the classroom, the present article may help fill a long-standing gap in teacher education programs, that is, the development of teacher knowledge and awareness about aspects of social interaction. The relevancy and pertinence of evidence-based reflection for the work of teachers have been highlighted by recent studies on learning settings in Brazil, such as de Souza, Malabarba and Guimarães (2020), Bulla and Schulz (2018), Dalacorte (2003), and Kanitz and Garcez (2020).

Continued micro-analytic research into the fine-grained interactional work that elementary school teachers and students accomplish together will undoubtedly shed further light on the complex processes of teaching and learning how to become a more competent member of a given classroom community, which, as the current study has shown, is unavoidably linked with contingent moments of classroom interaction often embedded in moral tension.

Acknowledgments

This research relies on data that was collected for the project supported by the Observatory of Education program (Capes/Inep, Edital 038/2010), coordinated by Ana Maria de Mattos Guimarães. We would like to thank her for giving us access to her database. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the panel EMCA Studies of Children, at the 2019 Conference of the International Institute for Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis, in Mannheim, Germany. We are grateful to the organizers of the panel, Yumei Gan and Christian Greiffenhagen, and to the colleagues attending it, for their valuable feedback. Our sincere thank you to Christl Langer, Marie Will and Annette Steyn (University of Potsdam), for their support with the formatting and proof reading of the paper. Finally,

we are grateful to the two reviewers of this paper, Maria Izabel Rodrigues Tognato and Cristiane Maria Schnack, for their critical and constructive comments.

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APPENDIX 1 - TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS USED IN THE ANALYSES

The transcription conventions used in this paper are adapted from the system developed by Jefferson (2004)

. Falling intonation
, Slightly rising or continuing intonation
? Rising intonation
; Mid-falling intonation
:: Lengthened syllable
= no break or gap between utterances or lines
_ stressed talk (e.g., via pitch and/or amplitude)
↓ Sharp fall in pitch
↑ Sharp rise in pitch
CAP increased volume
[ ] Overlapping talk
() Unintelligible stretch
(0.5) Length of silence in tenths of a second
° Talk that is quieter than the surrounding talk
$ Smiley voice
(()) Description of accompanying behavior
→ Points to a phenomenon of particular interest, to be discussed by the author