THE ROLE OF CLASSROOM INTERACTION IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF
CLASSROOM ORDER: A CONVERSATION ANALYTIC STUDY

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MEHMET ALİ İÇBAY

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Prof. Dr. Sencer Ayata

Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Prof. Dr. Ali Yıldırım

Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

_____

Prof. Dr. Ali Yıldırım

Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Prof. Dr. Deniz Zeyrek	(METU, FLE)	_____
Prof. Dr. Ali Yıldırım	(METU, EDS)	_____
Prof. Dr. David Bloome	(OSU, LLC)	_____
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ercan Kiraz	(METU, EDS)	_____
Assist. Prof. Dr. Hanife Akar	(METU, EDS)	_____

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Mehmet Ali İÇBAY

Signature:

ABSTRACT

THE ROLE OF CLASSROOM INTERACTION IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF
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İçbay, Mehmet Ali

Ph.D., Department of Educational Sciences

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Ali Yıldırım

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This conversation analytic study basically aimed at unearthing the role of classroom interaction in the construction of classroom order. Rooted in the theoretical and methodological principles of Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis, this study investigated the mechanisms of how the order in the classroom was established, organized and sustained mutually by the teacher and students. From three classrooms in three high schools in Ankara, the study collected a 47 hour video-recording database from 69 different sessions with 15 teachers. The analysis focused on the scenes of trouble that revealed the interactional organization of order with particular reference to the participants' demonstrable actions. The scenes of troubles were composed of four particular groups of moments in the classroom life: (a) class beginnings, (b) transitions between activities, (c) post-humor moments, and (d) specific-student calls. The results demonstrated in the details of recordings how the participants in the classroom attributed meaning to order, how they showed their understanding of classroom order through their demonstrable action, and through their actions how they applied their mechanisms of classroom order to other contexts.

Keywords: Classroom order, classroom interaction, conversation analysis.

ÖZ

SINIF İÇİNDEKİ İLETİŞİMİN SINIF DÜZENİNİ YAPILANDIRMADAKİ ROLÜ: BİR KONUŞMA ÇÖZÜMLEMESİ ÇALIŞMASI

İçbay, Mehmet Ali

Doktora, Eğitim Bilimleri Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Prof. Dr. Ali Yıldırım

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Bu konuşma çözümlemesi çalışması sınıf içindeki iletişimin sınıf düzenini yapılandırmadaki rolünü ortaya çıkarmayı amaçlamıştır. Kökleri Budunyöntembilim (Ethnomethodology) ve Konuşma Çözümlemesi'nin (Conversation Analysis) kuramsal ve yöntemsel ilkelerine dayanan bu çalışma öğretmen ve öğrencilerin birlikte oluşturdukları, düzenledikleri ve sürdürdükleri sınıf düzenini incelemiştir. Araştırma için Ankara'da bulunan üç okuldaki üç sınıftan 15 öğretmenin bulunduğu 69 değişik dersten 47 saatlik bir çekim veritabanı oluşturulmuştur. Araştırma katılımcıların gözlenebilir davranışlarını temel alarak sınıf düzeninin yeniden oluşturulduğu anlara odaklanmıştır. Bu anlar sınıf yaşamında yer alan dört farklı süreçte incelenmiştir: (a) ders başlangıçları, (b) etkinlikler arasındaki geçişler, (c) gülmece sonrası anlar ve (d) belirli öğrenci seslenmeleri sonrası anlar. Dolayısıyla araştırmanın sonunda sınıf içindeki katılımcıların düzen olgusuna nasıl anlam yükledikleri, düzen olgusu hakkındaki anlayışlarını gözlenebilir davranışlarıyla harekete nasıl dönüştürdükleri ve bu gözlenebilir davranışlarıyla düzeni sağlayan düzenekleri diğer bağlamlara nasıl aktardıkları ortaya çıkarılmıştır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Sınıf düzeni, sınıf-içi iletişim, konuşma çözümlemesi.

To my mom and dad, Fehime and Mustafa Şevki İçbay, my first teachers,

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This foreword is not intended to be a list of 'thank-you's to certain people, but as an indebtedness, as a way to show gratitude to the people involved in the voyage of this study. The debts are varied, some more longstanding than others. However, at any case, my foremost gratitude must be shown to the teachers, students, administrators and school counselors who had faith in my work, and who always supported me with encouragement, and who helped me feel as if I were one of them in the classrooms.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CA: Conversation analysis.

EM: Ethnomethodology.

COU: Classroom order unit.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

> Hayatta en hakiki mürşit ilimdir.
> [The truest path to life is science itself.]
> Mustafa Kemal Atatürk

All of the efforts in the vast field of education are rooted in the same motive: we, as researchers, practitioners and policy makers, all want to achieve a better understanding of the teaching and learning process, the factors that contribute to this mutual relation, and the role of schooling life in this process. As a result, we wish to increase the student's academic, social, and personal development. One way of increasing the student progress before taking any practical action to change the dynamics in the school environment is to portray the classroom life and depict what happens in the classroom. This study rooted in the same motive to understand the order organization of classroom life aims at describing how the interaction in the classroom plays a central role in shaping the construction and organization of order in the classroom.

Education is essentially a social action, and thus depends on social interaction. It typically occurs in small places in small social units through face-to-face interactions (Vanderstraeten, 2001). A teacher talks to a group of 20-30 (or more) students for hours in 40-50 (or less) minute segments. They share what they know, how they do what they know, what they feel, what they think and what they plan to do all through interactions in the classroom. These moments of sharing are then coordinated around a set of previously established rules. Classrooms thus become a platform where teacher and students recurrently negotiate on how to organize their actions.

Language, or more specifically conversation, which is referred to as talk-in-interaction in this study, is the key medium of social life, and a vast number of social actions in life and at the school are organized and shared in naturally occurring conversations. It is through these different talks-in-interaction at different contexts that social institutions and actions are produced and composed (Watson, 1992). Education, or more specifically classroom life, the primary focus and starting point of the study, which is referred to as classroom interaction in this study, is the main mode in which teaching, learning, and other allied phenomena within the classroom environment are produced, organized, and shared by the participants in the classroom. This study by drawing a close connection between what happens in the ordinary world and what happens in classrooms plans to explore how order is produced in the classroom with a comparative focus on how order is produced in the ordinary world.

The key notion building the theoretical and methodological skeleton of this study is the idea that interaction generates the only social stage at which reality is constructed, shared, and made meaningful. It "has a life on its own and [...] a little social system with its own boundary-making tendencies" (Goffman, 1966, p. 113). Based on Goffman's vision of reality, i.e. any social reality is bound to exist within the boundaries of interactions in this social peripheral, classroom interaction is considered to be one of the sole platforms where any reality about any classroom phenomena is constructed, shared, and made meaningful both to the participants and to the outsiders who take interest in what happens in the classrooms. This study, which has built its conceptual framework on this nature of reality, focuses on how the order in the classroom, a massive phenomenon in the classroom life, is constructed, organized and made meaningful through the interactions in the classroom.

This introductory chapter started with the background to the study, i.e. how the order, a particular classroom phenomenon, was conceptually framed in the previous studies, how the concepts about order and interaction were formulated in the related literature, and how conversation analysis was thought to be one of the valid and applicable theoretical and methodological ways to look for order in the classroom life. The chapter then continued with the particular purposes of the study,

listing what purposes were targeted and what foreshadowing questions were asked to reach these purposes at the beginning of the study. The significance of the study followed the discussion of purposes. The practical benefits of the study were listed in terms of applicability to the classroom life. At the end of the chapter, the core concepts that shaped the basics of the study and that were used extensively in the study were defined, with a particular focus on how the term, classroom order, was conceptualized

1.1. Background to the Study

The section of background to the study provides a focus and a set of lens for the study. Based on the previously established frames in the related studies, the background presents a path for the study to follow in its own course. Similarly, in order to build a conceptual framework and at the same time to reshape the problem eliciting the pioneering notion in the study, the background work in this section consisted of the discussion of the main studies done in the field of classroom interaction analysis and classroom order. At the end of these discussions, the path for the inquiry into how order was constructed in the classroom was sketched with particular reference to the conversation analytic principles.

The teacher as the only person on one side is busy with finishing the tasks in her plan, is on the alert for any possible misbehavior, is constantly making herself available to the students for their questions and wonders, is continuously monitoring her students to check what they have learnt and if they are ready for the next step, and is in the never-ending process of when to give a small break before the next activity. The students as fifteen or twenty people on the other side are busy with making themselves publicly available to the teachers and their classmates, are relentlessly following the interactions between the teacher and the students not to miss any possible call from the teacher or classmates, is trying to learn what is being presented in the class, and screening the class flow to find any possible moment to have a short chat with their classmates. The list of interactions for both sides might increase. The remarkable point is, however, this unique classroom scene where a teacher and twenty or more students come together and spend some time together with a number of rules regulating their interactions. Consequently, this study focuses

on how these rules are put into action through the teacher's and students' interactions.

Maintaining order and re-maintaining order once diffused in a place at which there are two parties, one of which embodies the power to organize the rules to allocate limited liberty among the members of the second party, is a most ordinary but unnoticed event in the social world. Assembling the order and re-assembling it once dissolved in a classroom where there are two parties, one of which, the teacher as the cohorting party, has the leading power to allocate the turn-takings among the students who have been transformed into an instructed and cohorted group, is a most ordinary seen but unnoticed event in the classroom life. The primary purpose of this study is thus showing how the order in the classroom is restored mutually by the teacher and students with particular reference to the two-party system regulating the allocation of liberty among the members of second party.

It is easier to illustrate the mechanism of how order is restored continuously and constantly in the classroom by an analogy with the nature of traffic. Before depicting the connections between the nature of traffic and the nature of classroom order, it is essential at this point to note that this analogy only presents the similarities that are of interest to this research. More similarities and even differences can be listed for different purposes and for different interests. Suppose that (1) you have a car, (2) you basically know how to drive, (3) you know the traffic rules governing the flow of traffic on the roads, and thus (4) you are aware of the fact there are also other drivers that you are going to come across while driving. The facts that you have the car and that you know the rules and phenomena surrounding the nature of traffic do not eliminate the foreshadowing fact that you might have problems on the road. Further, having problems while driving does not mean that you have violated the rules, or that your car has had a mechanic problem, or does not mean that you have had an accident. You as a novice or experienced driver are quite aware of the fact derived from the nature of traffic that the roads have other drivers that constantly interact with you on the roads and they might cause problems, or that the roads you are driving on with other drivers might have improper engineering and might cause problems, or that previous problems that other drivers have had might lead to numerous possibilities of problems in traffic. The idea of having the

possibility to have an accident at any moment in traffic does not prevent you from driving on the road because you can anticipate what you can do to save yourself from an accident or because you have the skills and experiences of what you can do to eliminate the damage and injury at an accident.

The sophisticated characteristic of traffic applies to the classroom life. A teacher like a driver (1) has a number of students, (2) knows the content of her subject matter, (3) knows the classroom management techniques, and (4) knows the nature of the students in her class. However, the students and that much knowledge about the classroom life do not prevent the teacher, and thus the class as a whole, from having order problems because the teacher is aware of the fact that each moment in a session in the classroom has numerous combinations of actions that might lead to order problems. The teacher nevertheless knows (1) what she can do to prevent any order problems and (2) what she can do to eliminate the damage in an order problem in the classroom. This study as an attempt to portray the flow of classroom life and classroom order in this never-ending flow is an example of conversation analytic work that has unearthed the mechanisms of how the participants achieve to maintain order in the classroom.

The issue of order in the classroom has been one of the major concerns for the people in the educational community not only because it involves the practical and observable consequences for the classroom practitioners, but also because it is built on diverse conceptual and theoretical frameworks from various fields of inquiry. The nature of order in the classroom thus has resulted in a vast amount of literature ranging from the ones listing practical tips, such as how to arrange the desks in the classroom or how to call students before a question, to the ones suggesting the underlying theoretical motives in the management of the students as a group. However, the studies that shaped the conceptual framework of this study and that ones that consequently provided research questions at the end concentrated on the connection between the demonstrable actions of the participants in the classroom and the emergence of order with these demonstrable actions.

The interest in the seen but unnoticed mechanisms of how teachers and students collaboratively constructed order in the classroom started with a familiar observation. The observation of a secondary school class showed that despite

different formations of classes at different times, teachers were able to manage their students with relative ease (Payne & Hustler, 1980). The inquiry into how teachers could manage different students at different times in different classes was answered by Payne and Hustler's conclusion in their study, stating that one general strategy teacher used to handle students in classrooms was "to constitute them as a class, as a collectivity, as a cohort" (1980, p. 50).

The cohorting practices, the actions to sustain order in the classroom by turning individual students into a single unit, became the central theme in the field of classroom interaction analysis and classroom order. Meanwhile, researchers applying conversation analytic principles into the classroom environment found that the two-party speech exchange system was the underlying drive shaping the nature of classroom interactions (McHoul, 1978). As a result, the pioneering ideas of cohorting practices and two-party speech exchange system constructed the basic conceptual framework for the researchers that were interested in the connection between talk-in-interaction in the classroom and classroom order.

Conversation analysis (CA), with a core assumption derived from ethnomethodology (EM) which relies on the idea that the members of a conversation are the first analysts of the conversation, aims at characterizing the organization of the interaction by abstracting from exemplars of specimens of interaction and at uncovering the emic logic underlying the organization (Seedhouse, 2004). Consequently, CA uses the members' own analytic signs as the core part of the analysis of social interaction. Furthermore, CA aims at locating and describing how the world of talk works, how the experienced moments of social life are constructed, as well as how the ongoing operation of the social order is organized (Moerman, 1988).

CA is a field that focuses heavily on issues of meaning and context in interaction. It is based on the theory which argues that sequences of actions are a major part of what is meant with context and that the meaning of an action is shaped by the sequence of previous actions from which it emerges. It further discusses that the social context is a dynamically created construct that is expressed in the sequential organization of interaction (Heritage, 1984).

The aim of a conversation analytic study is to produce descriptions of recurrent patterns of social interaction and language use (Perakyla, 1997). In order to generate a description of patterns in a social interaction, CA has developed its own subset of principles and procedures: (1) the principle of order in interaction, (2) the principle of context-shaped and context-renewing interaction, (3) the procedure of seeking microscopic detail in interaction and (4) the principle of data-driven analysis (Seedhouse, 2004).

Conversation as a field of study is a major domain of social action, and due to its interactional nature revealing key social aspects, it has been the focus of research studying classroom life (Macbeth, 1994, p.137). This study has focused on the ways of how troubles are handled through interactions that recursively make publicly available to the participants involved in the conversation. As a result, the treatment of language conceptually showed that talk-in-interaction is not a means to reach the reality hidden in the phenomena being studied but is an end itself that embraces the reality of social phenomena that can be reached through the detailed analysis of the interaction as an end.

The focus on the theoretical and methodological stance in the study redirected the path of interest and thus led to reshape the conceptual framework with the CA/EM perspective. The previous studies in the field stressed the seen but unnoticed fact that experienced teachers were told to manage their classes in such taken-for-granted ways that those teachers were not consciously aware of the nature of their practical accomplishment (Payne & Hustler, 1980). They became aware of the outcomes of their practical achievement when trouble occurred in the classroom, or when the students were being challenging. Other than those moments in the classroom, those experienced teachers did not pay particular attention to what they consciously did for the order in the classroom. Consequently, the order was said to be accomplished in unnoticed ways in a classroom (Payne & Hustler, 1980).

Another regular but unnoticed fact is that the classroom was essentially built on the struggle between assembling the students as a cohort and re-assembling the cohort when the cohortness was diffused during certain periods (Davies, 1983; Macbeth, 1990, 1991, 1992; Payne & Hustler, 1980). This study after reviewing the research previously done at the crossroads of classroom order and classroom

interaction evolved into the state which aims to uncover how order is restored after particular cohort diffusing periods, which are considered to be (a) the class beginnings, (b) the transition periods between activities, (c) the moments after a humorous event, and (d) the moments after student-specific calls. These moments in the classroom life are the examples of junctures at which the diffused body is transformed into the cohorted body.

1.2. Purpose of the Study

The goal of the study is to portray how the teacher and students in a classroom environment construct the classroom order through their interactions during a class time. It aims to uncover the mechanisms of how the teacher and students collectively construct order with particular reference to their demonstrable actions. Since it focuses on the demonstrable mechanisms that are made publicly available through the participants' actions, the study aims to show the sequential development of classroom order construction in the flow of classroom life.

More specifically, the study will try to answer the following questions, noting though that since this is essentially qualitative study and thus does not start with clear-cut predetermined questions, but set off its route with foreshadowing questions, the questions listed here have been changed and new ones have been added in the course of study as the analyses have suggested.

(1) How do the participants, the teacher and students in a classroom environment, construct the classroom order?

(a) What demonstrable mechanisms do the participants display in their interactions in order to construct the classroom order?

(b) How do the participants account for their own actions and for others' actions to regard them as the signals of constructing order in the classroom?

(2) What steps do the participants follow to construct the classroom order?

(3) How is the two-party speech system put into action in a classroom interaction?

(a) How is the cohorting practices initiated, organized and sustained in particular moments of the classroom life?

> (i) How is the cohorting practices made available to the participants and others in the class beginnings?
>
> (ii) How is the cohorting practices made available to the participants and others in the transition periods between activities?
>
> (iii) How is the cohorting practices made available to the participants and others in the moments after humorous events?
>
> (iv) How is the cohorting practices made available to the participants and others in the moments after specific student calls?

(b) How is the act of restoring the order terminated in a classroom interaction?

(4) How does the teacher handle the mechanisms of students' participation in the construction of classroom order?

1.3. Significance of the Study

We, as the members of the scientific community in the field of education that have taken a promised interest in changing the structure of education in the society for better teaching and learning practices, need to start understanding what happens in and out of classrooms with a descriptive eye showing the whats and hows of classroom life organizations (Mehan, 1982). This study as an attempt to uncover what happens in a classroom and particularly how the teacher and students construct the order will present the specific ways that the order problems can be solved with particular reference to its organizational features.

In other words, the problems in educational settings cannot be solved, or the solutions that have been formulated to solve those problems cannot be evaluated unless what the problems are or how the actors in those settings define them are understood with particular reference to the nature of those problems (Anderson-Levitt, 2006). As Erickson and Gutierrez (2002) put it, "a logically and empirically prior question to 'Did it work?' is 'What was the "it"?'" (p. 21). As an attempt to

define the problem of order in the classroom, this study will aim at showing how classroom life is organized and more specifically will aim at portraying how the order in the classroom is constructed. The study thus will guide the people who are interested in changing the dynamics of classroom life to produce solutions to the problems embedded in the classroom life.

The seen but unnoticed ways of maintaining order in the classroom constitute the main part of a teacher's professional expertise. The process of maintaining order is derived not only from the fact that society ascribes to the teacher certain measures of authority and power but also from the fact that they are supposed to reformulate their own accomplished ways to manage, coordinate, control, and direct on the occasion of each and every lesson. It is part of their professional repertoire of methodic skills required to do their job properly. However, this repertoire of methodic skills with which the experienced teachers handle and control the students is such a taken-for-granted aspect of teacher life that they cannot easily tell others how they accomplish it (Payne & Hustler, 1980). This study thus aims to uncover how those seen but unnoticed ways of maintaining order are accomplished in a classroom. By unearthing how the order is handled in the classroom with publicly demonstrable steps, the findings of the study are expected to help novice teachers learn from other teachers' ways of maintaining order.

Each context in a classroom imposes different constraints on students' actions. Those constraints in each context vary from event to event, from phase to phase within those events, and even from interactional sequence to interactional sequence within those phases. These permutations thus require teacher and students to engage in interpretive work to make sense of constantly changing social circumstances in the classroom, and thus for an effective participation in the classroom result in the need for the students to recognize different contexts with certain event and instructional sequence features (Mehan, 1982). This study as a disciplined attempt will make publicly demonstrable the mechanisms of how the participants make sense out of those permutations. These descriptions will in the long run help the education community, researchers, practitioners, and policy makers, decide where to focus before making a further step in changing the nature of education in the classrooms.

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The related literature in the crossroad of classroom interaction analysis and classroom order have focused on the mechanisms of how order is initiated, organized and sustained through the participants' interactions in particular moments of the classroom life. However, the particular mechanisms of how order is diffused and terminated and of how the participants turn back to their non-institutionalized life have not been uncovered yet. This study with a particular focus on how the teachers and students end an activity and a lesson will try to discover how the teacher and students in a classroom disassemble order and turn back to their non-school life.

The review of humor in the field of education and in other fields have not been able to develop a detailed understanding of how humor is formed or produced, and how humor is made publicly demonstrable to the participants (McGhee, 1971; Robinson & Smith-Lovin, 2001). The study in the subsection of the results chapter will aim at making available to the researchers, practitioners, and policy makers how humor is formed in the classroom. As a byproduct of the study's main purpose, unearthing how order is restored after a humorous event, the study will demonstrate how humor in a conversation is produced, sustained and organized with the particular focus on the mechanisms of how order plays a role in the construction of humor.

In addition to the practical benefits listed above, this study as being one of the first Turkish CA research will show how Turkish can be studied with the CA lenses and how classroom talk in a Turkish classroom context can be studied with the CA principles. Furthermore, there has not been any study that has investigated how talk-in-interaction creates the order in Turkish classrooms. Consequently, this study will be one of the pioneering studies investigating the classroom life in a Turkish school context with an emic perspective.

1.4. Definition of Terms

The concepts that have shaped the skeleton of the study and that will guide the conceptual frames of the following chapters in this study are defined in a non-operational manner. Those concepts are explained in a non-operational fashion not only because they are defined to give the readers a sense of what will be discussed in detail in the following sections but also the concepts stated here do not have clear-cut boundaries in the literature. The concepts to be defined include (a) conversation

analysis, (b) classroom order, (c) classroom culture, (d) classroom interaction, and (e) cohorting practices.

(a) Conversation analysis (CA): Conversation analysis is basically the study of talk. More particularly, it is the systematic analysis of the talk in everyday situations of social interaction (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1988). CA aims to "discover how participants understand and respond to one another in their turns at talk, with a central focus on how sequences of actions are generated" (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1988, p. 14). CA uncovers how the participants in a talk-in-interaction construct the social phenomena through their interactions, an orderly accomplishment that is oriented to by the participants themselves.

(b) Classroom order: Classroom order is defined as the cooperative achievement of teacher and students in a classroom for having a smooth flow of interaction in a session. As an umbrella term, classroom management, a certain set of ways to sustain the classroom order, can be defined as the process of creating a classroom environment that facilitates learning and teaching. Similarly, classroom management is defined as "the actions teachers take to create an environment that supports and facilitates both academic and socio-emotional learning" (Evertson & Weinstein, 2006). Brophy (2006) defines classroom management as "actions taken to create and maintain a learning environment conductive to successful instruction." Classroom management is equally considered to be "the provisions and procedures necessary to establish and maintain an environment in which instruction and learning can occur" (Duke, 1979), and at the same time as "covering a wide range of teacher duties from distributing resources to students, accounting for student attendance and school property, enforcing compliance with rules and procedures to grouping students for instruction" (Doyle, 1986). However, the term, classroom order, in this study is defined as the set of mutually constructed actions to gain and regain when lost the pendulum of two-party speech exchange system that is composed of the teacher as the cohorting party and the students as the cohorted party in the classroom.

(c) Classroom culture: Derived from Geertz's (1973) reformulation of culture, classroom culture is the interactionally constructed and publicly held system of meanings acted, organized, and shared publicly in a particular classroom environment. It helps the participant guide their actions and make sense of the

others' actions. Furthermore, it creates a platform for the teacher and students to understand what meanings the participants' actions have and what meanings their own actions might propose.

(d) Classroom interaction: Classroom interaction as a form of institutional talk is locally managed but cooperatively constructed speech exchange system (Markee & Kasper, 2004). Composed of interactions between teacher and students and among students, classroom interaction is one of the platforms where any reality about classroom phenomena is produced and can be observed at the same time. Teacher-talk-dominated classroom interaction is a seemingly unequal power speech exchange system where teachers have the right to allocate turns to the students as a cohort.

(e) Cohorting practices: Payne and Hustler (1980) defines any cohorting practice as the teacher-driven but cooperatively constructed sequences of actions in a classroom interaction to transform the individual students into a coherent group to be called as a single unit by the teacher. Cohorting practices are the result of the struggle of gaining the order in the classroom. Occasionally organized by the teacher, cohorting practices are the mutually constructed actions in the classroom.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

> We are fated to live in world of talk. We are successively exalted or
> bored, enraptured, embarrassed, made anxious largely by talk
> organized as conversation (Moerman, 1988, p. xi).

This chapter framed the theoretical foundations of the study and at the end provided a particular stance for the study to follow its course. At the onset, it presented the studies that structured the basics of the study. These core texts represented the ideological standpoint towards the intersection between classroom conversation and classroom order.

The chapter continued with the discussion of what classroom culture meant, with particular reference to Geertz's (1973) reformulation of culture in a larger context and to the studies done in the ecological tradition. Next, the chapter defined classroom management and classroom order, and reviewed the studies done in the field of classroom order and classroom interaction. Although the subtitles were not parallel to each other, classroom management studies were handled under four headings: (a) the ecological approaches to classroom management, (b) classroom management in high schools, (c) classroom management in urban contexts, and (d) classroom management and classroom discourse. It then discussed the previous works on the segmentation of classroom life: (a) classroom beginnings, (b) transitions between activities and (c) humor in the classroom.

The chapter at the end summarized the review and concluded with the implications for the study. The conclusions in this chapter focused on how the findings from the previous studies could be applied to this study, especially to construct the conceptual framework and to determine the methodic decisions.

2.1. Introduction

Research on classrooms has primarily focused on how, and more particularly, to what extent experiences in a classroom will influence the students' later behavior. This focus on the relationship between what is now happening in the classroom and how, as well as to what extent students will learn has dominated the education field with a future orientation to the classroom research. However, for two decades, the interest in classroom research has changed its standpoint to the orientation that views classrooms as a particular set of cultural events (Bloome et al., 1989). The shift from future-oriented research understanding to the present-oriented paradigm is originated in the interest in the lively layers of classroom life, i.e. what happens in the classroom, what the teacher and students do in a classroom, what they talk about, how they interact with one another, and how they share the culture they create in the classroom. Order in the classroom and the connection between the order and classroom interaction, the focus of this study, are rooted in this paradigm shift in the research on classroom.

Interest in how classrooms do the work of teaching and learning among other things has led to the development of a substantial literature of classroom discourse studies (Macbeth, 2004). Those studies have investigated the different roles of classroom language in certain aspects of classroom life. Social competence, as an aspect of classroom life and as a key mechanism in the classroom life, is rooted in knowing what context a participant is located in and what actions are regarded as appropriate to that context (Shultz & Florio, 1979). Hence, it is the "capacity for monitoring contexts and […] for knowing when the context changes" (Erikson & Shultz, 1977, p. 5). Making sense of classroom order and thus navigating appropriately across the contexts for interaction within it are crucial aspects of social competence in classroom life (Shultz & Florio, 1979). At the same time, other studies in the field focusing on the related phenomena in the classroom have proved the significance of the shift to the closer analysis and thick description of classroom life with particular interest in how participants 'do classroom life'.

This study is an effort to portray this collectively and mutually constructed social competence, i.e. the social competence of constructing the classroom order

and acting on the order in the classroom interactions. The following section first presented the primary findings from the core studies that shaped the overall perspective to this social competence, and then discussed how those findings were integrated into the study.

2.2. Core Texts

The core texts presented extensively here include (1) the study by Macbeth (1987) where he investigated classroom order and disruption exclusively for a description of the indigenous social organizations of the classroom within the CA discipline, (2) the study by Payne and Hustler (1980) where they searched for the ways of how the classroom order is restored from the CA perspective, (3) the study by McHoul (1978) where he adopted the turn-taking system developed by Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974) to the classroom interaction and proposed a modified institutional turn-taking system as an evidence to institutional talk-in-interaction, (4) the study by Macbeth (1992) stressing the role of classroom floor for authority and classroom order, (5) the study by Shultz and Florio (1979) as an early and classic example of segmenting the classroom life and as an early work revealing the key role of demonstrable actions of the teacher and students in understanding the classroom phenomena, (6) the study by Mehan (1982), the cutting-edge work of viewing the segmentation of classroom life with the CA perspective, (7) the study by Bremme and Erickson (1977) where they investigated the relationships among verbal and nonverbal classroom behaviors and showed how the participants in the classroom signaled different activities, and finally (8) the study by Davies where he examined the role the students played in the construction of classroom order.

2.2.1. The Study by Macbeth (1987)

This study started its analytical voyage with a close reading of Macbeth's study on the conversation analytic analysis of classroom order in the secondary classrooms. Macbeth (1987) in his dissertation entitled 'Management's work: The social organization of order and troubles in secondary classrooms' found in the details of the video records an understanding of how each scene of troubles was distinctively assembled and accomplished by the participants. He also discovered

that there was interactional regularity within his recorded scenes, which allowed him to develop a new way to discriminate and organize the phenomenon of classroom order.

Macbeth (1987) started his study of classroom analysis with the perspective that it was the participants' work that the researcher as an outsider found the achievements of classroom order, i.e. the teacher and students in a classroom, the local staff, were held accountable for what he found those interior organizations that yielded the details of how the local staff produced the social competence of classroom order. Consequently, he located what participants displayed to one another in the classroom at the center of his analysis, and further came to the conclusion that what the local stuff publicly displayed was the only data that could be trusted.

Macbeth (1987) started his analysis with the particular interest in class beginnings because, despite their familiarity as normal, regular, typical and uniform organizations, for him each class beginning was the participants' "practical tasks and actual achievements" allowing them to demonstrate how they made sense of the order (p. 446). Those class beginnings were also the first places where he could point out the mechanisms of how an accountable sense of instructed class became available to him as an observer.

In the following chapters where he was looking for the places to position the mechanisms of how order was restored, Macbeth (1987) discovered that

> [T]he structure of accountability we found was nothing of a disengaged or formal kind, but a contingent structure produced first as a closely placed sequence of remark and response, and then, in the skillful assembling of the sequences, as an emerging asymmetry of power and resources for shaping its course and what it came to (p. 448).

His statement proved the two fundamental points in a conversation analytic study of classroom order: (a) the order is constructed with the demonstrable actions of the participants, which became available to the researcher through the sequential analysis of the turn-takings in the interactions, and (b) the classroom order is organized around the struggle of unequal power resulting in the teacher-driven but mutually constructed cohorting practices.

2.1.2. The Study by Payne and Hustler (1980)

Payne and Hustler (1980) started their argument with an observation: the teacher in a secondary school repeatedly handled a variety of collections of students at different times. Despite this varied constitution of classes, teachers were able to manage their students with relative ease. The other observation in their study indicated that one general strategy a teacher used in order to handle the students in the classroom was "to constitute them as a class, as a collectivity, as a cohort" (p. 50). The idea of constituting students as a collective unit framed the whole presentation of the findings in the study.

Payne and Hustler (1980) found that because a question had been asked of an individual, this still did not remove the need for all students to orient to that question as potentially theirs (p. 58). The nature of student-specific questions thus indicated that the students as a unit needed to attend to what is happening in the classroom even though they are not specifically addressed.

One of the findings in their study was that the teacher made available his cohorting work through the way he introduced the topic to the current lesson. He accomplished this by doing some resuming work through his recall on the previous lesson. In referring to the time before, the teacher was said to be asking the students "to discover an appropriate last time and so to constitute this current talk as another instance of the talk that was produced in that identifiable last time" (Payne & Hustler, 1980, p. 56). Similarly, the teacher's usage of the word 'now' progressively brought the class along to the next activity. The teacher's usage "describe a recapitulation on what has happened so far and point to what the class can sensibly expect to happen next" (Payne & Hustler, 1980, p. 63).

As a methodological offshoot, they suggested that the constitution of students as a cohort was a feature of the classroom environment that was made available to the researchers in part through the organization of talk. Consequently, it can be said that they were placing the conversation at the center of constructing the social reality.

In order to find instances of cohorting practices, Payne and Hustler (1980) began the analyses by focusing on class beginnings. They thought that "beginnings are a proper time in an occasion for occasion relevant identities to be available by

and to the assembled parties" (p. 53). At the end of the analyses, they found out that the teacher was addressing the class as a cohort and getting them to act as a unit, making their individual fates collectively interdependent. The other finding from their analyses was that even though the teacher and students knew each other, knew how they started the lesson, and knew how they initiated the topics, each class beginning still required work and practice from the parties involved. In other words, the fact that the teacher and students know each other and have experienced some time together does not eliminate the peculiar reality that they must construct and re-construct the orders at each occasion.

One of the central findings in the study was the fact that providing that the number of persons in a conversation became overlarge, there was a tendency that the talk would break up into smaller groups, usually groups of two, participating in different conversations, unless there were some organizational constraints in operation, or a form of mechanism governing the allocations of talk among the members in the conversation (Payne & Hustler, 1980).

Payne and Hustler (1980) also discovered that there were certain times during the course of a lesson when the cohorting practices were positioned more obviously. Those moments included those certain places in the lesson "when the teacher is concerned to bring about some change of activity for everyone" (p. 60). Thus, they focused on the times in a lesson when the teacher attempted to move the students as a cohort from one activity to another. Namely, class beginnings and transitions between activities were the moments in the class period where the teacher lost the cohortness and thus was forced to restore the order.

2.1.3. The Study by McHoul (1978)

McHoul (1978) by reviewing Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974) focused on their promise that different kinds of talk would show different systems of turn allocation and at the same time would show permutations of the turn-taking in the naturally occurring conversation. Consequently, McHoul (1978) showed how talk in classroom might show certain modifications from natural talk.

The CA manifesto by Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974) showed that a naturally occurring conversation operates on two main components, which were turn

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construction (turn construction units) and turn allocation (transition relevant places), and a rule set as well. The rule set was ordered and operated recursively, i.e. it would happen in the sequence of 1a, if not 1b, if not 1c, if not return to 1a (D. Macbeth, personal communication, February 21, 2007).

McHoul (1978) after analyzing the observations in his study proposed four modifications of the turn-taking system found in ordinary conversations:

(1) For a teacher's turn-so-far, at the first possible turn relevance place, (a) If the turn shows 'teacher selects next' technique, the selected next student has the right to the turn, (b) If the turn shows 'no next speaker' designation, the teacher continues.

(2) If 1a happens (the teacher selects next speaker student), at the first possible completion of the student's turn, (a) If the student's turn itself is constructed as 'current speaker selects next', then the turn returns to the teacher (students always select teacher next), (b) If the student's turn is not constructed as 'current selects next', self-selection might happen but routinely it is the teacher's self-selection, (c) If the student's turn is not constructed as 'current selects next', then current speaker, the student in this case, may continue, unless the teacher self-selects.

(3) For any student's turn, if at the first possible completion, neither 1a nor 1b happens, and the teacher continues, the system recycles at the next transition relevance place.

(4) For any student's turn, if at the first possible transition relevance place, neither 2a nor 2b happens, and 2c happens (the student continues), the rule set reapplies at the next possible completion (McHoul, 1978, p.188; D. Macbeth, personal communication, February 21, 2007).

Among other results from the study by McHoul (1984), his study proved that (a) until the selection of a next speaker was produced in any current turn by the teacher, every member of the cohort, each student in the classroom, had to attend to

what is being uttered in the classroom, and (b) teachers overwhelmingly did the talking in the classroom to create a two-party speech exchange system. The turn-taking system modified according to the institutional features of classroom life provided the starting point for the researchers who took interest in the different aspects of classroom interaction.

2.1.4. The Study by Macbeth (1992)

According to Macbeth (1992), classroom floor denoted authority structures governing the speaking rights and obligations to listen. For him, the floor was a material object,

> consisting of an interactional configuration and the competence to produce it, and possessing the following features it can be seen, found, pointed to, observed, approached, avoided, trespassed, and missed (p. 128).

Following the premises of CA, Macbeth (1992) proposed that floor was the outcome of local order, i.e. the familiar task and actual achievement of the persons who lived and worked there. Thus, he regarded the classroom floor as an ensemble of social-material organization, "a produced locale, and a creature of the competence of the persons in the room" (p. 128). For him, classroom floor was the platform where the classroom order struggle took place. The teacher was involved in his or her work to find proper time to start his or her cohorting party in the classroom floor.

Although he focused on the class beginnings, he concluded that the order of methodic work reoccurred throughout the day in the classroom. For him, "the notion of the floor becomes a device for collecting and analyzing the orderliness of the room" (p. 147). The teacher's work of producing instruction, authority, and purposes as public, observable, and analyzable ensembles of interactional material was subject to revision from moment to moment in the classroom.

2.1.5. The Study by Shultz and Florio (1979)

By using microethnographic techniques, the study by Shultz and Florio (1979) discovered and described important aspects of the social competence acquired

by children in a kindergarten/first grade classroom. In their introduction, they suggested that:

> [U]pon entering school for the first time, children must learn how to behave appropriately in the classroom. At any given moment, they need to know what is expected of them by the teacher and by their classmates (p. 166).

Following this discussion, Shultz and Florio (1979) examined the ways in which one kindergarten teacher signaled to her students that something new was about to happen, more specifically the contextual changes that occurred during an open activity period called work time. They also attempted to uncover what it was that children needed to know in order to act in a manner that was considered appropriate in the classroom.

They found out that in order for a large group of people, the students in their case, in order to move from a single-focus into small activity groups and back again in limited time and space, changes in the flow of activity occurred, and activity was segmented into a series of constituent contexts for interaction. Another finding from their study was that the teacher and students used movement through space as a powerful context cue.

Shultz and Florio (1979) concluded that making sense of classroom order and thus navigating appropriately across the contexts for interaction within it are important aspects of social competence. They also demonstrated that a student's failure to appropriately interpret the social meaning inherent in the teacher's actions revealed the institutional formulation of the order.

2.1.6. The Study by Mehan (1982)

Mehan (1982) started his chapter with background information about ethnography, culturally specific ethnography, and the ethnography of communication, as well as how they were handled in the education field. This discussion provided a background for investigating students' participation in the classroom. It also provided "a warrant for defining 'interactional competence' in terms of effective participation or membership in the classroom" (p. 65). His focus of

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interest was on answering questions of what was involved in competent participation in the classroom community and what students did and said when they were judged as effective in the classroom.

Mehan (1982), after the segmentation of classroom life into events, and then events into phases, divided those phases into interactional sequences. At the end of his two-step segmentation of classroom life, he concluded that (1) the behaviors of teacher and students could be segmented into relatively discrete units, (2) the segmentation of behavior could be made available to the participants and others through "a small set of recursive rules," (3) general behavior in the classroom was composed of events, events were composed of phases, and phases were composed of interactional sequences, (4) the partitioning process in the classroom was an "interactional accomplishment" between the participants, (5) the same partitioning process formed boundaries or transitions between events or activities, and (6) these transitions were marked by the participants' interactional work, including verbal and nonverbal behavior (p. 72).

Mehan (1982) concluded that in order for students to be competent members in the classroom community, in addition to knowing what to say, just as importantly they must also know how to actually display their knowledge. This awareness involved knowing that certain ways of talking and acting are appropriate on some occasions and not others. They must acquire the knowledge to "knowing with whom, when, and when they can speak and act" (p. 79). He also put forward that the organization of the classroom was not uni-dimensional, with activity originating only from the teacher and flowing towards the students, but was multi-dimensional, with students and teacher jointly responsible for this flow.

2.1.7. The Study by Bremme and Erickson (1977)

Bremme and Erickson (1977) started their study by stressing a familiar but overlooked observation: sharing personal experiences and engaging in brief teaching and learning episodes, the teacher and students in the classroom "give little thought to the complexity of the interactional work they perform" (p. 153). For them, social interaction is a simple accomplishment. People are continuously engaged in interacting in everyday social occasions. They are producing these social interactions

and at the same time making sense of what others are doing in the same place. The inborn skill to produce interactions and to make sense of others' actions seems simple, and as a result, they take interest in this seemingly simple aspect of social phenomenon in the classroom.

For them, any social interaction involves an infinite number of actions. However, what forms of actions are counted as a particular social interaction depends on the particular setting. One form of action might mean something different at different times with a changing social situation. Further, a particular form of action might be appropriate in one social context and inappropriate in another social context. In order to fit into the social situation, the study required that each participant be able to:

> (1) determine what social situation, or context, is happening now, from moment to moment within the occasion;
> (2) interpret the social meaning of others' behaviors in the light of the social situation happening now, and,
> (3) identify and produce, from among one's "repertoire" of behaviors, those forms considered appropriate alternatives now, in this social context (pp. 153-154).

The standpoint of communication in their study was rooted in complementary elements from the fields of cognitive anthropology, sociolinguistics, and ethnomethodology. Following their perspective of communication, they indicated that (1) participants in an interaction must attend simultaneously to verbal and nonverbal behavior, and (2) the rules that the participants were drawing upon to do the interactional work may not be readily apparent to newcomers. Thus, in order for a newcomer to make sense of what others were meaning with their actions and to make sense of what social situation was happening, the newcomer and at the same time the researcher as an outsider must read others' actions.

Bremme and Erikson (1977) also found out that "as members of a society, we learn to identify particular patterns of communicative behaviors as kinds of social occasions" (p.155). Following this finding, they investigated the segments in First Circle period and showed that First Circle was composed of (a) the teacher's time, (b) the students' time, and (c) the transitions. They also indicated that in order to

behave and to make sense appropriately, students and teacher must be able to figure out which of these three times is happening at a specific time in the classroom.

After listing the specific actions that the teacher and students do in the three times, they concluded that (a) "the accomplishment of interactional events is the collective work of all participants" (p. 159), and (b) "there is increasing evidence that different cultural groups know and use different forms of behavior for performing interactional work" (p. 160).

2.1.8. The Study by Davies (1983)

The last work in this section is an ethnographic study focusing on the lively layers of classroom life. Davies (1983) started his study with a comment on the situation of ethnography in the education field. For him, many ethnographic studies describing the classroom life used a conceptual framework that focused either directly or indirectly on the teacher's control.

Davies (1983) suggested that, in order to produce the sense of order that allowed them to know what was going on in a particular context, the participants needed to develop a variety of social competencies. For him, the students in the classroom must develop a set of social competencies to be used in the production of order in the classroom, in order to develop a detailed understanding of their surroundings, i.e. what was happening and who was doing what in the context they were situated.

In his study examining the role the students play in the construction of classroom order, Davies (1983) found that by cueing into what the teacher wants of them, the kind of student s/he wants them to be, and by allowing him or her to be the sort of teacher s/he wants to be, the teacher and students agree to construct the particular order of that classroom. This major finding suggested that order in the classroom is actually an outcome of mutually negotiated meaning between the teacher and students about what they were expecting from each other.

2.3. Classroom Culture and Order

Any ethnographic study is rooted in its particular reformulation of culture. Researchers focusing on the ordinary lives of people have produced different

perceptions about various dimensions of culture. These different views, originating in different research perspectives, have resulted in various definitions of culture. Since the term governs the basics of any research targeting the investigation of social phenomena, the particular stance that the research is centering on becomes the key element in defining the social phenomenon as well.

The dictionary definition of culture regards this idea as the way of life, especially the general customs and beliefs, of a particular group of people at a particular time, or the integrated pattern of human knowledge, belief, and behavior that depends on the capacity for learning and transmitting knowledge to succeeding generations (Cambridge Advanced Learner's Online Dictionary, 2008; Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary, 2008). For Anderson-Levitt (2006), for example, culture is basically any "learning as opposed to whatever is biologically innate in human behavior" (p. 280). On the other hand, for Street (1993), culture is "an active process of meaning making and contest over definition' (p. 25). The key features of culture derived from these various definitions show that culture (a) is the result product of people's everyday life, (2) is shared by a group of people in a specific environment and at a specific time, and (3) helps these particular people guide their behaviors in these settings as well as make meaning of what others do.

Classroom culture, based on the key features of culture, is a set of symbols and meanings constructed cooperatively by teacher and students to guide their actions and at the same time to make sense of their classmates' actions in a classroom setting where they spend a series of periods sharing academic, social, and emotional issues. This seemingly encompassing definition illustrates the major aspects of classroom life: (a) Classroom is a place where an adult, the teacher, leads a group of younger people, the students. (b) The members of this culture know what they are expected to do and not to do according to certain previously determined standards in the classroom. (c) They are required to join in the production of symbols and meanings. (d) They are required to make sense of what others are doing in a specific context. The reformulation of classroom culture in this study is based on the results from studies done with the ecological perspective to classroom life and Geertz's (1973) definition of culture.

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From the ecological tradition (see Gump, 1967, 1969), a classroom culture is a setting, more specifically an eco-behavioral unit, composed of segments that surround and regulate behavior (Doyle, 2006). A classroom is an environment where 20 to 30 students are gathered with one adult, the teacher, to engage in activities. The description of a classroom environment adds more to the restructuring of the classroom culture by presenting certain dimensions that are already constructed to act on when the teacher and students arrive (Doyle, 1977).Those dimensions include: (a) multidimensionality: a number of events happen at the same time in the classroom, e.g. while the teacher is talking about the topic of the day, a few students might be playing dots, (b) simultaneity: those events and other tasks happen at the same time, (c) immediacy: those events take place rapidly, (d) unpredictability: since they are jointly constructed by the teacher and students, it is difficult to anticipate how an activity will take place at a particular time with a particular group, (e) publicness: all the participants do is witnessed by the participants themselves, and (f) history: the meetings of participants over a long period of time create a common set of experiences, routines and norms. These six dimensions frame the basic facets of classroom culture. Thus, the definition of classroom culture has evolved to include these dimensions as well.

The understanding of classroom culture in this study is also derived from Geertz's definition of culture. For him,

> culture […] is public, like a burlesque wink or a mock sheep raid. Though ideational, it does not exist in someone's head; though unphysical, it is not an occult entity (1973, p. 10).

Geertz's definition shows that culture as an interactionally constructed and publicly held system of meanings and significance is an acted and public social phenomenon (Bloome et al., 1989). The cultural meaning and significance is rooted in the local system of meanings publicly constructed by the participants who interact with each other and in which the behavior or interaction is embedded. For Geertz (1973),

> the concept of culture […] is essentially a semiotic one. Believing, with Max Weber, that man is an animal suspended in webs of

significance he himself has spun, I take the culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning" (p. 5).

Consequently, culture for Geertz consists of socially established structures of meaning, which people communicate with and which is produced in a conversation, and thus is inseparable from symbolic social discourse (Moore, 1997).

Classroom culture, based on the dimensions proposed by the ecological perspective and on Geertz's conception of culture, is a subsystem consisting of a set of meanings produced by teacher and students collectively in the interactions to guide their actions and to make sense of their classmates' and teacher's actions. It is further a public phenomenon having a particular history that is made available to one another in their interactions.

2.4. Classroom Order and Management

Classroom order and classroom management among other related phenomena such as classroom discipline and organization are actually the same concepts that have been defined differently according to the research traditions taken by the studies. In this section, these two concepts will be used interchangeably and referred to basically as the mutually constructed mechanisms to govern the participants' actions in different contexts.

Classroom management has been one of the major concerns for the educational community not only because it involves the practical and observable consequences for the classroom practitioners, but also because it involves diverse theoretical frameworks from various fields of inquiry for policy makers. Classroom management, as an interdisciplinary field of inquiry within the vast educational research spectrum, includes pragmatic answers to classroom problems, from the physical arrangement of the desks to the timing of questions, and also includes the theoretical questions rooted in the emerging aspects of the classroom life such as the role of naming students with their names in the context of constructing discipline. Consequently, classroom management has evolved into a distinct field of inquiry within the educational research community from the area of practical suggestions and tips compiled for novice teachers.

The literature in this study concerned with the study of classroom order and management consists of diverse interests, perspectives and commitments. Their characterizations and findings show the kinds of events and circumstances that motivate their inquiries (Macbeth, 1987). The literature assembled in this section talks about the studies that view the classroom environment as a place where trouble scenes are familiar ones. However, as a first task, the section defines what classroom order means with different examples from different studies as well as from different research traditions. Next, it gives a brief historical course of research on classroom management, which is mainly taken from Brophy's (2006) review. It then presents some main findings from the ecological perspectives to classroom management. The section finally focuses on the classroom management in high schools and then in an urban context.

Classroom management can be defined as the process of creating a classroom environment that facilitates learning and teaching. Similarly, classroom management is defined as "the actions teachers take to create an environment that supports and facilitates both academic and socio-emotional learning" (Evertson & Weinstein, 2006). Brophy (2006) defines classroom management as "actions taken to create and maintain a learning environment conductive to successful instruction" (p. 17). Classroom management is equally considered to be the provisions and procedures necessary to establish and maintain an environment in which instruction and learning can occur (Duke, 1979), and at the same time as covering a wide range of teacher duties from distributing resources to students, accounting for student attendance and school property, enforcing compliance with rules and procedures to grouping students for instruction (Doyle, 1986).

Research on classroom management carried out in different places using different methods has produced complementary findings supporting a set of principles that appear to have considerable validity and generality (Brophy, 2006). In the pre-empirical period, research focused on producing good behavior habits. Consequently, the studies at that period were moralistic-oriented and highly pragmatic. Survival in the classroom through teacher domination and student obedience was stressed in the classroom management studies (see Bagley, 1907; Breed, 1933; Brown, 1952; Wickman, 1928). Empirical studies perceived to be

relevant to classroom management began to emerge during the mid 20th century. Some were the isolated individual studies rooted in the experiments conducted by psychologists and focusing on the contrast between reward and punishment or between praise and blame. Others, however, were the parts of programmatic research done in settings other than classrooms addressing the questions not directly related to classroom management topics such as group leadership or social climate (see Anderson, 1943; Estes, 1944; Flanders, 1970; Kennedy & Willicutt, 1964; Kounin & Gump, 1961; Lewin et al., 1939; Ryans, 1952; Sears et al., 1957; Solomon, 1964).

Research focusing explicitly on classroom management was rooted in two different sources. Working deductively from a theoretically integrated knowledge base developed from experimental studies, the behaviorists as the first source, began building classroom management applications of key concepts and principles, and then generated new techniques (see Brophy, 1981; Brophy & Evertson, 1976; Kounin, 1970). The second source, the ecological researchers, developed the concepts and principles inductively by documenting variation in observed student and teacher behavior (see Kounin, 1970; Kounin & Doyle, 1975; Kounin & Gump, 1958; Kounin et al., 1966). Between the 1960s and 1980s, several different research teams explored the relationships between classroom processes, particularly teacher behaviors and teacher-student interaction patterns, and their subsequent outcomes, especially adjusted achievement gain (see Brophy & Evertson, 1976; Crawford, 1989; Crawford et al., 1978; Good & Grouws, 1977).

As the brief discussion of history has showed, there is a great amount of literature in the study of classroom order, management, discipline and allied issues in the professional reports, teacher education texts and practitioner accounts (Macbeth, 1990). As Macbeth (1991) put forward in his study, research in classroom management found the classroom order as an array of formal or analytic objects. Classroom order thus has been analyzed as (a) structures of teacher power and authority (Doyle, 1984; Emmer & Evertson, 1981; Howell & Howell, 1979; Stebbins, 1977), (b) arrays of student attitude, types and competencies (Duke, 1976; Macpherson, 1983), (c) teachers' professional strategy and technique (Brophy, 1982; Carter, 1986; Hargreaves, Hestor & Mellor, 1975; Kounin & Gump, 1975), (d)

institutional structures of principled conflict (Getzels & Thelen, 1971; Metz, 1978), and (e) rules and roles (Allen, 1986; Jackson, 1968; Woods, 1977).

Following the distinction in Macbeth's (1987) study, there are three main areas where classroom order, discipline and management are discussed in relation to classroom culture. The literature in the first field is derived from in-class experiences of teachers, administrators, and teacher educators, which are "often anecdotal and collected as a body of narratives and sometimes advising to other practitioners" (p. 4). The second field offers instruction and skill development in classroom and disciplinary management and provides technical recommendations as well as conceptual formulations for a practical understanding of order and discipline. The third field concerns classroom order, management and discipline as observable as observable events, and thus involves the studies which are "ethnographic or ethnographically informed field of studies of classroom order" (p. 6).

This study, as an example of conversation analytic work, takes an interest in classroom order as an observable and demonstrable event and thus focuses on the literature regarding classroom order as the participants' noticeable achievements. Therefore, it first discusses the ecological approaches to classroom management, then the studies of classroom management in high schools and in urban settings. The section finally briefly discusses the connection between classroom discourse studies and classroom management.

2.4.1. Ecological Approaches to Classroom Management

From the ecological standpoint, classroom management is about how order is established and maintained in classroom life (Doyle, 2006). For the researchers in this tradition, what constitutes classroom order changes according to the contexts and people involved in those settings. Those settings where order is constructed differ in their structure as well as in their complexity.

Classroom ecologists (see Gump, 1967, 1975, 1982; Ross, 1984; Weinstein, 1991) have described the structures of behavior settings that organize classroom events and processes. Microethnographers (see Cazden, 1986; Erikson & Mohatt, 1982; Erikson & Shultz, 1981; Mehan, 1979) have examined the interactional machinery involved in the construction and enactment of classroom events.

Classroom researchers (see Blumenfield et al., 1983; Doyle, 1979, 1983; Doyle & Carter, 1984; Korth & Cornbleth, 1982) "have analyzed the task systems that organize and direct classroom experiences" (Doyle, 2006, p. 100).

Order in a classroom refers to the fact that "within acceptable limits the students are following the program of action necessary for a particular classroom event to be realized in the situation" (Doyle, 2006, p. 99). However, what was meant by these so-called acceptable limits still remains unanswered. Therefore, misbehavior beyond these acceptable limits can be "any misbehavior by one or more students that is perceived by the teacher to initiate a vector of action that competes with or threatens the primary vector of action at a particular moment in a classroom activity (Doyle, 2006, p. 112).

The basic ideas of the ecological perspective towards classroom management include the following points, each of which needs further elaboration of its own: (1) Classroom management is "fundamentally a process of solving the problem of order in classrooms rather than the problems of disruption or misbehavior" (Doyle, 2006, p. 116). This paradigmatic shift to viewing order as a process of solving placed the primary interest in portraying how order is solved with particular reference to what actually happens in the classroom.

(2) Order in classrooms was formulated with the strength and durability of the program of action embedded in the activities teachers and students enact together as they accomplish work. The question of what was meant with strength and durability of the action was not answered in the literature. The ecological community is aware of the fact that order is a mutual accomplishment. However, they do not provide any demonstrable and observable explanation to their proposal.

(3) A program of action, collectively then the classroom order, is jointly constructed by teachers and students in classroom settings with numerous complexities. The permutations of order in the classroom resulted from the numerous combinations of teacher and student actions creating a field of interest that must start its analysis with the promised idea that meaning cannot be separated from the context where it is produced.

(4) Any program of action in a classroom setting is defined by both the rules for social participation and the demands of academic work. (5) Classroom order is

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context specific. (6) The key to a teacher's success in management can be said to be reliant upon his/her (a) understanding of the configuration of events in the classroom and (b) skill in monitoring and guiding activities in light of this information (Doyle, 2006). The final point illustrated the particular stance the ecological studies adopted when they investigated the role of the teacher in managing his/her class. For them, the management was overwhelmingly initiated by the teacher whereas at the same time they stressed the fact that management was a mutual accomplishment in the classroom.

2.4.2. Classroom Management in High School Classrooms

Two principal characteristics of secondary schools make a difference between the overall organizations of secondary schools and elementary schools: (a) the school time in a day is divided into separate periods of instruction with multiple teachers according to subject matter, and (b) the students are now in their adolescent periods. These two differences in the course of schooling make the educational community have different classroom management plans and strategies (Emmerson & Gerwels, 2006).

The fact that the students become adolescent, an early step to becoming an adult, in their high school time has important implications for the sort of management in the classroom environment. At that period, students need to have friends and adult relationship for support, a sense of belonging at school, fair treatment, teachers who listen, feelings of competence, and an environment that balances teacher authority with student autonomy (Emmer & Gerwels, 2006). The physical and psychological needs of the students that have changed drastically in high school result in their reformulation of interactions in the classroom. The interaction patterns, the topics that they talk about, the attention that they pay, etc. all change when they start to adopt early adult roles.

Teachers' thinking about classroom management in high schools covers diverse areas of actions that were identified by Fenwick (1998). He found that teachers perceive their classroom work in terms of management strategies with three primary areas: (a) managing classroom space and objects within it, (b) managing the students and teaching practices within that space, and (c) managing their own

identity. Following Fenwick's discussion, Metz (1978) found that as the students grow from later childhood to adolescence, they tend to question the teacher's authority to organize or direct their behavior and activities.

Managing secondary classrooms effectively requires different skills for interacting with students who exhibit a range of problematic behaviors. In most interactions, as examples of different skills specific to the high school context, the teacher was able to redirect the student's behavior. They seldom gave reprimands, or ignored the misbehavior. The interesting result was the difference in teacher strategies across the chain of interactions with the target students (Emmer & Gerwels, 2006).

Secondary teachers used a limited number of relatively direct approaches to manage students who showed inappropriate behavior. A sample of middle school teachers in the United States ordered their use of classroom management skills as conferences (86%) and proximity (80%) followed by peer tutoring (66%), punishment (19%), a behavior plan (12%) and reinforcement (16%) whereas high school teachers chose conferences (85%), proximity (65%), peer tutoring (36%), punishment (22%), behavior plan (16%) and reinforcement (23%) (Ringer et al., 1993). The results indicated that teachers started making use of different skills at different times to manage their classes.

2.4.3. Classroom Management in Urban Classrooms

This study is rooted in the CA perspective which attempts to explain that any contextual factor has to be demonstrated with the participants' actions in the conversation. Otherwise, i.e. by specifically pointing to the factors derived from the researcher's own biases, the nature of authentic CA analyses would be violated. Creating a distinction between urban and rural context might seem to be a way of violation of the premises of CA. However, the main reason why this subsection is presented is that there are some crucial differences inherent to the place of the schools.

Classroom management in an urban setting is more than controlling students or organizing their actions, but about raising their opportunities to learn in a context. An urban context in the United States can be defined as one that is heavily populated

with students of color and has a heavy concentration of single-medium-language learners, a large number of students from lower SES, high attrition of teachers, heavy institutional and systematic barriers, and meager resources (Milner, 2006).

Classroom management in urban classrooms helps students think critically about issues both inside and outside of school (Milner, 2006). It helps students develop ideas about power structures, recognize the social and political landscape of their schools and communities, and understand the culture of power in their classrooms (Delpit, 1995). Thus, the sort of classroom management in the urban classrooms is considered to be one that empowers students to be participants in knowledge development and distribution in their classrooms, helping them realize their capacity to learn (Siddle-Walker, 1996).

In her work, Delpit (1995) explained the role of "culture of power" in classroom management in an urban context in the United States:

> (a) issues of power are enacted in classrooms; (b) there are codes or rules for participating in power; that is, there is "a culture of power"; (c) the rules of the culture of power are a reflection of the rules of the culture of those who have power; (d) if you are not already a participant in the culture of power, being told explicitly in the rules of that culture makes acquiring power easier; and (e) those with power are frequently least aware of – at least willing to acknowledge– its existence (p. 24).

Delpit (1995) in her study considered the ways in which students' home environments and their experiences of discipline at home differed from the ways in which order was produced in classroom environments. She suggested that the rules and the consequences of rule violations should be told to the students explicitly because an urban classroom was a sophisticated place where many different systems of power were negotiated. Similarly, Schlosser (1992) discovered that teachers must avoid distancing themselves from their students by developing knowledge about adolescents' development needs as well as about their home and cultural background.

Order in urban classrooms is an enduring task to deal with for the teachers working in an urban context because urban schools are increasingly populated by

students of color, students from different SES, and linguistically diverse students (see Haberman & Rickards, 1990; Houston & Williamson, 1993; Howard, 2003). Furthermore, urban schools tend to be underfunded, larger in size and infiltrated with bureaucracy (Milner, 2006). Therefore, order in the urban classroom has various characteristics that are different from the order in typical mainstream classrooms.

2.4.4. Classroom Discourse and Order

The studies that investigated the communicative aspect of classroom management/order focused on how the rules and routines were constructed through the interaction in the classroom. The guiding principle in those studies was that classroom interaction is the fundamental structuring drive in the construction of classroom order. They consequently provide

> [I]nformation about rules and routines that are implicitly followed by teacher and pupils, and that are seen a jointly constructed by classroom participants one time through interaction in various settings or types of activities (Morine-Dershimer, 2006, p. 129).

The classroom management/order studies in general however provide information about "who can talk when to whom about what, who should listen when to whom, and what can appropriately be said" (Morine-Dershimer, 2006, p. 129), and thus generate the should list for teachers about what types of routines are important in both promoting student engagement in academic tasks and in showing when and how to establish these routines in their classrooms (Lin, 1994).

2.5. The Segmentation of Classroom Life

The segmentation of classroom life constitutes the skeleton of this study. The main reason why a class period is divided into certain parts is the results of the findings from the core texts that handled the classroom order in different times. This section thus reviews the previous studies that investigated how a class session is segmented into certain periods: (a) class beginnings, (b) transitions between activities, and (c) moments after humorous events. However, it starts with the definition of segment and segmentation.

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A segment is described as the key governing element including: (a) its temporal duration, (b) the shape of the site in which it occurs, the number of and types of participants, the arrangement of participants, (c) the behavior format or program of action for participants, and (d) the focal content or concern for the segment (Doyle, 2006). The rules for segmentation of classroom life is based on the changes: (a) patterns for arranging participants (e.g., small-group or whole-class presentation), (b) resources or the sources of information (e.g., books or films), (c) roles and responsibilities for carrying out actions and events (e.g., answering or writing in notebooks), and (d) the kinds of behaviors that are allowed or disapproved of.

The stream of behavior between teachers and students is classified into relatively discrete segments (Mehan, 1982). These segments can be also called "events" (Frake 1964; Hymes, 1974) because participants in those events are engaged in certain activities with different behavior patterns and thus publicly demonstrate to each other that they are in a different form of activity and also because they purposefully name what is going to take place (Erikson & Shultz, 1977; McDermott, 1976).

The basic unit of classroom life is the activity (see Berliner, 1983; Doyle, 1984; Gump, 1967; Kounin, 1970). Activities are

> relatively short blocks of classroom time – typically 10 to 20 minutes – during which students are arranged in a particular way (Doyle, 2006, p. 101).

Sometimes activities are labeled with names reflecting their organizational focus, i.e. seatwork, recitation, presentations, small group works, while sometimes they are designated by their local content, i.e. morning spell, spelling test, art hour (Doyle, 2006).

Finding the concept of behavior setting too general to distinguish the natural subsettings within the classroom, in order to unitize the classroom behavior setting, Gump (1968) developed the concept of segment to refer to the constituent parts of a classroom day:

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> Constituted along lines similar to the behavior setting, these segments have their own behavior patterns, their own nonpsychological milieu, and display synomorphy between milieu and behavior. They will also have an action structure which integrates inter-participant behavior. The segments differ from settings in their lack of independence from one another. As opposed to settings, segments share the same leader, the same nonleader participants, the same adjacent sites and times, and so forth (Gump, 1968, p. 244).

Similar to other segmentation concepts like "episodes" (Wright, 1967) or "lessons" (Herbert, 1967), the act of segmenting the ongoing flow of classroom events "unitizes" the classroom session into natural constituent parts (Burns & Anderson, 1987). Others have also examined and/or used the concept of segmenting the classroom life or other closely related concepts in examining classroom environments (Berliner, 1983; Bossert, 1979; Burns, 1984; Burns & Lash, 1984; Doyle, 1986; 1984; Grannis, 1978; Kounin & Sherman, 1979; Leinhardt & Greeno, 1986; Leinhardt et al., 1984; Mandeville, 1984; Ross, 1984; Scott, 1977).

For Burns and Anderson (1987), each lesson segment is characterized by three major components: the purpose of the segment, the activity format and the segment topic/assignment. The particular reformation of features in these components defines the milieu of the segment. In turn, the milieu suggests that particular teacher and student roles and the tasks be accomplished in order to fulfill role expectations. Finally, the behavior students and teachers engage in to accomplish these tasks characterizes the nature of the teacher-student interaction during that particular segment.

For Bloome et al. (1989), by using language within the context of face-to-face interaction to construct lessons in a classroom, the teacher and students, "display to each other sets of interactional and academic procedures that count as doing a lesson" (p. 272). Payne and Hustler (1980) suggested that the business of a school is organized around transactions or transitions between a single teacher and 25-30 or so students in a class (p. 49).

As shown in the previous paragraphs, researchers had different names for the same phenomenon. Some called it segments, some activities, some events, and some periods. However, the underlying idea in those labels is that classroom life is

composed of certain periods which are distinct from other periods with its organizing features. This study has adopted the term, activity, to refer to these distinct and self-governed periods in classroom life.

2.5.1. Beginnings

Class beginnings are the first part of segmentation in this study. They are the first juncture at which the dissolved class is being transformed to a cohorted body. Because 'making a start' and invoking the relevant activities and meanings are often interwoven accomplishments, beginnings in the classrooms are a proper time for the activities and identities to be made available by and to the assembled parties in the classroom. In other words, the first few minutes of a classroom provide the first platform for both parties, teacher as the cohorting party and students as the cohorted party, to publicly demonstrate the mechanisms governing the order construction through their interactions in those first minutes.

The act of making and demonstrating the mechanisms involved in every beginning does not deal with the fact that the students do not know who the teacher is when he enters the classroom nor do they know each other when the class starts. However, although the teacher and students are considered as knowing each other for some time, this does not change the fact that the beginning of the lesson will not produce itself. In contrast, every beginning requires the interactions from both parties to construct the mechanisms recurrently (Payne & Hustler, 1980). Consequently, the same mechanisms constructed in many previous lessons previously again must be re-constructed at each beginning.

As Macbeth (1992) put forward in his study, while the bell is a resource for the members to know when class should start, the bell does work as a cohort assembler in the class beginning. The actual signal of beginning to the students unified as the cohort is the teacher's walk to the center zone of the classroom. Further, he observed that the warning by a student when the teacher is assembling the cohort displays the student's assessment and recognition of the ends to which the teacher is working in his or her cohorting of the class. It proves the mutual achievement of cohorting practices in the classroom.

2.5.2. Transitions

Transitions are points in any social interaction "when contexts change" (Doyle, 2006, p. 103). They have been a popular topic among researchers interested in activity structure and classroom discourse (see Erickson & Shultz, 1981; Gump, 1967). Doyle (2006) makes a distinction between minor transitions between speaking turns and major transitions between activities or phases of a lesson. At both levels, large amounts of cuing and interactional negotiation occur to signal the onset of change, the reorientation of focus, and the onset of the new activity (see Bremme & Erickson, 1977; McDermott, 1976; Shultz & Florio, 1979).

Arlin (1979) defined transition as "a teacher-initiated directive to students to end one activity and to start another" (p. 42), and in another way as "a signal to pupils that the teacher has determined that sufficient time has been allocated to an activity and it is time to move onward" (p. 44).

During the course of a lesson, there are times when the cohort organization of the students can be more obviously located. Such moments include those places in the lesson where the teacher is concerned with bringing about some change of activity for everyone. In other words, there are times in a lesson when the teacher attempts to move the students as a cohort from one activity to another. At these points, the change brings the previously constructed mechanism to be re-constructed according to the nature of that new activity (Payne & Hustler, 1980).

Transitions between the activities are simple accomplishments to which the participants themselves did not pay particular attention.

> Interacting in everyday social occasions […] usually seems simple. We engage in it– speaking, moving our eyes and faces and bodies– generally with a minimum of deliberate planning. As if by reflex, we produce the communications such social situations appear to call for. Typically, too, we manage without difficulty to make sense of what others are doing and to make sense to others in what we do. None of this, on the surface, seems especially complicated. We feel we 'just do it.' It is transparent to us, as is the grammar of our language as we speak it (Bremme & Erickson, 1977, p. 153.).

All participants in a social event are required to (a) determine what social event or context they are situated in, (b) interpret the social meanings of other

participants' behaviors within the boundaries of that social context, and (c) identify and produce appropriate behaviors that are applicable to that social context (Bremme & Erikson, 1977, p.153).

Providing that the members in a particular social context (a) mis-identify the situation in that social context, (b) misinterpret the other participants' actions, or (c) produce actions that are not appropriate to that social context, "the ongoing flow of interaction is interrupted." Similarly, providing that the students in the classroom (a) mis-identify the particular class segment, (b) misinterpret the teacher's and/or classmates' actions, or (c) produce inappropriate actions, the flow of interaction in that particular class segment is interrupted and thus the order is violated (Bremme & Erikson, 1977, p.154.)

According to Bremme and Erikson (1977), in order to identify the situation in the transition context and to produce appropriate actions during a transition time, the participants attend to the actions because "there is increased movement and change, verbally and nonverbally, on the part of both students and teacher" (p. 155). In a transition period, the previously constructed pattern breaks up, and actions become less interdependent and more individualized. The students in the transition period shift positions and orientations, and they may gaze off in various directions. At the same time, the teacher moves about more, using all or many parts of his/her body. Conversational topics change and topics temporarily multiply and overlapped. Many people may talk at once, to various others, and about a variety of different things.

For Shultz and Florio (1979), junctures between the segments must be made publicly available or be marked in such a manner that the members in that particular context can attribute meaning to the change and to the criteria for what constitutes appropriate actions in that new segment. Consequently, in a classroom context, "the teacher and students need ways of signaling to each other that the context has changed and that something new is about to happen" (p. 167).

Shultz and Florio (1979) produced the observable fact in the classroom that the transitions are apparently marked both verbally and nonverbally, with a definite set of steps. In order to make an announcement in a transition period, the teacher first walks toward the circle area, providing that s/he is not already standing there. As the second step, the teacher stops in the circle area and finishes her announcement. The

teacher lastly bends forward from the waist while standing in the circle area and finally sits down on a chair with the students in front of her.

Florio (1978) found that work time in the K-1 classroom is composed of three parts, segments, which participants refer to as "getting ready," "focused time" and "wind-up." In a different study, Mehan et al. (1976) found that lessons are arranged into "opening," "instructional" and "closing" phases, a similar hierarchical organization to which the participants were oriented.

2.5.3. Humor

The third segment in the study is moments after humorous events. The literature focusing on humor in sociology, psychology, philosophy, and communications involves the descriptions of its functions for either the individual or the social group instead of starting with how one could define humor or how one could point out a humorous event in the social interaction (Fine, 1984; Mulkay, 1988). However, Robinson (1977) defined humor as "any communication which is perceived by any of the interacting parties as humorous and leads to laughing, smiling, or a feeling of amusement" (p. 10). In addition to the definition, it is also known that humor can take many forms. It can be characteristics of the person, of the environment, or of a mixture of the person-environment interface (Moran & Hughes, 2006).

In the review of the humor research literature, McGhee (1971) and in the other review since McGhee (1971), Robinson and Smith-Lovin (2001) found that less than 10 percent of humor studies focused on how humor was created or produced, stating that they found "the current humor literature to be of limited use in developing a detailed understanding of humor in conversational interaction" (p. 150).

Humor has been viewed as a crucial tool in areas such as statistics, law and other courses that have been regarded as tedious and difficult by students (Torok et al., 2004). Humor has been found to facilitate the retention of novel information (Cornett, 1986; Vance, 1987; Ziv, 1988), to increase learning speed (Gorham & Christophel, 1990), to improve problem solving (Klavir & Gorodetsky, 2001), to relieve stress (White, 2001), reduce text anxiety (Berk, 1999; McMorris et al., 1997),

to neutralize the distancing effects of a particular lecture (Mealyea, 1989), and to increase perceptions of teacher credibility (Frymier & Thompson, 1992).

For Martineau (1972) humor has been shown to be useful as an instrument to protect and develop the self, as political weapon to defend against or strike at an enemy, as a social regulator to highlight norms, as a bargaining counter, or as cement for social relations. For Woods (1983), humor is to be seen as a "coping behavior," a means of adjusting the self to difficulties and problems that otherwise might result in failure of task, alienation from self, or breakdown of social order (p. 122). Furthermore, for Woods (1983), humor as facilitator (a) eases teaching and learning, (b) relieves physical and intellectual strain induced by task, (c) parries alienation threatened by institution, (d) aids the formation of a cultural bond between teacher and pupils, and (e) preserves dignity and esteem. For Weaver and Cotrell (1987), humor serves social, psychological and communication functions. As a social function, it is used to establish relationships, as a psychological function, to relieve anxiety and tension, or to escape from the reality, and as a communication function, to introduce a topic, lecture, or a course.

Sacks proposed a formula to point out humor in an interaction. For someone to be funny, and consequently for something to be picked up as funny, a participant or a number of participants need to be amused (Sacks 1974; Fine 1984). The fundamental symptoms of being amused in a funny event are thus the act of laughing or related actions such as smiling (Robinson & Smith-Lovin, 2001).

The conversation analytic view on how a joke is organized comes from a study by Sacks (1978). In his study, he examined the sequential organization of the telling of a dirty joke in conversation. This telling for him was composed of three serially ordered and adjacently placed types of sequences, which he called (1) the preface, (2) the telling, and (3) the response sequence. Similarly, for Weaver and Cotrell (1987), because of its nature, "a framework needs to be established that is recognized" by all the participants concerned in the particular context (p. 168).

2.6. Implications of the Literature Review

The literature review chapter started with the presentation of essential findings from the so-called core studies. Those findings shaped the flow of the study,

framed the key ideas, and generated the common jargons used extensively throughout the study.

The preliminary finding from the core texts provided a theoretical stance to the topic: it was only through the participants' demonstrable actions that the mechanisms that establish and organize social phenomena become visible to the researcher. Consequently, those core studies concentrated on the teacher's and students' demonstrable actions in the classroom, holding those actions as the only accountable constructs to explain the unknotting of social phenomena.

The other point stressed in the core texts was the outstanding discovery of the basic mechanism in the classroom. Order in the classroom was considered to be constructed as an outcome of struggle to transform individual students into a coherent unit. As stated in many places in the CA literature, talk-in-interaction is inherently a two-party accomplishment: the first party as the speaking and the second as the listening party. Talk is organized around the mechanisms regulating the shifts of these parties at certain times. The classroom interaction similarly was thought to be principally made as a two-party accomplishment: the teacher as the speaking party and the cohorted students as the listening party.

The core texts focused on the class beginnings to discover the distinctive mechanisms of how order is constructed in the classroom. The key reason for that was that they figured out that class beginnings were the moments where the teacher and students had to re-construct the previously established order. The re-construction of order in class beginnings shed light on the mechanisms dealing with how order is produced in the first instance.

The chapter continued by presenting previous studies with the intention of reaching a working definition of classroom culture. At the end of the section, the study defined classroom culture as a subsystem consisting of a set of meanings produced by teacher and students collectively in the interactions to guide their actions and to make sense of their classmates' and teacher's actions. The significant point in this definition is that classroom culture is regarded as a set of meanings that challenges the participants to make sense of their actions. It provides a tool for the researcher to focus on the participants' actions to make inferences about the social phenomena.

The definition of classroom culture in this chapter establishes that classrooms are essentially public settings. Thus, the members are supposed to make available their actions to others and at the same time to make sense of others' publicly demonstrable actions. In order for these dual processes to be accomplished, these governing meanings must be constructed. The construction of meanings thus requires common experience and history, and in the same setting with the same people. As a result, this study will be focusing on the participants' demonstrable actions in their classroom interactions to render the meanings governing the classroom culture.

An offshoot of the definitions demonstrates that the term, classroom order and management, acquires many meanings, many of which have negative connotations (Evertson & Weinstein, 2006) It was often thought of as a set of skills for controlling students, getting them to respond quickly to teacher demands, needs and goals, and further it is regarded as a "a bag of tricks" (Brophy, 1988) to be passed along from teacher to teacher, rather than a set of research-based principles, concepts and skills that require serious academic study. The main reason why the field has these negative connotations has resulted from a particular standpoint stressing that classroom management is a classroom phenomenon to be applied to the classroom environment. However, the core texts presented earlier in the chapter proves otherwise, emphasizing that classroom order is an interactional achievement that can be found in the participants' demonstrable actions.

The definitions for classroom management also point to the certain core assumptions about the connection between the classroom life and the management of this dynamic life. One of the primary assumptions is that the classroom management work is organized by teacher. More specifically, it was the teacher's deliberate duty to create a comfortable classroom environment. However, since the teacher-initiated act in a classroom is the one side of the classroom management phenomenon, creating a peaceful and productive classroom environment is a collaborative, purposeful but often unplanned task established by teacher and students.

The second core assumption is that classroom management is fundamentally used for creating a classroom environment for successful learning/instruction. Consequently, in order to establish an environment that will yield the maximum learning/instruction opportunity, the prerequisites and precautions are planned before

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any teaching occurs. However, classroom management is also established to generate a place to socialize through interaction. It is also known that socialization through interaction in the classroom cannot be planned with predetermined provisions and precautions. The focus of any classroom interaction analysis should regard the context-specific features of socialization.

The third assumption about the nature of classroom management is that the chief action to attain a classroom is to determine the list of provisions and precautions to be implemented in the classroom. However, classroom management is established through interaction between teacher and students as the two members of classroom and in the course of a classroom life. Based on the discussion of the assumptions underlying the classroom management, this study defines classroom management as the teacher-initiated but collaboratively established, and purposeful but often unplanned actions yielding a peaceful classroom environment to socialize and to have a more goal-oriented instruction.

The ecological perspective to classroom order is the paradigmatic revolution in the field. They change the focus from the set of variables to predict the most feasible and encompassing skills to the sophisticated and interconnected skills that can be discovered with a closer look at what happens in the classroom. They also uncover that order is a process, not product of previously established principled to be applied to the classroom settings. The most crucial discovery is that order in the classroom is not the teacher's work, but a mutual understanding of regulations unknotted in the interactions between the teacher and students.

The section of the order in high school context stressed the change in the students' lives and the result of this change in the organization of order in the high school classroom. The physical and psychological needs of the students that have changed drastically in high school result in their reformulation of interactions in the classroom. The interaction patterns, the topics that they talk about, the attention that they pay, etc. all change when they start to adopt early adult roles.

The studies of classroom management carried out in the classrooms in urban schools showed that the sort of classroom order changed in those settings because they were the places students from diverse ethnicities, from various cultural backgrounds, and from different SES came together to produce and organize order.

The studies focusing on the order in the classroom with a CA lens segmented the classroom period into separate periods and labeled them with their organizing features, the study paid particular attention to how those studies portrayed class beginnings, transitions and humor. The practical benefit of dividing the classroom life into activities is that I can point to these moments in the videotapes more easily and more efficiently because those moments are already defined in detail in previous CA studies.

The class beginnings were handled as a special topic in the literature because they are considered to be the first places the participants can make available the mechanisms of how order is organized. By the same token, the transitions are the moments when the teacher and students can show how they restore order in the process of moving from one activity to another. Although humor is not a topic among the CA community that points to the order in the classroom, I believe that the period after a humorous event is the proper time when the participants could again produce their demonstrable actions to restore the order.

CHAPTER III

METHOD

> "Science is an essentially anarchic enterprise: theoretical anarchism is more humanitarian and more likely to encourage progress than its law-and-order alternatives" (Feyerabend, 1993, p. 5).

The method chapter embodied the skeleton of the study. It first presented the overall methodological standpoint and continued with the theoretical foundations building and underlying the method used in the study. The theoretical foundation included the discussion of ethnography, ethnomethodology, and conversation analysis. Following the logic of the method, it explained how the data were collected and then how those data were analyzed according to the CA principles. Validity and reliability issues were explained with particular reference to the qualitative nature of the research. The chapter finally discussed the limitations that the researcher experienced in both the data collection and the data analysis stages.

3.1. Overall Research Design

This study was basically based on the conversation analytic perspective to the investigation of social life in the classroom life. As an example of pure descriptive study, it described how a particular social phenomenon, the construction of classroom order, was produced, maintained, and shared in the classrooms with specific references to what the teachers and students did in their interactions. Instead of taking a hypothetical version of the world, this study with the committed belief in the idea that "detailed study of small phenomena may give an enormous understanding of the way humans do things and the kinds of objects they use to construct and order their affairs" (Sacks, 1984a, p. 24) used authentic video-

recordings as its basis for finding commonalities among the cases. Consequently, the form of social phenomena that this study was focusing on was "always transcriptions of actual occurrences in their actual sequences" (Sacks, 1984a, p. 25).

The study started with video-recorded conversations in the classrooms not only because the focus of interest with specific reference to the actual conversations could be studied again and again, raising the level of validity in the inferences as well, but also because the readers who would be interested in the sort of work presented meticulously in the fragments could have the opportunity to have a different interpretation and thus would be able to disagree with me with particular reference to the data presented in the fragments. The idea underlying the methodic stance is "to take singular sequences of conversation and tear them apart in such a way as to find rules, techniques, procedures, methods, maxims," which are referred to mechanisms collectively in this study, to use them to generate the orderly features in the conversations, and then to come back to the singular things observed in a singular sequence with the mechanisms that handle those singular features and at the same time handle other prospective events (Sacks, 1984b, p. 413.). Hence, the sort of analysis has a dualistic pattern: (a) bottom-up analysis to find the particular instances to dig what is covered and then (b) top-down analysis to find commonalities across those particular instances.

Throughout this methodic route, one can

> [H]andle the details of actual events, handle them formally, and in the first instance be informative about them in the direct ways in which primitive sciences tend to be formative – that is, that anyone else can go and see whether what was said is so (Sacks, 1984a, p. 26).

The focal point in the methodic standpoint governing the whole process of data mining in this study is not only presenting what and how the participants are interacting each other and thus are making available their actions to each other but also is the aim of transforming what have happened in the conversation to the products of a machinery (Sacks, 1984a). With the demonstrable access to the products, the transcriptions of actual occurrences in their actual sequences, I have aimed to find the machinery regulating the organization of those social interactions.

As Heap (1982) in his study criticizing a previous study on classroom interaction suggests any study focusing on the aspects of classroom interaction should access events as constructed and constructible by the ordinary speakers in the local production without presumptive reconstructions while effacing the events that they represent. Since the analyses in this CA study was not based on "presumptive reconstructions," the detailed representations of the social phenomena in the classroom with the help of video-recording to help researchers create data-driven reconstructions were needed (p. 401). Thus, the second task was to transform the naturally occurring talk in the classroom into an entity transcribed with a specific transcription convention.

As an example of descriptive qualitative research, the study is "attracted to a form of investigation that, by considering the extraordinary variability of things, is replete with ambiguity" (Peshkin, 1988, p. 418). Although it is aimed to reach the generalizations out of the products to have the potential power to explain other products in other contexts, the study also paid attention to the deviant cases as forms of ambiguity and tried to integrate those deviances into the mainstream conclusions. Thus, the third task was to locate the deviant cases to provide alternative explanations for the same phenomena.

3.2. Foundations of Research Design

Different from what was presented in the literature review chapter, this section presented the foundations of the method guiding the flow of the study. The three sections in the following sections were briefly discussed to provide the readers how this study chose its own route to discover the mechanisms of classroom order. The study basically is an example of an ethnographic work but is not a pure form of ethnography because of some reasons. Hence, the reasons why this study was not counted as an authentic sort of ethnography and why the study preferred CA to ethnography was discussed after a brief explanation of ethnography was presented. Because this study is an example of conversation analytic work, the theoretical foundation of CA, ethnomethodology, was briefly presented. At the end of this section, CA was sketched with particular reference to the aspect of sequential analysis, the core device in any CA work.

3.2.1. Ethnography

Ethnography is basically the study of people. It is the closer investigation of "people in everyday settings, with particular attention to culture – that is, how people make meaning of their lives" (Anderson-Levitt, 2006, p. 279.). For Atkinson and Hammersley (1994), ethnography refers to forms of social research having

> (a) a strong emphasis on exploring the nature of particular social phenomena, rather than setting out to test hypotheses about them, (b) a tendency to work primarily with "unstructured" data, that is, data that have not been coded at the point of data collection in terms of a closed set of analytic categories, (c) investigation of a small of number cases, perhaps just one case, in detail, (d) analysis of data that involves explicit interpretation of the meanings and functions of human actions, the product of which mainly takes the form of verbal descriptions and explanations, with quantification and statistical analysis playing a subordinate role at most (p. 248).

The forerunning feature of any ethnographic work is the drive to describe a social phenomenon with what is present in any particular context. Rather than starting with previously constructed theories or assumptions limiting the perspective about the nature of the social phenomenon, ethnographic work begins its journey with experiencing the social reality in its own place. Because it does not explain the unknown social phenomenon with summative tools such as numbers or codes but with verbal descriptions, ethnographic work is more interested in in-depth and thick descriptions of a few cases. As a result, the focus is shifted from the overall and encompassing results to the detailed explanatory results. Thus, the motive is to uncover what is hidden under summaries and generalities.

The primary question that an ethnographer asks in the beginning of his or her work starts with 'how,' i.e. how a specific social phenomenon is organized. Instead of seeking causal connections between the concepts or overall opinions about the concepts, the ethnographer "seeks the rules and principles that organize behavior in practical circumstances" (Mehan, 1982, p. 59). The goal of an ethnographic research is thus to specify the machinery that generates the social order observed as people organize their lives together.

Despite the differences in how different fractions of ethnographies have in order to render meanings out of culture, ethnography has a common methodological base. The basic common methodological way is the shared belief that "a cultural description requires a long period of intimate study and residence among members of the community being studied" (Mehan, 1982, p. 61). The physical presence of the ethnographer in the field where s/he is carrying out the study over a certain period of time provides his or her the ability (1) to get used to the people s/he is working with and at the same time for those people to accept him or her as a member of that group, (2) to recognize how the social phenomena s/he is trying to undercover is organized and acted in that specific context and (3) to have a sense of culture in which s/he is living.

Ethnography through participant observation requires that the researcher experience both physically and intellectually "the vicissitudes of translation", i.e. learn the language, have some degree of direct involvement and conversation, and also derange personal and cultural expectations (Clifford, 1988, p. 24). In this complex transformation, ethnography from the beginning to end is engaged in a writing task -translating experience into a textual form. Consequently, the ethnographer is expected to be good at describing the people, the actions, the places, and other things with words. This requires the researcher to be experienced about how to put what she observes into a textual form.

CA is ultimately an ethnographic work not only because it is a way of participant observation, but also because it is rooted in the same motive with ethnography to describe the social world with particular reference to what happens in a particular context. However, CA is not a pure form of ethnography because first of all most ethnographic work relies heavily on the information gained through interviews with certain trusted or usually available members of the group or on the observer's notes on the setting and people being studied. As Sacks put it, "the trouble with their work is that they're using informants; that is, they're asking questions of their subjects" (1992, p. 27).

CA is not a pure ethnographic work because an ethnographic work makes use of common sense knowledge of members of a setting as a resource whereas it should be turned into a topic of study. Asking what certain members of a context know

about a particular social phenomenon does not necessarily point to the mechanism or social reality governing that social phenomenon. The members might be mis-constructing what they are experiencing or developing unrelated constructions coming from their experiences from different social phenomena.

Furthermore, the details of actual events recorded in the field notes are not made available to the reader. What is presented in an ethnographic study is "an account of the practices of a setting's members based on information gleaned by the ethnographer" (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1988, p. 26). Readers are accessing what the researcher has thought to be related or crucial about the social phenomenon studied. Due to the three key reasons listed above, heavy reliance on the researcher's observation notes, asking the informants about the social phenomena they are experiencing, and the limited access to the data, this study cannot be considered to be a pure example of ethnographic work. However, this study can be considered to be a pure example of ethnomethodological study and at the end as a conversation analytic study.

3.2.2. Ethnomethodology

Ethnomethodology (EM), literally meaning 'members' method,' is totally engaged in answering the question of how an interaction is done/accomplished. Rather than attempting to find answers for why a particular social phenomenon is done, i.e. discovering the reasons for a social phenomenon, it aims at developing a set of tools to help researchers understand from the participants' lenses how they in that particular context make sense of their actions. The fundamental focus in EM is thus how members make sense out of their world and at the same time how they make available their actions to one another.

The primary resource of EM is Garfinkel's (1967) theoretical manifesto that defines ethnomethodology as the study of methods by which members make sense of their world.

> Their study is directed to the tasks of learning how members' actual, ordinary activities consist of methods to make practical actions, practical circumstances, common sense knowledge of social

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structures, and practical sociological reasoning analyzable (Garfinkel, 1967, p. vii).

A central and identifying interest for EM is thus how people construct order, meaning, and structure and then make meaning out of their actions through their natural language use (Garfinkel, 1967; Sacks, 1992). Thus, EM looks for social order and structure as ordinary and practical achievements, finds them being produced, organized and maintained in the naturally occurring talks, and at the end proposes a rigorously naturalistic program for studying them.

For Macbeth (in revision), EM is a methodological program and recommends its program with its formal analytic steps, procedures, or techniques. Again for Macbeth (2003), EM is a program that "set out to dissolve the analytic privilege of speaking authoritatively on behalf of a world that could not know its own affairs" (p. 241). EM does not adopt the view that the order, meaning, and structure of ordinary actions are hidden from ordinary view and thus in order to make sense out of ordinary affairs of any social action, a set of formal structures presenting the underlying rules, procedures, or machineries behind those actions are needed. Instead, EM starts its disciplined inquiry with particular interest in how members do those actions. Also, instead of adopting an external omniscient standpoint to social actions, EM "re-sited the locus of social order from distal organizations of formal structure shaping action from afar to local orders of competent practice and practical reasoning" (Macbeth, 2003, p. 242).

A large part of ethnomethodology becomes the study of how members build accounts of a social action while they do that action. At this point, making sense of a social action and giving ordinary accounts of that action become interconnected: making sense out of the action is depended on how members doing that action are able to announce to themselves and to others what meaning they are getting out of that social action (Attewell, 1974).

> […] the activities whereby members produce and manage settings of organized everyday affairs are identical with members' procedures for making those settings 'accountable' […] When I speak of accountable my interests are directed to such matters as the following. I mean

observable-and-reportable, i.e. available to members as situated practices of looking-and-telling (Garfinkel, 1967, p. 1).

In addition to the concept of accountable/observable actions, the concept of indexicality is a fundamental concept governing the ethnomethodological look at how meanings emerge from interactions within a particular situation because social interaction is seen as linked to context and explicable only in that context. Indexicality refers to "the fact that a word may have a meaning which holds true for all situations in which the word is used, but a word has meanings which relates to the particular situation in which it is being used" (Attawell, 1974, p. 185).

Indexicality in EM shapes the basic idea in CA. For the conversation analytic perspective, the mechanisms on which the participants organize their interactions and with which they make available their governing stances to one another have both context-free and context-sensitive features, which will be discussed in detail in the following section.

3.2.3. Conversation Analysis

Conversation analysis (CA) is the disciplined inquiry exploring the key role of talk-in-interaction in constructing social organizations and is the investigation of what people do with naturally occurring talk across different situations. Influenced by Goffman's (1983) interaction order, the relatively new field of interest at that time focusing on the face-to-face interaction, and rooted in Garfinkel's (1967) EM, the process of discovering the formal properties of commonplace actions, CA aims at "locating and describing how the world talk works, how the experienced moments of social life are constructed, how the ongoing operation of the social order is organized" (Moerman, 1988).

CA operates closer to the phenomena and works on detailed renderings of interactional activities, recordings, and detailed transcriptions, rather than on coded, counted, or other summarized representations. The mere focus of CA is the naturally occurring data because it considers talk-in-interaction as a situated achievement rather than as a product of personal intentions or of external forces. CA's stance on talk-in-interaction is rooted in its organizational and procedural aspects, i.e. talk is

not regarded as a series of individual acts but as a collectively and sequentially organized event (ten Have, 2007).

Conversation analysis starts with the question of how people in a talk understand each other or more specifically "what forms of social organization secure the recurrence of understanding among parties to conversation, the central institution of language use" (Moerman & Sacks, 1988, p. 182). As a result of this disciplined inquiry into understanding through the meticulous analysis of conversation, CA proposes two key points in its discipline: (a) the forms of understanding required for conversation sequencing, the underlying formal property of conversation, which provide and implicate social organization for other forms of understanding, and (b) those understandings that are done locally, immediately, publicly, accessibly and continually (Moerman & Sacks, 1988).

Turn-taking is a fundamental dynamic in any conversational analytic study because it is used for governing the mechanism of who speaks once the current speaker has finished her turn. In an ordinary conversation, turn-taking system has two twin characteristics of being (a) context-free and (b) context-sensible. Any focus of concern in a conversational analytic study is situated in the actual conversation, i.e. the focus of inquiry comes out of and is part of "some real sets of circumstances of its participants" while since conversations take place in a wide range of situations and since a variety of participants from different identities are able to interact in those conversations, "there must be some formal apparatus which is itself context-free" that operates beyond the contextual features of those conversations (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974, p. 699.). Therefore, the mechanisms on which the participants organize their interactions and with which they make available their governing stances to one another are uncovered in cases and can be accountable for the other cases.

In addition to the underlying features of CA discussed in this section, the studies in the field have also talked about the two different but interrelated routes that a conversation analytic study follows. Button (1977) identified two strains for a conversation analytic study to follow: (a) the ethnographic-character strain that is concerned with conversational organization involved in the accomplishment of some interactional encounter, and (b) the fine-grained sequential analysis strain with the

goal of describing and documenting as activity in its own right, requiring no recourse to extra-conversational facets, and making no claims to be capturing wider sociological concerns.

This conversation analytic study with the particular focus on the modes of talk organization, including the organization of turn-taking and aspects of sequential structuring, adopted a more fine-grained sequential analysis route in the analysis section. However, in order to follow a middle path galvanizing both routes, it also paid attention to the ethnographic accounts in the results section. In order to have an ethnographic account for the analysis, each fragment from the video-recordings were presented with its relative history in the classroom life, what teacher and students in that particular moment are doing.

This short discussion of research foundation was purposefully articulated before the discussion of data collection and analysis for a number of reasons. Firstly, the CA view on the classroom interaction is a relatively new disciplined inquiry into social interactions. The key inbuilt features of CA needed to be discussed before it was put into action in the method chapter. Secondly, CA is a sociological field that dictates both theoretical and methodological choices at the same time. Consequently, it was thought to be a necessary step to sketch the boundaries of this study before the fragments were analyzed on their own terms.

3.3. Sampling

Any sampling procedure is a challenging task because researchers need to sample, as "they often confront a wealth of potential cases and do not have the time or resources to study them all" (Ragin, 1994, p. 191). It is a demanding step because the way it is handled in a study is the primary factor that shapes the overall flow of the research. At the same time, sampling is basically viewed as a "factist activity" in a context-stripping study because in order to reach generalizations, meaning is stripped from the contexts (Ragin, 1994, p. 191). Context-stripping is thus the inevitable result of a study where different sampling procedures are used to secure the flawless of these generalizations (Mishler, 1979). However, this study as a qualitative and descriptive CA work, different from the background presented here, regarded the sampling issue as a step to decide where to start field visits and as a

formula to decide which fragments to be involved in the analysis section. The two purposes of sampling thus showed that the study had a two-level sampling rationale.

As an example of ethnographic work, the study was more interested in the fine details in a few cases rather than reaching overall results encompassing the whole situations within a limited explanation. The sample consequently was composed of three high school classrooms. The sample in the study was three high schools located in Ankara, Turkey. The schools were (1) a private high school, (2) an Anatolian public high school and (3) a general public high school. All of those three schools were located in the same county in Ankara. A 10th grade class was selected from each school (see Figure 3.1.1. for the sampling).

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┌──────────────┐   ┌──────────────┐   ┌──────────────┐
│  A general   │   │ An Anatolian │   │A private high│
│ public high  │   │ public high  │   │    school    │
│    school    │   │    school    │   │              │
└──────┬───────┘   └──────┬───────┘   └──────┬───────┘
       │                  │                  │
       ▼                  ▼                  ▼
┌──────────────┐   ┌──────────────┐   ┌──────────────┐
│ A 10th grade │   │ A 10th grade │   │ A 10th grade │
│    class     │   │    class     │   │    class     │
│              │   │              │   │              │
└──────────────┘   └──────────────┘   └──────────────┘
```
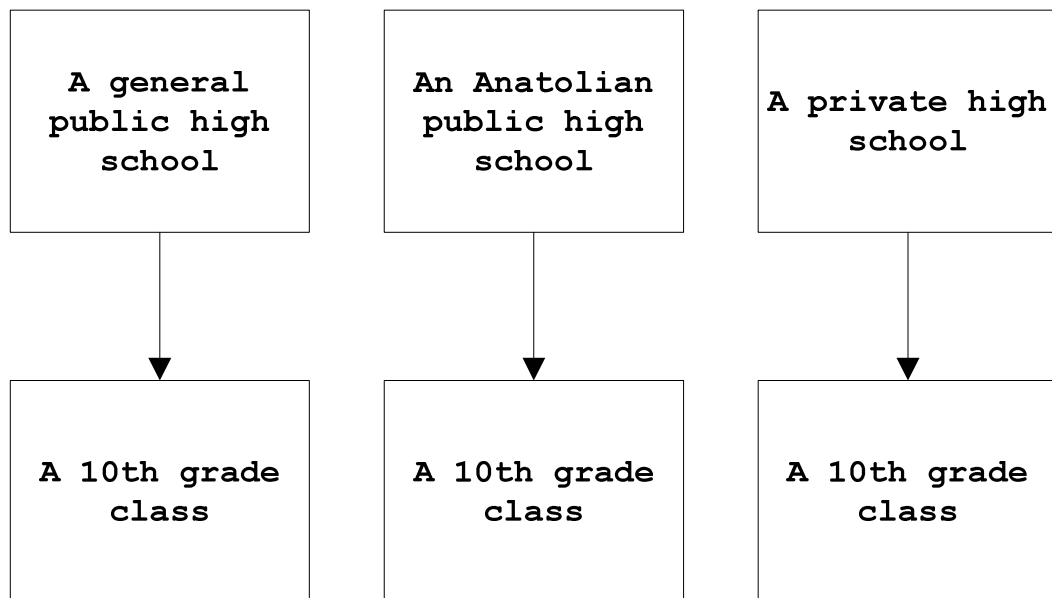
Figure 3.1.1. The sample in the study.

The sample of the three 10th grade classes from three different schools was selected using maximum variation strategy (Creswell, 1998). The reasons for selecting the sample were (a) being a 10th grade in a high school, and (b) showing different high school characteristics. To present the diversity, the class at the private school located in the university campus was selected because it was relatively convenient to get the consent from the school administration. The other two state

schools were selected because they were located in neighbor communities, and thus it was less time-consuming for me to get to them from where I lived.

At the beginning of the research, I was aware that some teachers and students would not agree to be video-recorded. The nature of the research, being a conversation analytic and ethnographic work, was a novel endeavor involving risking the dynamics of classroom life. Consequently, the classes at the three schools were selected after the negotiation with the principals first and then teachers. The process of negotiation for consents and permissions will be discussed in detail in the following section.

At the end of the field visits in three schools starting in November 26, 2007 and ending in May 8, 2008, approximately 47 hours, 2814 minutes, in 69 different sessions with 15 different teachers were recorded (see Appendix A for the video logs). The sampling procedure at the second level for the analysis followed Heritage's (1988) reformulation of maximum variation strategy:

> CA adopted the naturalist's strategy of building up large collections of data from as many sites as possible. Like a good collection of naturalist's specimens, these growing data bases contain many variations of particular types of interactional events whose features can be systematically compared. Analysts constantly seek for new variants and may focus their searches on particular settings in the expectation of finding them (p. 131).

In order to have the maximum variation from the recordings for each section in the results, the 69 video-recordings were labeled as (a) school names: School A, School B, and School C, (b) subject matters: chemistry, language arts, geography, mathematics, biology, Turkish literature, history, geometer and health science, (c) dates of recordings, and (d) the sections in the results chapter in this study: S1, S2, S3 and S4 (see Appendix B for the sampling matrix). Those fragments were distributed equally to each section in the results by using those labels. The reason why the fragments were labeled and placed at four sections in the analysis was to sustain the maximum variation in the study. At the end of the distribution, the fragments were analyzed in their sections.

3.4. Data Collection Procedure

This section explained how the data were collected for this study. It discussed the description of the settings where the data were collected, the explanation of the technology used, the stages of permissions necessary for data collection, and finally discussed the political and ethical issues involved in the data collection period.

3.4.1. Settings

The life and scenes of classrooms are not the constructs that can be defined with summary description in spite of the familiarity of the classrooms to the people and their regular and massive reproduction (Macbeth, 1990). In this section, I tried to explain the three settings: the three classes in the three high schools. I am aware of the fact that those descriptions were not enough to portray what had been experienced in the field visits. At the same time, I had to eliminate some of my observations in order not to violate the agreement items in the consents forms that would reveal the identification of the people and institutions involved in the field visits.

School A was a private school located on a university campus in Ankara. The elementary school and high school were at the same place. It had a number of buildings: among others, there were (a) a cafeteria, (b) sports center and (c) conference hall. The 17 10th grade students I was following were having their classes in different classrooms according to the subject matter. They had physics, biology, and chemistry laboratories where they could have experiments. They had history, language art, geography classes where they had maps, posters, and other items related to the content matter. Each class had a data projector, audio player and a computer connected to the internet. Since it was a private school, the students' SES was relatively the same, coming from the upper class.

School B was a general public high school located in a central county in Ankara. It had a 4-storey building where the classes, teacher's staff room, administrative offices, and a canteen were located. The class I was following for my study consisted of more than 35 students who were sitting in three rows. The class had a blackboard, student desks, a teacher table, and a map of Turkey. Different from the system in School A, the teachers were visiting the classrooms. Since the school

was located in a place where luxury apartments, middle class houses, and shanties are in the same area, the students were from diverse SES and cultural backgrounds.

School C was an Anatolian public high school located in a seemingly suburban county of Ankara. The differences between a regular high school and an Anatolian high school are that (a) the students are accepted to the Anatolian high schools after a nation-wide examination, (b) the students in the Anatolian high schools have an English preparatory year, and (c) the Anatolian high school graduates have a better chance of getting higher grades in the university entrance examination. Because the students were selected after an examination, the academic profile of students were considered to be higher than Schools A and B. School C had a 4 storey building where, similar to School B, all sorts of offices and classes were located. Different from School A, it had a conference hall and a better equipped sports center. The students' SES were diverse, some coming from lower class, some from middle class, and some from upper middle class.

3.4.2. Technology

A conversation analytic study has to make use of technology. Recording the talk-in-interaction at various places, analyzing them with proper equipment and presenting the results at different places require the researcher to be good at making use of those different technologies. As a researcher experiencing the challenges of technology use in my own study, I thought the method chapter should include a section, technology, explaining what type of technological activities I had in the course of the study starting from the activity of collecting the audio/video data to the activity of presenting the results.

This study began with the research practice field work performed at the Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio. To collect my data for the practice study, I bought a digital camcorder. There were two criteria in my mind for purchasing that camera because (1) it had a microphone slot that would enable me to use external microphones when the built-in microphone could not record the interactions hearable enough to transcribe, and because (2) it had a multi-card slot in addition to the mini-DVD burning recording option.

Before collecting the data from the pilot field, I needed to check the sound and video quality. First, I tested different kinds of external microphones, a desktop one, a stereo headset one and a regular one, at different places. The camcorder's built-in microphone had the best sound quality at noisy places. Therefore, I decided to continue the data collection with the internal microphone. Secondly, to test the video quality, I bought different mini-DVDs from different brands. It turned out that deciding for the brand was not the crucial point because any mini-DVDs on the market allowed me to record at most for 30 minutes. Further, changing the disc and formatting it before recording again took at least 2 minutes. Consequently, I decided to go on recording the class with a memory card. I bought a 2GB SD memory card that allowed me to record for more than 2 hours without any surprises. An unexpected advantage of using the memory card instead of mini-DVDs was that the battery lasted longer because- I suppose- the camcorder did not have to use energy to spin the disc and to beam the high amount of laser in order to burn the disc spinning inside.

The other problem I experienced while I was in the field and recording the class was the battery. The original battery, 800 mAh, lasted for at most one hour. Therefore, I purchased two non-original batteries, 1600 mAh and 2000 mAh, for my camcorder. Having three batteries that would last for more than 7 hours gave me more time to spend more time in the field. The last problem in the data collection period was the storage. Since the size of video segments was more than 1 megabyte, I decided to purchase an 80 GB external hard drive to store my video recordings. Having an external hard drive also secured the confidentiality of data as stated in the consent forms.

After I had collected and stored the video recordings, I started watching them on my notebook. The first trouble in watching the segments was the codec mismatch. The video recording codec in my camcorder was different from the codecs in my laptop. Therefore, I needed to find the necessary codec from my camcorder's website. The second trouble was the corrupted video segments. When the battery died in the middle of recording a 45 minute lesson, that segment became corrupted. In order to rescue them and make them viewable again, I used the software, which worked smoothly and saved almost all of the corrupted video segments.

The following step in my study was to transcribe what I heard from the video segments. At that point, I was supposed to decide for the overall organization of transcriptions: (a) what font to make use of, and (b) how to put Turkish and English translation versions into the same place. The first decision was to make use of Courier New font, a monospaced slab serif typeface designed to resemble the output from a strike-on typewriter, mainly because the letters in Courier New font has equal length, which led me to locate the overlaps and pauses precisely in the transcriptions. The second decision was the practical problem with placing both the original Turkish and English-translation utterances at the same transcripts. At the end of different trials, I decided to put the English-translations just after the original Turkish ones with a gray color.

3.4.3. Permissions

Permission embodies the skeleton of a data collection procedure in a conversation analytic study. Getting the consents of the participants to be video recorded requires negotiation skills. This section explained how I got the permissions from the four settings and how I negotiated with the key personnel in those fields. The first setting was the laboratory kindergarten located in the university campus. Before receiving the consents from teachers, parents, and students in the kindergarten, I was supposed to get the permission from the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at the Office of Responsible Research Practices at the Ohio State University to carry out my study in that setting. After getting the consent from the IRB at the Ohio State University, I started negotiating with the administration at the kindergarten, explaining the scope of my study, what the study aimed at, and how data would be collected. The administration and teachers agreed to have the study in the kindergarten. As a result, I started getting the parents' consent. Since the children in the kindergarten could not read and write, I had to take their oral consent. I was supposed to talk them individually. There was only one parent who did not agree to have her child be recorded. In order to overcome that problem, I agreed with the teachers to make that student sit facing the teacher, not the camera lens, so that that student was not recorded and at the same did not prevent the others from being recorded.

The second setting was the private high school located on the university campus in Ankara. Before contacting to the administration in the high school, I was required to get the consent from Applied Ethical Research Center (Uygulamalı Etik Araştırma Merkezi) at Middle East Technical University. After getting the permission to conduct my research in the high schools, I started talking to the administration in the private high school. Except for one teacher, I was able to get the permissions from the teachers, parents and students (see Appendix C for the teacher, parent and student consent forms used in the study).

The other two settings where the data were collected for the study were two public schools. Before I could start my field visits in a public school, I was required to get the consent from the Ministry of National Education (see Appendix D for the consent from the Ministry of National Education). In the general public high school, there were two teachers who did not agree to participate in the study and in the Anatolian public high school, there were four teachers did not agree to join and further resisted the idea of having the research in their school. This resistance spread among the other teachers in the school and I had to start the negotiations from the beginning by finding a teacher who was really enthusiastic about the study. With regular reference to him, I was able to convince some of the teachers for video-recording.

The negotiation in this field study started with long talks with the administrative staff at the three schools. The administrative staff had a very crucial role in getting into the field because (1) the principal or vice principal was the one who allowed the study to be carried out in their schools and (2) they were the first people that introduced me to the teachers and students. Consequently, I as a novice ethnographer had to have good terms with the administration. The other key people at the schools were the school counselors. In the two state schools they were held responsible by the principals for selecting the class and introducing me to the teachers first and then to students. The resistance in the school actually rooted in the school counselor's indifference and unenthusiastic standpoint to the research. He did not want to take the initiative and introduce me to the teachers. As a result, I had to restart the talks from the beginning with the principal's presence.

3.4.4. Video-recording

The core of a conversation analytic study is the challenging process of capturing naturally occurring talk-in-interaction. Any recording for a research purpose follows previously defined steps. The recording starts with getting the consent from the Institutional Review Board confirming that the study is framed within the limits of ethics and moral codes. The IRB consent is followed with the permissions from the participants who will be recorded. The next step is the field visits where the researcher records the interactions in the setting. At that stage, the crucial decisions about the nature of research are made. This section talks about those decisions and the logical reasons for them.

The primary decision about video-recording in the field was the physical point in the classroom to place the camera in the classroom. For Erickson (2006), placing the camera at the back of the classroom and shooting directly forward with the teacher full-face in the center of the frame and the backs of students' necks implicitly constructs teaching as a process in which the teacher is the primary agent and students are relatively passive recipients. Hence, the placement of the camera imposes certain degree of theoretical standpoint to the nature of research. In the classrooms, however, I was allowed to sit only at the back and to record the interactions with the framing focus on the teacher and the specific student the teacher was addressing. In School B, for certain classes, I was allowed to change my place. Nevertheless, the spatial change in those sessions showed that my move attracted the students' attention and disrupted them.

The panning of the camera was the main advantageous result of holding the camera in my hand. Located at the back of the classroom, I was unable to see the students' perspectives, mainly focusing on the teacher's view on the classroom. However, I was able to move the camera from side to side to capture what was happening outside the camera's fixed angle. Those panning moments included mainly the chatters among few students while the teacher was talking, the sudden comments by a specific student, and student-to-student calls.

I used a wide angle camera that was able to capture almost the whole classroom scene. Consequently, I did not need to zoom in and out at certain times. However, when I tried to zoom in a particular interaction, I missed other side

interactions because zooming out from that particular scene took a couple of seconds, and meanwhile those side scenes had already ended by the time I zoomed out fully. As a result, I preferred to use the same wide angle recording during the whole field visits in the classrooms.

It is a shared fact among the researchers who rely on the video-recordings for the analytic purposes that the videotape is not data itself (Erikson, 2006). It is a resource for data construction, "an information source containing potential data out of which actual data must be defined and searched for" (Erikson, 2006, p. 178). The questions of how much of the potential information on the tapes should be attended and accounted for in the transcriptions become the fundamental decisions before the analysis stage starts. Those questions become more crucial especially when the transcriptions in a CA fashion require the researcher to pay attention to details in the talks. Thus, it makes the decisions to what to account for in the videotapes much more important. The decisions for selecting what to transcribe and what to account for will be discussed in detail in the data analysis section. However, at this point, it is enough to note that different fragments from diverse situations were included in the analysis.

3.4.5. Politics and Ethics

In a qualitative study that attempts to uncover meaning in a context where any participant constructs and shares the meaning studied, there are certain features that are not articulated but have a material impact on the study, and thus shape the politics of research (Punch, 1994). Any field research is "dependent on one person's perception of the field situation at a given point in time, that perception is shaped both by personality and by the nature of the interaction with the researched" (Punch, 1994, p. 84). The features that shaped the politics of this research include the researcher's personality, the nature of the research object, the gatekeepers in the field, accidents in the field, and bureaucratic obstacles. This section talks about those features faced in the course of the study.

The political aspect of this study was rooted in the nature of the research: video-recording classrooms, video-recording the interactions between the teacher and students. Although I had the necessary permissions from the authorities, from the

center at the university for the ethical reasons and from the office at the Ministry of National Education for the administrative reasons, although I had granted that I would make use of recordings only for the sake of research, and although I stated in the consent forms that I would secure the anonymity of people involved in those recordings, the participants had questions about the study, more particularly the use of camera. They also had doubts about the genuine purposes of the study.

At each first visit to the settings, I started talking about my identity, where and what I studied, what my research aims were, and what I would do with these recordings. However, the participants always had the key questions about the nature of video-recording. The video-recording and my physical appearance in the classes led to the doubts that I had to explain further or answer with reasons at each negotiation session. The teachers were questioning if those recordings would be broadcast in some 'undesired' ways. I was even told an unfortunate event happened in one of the schools. One of the students in a classroom recorded one of the teachers with his mobile phone while he was talking to the students, and then put it on YouTube, the popular video broadcasting website. That teacher had to resign from teaching at that school at the end of that trauma. Therefore, the teachers were suspicious about my promise of securing broadcasting for only research purposes.

The second reason for why the teachers felt involuntary for the study was that they did not want to be observed by a researcher from a university who had the potential to assess their teaching skills. In addition, although I expressed my research aim in the negotiation talks, three teachers, who formed a resistance group in one of the schools, did not agree to be recorded because they told me that they did not want any Big Brother scene in their classrooms. Getting over Big Brother worry was impossible for me in the beginning.

However, when I got the consents from the other four teachers who were really enthusiastic about the study, the students and teachers got used to seeing me at the back rows of the classroom and realized that Big Brother worry was not their real reason. Towards the middle of the semester, the students started talking to me in the break times. One of the popular topics we were sharing was why I could not video-record those teachers. The students suggested me that I should record those teachers, especially because they thought that I could capture the real classroom environments

in those teacher's classrooms. When I asked why they called those teachers' classes real ones and why they recommended me to record them, they did not provide me any satisfactory answers but said that I would realize it if I were to do that.

One of the deals I as the researchers and the students as the main participants agreed on was that I not record during the examination hours. Due to the apparent reason, which cannot be articulated here because of the ethical part of consents, no class allowed me to record them while they were having an examination. The other deal was to stop recording when they were having their break times. They totally resisted being recorded during their free times.

The raw view that science is intrinsically and automatically neutral and essentially beneficial disappeared with the surprising revelations at the Nuremberg trials and with other so-called purely scientific experiments (Punch, 1994). Although it is fairly assumed that controlling science limits the horizon of development inherent in each discipline, any study involving the treatment of human needs to secure the moral and ethical responsibilities (Henn et al., 2006). This section at this point described the steps to ensure the ethical standards in the study.

The first principle required that all participants in this study be voluntary. In order to ensure the voluntariness of all participants, their consents in written documents were acquired except that the consents from the children in the pilot study were taken orally because they were not able to read and write. In the negotiation talks, the second principle, which is that any data collection attempt should not harm participants emotionally or psychologically, was expressed and any concern about that issue was discussed before data collection started.

The third principle addresses the importance of protecting participants' anonymity and confidentiality. In order to secure this principle, along with the statements in the consent forms, the video recordings were kept in an external hard drive with a codec system that would enable only the researcher to review them. In addition to the use of external hard drive, any information in the transcriptions that would reveal the participants' or institutions' identities were masked with pseudonyms.

The fourth principle requires that the aims of a study be explained to participants so that they know what is being studied. In order to guarantee it, a

statement was written in the consent forms explaining what this study aimed at investigating and how it would investigate those issues in their settings. In addition to the statement, the participants were provided with an Internet site where they could access to the summary findings of the study. With the results on the Internet site, the participants could know what was being studied in a comprehensive manner.

3.5. Data Analysis Procedure

This conversation analytic study started the data analysis with the preliminary findings from the research practice carried out in a laboratory kindergarten located in a Midwestern university campus in the United States. The findings from the practice study together with the findings from the core texts constituted of the basic blocks of the study. The combined results provided the possible areas to start within the analysis of the data from the study. The data from the study were first analyzed with a particular CA method, the unmotivated look and then elaborated with the basic CA method, the sequential analysis of the turns. At the end of the analysis, the deviant cases were examined to see what the cases outside the main reformulation were and how they could be integrated into the main frame (see Figure 3.1.2. for overall data analysis).
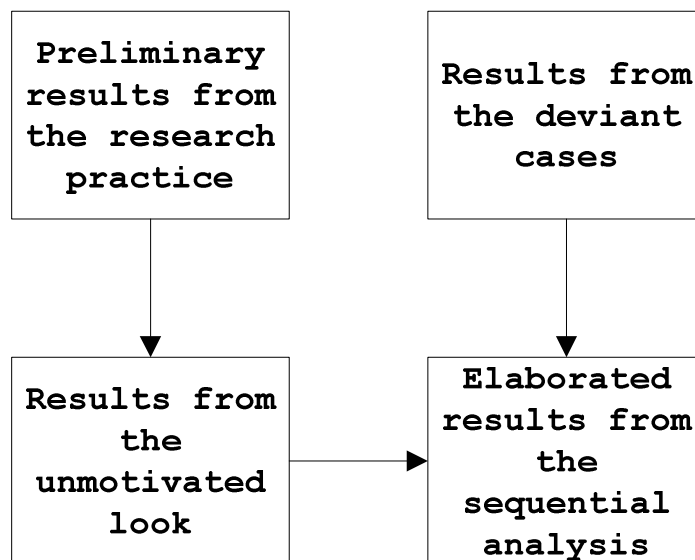
Figure 3.1.2. The overall data analysis process.

3.5.1. Phase I: Preliminary Findings from the Research Practice

The research practice was the period when the researcher was practicing the application of the conversation analytic principles to the classroom environment and at the same time testing how CA could unearth the order layer of classroom life. As a result, this period was the preliminary stage where the theoretical and methodological premises of the study were piloted before the main study. The practice was carried out in a laboratory kindergarten located in a Midwestern university campus in the United States. There were 20 students aging from 3 to 5 (see Icbay, 2008 for further information about the main results from the research practice).

The first step in the data analysis was the research practice. The fundamental goal of carrying out this period was to test how the methodological and theoretical decisions would work. The first preliminary finding in the practice study was the methodological shift from the perspective of conversation as a means to find the social reality to the perspective of talk-in-interaction as an end itself creating the social reality. In order both to overcome the various understandings of order, and thus to create an understanding rooted in the perceptions of the teacher and students in the classroom, the term, classroom order unit, was constructed to refer to the interactions for constructing order. In the course of the study, classroom order units were labeled as the mechanisms of order.

3.5.2. Phase II: Unmotivated Look

The key principle guiding and governing data analysis in this study was the ethnographic drive to make the familiar strange in order to uncover the mechanisms underlying the organization of events in the construction of classroom order. The results of the pilot study provided one of the basic principles: the classroom order was always reconstructed when there is a student action not confirming to the rule.

The first step to uncover the machinery regulating the classroom order through the closer look on the actual occurrences in their actual sequences was the unmotivated look. The unmotivated look at a CA context refers to the act of "giving some consideration to whatever can be found in any particular conversation and subjecting it to investigation in any direction that can be reproduced from it" (Sacks,

1984a, p. 27). For the unmotivated look stage in this study, I watched the video segments with no particular predetermined purpose while noting every possible machinery with particular reference to the products in the video segments (see Appendix E for sample notes for the unmotivated look analyses).

The general path suggested in the CA community is to start from the data at hand with the unmotivated look, not from any preconceived ideas about what the data are or represent. Having an overall analysis of what takes place in the interactions lets the researcher see the bigger picture before going into the details. As Psathas put forward it:

> The variety of interactional phenomena available for study are not selected on the basis of some preformulated theorizing, which may specify matters of greater or lesser significance. Rather the first stages of research have been characterized as unmotivated looking. Data may be obtained from any available source, the only requirements being that these should be naturally occurring (1995, p. 45).

However, as ten Have (2007) put forward in his book, it has become almost impossible to start analysis without any preconceived ideas especially with the "conceptual apparatus that has been built up over the last 40 years" (p. 121). Consequently, the unmotivated look stage in this study was to some extent influenced by the core texts summarized in the literature review part. I was looking for the specific moments in the classroom sessions when the order was reconstructed after the student interference, i.e. when the teacher was restoring order. At the end of the analysis in the unmotivated look phase, I pointed out four different moments when the order was restored: (a) class beginnings and re-beginnings, (b) transition periods between the activities, (c) moments after a humorous event, and (d) moments after a student-specific call by teacher. The third phase looked at those specific moments in detail and tried to explain how those moments are constructed.

3.5.3. Phase III: Sequential Analysis of Talk

The third and main phase started with a purposively selected fragment for each phenomenon selected in the unmotivated look stage and went on working through those fragments in terms of a restricted set of analytically distinguished

organizations. These organizations were referred to within the CA community as the turn-taking and sequence organizations. At the end of the analyses governed with turn-taking and sequence organizations, the basic mechanisms regulating the social interactions in the fragments were formulated. The mechanisms found in those preliminary analyses were validated with the analyses of other fragments taken from the video database (see Appendix B for the sampling matrix).

As ten Have (2007) listed in his introductory book, the steps in exploring the interactions, which I followed in my study, were: (1) selecting a sequence, (2) characterizing the interactions in each sequence with particular reference to what happens in the turns, (3) considering how the participants' sequence of actions provides for certain understandings of actions constructed and matters in focus, (4) considering how the timing and talking of turns provide for certain understandings of actions constructed and matters in focus, and (5) finally considering how the ways the actions were accomplished implicate certain roles and connections for the interaction (pp. 122-124).

Following the steps, I first provided what happened before and connected the focus of interest to the context where it took place. The context description was followed with a meticulous turn analysis with a particular focus on the question 'why that now'. The sequential analysis of the participants' turns illustrated the mechanisms of how they restored order when it was diffused. At the same time, the sequential analysis showed how the participants made their interactions available to each other. The analyses of different analyses on the same mechanisms provided uncover of the different aspects of the mechanisms. It was also aimed in the details of the recordings to discover the commonalities that could explain further cases in different and larger contexts. The final step in the analysis was the particular interest in the deviant cases.

3.5.4. Phase IV: Deviant Case Analysis

The deviant case analysis is a key integral part of a conversation analytic study because deviance shows a different and alternative pattern that the analyst has tried to show. As Clayman and Maynard (1995) explained in their book, the deviant case analysis (1) reinforces the earlier analysis by showing the participants'

orientation to both the normative basis of the pattern and the local rationality of deviation from the pattern, (2) can be used to change the earlier analysis because the results from the deviant case analysis cannot be integrated into the mainstream pattern, or (3) make the analyst seek the local reasons that may account for the deviance from the pattern (pp. 7-9).

The deviant case analysis in this study was purposefully employed to show how different participants in different contexts restored the order. Those deviant cases were referred to as teacher's toolbox at each section. The primary drive in those teacher's toolboxes was to demonstrate how those deviant cases could be integrated into the main frame or else could be explained with the same mechanisms.

3.6. Validity and Reliability

The issues of validity and reliability are the principal and vital stones of a research process mainly because the credibility and objectivity of the research depends on them (Kirk & Miller, 1986; Silverman, 2001). As Fraenkel and Wallen (2003) stated, many researchers working with qualitative frames "take the position that validity and reliability […] are either irrelevant or nor situated to their research efforts" because these researchers are trying to "describe a specific situation or event as viewed by a particular individual [or a group of individual]" (p. 171). As a result, instead of the terms, validity and reliability, to establish the trustworthiness, Lincoln and Guba (1985) used the terms credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability.

In a conversation analytic research, enhancing credibility involves specific efforts to assure the accuracy and inclusiveness of recordings that the research is based on as well as based on the efforts to test the truthfulness of the analytic claims that are made about those recordings (Perakyla, 2004). For Lincoln and Guba (1985) one way to gain the credibility in a qualitative study is the prolonged engagement in the field. The field visits in three schools lasted for 3 months for each classroom. Consequently, the three-month period for each classroom provided enough time to be engaged in these classes' dynamics in the classroom. The other way to promote credibility is persistent observation. Persistent observation allowed me to "identify

those characteristics and elements in the setting that are most relevant to the question being pursued and focus on them in detail" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 304).

Theoretical validity is the other means ensuring the trustworthiness of this study. Maxwell (1992) states that theoretical validity as being more abstract than the descriptive and interpretive validities concerns the "immediate physical and mental phenomena studied" (p. 291). It is the engagement of the constructions that the researchers apply to, or develop during the research (Winter, 2000). The constructions derived from the previous studies that focused on the phenomena of classroom order with the conversation analytic premises were applied to the study and thus created a validity issue for the study.

Thick description on the other hand is necessary to sustain the condition that the findings are transferable between the researcher and those being studied (Creswell, 2007). The fragments in this study were explained with precise references to the points in the transcriptions. The reliability of recordings in conversation analytic research can be achieved by paying attention to (a) the accurate decision of what is recorded, (b) the technical quality of recordings, and (c) the adequacy of transcriptions (Perakyla, 2004). In order to be able to have a more extensive control over the variation of the phenomenon, demonstrating the mechanisms of how order was restored in the classrooms, a large amount of video database was collected in a relatively large collection of cases. In order to seize the variation in this study, the authentic data from the three different classrooms at both private and two public high schools were collected over two semesters in 2007 and 2008.

The technical quality of recordings in this study, using a digital video recorder and the researcher's field notes, were adjusted so not to lose any primarily important data in the authentic classroom environment (Goodwin, 1992). The transcription in this study with which the unit of analysis is determined was based on the transcription convention by Jefferson (1979) so that the variation of naturally occurring data in classroom environment could be wholly obtained.

The central question in conversation analytic research is what grounds the researcher has for claiming that the inferences s/he has are connected to the social reality. The basic criteria for the validity of claims concerning the institutional character of talk requires the specific arguments called relevancy of categorization

and procedural consequentiality of context outlined by Schegloff (1991; 1992). In order to ensure the validity of inferences, the claims in the results chapter were compared with the inferences done previously by other researchers who worked on the same topic.

The authenticity issue rooted in the validity of analyses in this study first questions the accuracy of transcriptions of the fragments. Making a transcript using Jefferson's conventions (1979, 2004) is the skeleton of data analysis in a conversation analytic study. One of the ways to ensure the accuracy of transcriptions, i.e. whether the written form represents the interactions accurately using the convention by Jefferson, is to work with other CA people. However, since there was no researcher using CA in Turkish, I was unable to get any friendly supervision. Further, I was unable to find any study that worked with Turkish data with CA lenses. Therefore, this could be considered as a limitation of the study.

3.7. Limitations

The forerunning limitation of this conversation analytic study is rooted in the researcher's implicit obligation to turn his findings into the practical consequences that are supposed to be applicable to the community with which he has done his study. Mehan (1982) at this point warned about focusing on the practicality of the findings in a study because the uses of research for practical reasons only (a) treat research as a set of static information to be transferred between people of different interests, (b) "separate researchers from the educational community by treating the community as a passive audience, whose role is to accept the findings of research," and more importantly (c) the researcher adopts a superior position in the community because he has the resources to generate the facts (p. 82). On the one hand, I had the implicit responsibility to make what I as a researcher have produced useful for both the community for whom I did my study and for the larger context that may find the findings relevant and helpful. On the other hand, I as a CA researcher engaged in depicting the fine details of ordinary talk in the classroom without any further purpose to connect them to larger contexts felt trapped in this dilemma. As a result, I attempted to balance the pendulum between descriptive-oriented and practicality-

concern research. However, this dilemma still remains an issue to be resolved: the issue of practicality for the sake of reaching pure descriptive state.

The video recording technique solves some of the problems associated with more conventional data collection techniques. However, the camera angle and placement create a specific perspective of the scene being recorded (Mehan, 1982, p. 62). The second limitation of this study resulted from the practical side of the camcorder use. It was almost impossible to capture an entire group of people and further to transcribe the whole conversations occurring in a specific time although as a researcher I was holding my camcorder in my hand to change the angles to the places that interactions were taking place at a specific time. Consequently, the perception of a situation in the process of recording was inevitably selective.

Another limitation of this study is rooted in the larger debate on "transcription as theory" (Ochs, 1979). Each methodological commitment in a particular case imposes certain definitions of the thing or field it examines. Although this study adopted the conversation analytic perspective and thus focused on local affairs of participants in a context with video recording tool, the transcription convention carried a certain understanding of the phenomena studied, which was the sequential analysis of talk-in-interaction at this case. However, as Bloome (personal communication) suggested to me while we were going over the preliminary results from the pilot study, by making use of such a transcription convention that would allow each participant's turn to be depicted in separate columns, it would be almost impossible to create a transcription convention, especially with that huge amount of data. Nevertheless, the choice of Jefferson's transcription convention resulted from the previous CA studies and certainly imposes certain degree of limitation in the presentation of the data.

The other limitation is rooted in the translation of the Turkish interactions to English. It is a well-known fact that in a study of interaction analysis, translating the materials to an audience who are not familiar with the language used, Turkish in this case, was a difficult task (Duranti, 1997). Therefore, it was a challenging task for me to translate what was uttered in the turns from Turkish to English. The difficulty was especially rooted in translating the discursive markers such as *ya, işte* to English. The

other difficulty in the translation process was to find the equivalent forms for the accents and mispronounced words in Turkish.

One other limitation related to the transcription convention in this study was deciding to what extent audio or nonverbal information needed to be put into the transcriptions. During the data analysis stage, I decided to put as much visual information as possible. Nonetheless, no matter how much visual information I provided in the transcripts, it is a well-known fact that there still remained a lot of visual details in the interactions.

The nature of the volunteer ethnographic work could be another limitation. Only the volunteer teachers at three schools participated in this study. The other teachers who were asked to participate but did not want to take part could not be recorded. Thus, how those teachers who did not agree to be recorded interacted in the classroom and how they together with the students constructed the classroom order still remain an archeological site to be excavated. The ones who did not want to be video-recorded might be presenting the reality presented in the fragments in this study. However, the issue of volunteering was the core ethical issue in the study.

My talks with the students in the break times showed me that the students at two state schools were suggesting, even literally begging, me to record their teachers who resisted in participating the study. For the students, those teachers would have been the genuine ones that would help me collect valid data about my research topic. Thus, working with only the teacher who agreed to be recorded imposed a certain level of limitation. However, again, for the ethical consideration, this could be possible to do.

Since this study was one of the pioneering CA studies done in a Turkish school context, there was not any peer reviewing to promote the trustworthiness of the study. The other limitation was derived from the fact that this study did not aim to compare teachers, classroom or schools. The goal was to find commonalities of classroom order in these three schools. The question of how teachers differed in achieving the order or of how the school characteristics played a role in gaining the classroom order could not be answered.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

arkadaşlar dinleyin beni
[friends listen to me]
bu halde hep ben tek kişi olarak konuşuyorum cevap veriyorum
[at this situation I always talk answer as a single person]
sizler onbeş yirmi kişi olarak cevap veriyosunuz
[you as fifteen twenty people answer]
dediklerinizin hiçbirini anlamıyorum
[I don't get anything you say]

A teacher addressing to the students.

This quote taken from a class discussion was actually the starting point for my interest as both an outsider and a researcher in the hows and whats of classroom order construction. Rooted in this teacher's quote, the goal of this chapter is to publicly describe how teachers and students collaboratively construct classroom order. The problem-free moments of classroom have a smooth flow of interaction, and thus do not reveal the mechanisms governing the order construction process. Thereby, the analyses in this section focused on the moments when the classroom order was lost. The findings from the pilot study and also the findings from the previous studies have proved the foreshadowed idea that when the order is lost, the mechanism (used instead of rule for simplicity in this study) governing the flow of that order unit needs to be re-constructed. The process of order re-construction discloses how a teacher and students in a classroom at a specific moment build the specific order unit that has been regarded as 'violated.'

The analyses in this section unearthed the mechanisms of how order was restored. Those mechanisms focused on (1) the class beginnings, (2) the transition periods between activities, (3) the moments after humorous events, and (4) the specific student call moments. The key perception guiding the analyses in the following sections is the fundamental idea that the classroom order construction is rooted in the struggle to gain the pendulum between maintaining order and re-maintaining order when it is lost. The following analyses made publicly demonstrable how the members in the classroom interaction collaboratively achieve the pendulum to transform into two main parties: (a) the teacher as the speaking/cohorting party and (b) the students as the listening/cohorted party.

The transcription convention used in this chapter is given in Appendix F, which is based on Jefferson's (1979) system. In the transcriptions, S is used to refer to the class as a whole, M to the teacher, O to a specific student, and OA to a group of students in the classroom. The shaded lines in the transcriptions are the English translations of the original turns in Turkish. There are two main ways to translate the fragments into English. Providing that a fragment has more than 30 turns, certain segments are handled separately, and the translations are given in these separate segments. However, providing that a fragment has fewer turns, the English translation is given with the original version.

4.1. The Cohorting Practices: Beginnings and Re-beginnings

The struggle between assembling and re-assembling the cohort becomes more apparent in the class beginnings because each beginning is a reformulation of how the members of a specific classroom environment in a specific session attribute meaning to the order construction process. Each beginning creates a stage at which the teacher and students reformulate their understanding of a class beginning and of what mechanisms constitute a class beginning.

The constant reformulation of the members' understanding for each class beginning results in numerous possibilities of interactions that could not be anticipated with any grand guiding theory. However, the mechanisms constructing the skeleton of interactions and thus governing their flow in the classroom can guide our interpretation of how the members organize and maintain their interactions. The

primary aim of this section consequently is to build the skeleton of how a class beginning is constructed, and how the two-party speech exchange system found in the naturally occurring talk is mirrored in the classroom setting.

The guiding assumption in this section is the mutually constructed but teacher-driven two-party cohorting practices. The order in the class beginning is thought to be an outcome of the teacher's interactional work of assembling the individual students as a homogenous unit. In order to find the assembling mechanism, the section starts with an in-depth and thick analysis of a fragment from a class beginning. The preliminary findings from the single-fragment analysis will be supported with the findings from the other fragments.

4.1.1. Building the Skeleton of Class Beginning and Re-beginning

For teachers and students, class beginnings are immensely familiar and are seen as recurrently constructed events. An ordinary "seen but unnoticed" (Payne & Hustler, 1980) class beginning starts with the teacher's arrival to the classroom followed by her greeting and continues with the teacher's announcement of the topic to be studied at that class session. However, as the fragments from different class beginnings show in this section, the detailed sequential analysis of classroom talk in the very first minutes will reveal those seen but unnoticed ordinary events, and demonstrate the mechanism of how the participants actually start a lesson.

```
(1)      r01d071203p4

01   M   ((sınıf kapısını kapatıyor.))
02   S   ((kendi aralarındaki konuşmayı bitirip sıralarına
         dönüyorlar.))
03   M   ((sınıf masasının yanında sınıfa bakıyor.))
04       e:ve:t (2.3) yerlerimizi alalım
05   S   ((sıralarına geçiyorlar.)) (2.5)
06   M   tünaydın=
07   OC  =sa[olun
08   M      [buyrun oturun ((kafası ile onaylıyor.))
09       ((sınıf defterine [yazıyor.))
10   S                     [((kendi aralarında konuşuyorlar.))
11   O1  hoCAM sınavları [okudunuz mu
12   M                   [sınavların son sayfası kal[dı
13   O2                                              [ya::
14   M   bugün okurum (0.3)
```

```
15       öğleden sonra bi da ı:h         size dönebilirim- yani
16   O3                          [liste]
17   M    =biraz: şey yapmam lazım [(0.4)      kendi-mi sıkıştırmam
         lazım
18   O4                          [(ters bi durum)
19   M                          [((sınıf defterine yazıyor.))
20        ((sınıfı sayıyor.))
21   M    borGA= (.)
22   O5        =((elini kaldırıyor.))

31   M    ahmetcan=
32   O6   =burda

39        [çocuklar heE=
40   O7   [ho:cam
41   M                =bişi mi sölüceksiniz (2.1)
42   M    umut bişi mi vaolum=
43   O8   =yo:
44   M    e:vet (.) geçen dersimizde (1.0) dört nolu çalışma
         yaprağımızın
```

The first fragment is taken from a 10th grade history class. The video recording begins before the bell, with most of the students standing in the classroom and talking to their friends, the girls grouped in the front rows and the boys grouped in the back rows, with a few girls waiting by the classroom door. After the bell rings, the teacher enters the classroom and closes the classroom door. While the teacher closes the door and moves towards the center zone of the classroom, both the students waiting by the classroom door and the ones chatting and standing in the front rows start 'getting in their seats.' Having found himself in the moderate level conversations, each of which are organized and oriented to the rights of their speakers and listeners, the teacher searches for a place to start his turn as the speaking party.

```
04   M    e:ve:t (2.3) yerlerimizi alalım
         ye:s (2.3) get in our seats
05   S    (2.5) ((sınıf sıralarına geçiyor.))
         (2.5) ((getting in their seats.))
06   M    tünaydın=
         afternoon=
07   S    =sa[olun
         =th[anks
08   M      [buyrun oturun ((kafası ile onaylıyor.))
```

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The physical setting of the classroom, standing and watching the students get in their seats in the center zone of the classroom next to the teacher table and in front of the blackboard while facing the students, provides the teacher, who is in the process of finding a proper place to start his speaking party, a fitting opportunity to be the only person as the speaking party. The spatial change in the teacher's positioning in the classroom, and how and what the spatial change signals to the class will be discussed further in the following section. However, for the sake of the analysis in this section, it is enough to note that the teacher's walk from the door to the center zone signals to the class that he is ready for a new form of activity, which is the beginning at this case. Namely, he is signaling to the class that with his walk, he is signaling to the class that he is moving to a sort of activity, which is distinct from the previous student activities that are accomplished under the title of the un-cohorted party.

The teacher notices that the boy group standing in the back rows has not been seated and has still been engaged in their conversations with a moderate level of chatter. Recognizing that the boys group have not 'got in their seats,' the teacher utters *e:ve:t (2.3) yerlerimizi alalım* in his turn. There are three fundamental details in this turn's construction. The first component of the turn, *e:ve:t*, is the teacher's prolonged remark rooted in his monitoring of the interaction taking place in the back row. Consequently, the prolonged *e:ve:t* has the function of providing the teacher a place to start his party as the cohort assembler. The second component is the relatively long pause during which the teacher monitors the students' seating action. The pause after the prolonged *e:v:et* also functions as the evaluation of the first speaking party attempt, i.e. the teacher is assessing how his first cohort assembling attempt has resulted in the students' reformulation of their action. The third component in the turn, *yerlerimizi alalım*, is the result of the teacher's re-evaluation of the students' seating action, and at the same time the re-assessment of his follow-up cohort assembling attempt.

After a relatively long pause again, *(2.5)*, the teacher makes sure that the students are ready for the class, standing still at their desks and facing the teacher

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with the acceptable level of chatter among each other. The teacher then greets them with *tünaydın=*. The students then reply to his greeting and get seated at their desks. This combination of actions will be referred to as the construction of 'the seating-greeting routine' which will be explained particularly in the following section.

The first 8 lines starting with the teacher's closing of the door behind him and ending with the greeting exchange between the teacher and students constitute the first cohorting practice of the classroom order construction. 'The beginning practice' in the first moments of a class after the bell actually provides the foremost stage for the teacher to transform the individual students to a cohort, i.e. when the teacher enters the classroom, the students have been engaged in their conversations organized and oriented to the speaker(s) and listener(s) on their own. The teacher's initial task at this point is to create a classroom environment where he will speak to the classroom as a whole unit, and consequently have two parties: the teacher as the speaking party and the students as the listening party.

The teacher's first action to start assembling the classroom as the listening and "instructed" cohort (Macbeth, 1987) is to find himself a place to begin his turn, and at the same time to signal to the students, who are moderately engaged in their individual conversations, that he as the speaking party is there to be attended. The teacher's first interaction to assemble the two-party classroom order is the greeting-seating routine: students standing still at their desks, greeting the teacher.

The greeting-seating routine needs to be portrayed with particular reference to the interactional sequence. It is built on the following consecutive interactions: (1) the teacher closes the classroom door behind, (2) he looks at the students and stands in the center zone of the classroom simultaneously, (3) he produces the prolonged *e:ve:t*, to create the initial point to start his turn as the speaking party, (4) he takes a relatively long pause during which he is watching the students seating interactions, (5) he treats the classroom as a cohort with the use of the first person plural pronoun in *yerlerimizi alalım*, and (6) he takes the second pause during which he again is watching the students' seating interactions, and at the same time re-assesses his first and follow-up cohort-assembling interactions (see Figure 4.1.1. for the sequential analysis of the greeting-seating routine in the class beginning). The function of the

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pauses will be discussed further in the fourth section that deals with the student-specific calls.
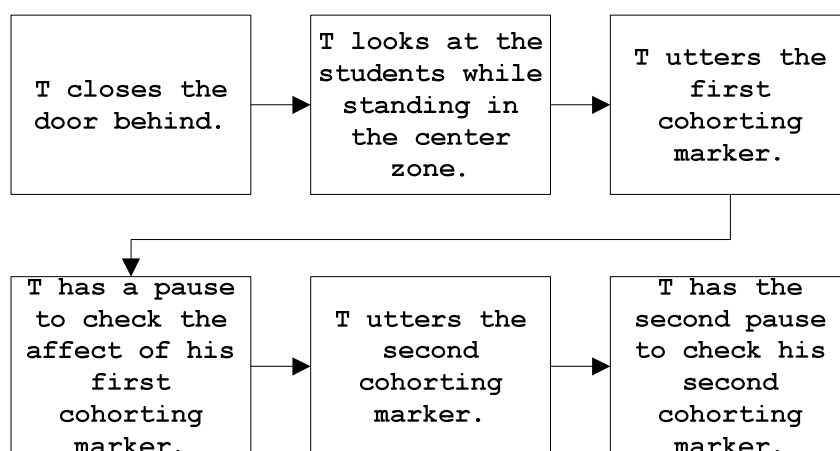
Figure 4.1.1. The sequential analysis of the greeting-seating routine in the class beginning.

```
08   M       [buyrun oturun ((kafası ile onaylıyor.))
             [have your seats ((nodding.))
09           ((sınıf defterine [yazıyor.))
             ((writing on the c[lass log.))
10   S                       [((kendi aralarında konuşuyorlar.))
                             [((chatter starts.))
```

In line 8, the teacher first bends and then bows, tells the students to sit in their desks, and starts writing the short version of the lesson plan in the classroom log. At that point when he turns back to the teacher table, the 'housekeeping routine' in the beginning period begins. Concurrently, the unified students that have been transformed into a single unit in the greeting-seating routine starts taking a part in a moderate level of chatter, each of which is again oriented to and by the students involved. Their conversations, now different from the ones that occured before the teacher's cohort assembling actions, are limited by the proximity, i.e. the students can only participate in conversations with their classmates that are sitting near them. The students' individual chattering thus demonstrates that the first action in the housekeeping routine signals the offset of the assembled cohort and thus the onset of the dissolved cohort.

84

```
11   O1   hoCAM sınavları [okudunuz mu
          teACHER did you [grade the exams
12   M                   [sınavların son sayfası kal[dı
                         [the last pages of the exams a[re left
13   O2                                              [ya:
                                                     [ya:
14   M    bugün okurum (0.3)
          I'll read today (0.3)
15        öğleden sonra bi da ı:h      size dönebilirim- yani
          afternoon once again e(h)    I can turn back- I mean
16   O3                            [liste]
                                   [list]
17   M    =biraz: şey yapmam lazım [(0.4)      kendi-mi sıkıştırmam
          lazım
          =I should do this a bit [(0.4)      self- myself I should
          push a bit
18   O4                            [(ters bi durum)
                                   [(a weird situation)
19   M                            [((sınıf defterine yazıyor.))
                                  [((writing on the classroom log.))
```

The next housekeeping routine action reported here is a student question. There are two remarkably non-ordinary details in this part of the fragment. The first 'seen but unnoticed' detail is the teacher's dual and simultaneous interactions: he is signing the classroom log, and at the same time he is listening to the question and answering it. This finding parallels to the multidimensionality dimension stated in the ecological studies. The teacher is carrying out two tasks at the same time.

The second detail is the student's self-selection as the next speaker. It is a well-known fact in the literature of classroom interaction analysis that student's self-selection as the next speaker is a rare phenomenon. The teacher has the priority to allocate turns in the classroom, and student's self-selection is restricted. However, in this scene, the student self-selects himself and asks a question to the teacher. The probable reason why that student has self-selected himself as the next speaker is that the student is aware that the housekeeping period is not one of the times where he is required to act as a cohort and thus can initiate the topic on his or her own.

```
20   M    ((sınıfı sayıyor.))
          ((counting the class.))
21        borGA (.)
```

```
        borGA (.) ((a student name.))
22  O5  ((elini kaldırıyor.))
        ((raising his hand.))

31  M   ahmetcan=
        ahmetcan= ((a student name.))
32  O6  =burda
        =here
```

The subsequent housekeeping routine interactions in this class are the teacher's counting the students followed by his taking the attendance. The very familiar and regular action in a class beginning, taking attendance, is constructed on the mutually agreed set of actions between the teacher and students: (1) the teacher calls a student's name, (2) providing that the student whose name is called is in the classroom (or exists), he (a) raises his hand or (b) replies *burda*, meaning *s/he is here*, (3) or providing that the student whose name is called is not in the classroom (or absent), the others either (a) remain silent or (b) one of the students (or a few at the same time) replies *yok*, meaning *s/he is not here* (see Figure 4.1.2. for the process of taking attendance).

The mechanism of taking attendance is built on the mutual understanding of the interactions involved. Namely, the shared understanding of taking attendance is rooted in the members' experiences, i.e. the teacher and students have already been exposed to many instances of taking attendance. Their experiences result in their cooperation in taking the attendance at this case. However, having relatively abundant experiences does not guarantee that the flow of attendance is problem-free. Therefore, the mechanism governing the interactions of attendance is sketched in the figure.

```
┌──────────────┐        ┌────────────────────┐         ┌────────────────────┐
│ Teacher calls│───────▶│ If the student whose│         │ If the student whose│
│   a name.    │        │ name has been called│         │ name has been called│
│              │        │  is in the classroom,│        │   is NOT in the     │
└──────┬───────┘        └──────────┬──────────┘         │    classroom,       │
       │                           │                     └──────────┬─────────┘
       ▼                           │                                │
┌──────────────┐                   │    ┌────────────┐              │    ┌────────────┐
│Teacher looks │                   ├───▶│The student │              ├───▶│ The class  │
│   for the    │                   │    │says here.  │              │    │  remains   │
│ student whom │                   │    └────────────┘              │    │  silent.   │
│  s/he has    │                   │                                │    └────────────┘
│   called.    │                   │    ┌────────────┐              │    ┌────────────┐
│              │                   └───▶│The student │              └───▶│A student (or│
└──────┬───────┘                        │raises his/her│                  │a few) say/s │
       │                                │   hand.    │                  │ not here.  │
       ▼                                └────────────┘                  └────────────┘
┌──────────────┐
│Teacher calls │
│another name. │
│              │
└──────────────┘
```
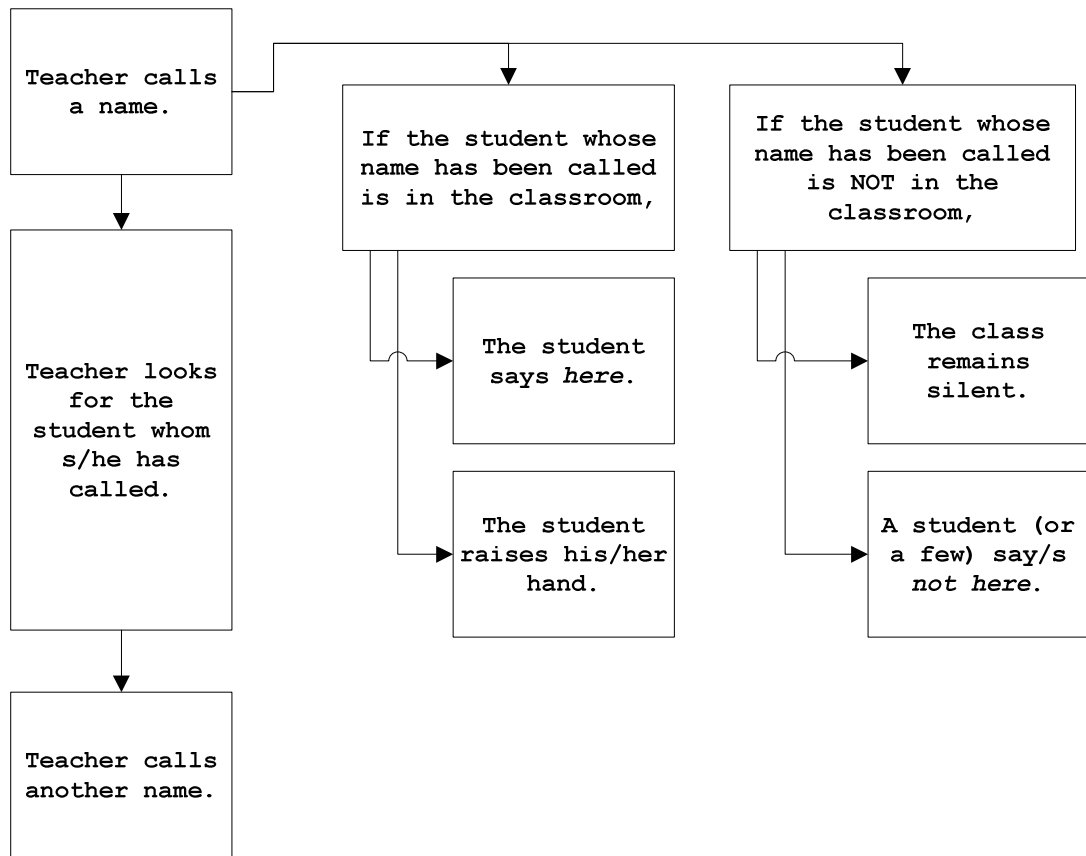
Figure 4.1.2. The process of taking attendance.

Taking attendance is a way of ensuring order in the classroom. A closer look at the turns reveals that the cohortness is diffused in the housekeeping period when he walks to the teacher table, but it is restored when he takes the attendance. The teacher re-adopts his cohorting party role when he starts calling students. The students on the other hand stop engaging in their individual chatters and start listening to the teacher. They also know that their name is going to be called, and then they are supposed to indicate that they indeed are present in the classroom.

In other words, the housekeeping routine involves the struggle between assembling the cohort and re-assembling the dissolved cohort. The assembled cohort in the greeting-seating period is dissolved into the students with separate conversations who have the potential floors to self-select themselves. The tying signal for the cohorted class to transform itself into a dissolved cohort in the housekeeping routine is the teacher's turning back to his table followed with his engagement with the classroom log. However, when the teacher starts taking the

attendance with a student call, *borGA*, the dissolved cohort stops having their own conversations and transforms themselves into the assembled cohort.

The mutual agreement between the teacher and students governs the possible actions for the students in the periods. The actions of talking to the classmate who is sitting in the next desk, of having a relatively moderate level conversation, and of asking a question about the exam grades in this scene, for example, are the mutually approved actions in the classroom for the students in the housekeeping period. However, the criteria for what student actions are approved or not approved are governed by the mechanism of cohortness.

```
39   M    [çocuklar heE=
          [children yeAH=
40   O7   [ho:cam
          [tea:cher
41   M                =bişi mi sölüceksiniz (2.1)
                       =are you going to say something (2.1)
42   M    umut bişi mi vaolum=
          is there something umut my son=
43   O8   =yo:
          =no:pe
44   M    e:vet (.) geçen dersimizde (1.0) dört nolu çalışma
          yaprağımızın
          ye:s (.) in our last session (1.0) the fourth worksheet
```

After the teacher takes the attendance and notes down the absent students to the classroom log, 'the re-beginning practice' in this classroom scene starts with the teacher's address to the classroom as the cohort in line 39, *çocuklar heE=*. The address, *children*, signals to the students to be the instructed cohort again: *children* as the cohort party and the teacher as the speaking party. Since the teacher's turn is latched to the student's turn in line 40, the second attempt to have the re-beginning practice starts with the teacher's marker, *e:vet* followed by his connection with the previous lesson, *geçen dersimizde (1.0)*. The crucial point in the re-beginning period is that the marker and the signaling of the session's topic with the connection to the previous lesson work together as the cohort assembling actions (see Figure 4.1.2. for the summary of the classroom beginning and re-beginning). How the tying signals work as cohort assemblers will be discussed further in the following sections.

However, at this point, it is enough to note that tying signals create a place for the current speaker to regain his or her previous position.

```
┌─────────────────────┐          ┌─────────────────────┐
│   The beginning     │─────────▶│ The greeting-seating │
│     practice        │          │      routine        │
└─────────────────────┘          └─────────────────────┘
           │                                │
           │                                ▼
           │                     ┌─────────────────────┐
           │                     │  The housekeeping   │
           └────────────────────▶│      routine        │
           │                     └─────────────────────┘
           ▼
┌─────────────────────┐
│  The re-beginning   │
│     practice        │
└─────────────────────┘
```
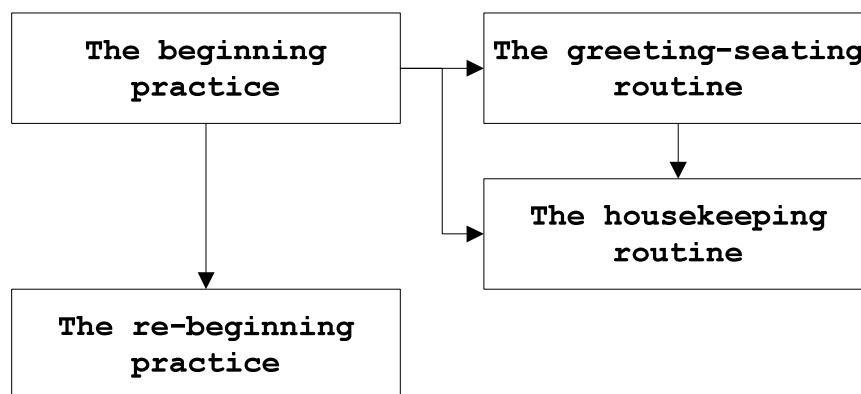
Figure 4.1.3. The summary of a class beginning.

The second fragment is taken from a geography class. The recording starts with the scene at which most of the students are grouped near the teacher's table and are listening to music. A group of students are talking in front of the chalkboard, three waiting by the door, the others sitting in their seats. Once the students dancing near the table see the teacher entering the classroom and closing the door behind him, they rush to their places. At the same time, the ones sitting at their desks stand up. The teacher walks to the table and puts his bag on the table. Meanwhile, the students continue their individual chatters. He starts waiting in the center zone, facing the students.

The teacher's presence in the classroom, entering the class and closing the door behind, is actually the foremost signal to the student in the classroom that the break is over. However, since they continue being involved in their private chattering even, after the teacher closes the door and thus creates a physical secrecy within the classroom environment, the message that the break is over does not convey the allied message that the students should stop chattering and thus transform themselves into a cohorted unit. This message becomes the teacher's first task to accomplish in the very first minutes of the class beginning.

89

```
(2)        r01d080510p1

01   M    ş: [(3.5)
          sh: [(3.5)
02             [((öğrencilerin yerlerine geçmesini izliyor.))
               [((watching the students get in their seats.))
03        evet çocuklar bekliyorum
          yes children I'm waiting
04                                     ((bekliyor.))
                                       ((waiting.))
05        (         )=
          (         )=
06   O1            =tamam hocam=
                   =ok teacher=
07   M                          =teşekkür ederim
                                =thanks
08        şimdi yazılı ile ilgili hemen sorcaksınız onu biliyorum
          now you'll immediately ask about the exam I know
09        [hemen sölüm
          [I'll tell right away
10   O2   [okumadınız
          [you haven't read them
```

In order to accomplish that task and thus restore the order diffused in the break time, the teacher's first move signaling that he is ready for that day's session is _ş:_ in line 1 followed by a relatively long pause in line 2 during which he is watching the students get in their seats. The remarkable side of his monitoring is his form of gaze. As the only person representing his party in the classroom, he is monitoring the whole class and changing his gaze to watch many students in a relatively short period. His monitoring provides him the ability to make an assessment and leads him to have his second move in line 3, _evet çocuklar bekliyorum_. What he is waiting for is not uttered by the teacher. The lack of the 'what' part in his turn shows to the students that they should stop their chatter and get ready for the lecture.

The next step in the beginning period in this class is showing what actions constitute the beginning period. Having a 'relatively' cohorted class, the teacher first announces the news about the exam results as the first thing in the beginning period. The details of his talk on the exam results are not included into the transcript though.

```
11   M    bugün aslında ıh bir onbeş yirmi dakka
          today indeed eh for fifteen twenty minutes
12        yamur bişi teklif etti
```

```
               yamur ((a name)) suggested me something
13             hocam bugün biraz sakin bi ders olsa dedi
               teacher I wish it was a calm lesson today he said
14             ben de tamam diyorum
               and I say ok
```

As the second action in the beginning period, the teacher announces the plan for that day's session. As a student suggestion, he agrees to have fifteen or twenty minutes of lecture and then will leave the class for free activity.

```
15    M    evet onu yapıcaz onu yapıcaz
           yes we'll do that we'll do that
16         ama önce ece abla bı sınıfı sayalım
           but before ece abla ((a name)) count the class
17         °yoklamayı ya[palım°          birazdan sölücem konuyu
           °let's take t[he attendance        I'll tell the topic soon
18    O1              [((sınıfı sayıyor.))
                      [((counting the class.))
19    M                          [((sınıf defterini imzalıyor.))
                                 [((writing on the classroom
      log.))
20    S                [((gürültü artıyor.))
                       [((chatter increases.))
```

The third action in the beginning period is taking the attendance and noting the absent students in the classroom log as well as the short version of the lesson plan. The remarkable point in this scene is the onset of student chatter. Once the teacher starts writing on the classroom log, the students start chattering, which indicates that the cohorted class is diffused into individual students. As a foreshadowed assumption at this point, the teacher is supposed to restore the order and thus re-assemble the dissolved cohort again.

```
21    M    şimdi gençler konuya geçiyorum bilgisayarı açıcam
           now young people I am starting the topic I'll turn on the
           computer
22         onbeş dakka sora konumuzu bitirelim ondan sora [konuyu
           açıcam sizin fikirlerinizi alıcam
           after fifteen minutes later we'll finish our topic and then
           [I'll start the discussion get your ideas
23                                                        [((masaya
      doğru yürüyor.))
```

```
            [((walking to the table.))
24      ((sınıfın [ortasına yürüyor.))
        ((walking [to the center zone.))
25              [ş:: [biraz sessiz
                [sh:: [a bit quiet
26                  [((elini kaldırıyor.))
                    [((raising his hand to say stop.))
```

The first move to re-assemble the class as a cohort in the re-beginning period is his call to the students in line 21. He goes on and explains what he is about to do in lines 21 and 22. His first turn in this scene needs to be discussed further now. The turn starts with a temporal marker, *şimdi*. The temporal marker at this point functions as the temporal reference to the time of speaking and as a signal to the students that this moment is atypical from the time so far, indicating that the time which the students have spent chattering must now be over. This is the same reason why the temporal markers are occasionally used as the first component to re/assemble the cohort. The turn continues with a collective address to students, *gençler*. The collective address functions as a cohort assembling tool that enables the teacher to call the group as a unit.

The second move to restore order that has been lost while the teacher is taking the attendance is his *s:* to get the students' attention. His first move does not achieve its ends because the students continue chattering at the same noise level. The onset of the attention marker is interrupted with the teacher's spatial change, i.e. his walking from the table to the center zone. The change in the teacher's position in the archeology of the classroom with his use of attention marker signals to the students a new form of activity.

The teacher walks again to the table and turns on the computer. He looks for the presentation file, opens it, and walks to the center zone of the classroom again. Meanwhile, the students are chattering at a moderate level.

```
27   M   evet arkadaşlar hazırız lütfen
         yes friends we're ready please
28       elinizde başka şeler onları bırakın
         something else in your hands leave them
29       yeter artık konuşmayı keselim (0.3)
         enough stop talking now (0.3)
```

92

```
30        e:ve:t (.) şimdi (onbir otuzbeş)te dersimiz bitiyo
          ye:s: (.) now the class ends at (eleven thirty five)
31        ben çeyrek geçeye kadar (.) en geç yirmi geçeye kadar dersi
          bitirip onbeş yirmi dakka size dinlemek istiyorum (.)
          fikirlerinizi
          I till past quarter (.) at most past twenty finish the
          lesson and I'd like to listen to you (.) your ideas
32        ama: konuyu sölemeden önce (.) bu tartışma kültürü ile
          ilgili bikaç bişi sölücem
          but: before telling the topic (.) I'll say something about
          this discussion culture
33        ondan sora (        ) neyse biara bunu konuşalım
          and then (       ) whatever we'll talk about it sometime
34        şimdi birinci dönem anlattığımız bir konu vardı piramitler
          now there was a topic you got in the first semester
          pyramids
35        hatırlıyorsunuz (.) hatta bir örnek çizmiştik
          you remember (.) even we drew an example
36        şimdi ben bugün (       )
          now I today (       )
```

The third move to re-assemble the cohort is his attention marker, *evet*, followed with a collective address, *arkadaşlar*. The same pattern explained previously applies to this move as well. However, the teacher in line 27 utters *hazırız* to indicate that he is ready for the class, and the students should be ready as well by becoming the cohort party. The follow-up move when the previous move has not worked fully to put them into a cohorted unit is the reformulation of the previous turn in line 29.

At this point, particular attention needs to be paid to the nature of previous-turn reformulation. The reformulation of the previous move proves the fact that each turn is the assessment of the previous turn(s). The teacher assesses that his previous turn, restoring the pendulum of two-party speech exchange system, has not reached its aim, and thus has needed to repeat his move with a different organization in the next turn.

The re-beginning practice ends with the onset of the teacher's announcement for the lecture. This fragment however has shown that the teacher has three similar beginnings for the lecture, shown in lines 30, 34 and 36. The common components in those onsets are the use of temporal markers and tying markers to the previous contexts. The use of tying signals will be discussed further in the third section where

the tying signals function as the connectors between activities. However, at his point, the reformulation of onsets for the lecture in this scene involves the temporal and tying markers that signal to the students that the class is moving from one form of activity to another, i.e. the first activity as the students' engagement with their chatters and the second activity as the lecture.

The following fragment is taken from a health science class. The recording begins before the bell. Many students are standing in front of the board, a few students near the table, a few students waiting by the door, and the rest waiting at their desks. The teacher enters the classroom and walks to the center zone. She stands there, and waits the students get in their desks and get ready for the greeting. That day's session includes student presentations.

```
(3)      r01d080424p2

01   M    ((sınıf merkezinden [arka sıraya doğru yürüyor.))
          ((walking from the c[enter to the back rows.))
02                            [evET: kızLAR (.) tamam (0.4)
                              [yES: giRLS (.) ok (0.4)
03        meteyi >dinliyorus:< (.)
          to mete ((a name)) >we're listening:<
04   O1   bilinç kaybı ve şok
          consciousness lose and shock
05        bein dokusunu oluşturan sinir hücrelerine oksicen
          yetersiz[liğiyle
          the nerves making up the brain without ox[ygen
06   M            [evet bi dakka duyamıyorum bi dakka (0.2)
                                            [yes one minute I
          can't hear one minute (0.2)
07        beyLER (.) ALO: sohbet bitti (.)
          meN (.) HEY: the chat is over (.)
08        duyamıyoruz uğultunuzdan (0.2)
          we can't hear because of your noise
09   O1   bein dokusunu oluşturan sinir hücrelerinin
          the nerves making up the brain
```

The scene is taken from the moment when the student who is presenting his topic is ready and waiting in front of the board. The teacher as the speaking party is leaving the floor opened to the student. She is shifting her party as the cohorter to the cohorted, and simultaneously she is making a specific student shift his party from the cohorted to the cohorting. However, since the level of chatter has not decreased,

leading to the inference by the teacher that the class has not been fully transformed into a cohorted unit, she utters her first cohort assembling tool in line 2, *evET: kızLAR (.) tamam* followed with a pause to assess if her move has reached its end. The address in line 3, *meteyi >dinliyorus:<*, signals to the student who is ready for the presentation in the center zone to start his presentation.

The second move takes place in line 6 with an overlap with the student's presentation and the teacher's warnign. Her overlap actually demonstrates (a) that the teacher is still acting as the speaking party in the classroom even though the speaking floor has been given to the student, and (b) that the chatter level has not decreased enough for the students as a whole to be qualified to be considered a cohorted unit.

These teacher calls have a common pattern: (a) the address/call starts with a collective address, stressing the end syllable of the calls, *kızLAR* and *beyLER*, (b) followed by a micro pause and (c) the implied message dictating what the students need to do, *tamam* and *sohbet bitti*. The use of student-specific calls will be discussed further in the fourth section. At this point of the analysis, however, it is sufficient to note that instead of using direct imperatives, the teacher is using implied imperatives to make the students stop their chatters and thus make them become a cohorted unit.

The most fascinating point in this fragment, which is beyond the scope of this study to analyze further, but as a possible topic to be uncovered in the further studies, is the seen but unnoticed mechanism of how the student presenting his topic picks up the teacher's pause and regards it as a proper signal to resume his part. The teacher's turn in line 3 gives the necessary signal to the student that he should start his part while there is no specific signal before his part in line 9. The question of how the student who has the speaking party for a limited time decides for his self-selected turn needs to be uncovered with particular reference to the teacher's signal.

4.1.2. Assembling the Cohort: A Mutual Accomplishment

The cohort assembling is considered to be the teacher's task in the classroom. The teacher is hold responsible to initiate, sustain and re-sustain the cohorting practices when the cohorted students are transformed into a dissolved unit. However,

as the following fragments from different contexts will make publicly available, the process of assembling a cohort is a mutual accomplishment.

```
(4)      r01d071203p2

01   M   ((sınıf kapısını kapatıp içeriye giriyor.))
         ((closes the door and walks in.))
02   S   ((sıralarına geçip ayakta bekliyorlar.))
         ((get in their seats and stand.))
03   M   hadi beyler (0.3) e:VET (1.2)
         let's men (0.3) ye:S (1.2)
04   M   BEYler
         GENTLEmen
05       (2.4)
         (2.4)
06   O1  ş: (2.2) ((etrafına bakınıyor.))
         sh: (2.2) ((looking for others.))
07   O2  dinleyin, (1.8)
         listen, (1.8)
08   S   ((sıralarında ayakta duruyorlar.))
         ((stand at their desks.))
09   M   tamam mısınız (0.2) mervecim (.) günaydın=
         are you ok (0.2) merve-dear ((a name)) good morning=
10   S   =>sa:ol< ((sıralarına oturuyorlar.))
         =>tha:nks< ((sit on their desks.))
11   M   ((masaya doğru ilerliyor.))
         ((walks towards the table.))
12       ((geç kalan bir öğrenciye oturmasını gösteriyor.))
         ((shows a late student where to sit.))
13       ((ışığı açıyor.))
         ((turns on the lights.))
14       ((masaya gelen bir öğrenciyi dinliyor.))
         ((listens to the student who has come to the table.))
15       ((bilgisayarı açıyor.))
         ((turns on the computer.))
16       ş:imdi (   ) ödevini vermeyen kaç kişi var
         no:w (   ) how many people haven't handled their homeowork
17   O3  [ben
         [I
18   O4  [((elini kaldırıyor.))
         [((raises her hand.))
19   M   yarına ıh okuyup size geri vermem lazım
         for tomorrow e(h) I need to read and give them back
20       yarın ödev tartışıcaz (.) tamam mı (0.2) [(   )
         tomorrow we'll discuss homework (.) ok (0.2) [(   )
21   O5                                            [(   )
                                                   [(   )
22   M   yarın geri vericem [(   )
```

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		I'll give them back tomorrow [( )
23	O6	[( )
		[( )
24	M	((masada kağıtlarla ilgileniyor.))
		((is busy with the notes on the table.))
25		((çalışma kağıtlarını dağıtıyor.))
		((distributes the sheets to the students.))
26		( )
		( )
27		kaldır onları (.) kaldır kaldır kaldır hemen hızlıca
		put them away ( ) put put put put right away quick
28	O6	ho[cam
		te[acher
29	07	[hocam bu ne
		[what's this
30	M	geçen ders ıh heteretrof hipotezi filan görmüştük ya
		in the last session eh we discussed the heterotrophic hypothesis and so on you know ya
31		onlarla ilgili kitabınızda not yok (0.7) hı hı
		there is no note for that in your textbook (0.7) ye yes
32		sadece şeyi anlatıyor
		only explaining the thing
33		heteretrof hipotezini anlatıyo ama onun dışındaki (.) şeyler yok
		explaining the heterotrophic hypothesis bit save that (.) nothing else
34		((staj öğretmenine fazla çalışma kağıtlarını getirmesini söylüyor))
		((telling the intern teacher to bring more sheets.))
35		biliyorum eksik olduğunu geliyor
		I know we need more they're coming
36		((ikinci çalışma kağıdını dağıtıyor.))
		((distributing the second sheet.))
37		((bilgisayara gidiyor.))
		((walking towards to the computer.))
38		((perdeyi kapatıyor.))
		((drawing the curtain.))
39		merve (.) mervecim
		merve (.) merve-dear
40		peki şimdi verdiğim kağıda bakıyoruz hepberaber
		well now we are now looking at the sheet I gave together
41		dı oricins of layf kağıdına (.) ece (.) tamam
		the origins of life paper (.) ece ((a name)) (.) ok

This relatively long fragment is taken from a 10th grade biology class. Firstly, it proves that the interactions to assemble a cohort are achieved in the same order described in the analysis of the fragments discussed earlier in the section: (1) the teacher closes the classroom door behind and walks towards the center zone of

the classroom, (2) stands in the center zone facing the student, (3) addresses them as a cohort in lines 3 and 4 with *hadi beyler (0.3) e:VET (1.2)* and *BEYler,* and (4) has a pause to decide if the students are ready for the greeting (see Figure 4.1.4. for the summary of a beginning practice).

```
┌─────────────┐     ┌─────────────┐     ┌─────────────┐
│             │     │ Teacher walks│     │Teacher stands│
│Teacher closes│ →   │ towards the │ →   │on the center │
│  the door.  │     │ center zone.│     │    zone.    │
│             │     │             │     │             │
└─────────────┘     └─────────────┘     └─────────────┘
                                               │
        ┌──────────────────────────────────────┘
        ▼
┌─────────────┐     ┌─────────────┐
│   Teacher   │     │ Teacher has a│
│addresses the│     │   pause to  │
│ class with a│ →   │  assess the │
│ collective  │     │    turn.    │
│    name.    │     │             │
└─────────────┘     └─────────────┘
```
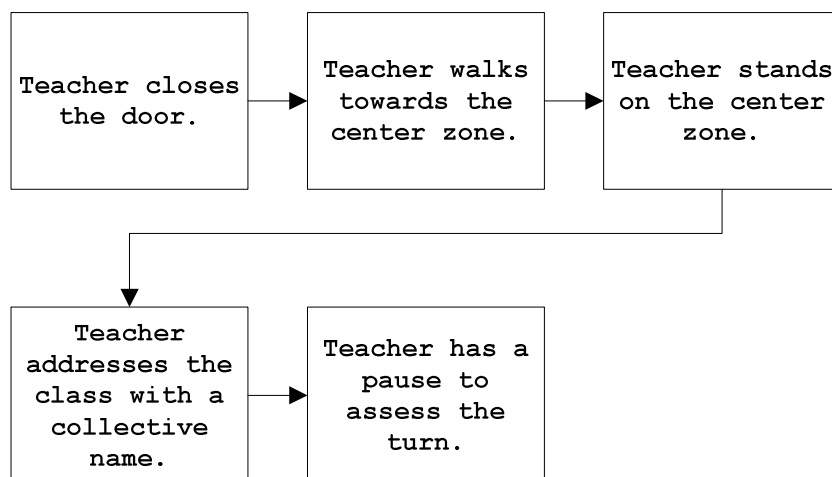
Figure 4.1.4. The summary of a beginning practice.

However, different from the first fragment at which the interactions to assemble the cohort is initiated and maintained by the teacher, this fragment demonstrates that the students are also involved in the cohort assembling practices. In line 6, seeing that some of his classmates are still engaged in moderate level conversations, a student warns his friends with *ş: (2.2)* and a pause followed by his monitoring of his friends to see if they have stopped speaking. Following that, in line 7, *dinleyin (1.8)*, another student tells her friends who are still engaged in their conversations to stop and get ready for the greeting-seating routine.

The onset of these cohort-initiated assembling actions overlaps with the onset of the teacher's standing and waiting silently in the center zone. The message of this 'distinctive' teacher pose, standing and waiting in the center zone in the beginning of a class at which there is no specific reason to wait for the teacher part, literally signals to the students that they should transform themselves into a cohort by bringing their conversations to an end. The silent pose of the teacher in the beginning period actually functions as a cohort assembler in the classroom environment. Basically, classrooms are institutional contexts where the identities and roles derived

from these identities are predetermined with the regulations of the institution. Thus, the teacher's silence at a specific moment when she needs to be talking adopts a distinctive meaning for the participants. In this case, her silence together with her standing in the center zone means that she is waiting for her turn to be given by the students as a cohort.

In this fragment, again different from the earlier fragments, the housekeeping period includes the following housekeeping interactions: showing a latecomer where to sit, turning on the lights, listening to a student asking a question confidentially, switching on the computer, announcing the homework details, distributing the worksheets, closing the curtains, and preparing the slide show on the computer. The signal for the re-beginning in this scene is the teacher's marker, *peki şimdi*, in line 40. The fact that the beginning practice might involve more than predefined interactions proves the foreshadowed idea that the classroom is consisted of numerous possibilities that cannot be anticipated beforehand.

The second fragment in this subsection is taken from a geography lesson. The teacher in this scene is standing next to the teacher table and talking to a student. The other students are engaged in their individual chatters. As an action to cohort the students, the teacher moves to the center zone and does a finger act, raising his index finger to say stop. However, this action does not stop the students' chattering and thus they do not become a cohorted unit. Thus, the two students in the class, watching the teacher's attempts to get attention and then starting his turn as a speaking party, help him by warning their classmates.

```
(5)       r01d080508p1

01   M    ((sınıfa bakıyor ve sınıf merkezine yürüyor.))
          ((looking at the class and walking to the center zone.))
02        [((parmağını şıklatıyor.))
          ((clapping his fingers.))
03        [evet: arkadaşlar
          [yes: friends
04        bi saniye (.) [(    ) bakın güzel bi soru vardı
          one moment (.) [(   ) look there was a good question
05                      [((işaret parmağını kaldırıyor.))
                        [((raising his index finger.))
06   O1   bi susun bi susun iice yA:
```

```
            shut up for once shut up full yA:
07  O2                                    HE:AY:
                                          HE:AY:
08  M                                     ş:t ((susun işareti.))
                                             sh: ((showing his
        finger to stop the chatter.))
09  O3  (            )
        (            )
10  M                       ş: lütfen(.)
                            sh: please (.)
11      tamam teşekkür ederimde ben onu hallederim
        ok thanks but I'll take care of it
12      şimdi sevgili arkadaşlar bi dakka dinlerseniz (0.2)
        now my dear friends if you listen for a minute (0.2)
```

The first co-construction interaction in the scene takes place in line 6, *bi susun bi susun iice yA:*, followed with the second interaction by another student in line 7, *HE:AY:*. The question of how the two students have decided to help the teacher in this scene needs to be explored with the sequential analysis of what has happened before line 6.

The teacher (1) moves to the center zone of the classroom as the first action to signal that he is moving to a new form of activity, (2) claps his fingers to get their attention as the second signal, (3) looks for a proper moment in the floor to start his party by uttering the prolonged turn in line 3 and by uttering the turn in line 4, and finally (5) raises his index finger, as the famous nurse-shut-up image at hospitals. Having realized that the teacher's attempts to restore order have not achieved their ends, i.e. the students are still engaged in their chatters, two students have decided to join in the construction of order in the beginning period.

A closer look on this mutual accomplishment of order sheds light on the construction of order in the classroom. The two instances prove that the students are constantly trying to make sense of what the others in the classroom are doing. In this case, the two students are quite aware of the fact that the teacher is trying to assemble the students as a coherent unit by making them stop their individual chatters. However, the question of at what stage the students decide to join in the construction of order remains still to be uncovered.

4.1.3. Adjacency Pairs: An Attempt to Assemble the Cohort

```
(6)      r01d080107p2

01   M   hadi gençler yerlerinize, ((masaya doğru yürüyor.))
         let's young people get in your seats ((walking to the
         table.))
02   S   ((sıralarına geçip ayakta bekliyorlar.))
         ((getting to their seats and standing.))
03   M   umut yerinize
         umut ((a name)) your seat
04       hadi borcan ((a name))
         hey borcan
05       ((sınıf perdesini diken kadın sınıftan çıkıyor.))
         ((the woman who has knitted the curtain leaves.))
06   M   peki günaydın oturalım
         ok good morning let's sit
07   S   ((sıralarına oturuyorlar.))
         ((sitting.))


(7)      r01d071210p7

01   M   e:VE:T beyler bayanlar (0.3) ((masanın yanında sınıfa
         bakıyor.))
         ye:S: ladies and gentlemen (0.3) ((looking at the students
         and standing next to the table.))
02       hadi bi selamlaşalım yavrum (1.0)
         let's have a greeting my dears (1.0)
03       velilerinize söyledikten sonra
         after you said to your parents
04       özel iltifatlar (        )
         special compliments (        )
05       hepinize tünaydın buyrun oturun (1.3)
         good afternoon to all you let's sit (1.3)
06       e:H hadi
         e:H yes
```

The other remarkable point in the greeting-seating period is the paired action:
the teacher greets the students, and then the students reply to him. In lines 6 and 7 in
the first fragment and lines 9 and 10 in the second fragment, the teachers and
students greet each other:

```
06   M   tünaydın=
         good afternoon=
07   OC  =sa[olun
```

```
        =th[anks


09   M   tamam mısınız (0.2) mervecim (.) günaydın=
         are you ok (0.2) merve-dear (.) good morning=
10   S   =>sa:ol< ((sıralarına oturuyorlar.))
         =>tha:nks< ((sitting.))
```

What is distinctive about this paired greeting action is its precise timing. The greeting exchange takes place after the other cohort assembling actions. Thus, it has different characteristics from the greeting exchange found in the naturally occurring talk. Occasionally people greet each other first when they see each other. Before they go into detail about topics, they have 'hellos', 'good mornings' or 'good nights'. However, the paired greeting action in the classroom follows a number of turns before the two parties greet each other. Basically, the greeting follows the actions of the cohort assembling attempts.

The idiosyncratic characteristic of 'class greeting' proves the assumption that the talk in the classroom is made to skew to the two-party speech exchange system characteristic of the naturally occurring talk. The teacher greets the class when the class becomes a cohort (see Figure 4.1.5. for the cohort transformation sketch for the paired greeting action). In other words, when the teacher makes sure that the class has two parties, the teacher as the cohorting/speaking party and the students as the cohorted/listening party, she greets them.
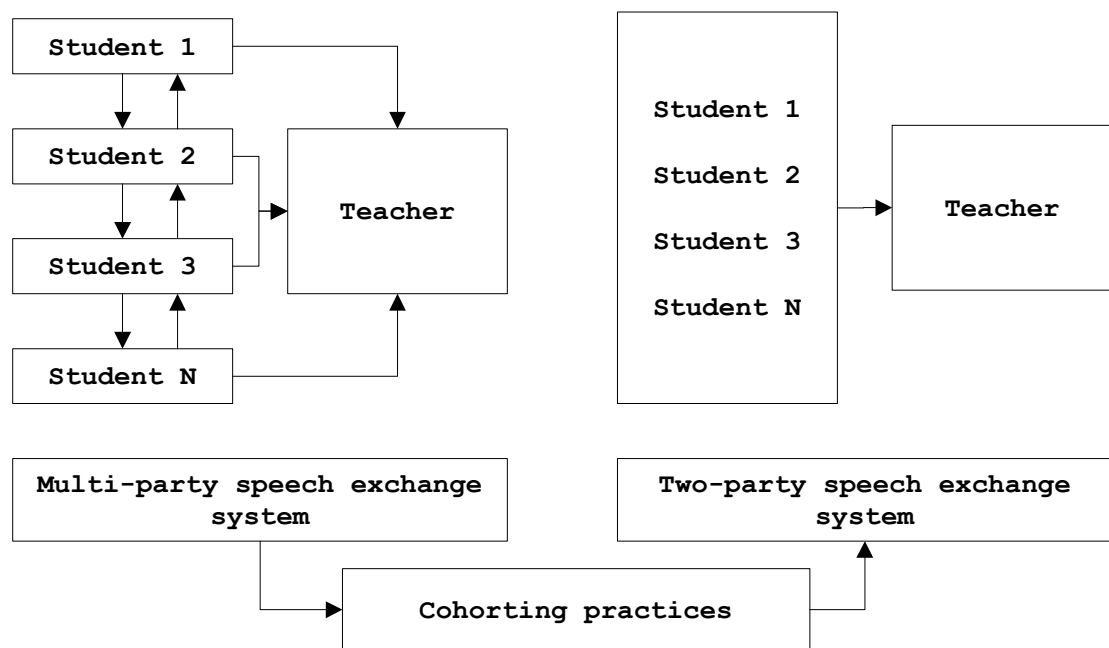
Figure 4.1.5. The organization of two-party speech exchange system in the classroom.

What underlies the organization in this figure is the idea that talk-in-interaction has inborn two-party characteristics. Although the classroom is composed of more than 2 people, 20 or more generally, the organization of classroom life through interactions makes the classroom participation patterns have the same two-party characteristics. The teacher, being the first party, and the students, being the second party, helps the participants have a platform where they can know whom to attend.

Adjacency pairs essentially have three distinctive characteristics: (1) two utterance length, (2) adjacent positioning of component utterances, and (3) different speakers producing each utterance (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). The 'greeting' adjacency pairs in the first and second fragments comply with the three basic features of adjacency pairs. However, the pairs in the following third and fourth fragments lack those characteristics: the teacher greets the cohort, produces the first pair part, but the cohort does not produce the second pair part. The common point in the third and fourth fragments and the uncommon one with the previous two fragments is the sit-down command in the same turn:

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```
06   M    peki günaydın oturalım
          ok good morning let's sit
07   S    ((sıralarına oturuyorlar.))
          ((sitting.))


05   M    hepinize tünaydın buyrun oturun (1.3)
          good morning to you all let's sit (1.3)
06   S    e:H hadi
          e:H yeah
```

As the examples of deviant case analysis, the question of how those two fragments do not comply with the mechanism found in the earlier two fragments leads to the finding that the teacher's command just after the first pair part of the greeting nullifies the rules of adjacency pairs. It further shows that in order to call a two-part exchange as adjacency pairs, the second pair part must follow the first pair part without any extra signal between the first and second pair parts.

```
(8)       r01d080107p3

01   M    ((sınıf kapısını kapatıyor.))
          ((closing the class door.))
02        ((masanın yanında sınıfa bakıyor.))
          ((looking at the class next to the table.))
03        hadi yerlerimizi alalı:m (6.7)
          let's get in our sea:ts (6.7)
04   S    ((sıralarına geçiyorlar.))
          ((getting in their seats.))
05   M    yerlerimizi alalım çocuklar (4.2)
          let's get in our seats children (4.2)
06   S    ((sıralarına geçiyorlar.))
          ((getting in their seats.))
07        günaydın=
          good morning=
08   S          =>sa:o:l<
                   =>sa:o:l<
09   M    ((sınıf defterini imzalıyor.))
          ((writing on the classroom log.))
10        ((yoklama alıyor.))
          ((taking the attendance.))
11        nasıl geçti sıNAV.
          how was the eXAM
12   O1   [çok iğrençti hocam
          [it was terrible teacher
```

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```
13   OC   [(        )
            [(        )
14   M         [peki (0.3) ceren (0.2) dinliyorsunuz artık başladık
            başladık
                  [well (0.3) ceren (0.2) you are now listening we've
            started we've started
15         ceren merve (.) daha once (        ) başlamış mıydık
            ceren merve (.) before (        ) did we start
```

This fragment taken from a language arts class exemplifies the mechanism governing how the teacher signals the re-beginning and how the teacher re-assembles the dissolved cohort. In line 14, similar to the markers found in the previous fragments, *peki* provides the teacher a place to start her speaking party. Further, her use of *dinliyorsunuz artık başladık başladık* functions as the markers to intensify her cohort assembling attempts.

The teacher enters the classroom, closes the door behind, walks to the center zone, and looks at the students standing next to the teacher table. She makes sure that everyone is seated, and then greets them. She walks to the teacher table, signs the classroom log, takes the attendance, asks a question about the students' examination, and finally tells them she is beginning the lecture. This is the synopsis of a class beginning that we are all familiar with. The familiarity is not caused solely by our experiences but also by the closer and sequential analysis of the participants' actions.

The same pattern found in the previous fragment applies here. However, the teacher is making use of specific student calls in lines 14 and 15, *ceren* and *merve* while she is assembling the class. The mechanism of how the teacher makes use specific student calls will be examined fully in the following section. However, the note that the use of a specific student call while the teacher is assembling the class and thus restoring the order interrupts the cohorting practice, and thus leads to the confusion needs to be pinned at this point.

4.1.4. Signaling the Re-beginnings: Teacher's Toolbox

A beginning of a class is practically determined with the members' initial responses to the peripherals. The bell signals to the students that the break is over. Further, the teacher's entering the classroom, her closing the door behind, and thus creating a private place for the members in this private environment signal to the

students that the class is practically initiated. Creating the undisclosed atmosphere where the members are oriented to their interactions, and thus become publicly observable to the others, is the first step in restoring order.

The teacher's taking of the attendance, her announcements about the exam results, her getting prepared for the lesson such as turning on the computer or data projector, or her drawing the curtain are interactions that make the students continue their dissolved cohort activities before the lesson starts. This subsection focuses on how teachers signal to the students that they are ready for the lesson. The nature of those signals consequently has a dual function in the re-beginning period: (a) signaling the lesson and (b) assembling the class as a cohort, and thus terminating the re-beginning period.

The first fragment is taken from a biology class. The same pattern demonstrated in the previous fragments is applied to this scene as well: the teacher enters the classroom, closes the door, and walks to the table to put down her things. The students waiting in front by the board and those by the classroom door rush to their desks. They wait standing beside their desks. The teacher greets them, and then they sit down at their desks. The teacher walks back to the table from the center zone where she has greeted them. She takes the attendance, signs the classroom log, and meanwhile answers a student's question.

```
(9)       r01d080501p1

01   M    ş: (0.3) ders başladı
          sh: (0.3) the class has started


01   M    şi[mdi                          en: so:n (.) yamur (.)
          no[w                            last:ly: (.) yamur ((a
          name)) (.)
02          [((sınıf defterini kapatıyor.))
            [((turning over the classroom log.))
03        nerde kalmıştık
          where were we


01   M    şimdi sustun ve dikkatli takip ederseniz
          now you hush and if you follow carefully
```

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The teacher is equipped with a toolbox of maneuvers, all of which enable the teacher to make use of different functions at different moments. The scenes above are taken from the same fragment where the teacher is assembling the class. The three scenes initially demonstrate the fact that the cohort assembling in the re-beginning period can be achieved gradually, not a process performed once with a certain set formula. The multi-faceted nature of a classroom is rooted in the features of classroom environment. The classroom consists of a teacher and 20 or more students interacting continuously for forty or more minutes. Each interaction creates a distinct context that can be manifested with the members' responses. The un-anticipated multi-variable nature of a classroom environment makes the teacher to develop a toolbox of maneuvers to use them at different contexts. The aim of this subsection is not to catalog the whole list of maneuvers but through these different maneuvers to make publicly observable the mechanism organizing its interactional base.

The underlying common feature in these scenes is the reference to a certain point on the timeline. The temporal reference in the first scene, *ders başladı*, generates the division between the time before the lesson has started and the moment after that reference. The second scene starts with a temporal reference to the time of speaking, *şimdi*, and continues with the reference to the recent past, *en: so:n*. Similarly, the third scene starts with the temporal reference to the current time, *şimdi*. These maneuvers involving a temporal reference proves the idea that in order to find her place as the cohorting party in the floor, the teacher needs to make a connection between the last moment when she has sustained the cohort and the present moment when she is about to sustain the cohort.

The second fragment is taken from a history class. The class has got in their seats, and at the same time has been involved in separate chattering. The teacher is sitting at the table facing the students. He is looking at his notes. The same mechanism is applied to this fragment as well. However, this fragment is different from the previous fragment because the class has not become a dissolved cohort in the period since the students are not involved in their individual chattering with their classmates and attending to the teacher as a whole unit.

The re-beginning signal in this case is the teacher's temporal reference to the present time followed with his plan for that session in line 1. After his announcement for the plan of the session, he makes use of order calls in lines 2 and 3, *dinleyin evladım* and *çoCUKlar dinleyin*. This deviant case shows that the teacher is avoiding the use of temporal markers not only for the sake of restoring order by connecting the last time and the present time but also for creating a temporal link to tie his present topic to the previous one.

```
(10)        r01d080307p4

01    M     şindie arkadaşlar (.) onsekizinci ve ondokuzuncu yüzyıl
            avrupasına baktığımız zaman
            nowie friends (.) when we have a look at the eighteenth
            and nineteenth centuries
02          dinleyin evladım (.)
            listen my kid (.)
03          çoCUKlar dinleyin
            chiLDRen listen
04          öle anlayınki (          ) öyle kafanıza yazınki
            get it that much that (         ) inscribe it into your
            minds that much
```

The third fragment is taken from a geography class. This scene starts with the teacher's housekeeping routine. After taking the attendance, the teacher stands up and waits next to the teacher table. In order to assemble the cohort and make himself the only available person to be able calling and to be called on by the cohort as a single unit, he makes use of two order-calls in lines 1 and 2, *dinleyelim arkadaşlar* and *çocuklar (0.3) (dinliyosunuz) bak*. After those calls, he makes an announcement of the following exam. After the interposed activity, he signals the lesson and thus ends the re-beginning period in line 9, *en son hangisinde kalmıştık*.

```
(11)        r01d080321p2

01    M     dinleyelim arkadaşlar
            listen friends
02          çocuklar (0.3) (dinliyosunuz) bak
            children (0.3) (you're listening) look
03                                          dinleyin
                                            listen
```

```
04        şimdi salı günkü yazılı soruları hazır
          now the tuesday's exam results are ready
05        (      ) bi konu var
          (      ) there is a topic
06        hızla işleyelim (0.2)
          let's do them quick (0.2)
07        sınavın (   ) biliyo musunuz (0.2)
          the exam's (   ) know that (0.2)
08        kızLAR: (0.2)
          giRLS: (0.2)
09        en son hangisinde kalmıştık
          in the last session where were we
10                              °hangi konuda kalmıştık°
                                    °where were we°
11   O1   çernezyoma geçmiştik
          we moved to çernezyom
12                              çernezyom yapmıştık ama
                                we did çernezyom but
13   M    şimdi: bi kiş- bi kişi gelsin
          now: one pers- one person comes
14   O1                         napcaz
                                what are we gonna do
```

A closer look at his maneuver illustrates the construction of order from a different perspective. The first cohort assembler is the teacher's turn in line 1, *dinleyelim arkadaşlar*. The first turn involves two components: (a) the order-call, *dinleyelim*, and (b) the use of collective address, *arkadaşlar*. His second turn is the reformulation of the first turn with different collective address, *çocuklar (0.3) (dinliyosunuz) bak*. There is a relatively short pause after the collective address for the teacher to assess his cohort assembling attempt. His second turn is just the order-call, *dinleyin*. The evolution of his three turns indicates a finely organized pattern. It shows that the teacher is assessing his turns, and at the end of his turns, he reformulates them with a different degree of cohortness.

The following fragment is taken from a physics course. The remarkable aspect in this scene is the mechanism of how the teacher's walk functions as the cohort assembler. After signing the classroom log on the teacher's table, and thus finishing the tasks involved in the beginning period, the teacher stands up and walks among the desks. During her walk, the level of chatter in the classroom does not decrease. She finds something on the floor and walks to the garbage can next to the class door. After that, she walks back to the center zone and waits there.

```
(12)     r01d080502p1

01   M    ((masada sınıf defterini imzalıyor.))
          ((signs the classroom log on the table.))
02        ((sınıf merkezine [doğru yürüyor.))
          ((walks to the cen[ter zone.))
03                          [eve:t
                            [ye:s
04        ((sıraların arasında yürüyor.))
          ((walks among the desks.))
05        ((çöpe birşey atmak için kapının yanına yürüyor.))
          ((walks to the door to throw away something to the garbage
          can.))
06        ((merkeze doğru yürüyor ve merkezde duruyor.))
          ((walks back to the center zone and stands there.))
07        şimdi bakın (      ) zamanında ben size ıh: (       )
          now look (      ) at times I to you eh: (       )
```

The teacher's first walk to the center zone and her follow-up walk among the desks signal to the class that she is moving to a new form of activity. At the same time, she is monitoring the chattering in the classroom. Thus, since the students' chatter level continues at the same level and the class has not become a cohorted unit ready to be called as a single body, the teacher, after throwing away the thing in her hand into the garbage can, walks back to the center zone and waits. Consequently, the teacher's walk in the classroom at the re-beginning period is a teacher maneuver to assemble the cohort.

The following fragment is taken from a geography class. The same pattern found in the beginning period of the previous fragments is applied to this scene as well. The remarkable point that needs to be discussed in this scene, which is different from the others, is the students' orientation to the teacher's walk and their reformulation of the interactions involved in the teacher's walk.

The teacher, after signing the classroom log, takes his book out of his bag, stands up, and walks to the center zone. The students starting with line 4 are trying to persuade the teacher to let them study for their exam in the following hours. The noteworthy point in this scene is the observable fact of what meaning the students attribute to the teacher's standing up and walking to the center zone: the students are aware of the mechanism that the teacher's walk to the center zone is the signal to the

re-beginning of the lesson. Thus, before the teacher starts the lesson, the students resort to making the lesson the preparation time for the examination in the following hours.

The students' orientation to the teacher's walk and their reformulation of what his walk to the center zone signals proves the idea that the center zone of the classroom stands for the place where the lesson will be initiated. In other words, the onset of students' appeal to the teacher to study for the examination reveals the fact that the students are aware that the teacher's walk to the center zone is the signal for the onset of the lecture.

```
(13)       r01d080328p2

01    M    ((masada sınıf defterini imzalıyor.))
           ((signs the classroom log on the table.))
02         ((çantasından kitabını alıyor ve ayağa kalkıyor.))
           ((takes his book out of his bag and stands up.))
03         ((sınıf mer[kezine doğru yürüyor.))
           ((walks to [the center zone.))
04    O1            [ho:cam
                    [tea:cher
05    O2              ho:CA:M (0.3) [ >hocam< çalışalım mı
           hocam
                      te:ACHE:R (0.3) [>teacher< shall we work
           teacher
06    O3                          [hocam
                                  [teacher
07    O4                            [ho:cam lü:tfen:
                                    [te:acher ple:ase
08    OA                                  [(       )
                                          [(       )
09    M              [((sınıf merkez[inde duruyor ve dinliyor.))
                     [((stands in th[e center zone and listens.))
10    O5                          [hocam ben (   ) çalışmam
                                  [teacher I (   ) won't work
11    M    diğer derste-
           in the other lesson-
12    O6            ş:t (.) [susun
                     sh: [shut up
13    O7                    [ş:
                            [sh:
14    M    diğer derste (          ) sora hallederiz
           in the other lesson (         ) we'll deal it later on
15         ((arka [sıraya doğru yürüyor.))
           ((walks [to the back zone.))
```

111

```
16              [kim- kim geliyo hadi
                [who- who is coming hey
17      herkes kaldırsın fizikleri kaldırın
        everybody take away physics (books)) take away
```

Having found him having to respond to the individual calls coming from the dissolved cohort, in line 9 the teacher stands in the center zone and listens to the individual calls. It is obvious from those individual calls that the class has not been transformed into a cohorted unit. Consequently, the teacher as his first move needs to assemble the cohort. His maneuver in this scene is to stand in the center zone, attending to their individual calls but not picking them up. The non-pick-up interaction is actually the signal to the students that the teacher does not respond to their individual calls unless the calls come from the cohorted unit.

After waiting for a while, the teacher utters his first turn in line 11 but seeing that the chatter level has not decreased and thus the class has not become a cohorted unit, he cuts off his turn and starts waiting again. Meanwhile, having recognized that the teacher has cut off his turn, the two students in lines 12 and 13 help the teacher put the students who are still engaged in their individual chatters into a whole unit. This help is also an indication that the students are aware that the teacher's sudden cutting-off of his turn is a signal that the students have been turned into a cohorted unit.

The last fragment in this section is taken from a history class where the class is discussing the historical events in the nineteenth and twentieth century Europe. The teacher after signing the classroom log walks to the center zone. The first interaction for the re-beginning practice is thus the teacher's spatial change. In line 3, he resorts to the second interactional move and tells the students to get ready by sitting back in their desks. The third move is his turn in line 4, *derse başladık*. This call actually gives the message that the students need to be a cohort and act like a cohort, a single unit. After giving the directions of what the students need to do while he is lecturing, the teacher in lines 9 and 11, *çocuklar (0.2) susuyoruz* and *çocuklar dinleyin beni*, the teacher makes use two similar cohort assembler tools.

```
(14)      r01d080502p1


01    M    ((masada sınıf defterini imzalıyor.))
           ((signs the classroom log on the table.))
02         ((sınıf [merkezine doğru yürüyor.))
           ((walks [to the center zone.))
03               [tama:m çocuklar ge:riye yaslanın
                 [oka:y children sit bac:k
04         (derse başladık) (        ) tamam taam
           (we've started) (        ) okay ok
05         ((bir öğrenciye işaret ederek)) kaldır onu
           ((points to a student)) take it away
06         bi yandan beni dinlein bi yandanda elinizde kalem olsun
           listen to me have a pen in your hand at the same time
07         anlamadığınız yerleri sorun so-
           ask the things you don't understand ask-
08         anladığınız yerleri de defterinize not olarak işleyin
           write down the things you understand as notes
09         çocuklar (0.2) susuyoruz
           children (0.2) we've stopped speaking
10         ((bir öğrencinin kitabına bakıyor.))
           ((looks at a student's book.))
11    O1   başlık ne diyelim hocam
           what do we say for the title teacher
12         (0.7)
13    M    çocuklar dinleyin beni
           children listen to me
14         caNIM (.) tamam (0.2) birinci dünya savaşı
           my dEAR (.) okay (0.2) the first world war
```

The scene above shows that the outsiders can make sense of the interactional phenomena only through the participants' observable actions, such as that the teacher (a) restores the order in the classroom through a series of actions, walking to the center zone, using temporal markers, tying signals to the previous sessions, etc., and (b) the participants are engaged in the constant process of making sense of what is happening in the context.

4.1.5. Impossible interactions: Self-selected Student Questions

The following fragment taken from a chemistry class demonstrates what is qualified as an 'acceptable' cohort interaction in the greeting-seating period. The term 'acceptable' is basically used to denote the fact that in order for a student's self-

selected turn to be recognized as 'acceptable,' that action is to be picked up by the teacher in the very next or in the next turns.

In line 4 in this scene, before the greeting-seating routine a student addresses the teacher: *hocam*. However, that address is not picked up by the teacher but followed by a pause and a sharp decline of chatter. The probable reason why the teacher does not pick the student's address to him is rooted in the assumption that the address is produced by an individual student who has not been a member of the instructed and assembled cohort. It thus proves the theory that the classroom exchange system is made to be built on the two-party speech exchange system, and that in order to begin a class, the individual students that have the possible self-selected turns at any point need to be assembled as a cohort, which leads to having a two-party system in the classroom: the assembled cohort as the listening party and the teacher as the speaking party.

```
(15)      r01d080114p4

01    M    ((masaya doğru yürüyor.))
02         ((masanın arkasında sınıfa bakıyor.))
03    S    ((sıralarına geçiyorlar.))
04    O1   hocam (2.7)
05    S    ((gürültü azalıyor.))
06    M    arkadaşlar hoşgeldiniz=
07    O2   =saolun
08    S    ((sıralarına oturuyorlar.))


09    M    arkadaşlar (3.4) sınavdan önceki son dersimiz [bu saatte-
10    O3                                                  [test mi
           olacak
11    M    saat-[
12    O4       [hocam test mi dediniz[
13    O5                             [test mi uygula-
14    M    ben sınavdan önceki [son dersimiz [dedim
15    O6                       [test mi
16    O5                                    [haA
17    M    sınavdan önceki son dersimiz (   ) problemlerinden (0.2)
18         bikaç tanesini açıklamaya çalışıcam (.) şimdi
19    S    ((aynı anda sınav ile ilgili soru soruyorlar.))
20    M    <çarşamba sabahı>
21    S    ((sorular devam ediyor.))
22    M    <çarşamba sabahı>
23         ((susarak bekliyor.))
24         dinlemeye başlarsanız konuşmaya başlıcam ben
```

There are two remarkable details about the cohorting practice in this scene. The first detail is the teacher's cohort marker, *arkadaşlar*, followed by a relatively long pause in line 9. The function and use of this cohort marker followed by a pause will be discussed extensively in the following chapter where the cohort practices are depicted in transition periods between activities.

The second detail is rooted in the teacher's 'pick-up' mechanism. The teacher starts talking about that day's session before he begins the topic: announcing the lesson plan. However, since his turn includes the segment, *examination*, the students pick up that turn as an announcement about the details of examination, and thus interrupt his turn at various points. The distinctive characteristic in this scene is the mechanism of how the teacher does not pick up the self-selected student questions, and then the return-mechanism of how he comes to terms with the second question and answers it.

```
09   M    arkadaşlar (3.4) sınavdan önceki son dersimiz [bu saatte-
          friends (3.4) the last class before the exam [at this hour-
10   O3                                                 [test mi
          olacak
                                                        [is it
          multiple choice
```

In line 9, the teacher's turn is overlapped with a student's self-selected question in line 10. The onset of the overlap signals the student's timing for his turn: he is aware that the teacher is going to talk about that day's plan, but knowing that it is the last day before the exam and knowing that the teacher goes on his turn with *bu saatte* indicating that the teacher is going to talk about the lesson but not the exam details, the student asks if the exam is going to be a multiple choice test. However, the student's self-selected question is not picked up by the teacher.

```
11   M    saat-[
          hour-[
12   O4       [hocam test mi dediniz[
              [teacher did you say multiple choice[
13   O5                     [test mi uygula-
                                     [multiple choice
```

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```
             is go-
```

In line 11, the teacher continues with his cut off and overlapped turn, and hence does not pick up the student's question. The other self-selected question by another student overlaps his turn in line 12. The question in line 12 is picked up by the teacher in line 14 at which his turn is again interrupted with a self-selected question by another student.

```
14   M    ben sınavdan önceki [son dersimiz [dedim
          I told it was [our last lesson before [the exam
15   O6                        [test mi
                          [is it multiple choice
16   O5                                  [(h)aA
                                          [a(h)A
```

The sequential analysis of the scene demonstrates that the teacher picks up the turn in line 12 as the 'possible' question to be answered, and regards the other turns as 'impossible' questions to be neglected (see Figure 4.1.6. for the summary of teacher's turn pick-up mechanism).

The probable reason why the teacher picks up the second self-selected student turn as a possible question results from the nature of the question: *hocam testmi dediniz*. Although the four questions are self-selected by the students and include a yes/no question, the second question has two distinctive characteristics: (a) it starts with an address to the teacher, *hocam*, and (b) it has an allegation that the teacher has said something about the exam. This claim inherent in the student's question makes the teacher pick up that question as an appropriate one to be answered.
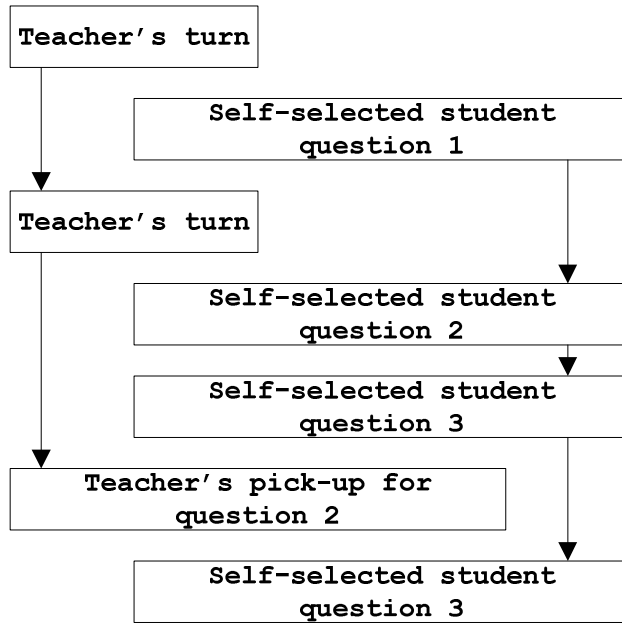
Figure 4.1.6. The summary of the teacher's turn pick-up mechanism.

```
17   M   sınavdan önceki son dersimiz (   ) problemlerinden (0.2)
         our last lesson before the exam out of (   ) problems (0.2)
18       bikaç tanesini açıklamaya çalışıcam (.) şimdi
         I'll try to explain some (.) now
19   S   ((aynı anda sınav ile ilgili soru soruyorlar.))
         ((asking questions about the exam at the same time.))
20   M   <çarşamba sabahı>
         <wednesday morning>
21   S   ((sorular devam ediyor.))
         ((the questions continue.))
22   M   <çarşamba sabahı>
         <wednesday morning.
23       ((susarak bekliyor.))
         ((waiting in silenece))
24       dinlemeye başlarsanız konuşmaya başlıcam ben
         if you start listening I'll start speaking
```

The rest of the scene portrays how the teacher executes the re-beginning practice. In line 17, with his repeated announcement for that day's plan, the teacher resumes the assembled cohort. However, the exam details are still the main inquiry not fully discovered by the students. Hence, the students start asking questions about the exam, i.e. when it will be held, if it is in the morning or afternoon, what it will include, etc. The underlying feature in those questions is that they have originated in the dissolved cohort. Consequently, the teacher attempts to resume the assembled

cohort in line 20 and then in line 22, *<çarşamba sabahı>*. The teacher's slower turns to re-maintain the cohort do not achieve their goals: the students still ask questions. As the last resort to re-maintain the assembled cohort, the teacher becomes silent, waiting and looking at the students at the same time, standing behind the teacher table. In line 24, he presents the last tool to gain the cohorting practice: *dinlemeye başlarsanız konuşmaya başlıcam ben.*

Maintaining order and re-maintaining order once diffused in a place at which there are two parties, one of which embodies the power to organize the rules to allocate limited liberty, is the most ordinary but unnoticed event. This scene depicted in the previous paragraph is an illustration of the struggle to maintain and re-maintain the order, or of the struggle in assembling and re-assembling the order in a classroom where there are two parties, one of which, the teacher as the speaking/cohorting party, has the leading power to allocate the turn takings. The teacher, who finds himself at a place where the students are firing the questions individually and simultaneously, attempts to re-assemble the cohort by two consecutive 'slower' turns. After noticing that the dissolved cohort continues asking, he uses the 'silent-waiting' tool. As a result, this scene demonstrates the observable fact that the teacher has a number of tools for re/assembling the cohort: (a) slower turns, (b) the silent-waiting, and (c) the literal warning.

4.1.6. The Shift in the Location of Address in the Cohorting Practices

The shift in the location of the address in the cohorting practices is the topic that has evolved into a separate area to be uncovered in the course of the analyses in the previous sections. The issue has evolved into a separate topic from a deviant case analysis. This interactional phenomenon will be discussed further in the last section in the chapter. The discussion here treats the shifting nature of the student-specific calls.

The shift at this point refers to the teacher's specific student calls while she is cohorting the students. Thus, the shift is the teacher's change in her address to the students as a whole to her address to the specific students out of the whole group. Therefore, the student-specific call is different from the teacher's student calls described in the fourth section because the student specific calls in the fourth section

are uttered after the class is transformed into a cohorted unit whereas the calls in this section are uttered while the class is being transformed into a cohorted unit.

The following fragment taken from a language arts class is built on the continuous struggle for assembling and re-assembling the cohort in the beginning period. The video-recording begins with the scene in which the teacher is waiting by the classroom door, and three students are fighting in front of the board. When she enters the classroom and finds those three students in a fight, she stops the fight, and then looks at the class from the center zone.

```
(16)      r01d080114p5

01    M    ((sınıfa bakıyor.))
02         °eve:t° nerdeyiz (.) (    )cim kendimize dönelim mi
03         bugün biraz bozuk- sınav günü farklısınız (   )
04         e(h)- evet günaydın ((eliyle oturun diyor.))
05    O1   ((geç kalan bir öğrenci içeriye giriyor ve sırasına
           geçiyor.))
06    M    umut şu sıraya (gel) (.) ahmetle aynı yerde (.) cezalısın
07         ş:(h) tamam (.) tamam artık sus (0.2) tamam sus
08         bir hafta daa ders işleriz (0.5)
09         kerem (0.4) keREM (0.2)
10         (   ) yapmayın artık (   ) ya(h)u
11         ((bir öğrenciye eliyle nereye oturması gerektiğini
           gösteriyor.))
12         tamam artık kerem (0.5)
13         ya:(h) böle karşılanmak <isteMİYORum>[
14    S                                          [((gürültü
           azalıyor.))
15    M    tamam hakkaten (     ) sekizinci saat- dokuzuncu-
           dokuzuncu saat var ama [(   )
16    O2                          [yedinci saatte diil miydik biz-[
17    M
           [sınav saati olarak (   ) düşündüm de (0.2)
18         biraz daha gayret çocuklar (.) biraz daha (0.5)
19         bir öne (.) kerem (0.4)
20         cerE:N=
21    O3   =efendim
22         çağlacım buraya
23    M    gel ben seni önümde görmek istiyorum
24         biraz görim sen- gel (.) gel
25         eyvah (        [   )
26    S                   [((gülüyorlar.))
27         (3.2)
28    M    gevezeler ad değiştirdi galiba
29    S    ((aynı anda birden çok yanıt geliyor.))
```

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```
30    M    (tavizden) plan artık yapıyorum ben ((sınıf defterini
             imzalıyor.))
31         şimdi para<grafta> (0.2) henüz bitti (    ) paragrafta (
             )
32         ((sınıfı sayıyor.))
33         mustafanın sesi çıkmıyo (0.3) ((masaya vuruyor.))
34         olumlu anlamda dedim- yani hasta mısın (.) canın mı sıkkın
35         ce:RE:N (.) >bikez daa uyarmak istemiyorum (   ) ille (
             ) artık<
36         yeter ya(h) şu kızmayı yapmadan beni- bi ı(h) saygı
             çerçevesinde yapalım artık lütfen ya:(h)
37         ((gürültü bitiyor.))
38         tamam artık yorulmuşssunuz anlıyorum ama (0.2)
             dağıtmayalım ya(h)
39    O4   (       )
40    M    tamam olabilir (          )
41         sınavın bitmesi demek dersin bitmesi demek diil ki ya(h)
42         yoruldunuzu da çok iyi biliyorum (.)
43         hakkaten[
44    O5          [((bir öğrenci masada sessizce öğretmenle
             konuşuyor.))

48    M    şimdi gençler (.) geçen dersimde hatırlarsanız paragrafta
```

Before going into detail about the nature of shifts in the teacher's address, it is necessary to note how the teacher uses a cohort assembling tool in the beginning part. The most intriguing part of the cohort assembling practice in this scene is the teacher's tool to use a question as a cohort assembler.

```
02    M    °eve:t° nerdeyiz (.) (   )cim kendimize dönelim mi
           °yea:h° where are we (.) (   )dear ((a name)) shall we come
           round
```

The possible direct answer to that question, *nerdeyiz*, might be *we are in the classroom*. Because the answer to that question is evident and shared by the cohort, i.e. it works as a question with no expected answer, the question essentially functions as the order restoring tool for the teacher: since you, the students as the members of the cohort, know that you are in the classroom, you should start acting like the cohort. In addition to the use of a question format, the use of the first person plural pronoun in the question reflects her aim in addressing to the students as a group.

The second question-based cohort assembling tool in line 2 is addressed to a specific student in the cohort, *(   )cim kendimize dönelimmi*, whereas the first question is addressed to the cohort as a whole. Although the aim of both questions is to restore the order, the shift in the address in the same teacher turn presents the ambiguity of the teacher's aim in re-assembling the cohort.

The shift in the level of address from specific students to the cohort persists throughout the fragment. The shift in the location of the address for the purpose of maintaining order in this classroom results in a moderate level of chattering throughout the scene. The first student-specific order restoring attempt takes place in line 6:

```
06   M   umut şu sıraya (gel) (.) ahmetle aynı yerde (.) cezalısın
         umut sit in this desk (come) (.) at the same place with
         ahmet (.) you are punished
```

In this precise student-specific order restoring moment, the teacher changes a student's desk with her explanation of logic for that desk change. It is followed with the other moment in line 7 at which she is making a student stop speaking:

```
07   M   ş:(h) tamam (.) tamam artık sus (0.2) tamam sus
         sh: ok (.) ok enough shut up (0.2) ok shut up
```

This is followed by another moment in line 9 where she is again warning a student:

```
09   M   ke<u>rem</u> (0.4) ke<u>REM</u> (0.2)
         ke<u>rem</u> ((a name)) (0.4) ke<u>REM</u> (0.2)
```

The three student-specific order restoring attempts take place in the greeting-seating period after she greets them and allows the students to get in their seats. The sequential analysis of the following turns in the fragment demonstrates how the teacher shifts from the student-specific technique to the cohort technique, and thus proves the foreshowed assumption that the shift in the address location creates the confusion leading to the prolonged dissolved cohort.

```
10   M   (    ) yapmayın artık (    ) ya(h)u
         (    ) don't do that any more (    ) ya(h)u
11       ((bir öğrenciye nereye oturması gerektiğini gösteriyor.))
         ((showing a student where to sit))
12       tamam artık kerem (0.5)
         ok enough kerem (0.5)
13       ya:(h) böle karşılanmak <isteMİYORum>[
         ya:(h) I <DON'T> want to be greeted like this[
14   S                                          [((gürültü azalıyor.))
                                                 [((chatter
         dips))
```

After the three consecutive student-specific order restoring attempts, the teacher addresses the students as a cohort in line 10. The other specific student call follows the cohort assembling attempt in lines 11 and 12.

The moment when the chatter dips considerably enough to be counted and qualified as a sign of being an instructed and assembled cohort overlaps the teacher's turn in line 14 at which she is addressing the class as a cohort. Besides, the message of the teacher's turn in line 13 makes the students self-evaluate their actions from the beginning of the class, which is the teacher's closing of the door and creating a physical secrecy within the classroom. The reason why the phrase, to be counted and qualified as the sign for the instructed and assembled cohort, for the moment when the chatters dip is used here comes from the fact that the students in the classroom "act as a unit," and "their individual fates [become] collectively interdependent" (Payne & Hustler, 1980): they stop their individual conversations at the same time.

The teacher's next turn after the student chattering declines significantly is her justification of the student's resistance to the cohorting attempts: they are having the eighth session in the day, which most probably implies that they are bored and/or tired:

```
15   M   tamam hakkaten (       ) sekizinci saat- dokuzuncu-
         dokuzuncu saat var ama [(    )
         ok really (       ) the eight hour- ninth- still there is
         the ninth hour though [(    )
```

The same pattern explained in the previous paragraphs, the shift in the location of address in the course of restoring order in the classroom with the

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justification at the end occurs in lines between 30 and 38. She signs in the classroom log in line 30 and goes on taking the attendance in line 32. As demonstrated in the previous fragments, the housekeeping period provides the students the ability to re-maintain their individual conversations, and it thus leads them to be dissolved individual students.

```
35   M   ce:RE:N (.) >bikez daa uyarmak istemiyorum (   ) ille (   )
         artık<
         ce:RE:N ((a name)) (.) >I don't want to warn once more (
         ) even (    ) enough<
36       yeter ya(h) şu kızmayı yapmadan beni- bi ı(h) saygı
         çerçevesinde yapalım artık lütfen ya:(h)
         enough ya(h) without this warning to me- just e(h) please
         let's do it in a respectful manner ya:(h)
37   S   ((gürültü bitiyor.))
         ((chatter ends abruptly.))
```

The teacher's turn in line 35 is the other example of student-specific order restoring attempt. It is followed by the cohort assembling attempt in line 36. The students' chattering ends in line 37. The same pattern takes place in line 38 at which she gives another justification for the students' resistance to keep resistant to the cohorting practices:

```
38       tamam artık yorulmuşssunuz anlıyorum ama (0.2) dağıtmayalım
         ya(h)
         ok enough I understand that you are tired but (0.2) don't
         get noisy ya(h)
```

The analyses in the section are presented with particular reference to the teacher's shift in her address from cohort-driven to student-specific. The findings in the scene illustrate that the shift creates confusion among the students. The confusion is rooted in their perception of the attempts, i.e. whether they are being handled as a cohort or a specific student in the cohort.

4.2. The Work of Re-assembling the Cohort: Transitions

The moments of transition between activities in a class constitute the second part of the analysis in this study. The moments of restoring the order in the classroom

become publicly noticeable and observable when the cohorted class transforms itself into a dissolved unit in the transition periods. The transitions are thus thought to include two consecutive main components: (a) the period when the cohortness is diffused with the offset of the first activity and (b) the period when the diffused cohortness is reacquired with the onset of the second activity. This section aims to demonstrate the mechanisms of how the order is restored between these consecutive activities.

The foreshadowing assumption guiding the analysis of restoring the order in the transition periods is the idea that each moment of change in the flow of class creates potential instants for the cohorted party to dissolve into their separate multi-parties. The transition period also provides the cohorting party the instant to rescue the dissolved party, and thus to re-maintain the order in the classroom.

Transition is basically a change. It refers to a sort of change from a certain type of activity to another one. Thus, the transition between two activities in a classroom, as a mode of teacher-led change from the state of interaction governing the nature of the first activity to the other state in the second activity, generates a platform for the cohorted and listening party that is maintained in the first activity to be dissolved into separate speaking parties. At the same time, this transition produces an opportunity for the speaking and cohorting party to re-sustain the cohortness.

The challenging task in this part is rooted in the ethnomethodological treatment of ordinary interactions in the classroom. The typical data analysis in an EM/CA study starts with the close investigation of what participants make sense of their demonstrable actions. The analysis then reaches explanations that account for different cases. Following the regular methodic route, instead of adopting the operationally defined formulations of what a transition is, how it is sketched within the other states of interactions in the classroom, or what features a transition has in the different cases, this section begins its analysis with the members' understanding of what a transition is.

4.2.1. Defining Transitions through the Members' Interactions

Transition is literally defined as a change from one form/type to another one. The definition provides three primary features of a transition: (a) there should be two

forms/types, (b) the two forms/types should occur consecutively, and (c) the two forms/types should be publicly made noticeable and be made dissimilar from each other through the members' interactions in a conversation. Following the definition and the inborn features, the transition in a classroom similarly can be defined as an action of terminating the first activity and then starting the second activity through the teacher's and students' interactions. The primary task of this section is to show how the members in a classroom interaction terminate the first activity and then start the second one, and then how they signal the transitions between activities.

The first fragment taken from a biology class involves the example of how the members at a local place give meaning to the actions, and thus define them in relation to their attributed meanings. The fundamental concern is rooted in the EM/CA approach towards how transitions and actions that constitute those transitions are defined through the members' interactions. This scene is captured in the middle of the class in which the teacher is sitting at her desk and is reading the questions that the students had about a school-wide examination previously.

The fragment portrayed in the transcription in brief involves the transition from the discussion of the questions in the school-wide examination, which is the first activity, to the announcement of the following examination that the students will have, which is the second activity, and then to the lecture, which is the third activity. The task in this scene is to make publicly observable how the transitions are made meaningful with the sequential analysis of the members' talk-in-interaction.

```
(1)      r01d080321p1

01  M   ((masasında test sorularına bakıyor.))
02      evet (.) çok da zor diil bence
03  O1  çok zordu
04  O2  çok zor diil sadece iki tanesi-[
05  M                                   [(         )
06  O3  hoCAM test yapçak<mısınız>
07  M   test şöle=
08  O3         =no:lur yapma-
09      [((birebir sorulara yanıtveriyor.))
10      [((gürültü artıyor.))
11  M   şimdi ı(h) evet BEYLER <konuşMUYOR[uz>
12                                        [((gürültü azalıyor.))
13      LÜTFEN (.) çocuklar
```

```
14      ilk sıNAV (0.2) boşluk doldurmada olabilir klasik de
        olabilir karma olabilir
15      yani tam onu ı(h) ı(h)- kesinleştirmedik aMA
16      ikinci sınav için test yapıçamı söyleyebilirim
17      ona gore çalışacaksınız (.)
18      testi yaPARKEN ((eliyle masaya vuruyor.)) [dinle
19   S                                           [((gürültü
        azalıyor.))
20      testi yaparken bilgi birikiminizin çok iyi olması
        [gerekiyor
21   S  [((gürültü artıyor.))
22      (       ) o da zaten olmalı
23      testin sizin için şöyle bir faydası var.
24      üniversite sınavında ı(h)m (   ) olacanız için
25      ı(h): alışkanlık haline gelir AMA ben uzun bir test olması
        taraftarı da [diilim
26                   [((aynı anda [birden çok konuşma.))
27                               [yani ben ı(h) bakın işte
28      onu ayarlamaya çalışıcam
29      test koyması gerekiyorsa (      ) o şekilde: oldu mu
30      ona: dikkat edicez
31      pe:ki şimdi altına bunun çizdikmi
32      not diyo:RUZZ,
33      hemen kara yosunlarıyla >eğrelti otu arasındaki farkları<
        hemen bi ilave edelim
34      not dedik:,
```

The sequential analysis of the fragment starts with the teacher's comment on the items in the school-wide exam in line 2. She is giving her opinion about the difficulty of the examination. Her comment is picked up by a student and transformed into a question about what their test will include in line 6.

```
02   M   evet (.) çok da zor diil bence
         yes (.) it's not that difficult in my opinion
03   O1  çok zordu
         it was very difficult
04   O2  çok zor diil sadece iki tanesi-[
         it's not very difficult only two of them-[
05   M                                   [(           )
                                          [(           )
06   O3  hoCAM test yapçak<mısınız>
         teacHER <will you> make a multiple question test
07   M   test şöle=
         test will be like=
```

The student's question is picked up by the teacher first, and then in line 7 transformed into the discussion of the test that the students will have. As a result, the move from the discussion of the test items in the previous examination as the first activity to the discussion of the test in the following examination as the second activity is considered a transition. The transition in this scene is initiated by the student's question and then maintained by the teacher's reply to her question. The remarkable point in this transition is that the move is initiated by the student's question and sustained by the teacher's answer. Consequently, it can be said that the question-answer with the student-teacher cooperation is the skeleton of the transition in this scene.

The second transition in the same fragment takes place when the teacher stops the discussion about whether the test will include the multiple choice items. The students are engaged in a hot debate about their idea that the test should include multiple choice items. She moves from the test discussion to the lecture action with a 'tying signal' in line 31, *pe:ki*.

```
29   M   test koyması gerekiyorsa (      ) o şekilde: oldu mu
         if need to put multiple choice (      ) that way ok
30       ona: dikkat edicez
         we'll pay attention to that
31       pe:ki şimdi altına bunu çizdikmi
         o:k now did we draw this under that
32       not diyo:RUZZ,
         we sa:YY note
33       hemen kara yosunlarıyla >eğrelti otu arasındaki farkları<
         hemen bi ilave edelim
         right away let's add the differences between >kara yosunu
         and egrelti otu<
34       not dedik:,
         note we sai:d:,
```

The transition from the discussion of the items in the following test, the first activity, to the lecture, the second activity, is initiated and maintained by the teacher. At this point, it is necessary to point that in order for a transition to occur in a classroom, the previous activity defined collaboratively by the teacher and students needs to be terminated, and then the new activity needs to be announced and performed. The process of ending the previous activity, the discussion of

examination in this case, is achieved with the tying signal, *pe:ki*. Then, the teacher's connecting of the second activity with the previous lecture activity before she starts discussing the questions in the school-wide examination, *şimdi altına bunu çizdikmi*. In line 32, *not diyo:RUZZ,*, the teacher signals the new activity and thus completes the transition period. However, the transition is not fully achieved since the teacher needs the second signal in line 34, *not dedik:,*, because in line 33 she realizes that the students have not picked up her signal announcing the new activity.

The sequential analyses of these two transition periods prove that (a) transitions happen occasionally in a class session, (b) they are not limited to the activities prescribed in the teacher's lesson plan, and (3) how a transition is formulated and acted on depends on the members' understanding of the situated interactions in the classroom. The move from the discussion of the test items in the school-wide examination to the discussion of the test items in the students' following examination is governed by the mechanism situated in that specific classroom environment at those specific moments of transitions (see Figure 4.2.1. for the transitional history).

The following section will illustrate how tying signals play a central role in connecting the two activities in a transition period. The tying signals will be the backbone of the mechanisms in the transition periods.
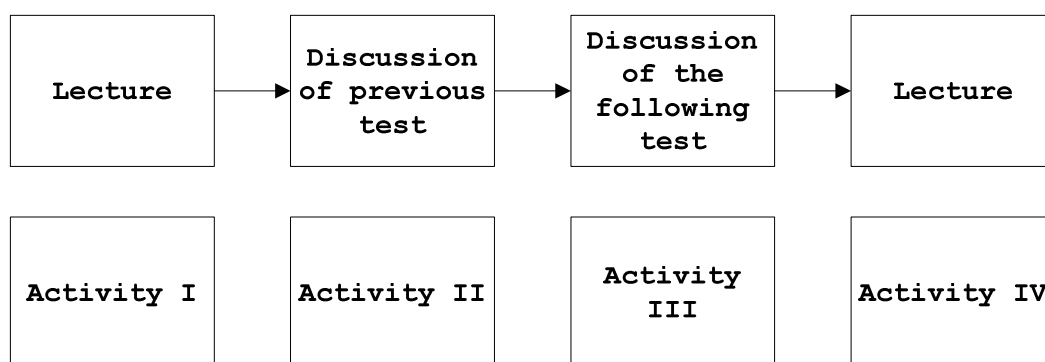
Figure 4.2.1. The transitional history in the fragment I.

4.2.2. Announcing Transitions: Tying Signals

Announcing the new event and terminating the first activity in the transition period in a classroom is usually organized by the teacher. The teacher is thus the

responsible actor in initiating the new activity and thus arranging the transition period. This section focuses on how teachers announce the new activity and initiate it in the classroom. The first fragment is taken from a geography class. The students have had their quiz and the teacher is about to give the answers.

```
(2)      r01d071126p5

01   M   yanıt anahtarını veriyorum takip et ((masadaki kağıdı
         alıyor.))
         I'm giving the answers follow me ((taking the note on the
         table.))
02       bir ceyhan=
         one ceyhan= ((coding the answers.))
03               =bi dakka=
                 =one minute=
04                        =bi dakka
                          =one minute
05       (0.4)
         (0.4)
06       bir ceyhan (.)
         one ceyhan
07       iki denizli (.)
         two denizli
08       üç Edirne
         three Edirne
```

In line 1 after collecting the students' answer keys, the teacher starts the activity by telling them what they are supposed to do. The tying signal in this scene is her announcement of what she is about to do and her order-address to the students.

```
(3)      r01d071126p5

01   M   eve:t [(0.2)                       ] bAYLAR BAYANLAR
         ye:s [(0.2)                       ] laDIES GENTLEMEN
02            [((sınıf kapısına yürüyor.))]
              [((walking towards the door.]
03       son on dakika yeni konuya getçez giricez
         the last ten minutes we'll start the new topic
04   OA                                      a(h)A:
                                               a(h):
05                                           (    )
                                               (    )
06   M   evet
         Yes
```

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The second fragment is taken from the same geography class. The teacher is about to start a new topic, giving the answers to the students. The teacher's first tying signal is the extended marker, *eve:t*, followed by the change in her location in the classroom. Her marker and her walk from the table to the door to switch off the lights indicate that she is changing her present state to another state. At the end of line 1 when she has approached the lights, before she switches off the lights, she addresses the students, *bAYLAR BAYANLAR* to signal that she is ready for a new activity. In the following turn, the teacher literally announces her transition to the new activity, *son on dakika yeni konuya getçez giricez.*

The spatial change, the teacher's move from the table to the door, needs particular attention to portray how the teacher signals the new activity in the transition period. The following fragment taken from a mathematics class represents how teachers make use of spatial change in the classroom environment to signal the change in the class flow. In this scene, the teacher, after checking the students' homework, is ready to solve the problems in their textbook. She walks from the table to the board and starts writing on the board.

The teacher's announcement of what the teacher and students are going to do is one way of terminating the previous activity and starting the new one. However, the teacher can accomplish the transition with another way. The spatial change with markers is the one that is unearthed in the following fragments.

Before focusing on the spatial change and its result in the classroom, the spatial change in the naturally occurring conversation needs to be discussed in detail. The spatial change in the naturally occurring talk-in-interaction involves numerous functions: the spatial change might function as a sign of non-attending the previous turn, or it might function as a sign of changing the topic depending on the context. Furthermore, each member in the interaction has the potential to change his or her space. However, in a classroom interaction, teachers have the primary right to change their space, but students are supposed to maintain their position all the way through the interaction unless instructed to do so by the teacher. As a result, any spatial change in the teacher's positioning in the classroom refers to a function to be attributed as meaningful by the students. Thus, the teacher's walk from the table to

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the board followed by her writing on the board is a message for the students in the class that the teacher is undergoing a new form of activity to be paid attention to.

The teacher's walk is followed by her address/command to the class in line 4, *pe:ki tahtaya bakın*. The first part of the tying signal in this scene is her marker, *pe:ki*. Following the marker, she utters her address/command to restore the order dissolved in the transition period.

```
(4)      r01d071210p1

01   M   ((masadan tahtaya doğru yürüyor.))
         ((walking from the table to the board.))
02       ((tahtaya [yazmaya başlıyor.))
         ((writing [on the board.))
03   O1          [((sınıfa bir öğrenci giriyor.))
                 [((a student enters.))
04   M   pe:[ki tahtaya bakın
         we:[ll look at the board
05          [((sınıfa dönüyor.))
            [((looking at the class.))
06       kerem artık- ta- tahtaya bakın- yon (.) kerem (0.3)
         kerem now bo- look at the board -s (.) kerem (0.3)
07       umut senmi soruyodun (.)
         umut you were asking a question (.)
08   O2                         ((başını sallıyor.))
                                 ((knodding yes.))
09   M   peki bana kim bunun yorumunu yapcak kim deltayı (    )danda
         well who is going to comment on this who will do it without
         (    )
```

The mechanism of how tying signals are constructed in a transition period is sketched in the following fragment. The scene is taken from a biology class. The teacher is talking about the sheet that she has distributed to the class. Consequently, the first activity in this scene is the teacher's talk about the extra sheet. In line 14, she walks from the center zone to the door to switch off the lights because she is going to turn on the data projector in the next turn. The spatial change in her position is followed with another change: she goes to the other side of the classroom, and turns on the computer. Having turned on the computer and opened the slide in the projector, she signals to the class that she is ready for a new form of activity.

```
(5)        r01d071224p2

01        biraz test çözer üzerinden konumuza geçeriz
          we will solve some problems and then start our topic
02        bi DE (.) ı(h) ivoluşın konusunda ivoluşınıri veya
          ekolocikıl rulz dediğimiz
          aND (.) e(h) in the evolution topic evolutionary or
          ecological rules
03        bi de kurallar (.) die bi kısım var
          and rules (.) there is a section like this
04        bu kısım kitap kitabınızda yok
          this section is not in your textbook
05        o yüzden bununla ilgili size kaıt vericem
          thus I'll give you sheets about this
06        sınavdada ı(h) çalışırken bu kaıttan çalışacaksınız
          in the exam e(h) while you're studying you'll work from
          this sheet
07        kitapta bu konu ı(h) malesef yok (.)
          it's not in the textbook e(h) unfortunately (.)
08        bundan şu kaıttan gitcez
          we'll work from this that sheet
09        ı(h) kaıtta resim yok ama uzaktan eğitimde çalışırken
          e(h) there is no picture in the sheet but there is in the
          distance education while you work[
10                                                          [var
                                          [there is
11        bunların hepsi var uzak- uzaktan eğitimde
          all is in the dist- distance education
12        daa dorusu bu hafta koyuyorum
          better I'm putting them this week
13        o yüzdende resimlere bakar biyandanda çalışabilirsiniz
          then you can study and while you are looking at the photos
14        ((ışığı kapamak için kapıya yürüyor.))
          ((walking towards the door to switch off the lights.))
15        ((bilgisayara yürüyor ve sunuyu açıyor.))
          ((walking toward the computer and turning on the slide.))
16        peki şimdi başlığa baktığınız zaman (0.3)
          well now when you look at the title (0.3)
17        ekolocikıl ve ivoluşınıri rulz demiş
          it says ecological and evolutionary rules
```

The first part of her tying signal in line 16 that provides her the floor to start her turn as the speaking and cohorting party is the marker, *peki*. The signaling marker, *peki* in this scene or *evet* in the previous scenes, functions as the tying unit that helps the teacher (a) create a connection between the previous activity and the current activity, and (b) at the same time helps her find the place to start her turn as

the speaking party. The second part of the tying signal is the temporal marker, *şimdi* in this scene or *artik* in the previous scenes, which functions as the tying unit bringing the time of the talk to the moment. The temporal marker connects the previous moment when the order is restored with the present moment. Consequently, the predominant formula for the tying signals in the transition periods is:
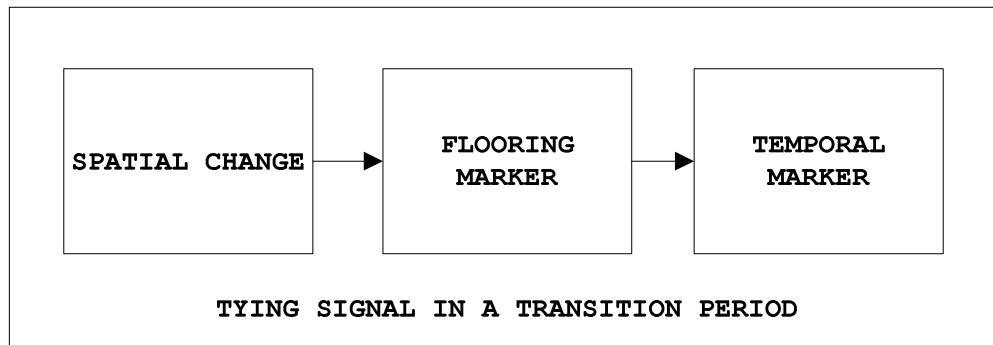
Figure 4.2.2. The components of a tying signal in a transition period.

The following fragment is taken from literature class. The class has watched a video clip, and the teacher is trying to turn off the computer and data projector. At this point when she is moving from the video-watching activity to the lecture, the class have transformed into a dissolved unit, and she is in the process of signaling to the class that she is ready for the new activity. She is at the same time cohorting the dissolved unit and restoring the order lost in the transition period.

```
(6)        r01d071203p3

01    M    ((projeksiyonu kapıyor.))
           ((turning off the data projector.))
02         bu kadar (bunun-) devamında (    )
           that is it (this-) following (    )
03    O1                                 (        )
                                         (        )
04    M    karayılan bölümünü aldık sadece size bi fikir versin die:
           we took the karayilan part only so that it would give you
           an idea
05         nası beğendinizmi
           how did you like it
06    O2                        (    [   )
                                (    [   )
07    M                         [olabilir tabi işlemiş
```

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		olabilirsiniz
		[perhaps of course you might have gone through that
08		bu yıl da biz dedikki şey yapalım (.) çizgiyle beraber (.) arka arkaya koyalım
		this year we said that do this (.) with the cartoon (.)
09		bu şekilde izlememiştiniz (.)
		you mightn't have watched like this (.)
10		kitapta [var
		it is [in the book
11		[sizde ı(h)- izlediniz dimi ((bilgisayara doğru yürüyor.))
		[did you also e(h) watch it ((walking towards the computer.))
12		antepli varmı içinizde
		anyone here from antep ((a city in turkey))
13	O3	( )
		( )
14	M	antepli varmı içinizde
		anyone here from antep
15		[((sınıfın ortasına doğru yürüyor.))
		[((walking towards the center of the classroom.))
16	S	[((gürültü artıyor.))
		[((chatter increases.))
17	M	pe<u>ki</u>: dediğim gibi nazım hikmeti (.) ve şiirlerini ozaman tekrar bir destandı on ikinci sınıfta göreceksiniz
		we:ll like i said nazim hikmet ((a poet)) (.) and his poems then again were sage you will learn it in the twelfth grade

The teacher in line 15 walks to the center zone of the classroom. In other words, she is changing her spatial position in the classroom. After the change in her spatial position, in line 17, she signals to the class that she is moving to a new activity with the same pattern sketched in Figure 4.2.2. The first part of the tying signal is the flooring marker, *peki*, providing her the ability to find her position in order to start her speaking party. The second part is the temporal tying unit where she connects the current session to the previous session, *dediğim gibi* (see Figure 4.2.3. for the summary of the tying signals in this fragment).
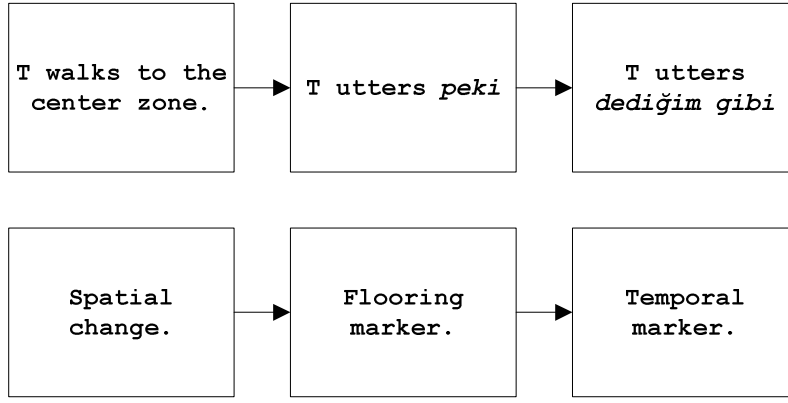
Figure 4.2.3. The tying signals in a fragment.

4.2.3. Tying Signals as the Moving Tool between Activities

The keystone element that governs transitions from one activity to the other is the "tying" mechanism (Sacks, 1992, p. 357). Tying is rooted in the sequential construction of talk. The previous turns in a conversation create the local platform for the members in the interaction to build their further turns. The following fragment taken from a physics class shows how the tying mechanism works in a classroom. The teacher is talking about how the students 'get crazy', and is giving them her teacher-advice about paying attention to their behavior when in public.

```
(7)      r01d080404p2

01   M   eer anladıysanız ben şimdiye kadar hiç bi zaman örenci-
         örenciyi tehdit etmemişimdir (0.3)
         if you get me correct so far I have never threatened any
         stud- student
02       herşeyden önce ne diyorum <davranış:> (0.3)
         first of all what I say ((code of)) <conduct:> (0.3)
03       okul bittikten sora çoğunun belki lise hayatında üniversite
         olmucak okul hayatı bitmiş olacak
         after the school ends most won't have university life high
         school school life will end
04       ama yaşadığımız sürece o davranış (   ) öyle olarak kalcak
         but as long as we live that conduct will stay like that
         (   )
05       öyle dimi,
         isn't it,
06       °o zaman (       )°
         °then (      )°
07       ((masaya doğru yürüyor.))
```

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```
            ((walking towards the table.))
08          yani birbirimizi [üzmeyelim
            so don't make [ourselves sad
09                         [((ellerini kavuşturuyor.))
                           [((rubbing her hands.))
10          ((masadaki notlara bakıyor.))
            ((looking at her notes on the table.))
11          e:vet nivtonun beşinci kanunu neydi eylemsizlik kanunu
            ye:ah what was the fifth law of newton stability principle
12          beşinci kanun=
            the fifth law=
13    O1    =eylemsizlik prensibi
            =the stability principle
14          eylemsizlik prensibine gore (0.2)
            according to the stability principle (0.2)
```

How the teacher ties the lecture of the Newton's fifth principle with the previous session's topic after the teacher-advice activity is constructed in line 11. The teacher with a 'question with no expected answer' action, *e:vet nivtonun beşinci kanunu neydi eylemsizlik kanunu*, creates a locally produced connection between that moment's topic and the previously constructed context. Thus, the triggering move in this transition is the teacher's non-functional question to the class.

The analysis of the teacher's spatial change in the physical setting reflects the crucial side of the tying signal process. In line 7, the teacher walks from the center zone to the table, uttering her last turn in the teacher-advice activity in line 8, meanwhile rubbing her hands. The spatial change as the tying signal indicating a new form of activity occurs when she looks down the notes on the table.

```
(8)      r01d080321p3

01   M2  ((sınıf kapısına doğru yürüyor.))
02   O1  hoCAM ho[cam
03   O2         [örtmeni[m
04   O3               [sınav [(   )
05   O4                      [hocam sonuçlar
06   O5                      [peki sınavlar
07   M2  onbeş gün sonra yavru:cu:m[
08   O4                            [o:(h)
09   OB                              [o(h)
10   M2  ((kapıdan dışarı çıkıyor.))
11   M1  [(ayakta masadaki kitaba bakıyor.))
12       [((olağan seviyedeki gürültü var.))
```

```
13        arkadaşlar (.) canım bakın (0.3)
14        (      ) ama (fen) bilgisi
15        sorular nitelikli diil (0.2)
16        yani (          ) kolaylıkla yapabileceği sorular var (0.2)
17        yani o sorularla ilgili- o sınavla ilgili böyle
18        kırk dakkada bir >ne zaman belli olur nezman belli olur<
          diye sormanın (.) hiç bi anlamı yok=
19   O6   =hatta sınav günü bile
20   M2   sınav gününü değiştirdiğimizi sanıyorum (0.3)
21        e(h) normal sınavda nası davrandığınızı bildiğim için
22        o sınavda ı(h) nası davranacağınızı çok rahatlıkla tahmin
          edebiliyorum (0.6)
23        o yüzden öyle şeyler (          )
24        ısrarla öyle şeyler sormanıza hiç gerek yok (0.2)
25        şindi arkadaşlar dinleyin
26        abdülaziz döneminde dedim
```

This fragment recorded in a history class starts with another teacher's visit to the class. The visitor teacher is collecting money for a certain purpose, and is checking who has given the money already. When he is about to leave the class, the students ask the results of the school-wide exam, as he is the vice-principal at the school:

```
01   M2   ((sınıf kapısına doğru yürüyor.))
          ((walking towards the door.))
02   O1   hoCAM ho[cam
          teaCHER tea[cher
03   O2           [örtmeni[m
                  [my teach[er
04   O3               [sınav [(   )
                      [exam [(   )
05   O4                   [hocam sonuçlar
                          [teacher results
06   O5                   [peki sınavlar
                          [what about the exams
07   M2   onbeş gün sonra yavru:cu:m[
          fifteen days later my de:a:rs[
08   O4                       [o:(h)
                              [o:(h)
09   OB                       [o(h)
                                [o(h)
```

The last turns of 'other-teacher' visit creates the platform for the main teacher to have a transition stage to his own activity, which is his lecture on the Ottoman

history. Since it has been interrupted with the visit, he needs to regain the floor and at the same time to restore the order. The teacher, however, picks up the students' questions to the vice-principal as a discussion activity.

```
10   M2   ((kapıdan dışarı çıkıyor.))
          ((leaving the class.))
11   M1   [(ayakta masadaki kitaba bakıyor.))
          [((reading the book on the table.))
12        [((olağan seviyedeki gürültü var.))
          [((the normal level of chatter.))
13        arkadaşlar (.) canım bakın (0.3)
          friends (.) my dear look (0.3)
14        (      ) ama (fen) bilgisi
          (      ) but (science) knowledge
15        sorular nitelikli diil (0.2)
          the questions aren't qualified (0.2)
```

The scene depicted above demonstrates how a teacher gets the floor when the students are involved in moderate level of conversations. Then, he signals the transition, and restores the order for the cohorting practices at the same time. The tying signal in this transition period is the teacher's address to the students, *arkadaşlar*, followed by a micro pause. The pause is then followed by a call/order, *canım bakın*, again followed by a pause. The pauses between the addresses provide the teacher the moments to assess if the cohort assemblers have worked as anticipated.

The same pattern takes place in line 25:

```
24        ısrarla öyle şeyler sormanıza hiç gerek yok (0.2)
          there is no need for you to ask those insistently (0.2)
25        şindi arkadaşlar dinleyin
          now friends listen
```

The teacher is moving from the discussion of the question item in the school-wide exam to the lecture on the Ottoman history. The reformulation of the scene is the same in line 13: CALL+COMMAND. However, there is a difference between the first transition call and the second one. In the second transition call, the teacher says, *şindi*, to indicate that the action that is about to begin is different from the previous

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turns. Looking at the teacher's following turn in line 26, the teacher moves to his lecture with a connection to what he has said before the previous activity.

```
26      abdülaziz döneminde dedim
        I told in the era of abdulaziz
```

When the analyses are put into together, the pattern found in the previous fragments emerges with a different order but with the same mechanism. *şindi arkadaşlar dinleyin* in line 25 functions as the flooring marker together, and *abdülaziz döneminde dedim* in line 26 functions as the temporal marker in this fragment.

The transition periods in the previous fragments have been initiated and mainly organized by the teacher. However, as the following transcript shows, the cohorting pendulum swinging between the dissolved unit and the instructed unit is also sustained by the students.

The following fragment taken from a geography lesson begins with the question-answer activity. The teacher starts asking questions in the book. The students who would like to answer the questions are asked to come to the board, write down the questions on the board, and then answer them while standing in front of the board. The following scene portrays one of those question-answer activities.

```
(9)     r01d080404p1

01  M   son soru kim geliyo ((saatine bakıyor.))
02      (1.2)
03  O1  hilal geliyo
04  O2  türkan geli[yo
05  O3             [tahsin kılıç
06  O4  mahmuz
07      (0.5)
08  M   gel bakalım (   ) daha kolay
09      bak bu (senin) tebeşir (   )
10      ((ellerini [birbirine vuruyor.))
11  O5             [gülaras gülaras
12  M   gülarasmı günarasmı=
13  O5  =gül gül
14  O6  gül gül gül
15  M   ((ellerini birbirine vuruyor.))
16      <karadenizin sularının tuzluluğu> (0.7)
```

```
17       karadenizin sularının tuzluluğu (0.5)
18       ((tahtadaki öğrenci yazıyor.))
19       akdenizin sularının yarısı kadardır (0.4)
20   S   (        )
21   M   akdenizin sularının (.) yarısı kadardır (0.2)
22       başkan acayip sessizsiniz bugün=
23   O7  =hoCAM dikdik bakıyo ya:(h) u:f
24   M   kim o=
25   O8  =[rıdvan
26   O9   [rıdvan
27   S   ((aynı anda [gülüyorlar.))
28   O10                              [hoCAM (        )
29   O11              [rıdVA:N rıdVA:N [rıdVA:N
30   M   ((eliyle susun [işareti yapıyor.))
31                   [((gürültü azalıyor.))
32       başkanım ı(h) yani ı(h) allah kimseyi bakma- baktırmaktan
         alıkoymasın (.)
33       bi de bakmak var çünkü
34       ((tahtadaki [öğrenci ile konuşuyor.))
35                   [((gürültü artıyor.))
36       ((eliyle sınıftan birisini seçmesini gösteriyor.))
37       ((ellerini birbirine vuruyor.))
38       hocam hocam ho:cam ((parmak kaldırıyor.))
39       ((ellerini birbirine vuruyor.))
40       (            ) o yüzden daha (   ) fazla (          )
41       niye karadenizde fazla diil=
42       =çünkü orda- (   [   )
43                        [enlemden dolyı di: mi: ho:ca:m
44       ((gürültü azalıyor.))
45       başka bir sebebi daha var
```

The first part of the question-answer activity is selecting who will come to the board and then answer the question. The teacher in line 1 looks for a volunteer for his question.

```
01   M   son soru kim geliyo ((saatine bakıyor.))
         the last question who is coming ((looking at his watch.))
02       (1.2)
03   O1  hilal geliyo
         hilal is coming
04   O2  türkan geli[yo
         turkan is com[ing
05   O3             [tahsin kılıç
                    [tahsin kilic
06   O4  mahmuz
         mahmuz ((a name))
07       (0.5)
```

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```
08   M   gel bakalım (   ) daha kolay
         come then (   ) it's easier
```

An offshoot result from the analysis is the mechanism of how the teacher selects the volunteering student, and how the students in the class nominate their classmates for the volunteer student. The nature of the question, 'who is coming,' is the kind of query that all of the hearers, who have the possible next turn to answer, have the possibility to be selected as the volunteer student. In order to eliminate the possibilities, some of the students in the classroom nominate their classmates. The action of nominating also eliminates their chances of being selected.

Starting with line 15, with applause, the teacher starts dictating the question, and the 'selected' volunteer student writes down the question on the board. While the student is writing the question on the board, the teacher asks an off-topic question to another student in line 22. The off-topic discussion of why that student seems to be silent today is initiated by the teacher. Although the main rule states that the transitions are mainly initiated, maintained, and terminated by the teacher, in order for a transition to be fully achieved by the members of the classroom, the transitional move needs to be picked up by the students as well. The teacher's evaluation of that specific student is picked up as a question, and that student answers the question why she is silent that day in line 23.

```
22       başkan acayip sessizsiniz bugün=
         president you are too silent today=
23   O7  =hoCAM dikdik bakıyo ya:(h) u:f
         =teaCHER he is staring at me u(h) u(h)
24   M   kim o=
         who is that=
25   O8  =[rıdvan
         =[ridvan
26   O9   [rıdvan
          [ridvan
27   S   ((aynı anda [gülüyorlar.))
         ((laughing))
28   O10                              [hoCAM (      )
                                      [teacHER (      )
29   O11             [rıdVA:N rıdVA:N [rıdVA:N
                     [ridVA:N ridVA:N [ridVA:N
30   M   ((eliyle susun [işareti yapıyor.))
         ((telling the students to [keep quiet with his hand.))
```

```
31                    [((gürültü azalıyor.))
                      [((chatter dips.))
32    başkanım ı(h) yani ı(h) allah kimseyi bakma- baktırmaktan
      alıkoymasın (.)
      my president e(h) I mean e(h) may god never prevent anyone
      from looking- being looked
33    bi de bakmak var çünkü
      for there is looking as well
```

The teacher's evaluation of the president's silent day is picked up as a question by the class leader. (The class president in a classroom is the student who is selected with voting and held responsible for attendance taking and announcements in the classroom.) The president in that classroom answers it in the next turn. The teacher's follow-up question, *kim o*, is answered by two students in lines 25 and 26. The transition from the activity of question-answer to the activity of off-topic discussion is accomplished in three turns respectively: teacher evaluation, student's pick up, teacher's follow-up question and answers.

The mechanism of how the off-topic discussion is terminated and of how the teacher leads to tie the question-answer topic still remains to be uncovered. Shown n line 30, by lowering of his hand, the teacher tells the students to keep silent. However, because in lines 32 and 33, the teacher comments on an off-topic discussion, the discussion has not been ended yet. The termination of the off-topic discussion overlaps with the teacher's talk with the student who has written the question on the board, and thus the student is supposed to answer it. Nonetheless, the level of chatter increases meanwhile, and the cohort is transformed into a dissolved cohort. The teacher's follow-up action to restore the order, and at the same time to transform the dissolved group into an instructed unit is to clap.

The last step of this cohorting practice in this scene is that the students help him have an instructed class by answering the question. The scene demonstrates that not only the teacher but also the students are aware of the fact that the question-answer activity is not finished, as the question still remains unanswered. Therefore, the task of the members in the class is to move from the activity of off-topic discussion, which is initiated by the teacher, to the question-answer activity.

```
34    M   ((tahtadaki [öğrenci ile konuşuyor.))
```

```
        ((talking to [the student writing on the board.))
35              [((gürültü artıyor.))
                [((the level of chatter increases.))
36      ((eliyle sınıftan birisini seçmesini gösteriyor.))
        ((helping the student choose a volunteer.))
37      ((ellerini birbirine vuruyor.))
        ((clapping.))
38      hocam hocam ho:cam ((parmak kaldırıyor.))
        my teacher my teacher my te:acher
39      ((ellerini birbirine vuruyor.))
        ((clapping.))
40  O   (              ) o yüzden daha (    ) fazla (            )
        (              ) thus more (    ) more (          )
41  M   niye karadenizde fazla diil=
        why not more in the black see=
42      =çünkü orda- (    [    )
        because there- (    [    )
43                       [enlemden dolayı di: mi: ho:ca:m
                         [because of the parallels ri:ght my
        te:che:r
44      ((gürültü azalıyor.))
        ((chatter dips.))
45      başka bir sebebi daha var
        there is another reason
```

The sequential analysis of the fragments depicted in this scene demonstrates that the borders of a transition and an activity are formulated by the members' interactions in the specific interaction. Based on the analysis of the transitional moves and tying signals indicating the moves between activities, teachers as the speaking party in the classroom is principally held responsible for governing transitions, thus for uttering tying signals for the class. However, the findings also show that the students also take part in constructing the order in the transition periods. The sequential analysis of the scenes depicted above also proves the idea that any activity in the classroom is formulated by the members' actions. A transition theoretically does not have a beginning or an ending. The teacher is supposed to signal to the students the beginning and ending of the transition, although it is a well-known fact that the teacher is the party held responsible for initiating and terminating any activity.

The formulation of an activity from the CA/EM perspective states that in order for a activity to be regarded as a separate entity with its own boundaries, the members should pick up this activity as separate with their actions. The analysis

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proves the idea of 'tying' in the transitions. The transitions are the periods during which the members tie the previous activity with the following activity. The tying mechanism are constructed; in the first fragment, the teacher's non-functional question, in the second fragment, the teacher's utterance of *I told*, and in the third fragment, the students' answer to the question on the board all work as tying tools for the transition periods.

4.2.4. Tying Signals as Turn Assessment

This section aims to demonstrate the other function of tying signals in the transition periods. Tying signals work as a turn assessment. They provide the current speaker a place to assess his or her turn. The following scene is taken from a history class where the teacher is discussing the financial situation in the late Ottoman era. Meanwhile, he steps on a piece of chalk that the students were throwing at each other during break time.

```
(10)        r01d080404p3

01          duyuni umumiyenin kuruluş tarihide kimlikteki takvimle
            aynı bin sekiz yüz seksen birdir bunun unutulmasın
            the establishment date of duyuni umumiye is the same with
            the one in the calendar in the identity card eighteen
            eighty one don't forget that
02          [((yere bakıyor.))
            [((looking at the floor.))
03          [arkadaşlar (.) bi daa yerlere tebeşir atmayın (0.2)
            [friends (.) don't throw chalks on the floor again (0.2)
04          sı-(h) [yerlere tebeşir atanın inanın sözlü [notlarını
            düşürüyorum
            e(h)- [the ones who will throw chalks believe me I will
            [give a lower grade
05              [((yerdeki tebeşiri alıp tahtaya koyuyor.))
                [((putting back the chalk on the board.))
06                                              [((yumruğuyla
            masaya vuruyor.))
            [((hitting the table with his fist.))
07          [yerlere tebeşir atıp darmadağan ediyorsunuz
            [you are wiping out throwing the chalks
08          [((parmağıyla yerdeki tebeşirleri gösteriyor.))
            [((pointing the chalks on the floor.))
09          (arkasından) basıp (.) batıyor (0.3)
            (then) step on them (.) getting dirty (0.3)
```

```
10        şimdi [arkadaşlar (.) tütün ispirto un tuz orman gelirleri
          ve bazı yeraltı madenleri gelirleri (   ) duyuni umumiye
          gidiyor
          now [friends (.) the benefits of tobacco flour alcohol and
          some mines go to the duyuni umumiye ((a special term in
          the Ottoman empire.))
11        [((masadaki notlarına bakıyor.))
          [((looking at his note.))
```

The interposing activity in this scene is the teacher's warning about playing with the pieces of chalk. The move from the lecture activity to the warning activity is initiated with his look at what he steps on in line 2. The spatial change in his gaze from the students to the floor signals the move. The mechanism of how he shifts from the warning activity to the lecture activity is located in his address to the students as *now friends*, which is then followed by a micro pause in line 10.

The organization of the tying signal in this scene needs to be discussed in particular. The first part of this signal, *now*, refers to the temporal tie between the previous lecture activity and the present lecture activity. The second part of the signal, *friends*, is the cohorting address to the students as an instructed unit. The last part of the signal, a micro pause, is the assessment of his turn checking of whether his signal has achieved its purpose, restoring order after the interposing activity.

The assessment of one's own turn is an essential component of talk-in-interaction. The assessment includes not only the process of monitoring what one has produced in his or her own turn, but also the process of what other(s) in the conversation has/have produced upon what s/he has produced. The tying signal in this scene functions as the assessment of the teacher's turns. The first part of the tying signal, indicating the transition to the interposing activity of the warning, *arkadaşlar (.)*, operates as both the notice of change in the address and the assessment of his action of looking at the floor to see what he has stepped on and his address upon his action. The second part of the tying signal, indicating the return from the warning activity, *şimdi arkadaşlar (.)*, operates both as the temporal connection to the interposed lecture activity and the address to the students as a cohorted unit. Also his checking whether his turn-so-far has worked as it is meant to.

The following fragment is taken from a language arts class. The classroom in which the session is being held has a lighting problem: one of the lights creates

noise. The teacher is thus trying to switch off that specific light. However, she cannot find the right switch and thus calls a student from the class to help her.

```
(11)      r01d080107p6

01    M    ((öğrenciye seslenerek)) gel düzelt
           ((calling a student)) come fix
02    O1   şimdi izleyin bakın=
           now look watch him=
03    O2                      =olum öle bi tuş yok öle bi tuş yok
                              =man there is no button no button no
04    O3   ((ışığı kapatıyor.))=
           ((switching the lights off))=
05    O4                      =aFF:erin[:
                                       =wELLdo:ne
06    M                          [ortamı sağmı solmu
                                  [middle left right
07    S                          [((gülüyorlar.))=
                                  [((laughing.))=
08    O2                             =öle bi tuş yok
           =there is no button like that
09    M    patlıcak şimdi TAmam
           going to explode now Okay
10         ((sınıfa bakıyor ve saçını topluyor.))
           ((looking at the class and holding her hair.))
11         ii kaynadınız hadi tamam=
           well got crazy enough ok=
12    OA                         =(       )=
                                 =(       )=
13    M                             =evet şim:di: (0.2)
                                    =yes no:w (0.2)
14         sözcükler söz öbekleri ve tümceler ara[sında
           words and utterance and phrases bet[ween
15                                  [((tahtaya
           yazıyor.))
                                    [((writing on the
           board.))
```

The teacher turns back to the session's lecture with the tying signal in line 13. The extended marker, *şim:di:*, followed a pause, works as the assessment of the teacher's signal. Having come to the agreement that her tying signal to the lecture has achieved its purpose, and thus she has restored the order after the interposed activity of finding the noisy switch, in line 14 she starts her lecture.

The function of pauses in the tying signals of the transition periods is thus to assess one's own turn. The pause in the classroom for the teacher functions as a tool to check whether his turn has achieved its end and has restored the order after the transition.

4.2.5. Tying Signals as Order Restoring Tool

The tying signals defined and demonstrated in the previous scenes are the skeleton of transition periods at which the members of a conversation are moving from one form of activity to another. In addition to their main function of tying the previously constructed activity to the present activity, they also have the functions of (a) restoring the order and (b) assessing one's turn. This section now focuses on the function of tying signals as order restoring tool.

The following fragment taken from a biology class shows how the local members of a conversation co-construct the transition period. The teacher is repeating what the class has discussed in the previous session, and is asking questions about that day's session.

```
(12)      r01d080328p1

01   M   geçen dersimizde polen oluşumunu gördük eşeyli üremenin
         çiçekli bitkilerde eşeyli üremenin en önemli bölümünü (.)
02       polen başlıklı ürüyordu
03       orda hatta demiştimki erkek gametler daima küçüktür: (.)
04       küçük olduğu içinde orada: ne meydana geliyodu. (.)
05       ilk olarak mayoz sonucu meydana gelen (   ) ne diyoduk (.)
06   O1  mikrosporm=
07   M   =mikrosporm küçük olduğu için (.) ve erkek gametlerin (
         ) yapabileceği için mikrosporm adı:nı:, veriyoduk
08       bugün ise ne- eı:(h) ne olcak=
09   O2  =[mitoz
10   O3    [mitoz
11   O4    [mitoz
12   O5        [(       )
13   M          [((tahtayı siliyor.))
14       ((masaya doğru yürüyor.))
15       ((masadaki notlarına bakıyor.))
16       yumurta oluşumu die başlık atıyoruz artık
17       hadi bakalım (0.2) <yumurta oluşumu> (0.5)
18       [şimdi çocklar lütfe:n artık konuşmayı kesiyoru:z
19       dersimize adapte [oluyoru:z
```

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```
20        [((sayfaları çeviriyor.))
21   S                   [((gürültü kesiliyor.))
22        (11.3)
23   M    evet [                      ]
24             [((yürümeye başlıyor.))]
25        önce notumu yazdırmışmıydım [      ] size
26                                     [hayı:r]
27        tamam peki ozman (.)
28        şöle diyelim başlık atıyoruz
```

The question-answer activity in this fragment constructs the connection between the previous day's lecture and the current day's lecture. In line 8, she asks another question about what that day's session will be about.

```
08        bugün ise ne- eı:(h) ne olcak=
          but for today what- e:(h) what will happen=
09   O2   =[mitoz
          =[mitosis
10   O3    [mitoz
           [mitosis
11   O4    [mitoz
           [mitosis
```

Her question of what the class will be discussing about is picked up by three students and answered in the following lines 9, 10, and 11. The sequential analysis here proves that the transition from the question-answer activity to the lecture activity is initiated by the teacher and maintained by the students.

The teacher's spatial change, walking from the center zone to the table, after her announcement of that day's topic creates the period for the students to transform themselves into a dissolved cohort. Noticing that the cohorted class has been diffused, in line 16, the teacher attempts to restore the order by telling the students to write the session's title in their notebooks.

```
16   M    yumurta oluşumu die başlık atıyoruz artık
          we are writing the title as the formation of egg now
17        hadi bakalım (0.2) <yumurta oluşumu> (0.5)
          let's do it (0.2) <the formation of egg> (0.5)
18        [şimdi çocklar lütfe:n artık konuşmayı kesiyoru:z
          [now kids ple:se we are now shutting up
19        dersimize adapte [oluyoru:z
          we are now [adapting to the topic
```

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```
20        [((sayfaları çeviriyor.))
          [((turning the pages.))
21   S                      [((gürültü kesiliyor.))
                       [((chatter stops.))
```

The mechanism of how the second transition attempt by the teacher achieves its aim, restoring the order and transforming the diffused group into the cohorted unit, needs to be unearthed at this point. Her address/order in line 16, *yumurta oluşumu die başlık atıyoruz artık*, and the formulation of her previous turn in line 17, *hadi bakalım (0.2) <yumurta oluşumu> (0.5)*, have not worked as they are meant to, i.e. the two cohorting attempts in those turns have failed to restore order during the transition periods.

The omnipresent mechanism of motioring (a) what one utters in a conversation, (b) what other members in the conversation utter upon his/her utterance, and (c) how s/he needs to reformulate in response to the their utterance is embedded into turns. It is made public and observable through the sequential analysis of the conversation. Examining the teacher's turns in this scene shows how a teacher in a transition period reformulates his/her cohorting attempts if previous tying signals do not achieve their aims.

The teacher, realizing her two attempts has not achieved her ends, makes an implicit warning in line 18, *şimdi çocklar lütfe:n artık konuşmayı kesiyoru:z*. There are three core parts in her address: (a) the turn starts with her temporal reference to the present time, *şimdi*, and is followed with (b) her address to the class as a whole unit, *çocklar*, *and* with (c) her prolonged stress of first person plural pronoun at the end of the turn, *kesiyoru:z*, giving the address/order at the end.

Her follow-up turn in which she reformulates what she has uttered in the previous turn is her second implicit address to the class, *dersimize adapte oluyoru:z*. The common point in those two consecutive turns is her prolonged stress on the end of the turn, which gives a rhyming impression:

```
... kesiyoru:z
... shuttin:g-we
... oluyoru:z
... adaptin:g-we
```

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The rhyming pair in this scene reaches its aim. The level of chatter in the classroom declines considerably and then the individual chattering stops. The question about how the reformulated rhyming pair works whereas her previous turns do not function as cohorting practices in the transition periods needs to be publicly demonstrated. The first two turns are the indirect addresses to the class, cohorting the class through instructing them on what they are supposed to do. The second pair turns are the direct addresses to the class. The difference proves the fact that for cohorting practices, the teacher needs to be clear about his/her directives.

4.2.6. Terminating an Activity: Becoming the Dissolved Cohort

The analyses done in this section so far have focused on how the members transformed themselves into a single body made of many individual persons but acting as one person. The mechanisms of how the teachers signal the transitions from the previous activity to another one are demonstrated with point-to-point references to the fragments. However, the question of how the members are transformed into a dissolved cohort, which is made of persons who are oriented to their own individual talks, has not been answered. Thus, it has not been publicly made publicly known. The aim of this subsection is consequently to uncover how the cohorted class turns back to the state of individuals.

The first fragment is taken from a geography class. The scene here starts with the teacher's last words on the population density in Turkey. At the beginning of the class, the teacher and the students make a deal: the teacher has promised the class to let them study for their exams providing that they will attend to the lecture carefully. Hence, in order to keep his promise, the teacher looks at his watch in line 12 and announces the termination of lecture activity, *peki çok fazla zamanınızı almım*. At this point, the students start having their individual conversations by changing their pose: shifting their facing situation from the teacher and the board to each other's faces. Following that interaction, the teacher walks to the board in line 15.

(13)   r01d080403p2

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```
01   M    ((tahtada dersi anlatıyor.))
          ((talking in front of the board.))
02        lütfen bakın
          please look
03        ((bilgisayarı kullanan öğrenciye seslenerek)) bi geri
          gelelim lütfen (0.2)
          ((calling the student using the computer.)) come to the
          previous slide please (0.2)
04        ((haritada göstererek)) şuraya bakın (0.3)
          ((showing on the map.)) look at here (0.3)
05        üç bin dokuz yüz elli altı kişi düşüyo istanbula
          fizyolojik yoğunluk
          three thousand nine hundred fifty six people for istanbul
          physiological density
06        bunu kim izliyo ankara ve izmir
          what comes after ankara and izmir
07        en düşük nerededir diye sorarsak o da konya çıkar
          if we ask where the lowest point is then it is konya
08        çünkü çok geniş bir alandır
          because it is vast area
09        sora ekranımız bu arkadaşlar
          then the screen is this friends
10        pembeyle gördüğümüz yerler (.) daa dorusu şu- ((haritada
          gösteriyor.))
          the areas with pink (.) actually this- ((showing on the
          map.))
11        şunlar (.) yoğunluğun fazla olduğu yerler
          those (.) the areas with high density
12        ((saatine bakıyor.)) peki çok fazla zamanınızı almım
          ((looking at his watch.)) okay I don't take your time any
          more
13        söz verdiğim gibi bırakıyorum
          as I promised I'm letting you go
14   O1                                    [teşekkürler hocam
                                            [thank you teacher
15   M    ((masaya yürüyor.))
          ((walking to the table.))
```

The captivating detail in the teacher's termination of the activity is that both the speaking/cohorting party and the listening/cohorted party signal the termination of cohorting period. The onset of the dissolved period from both parties happens at the same time, shown by the change in their spatial positioning. The teacher walks to the table from the center zone, leaving the action zone empty and thus signaling that there is no party for the student to attend to as a single body. Similarly, upon hearing the termination of the lecture activity, the students change their pose and turn back to

their friends, realizing that there is no party to attend to. As a result, this mutual understanding of the interactions proves the grand idea that the classroom order construction is co-constructed by the teacher and students.

The second fragment in this subsection is taken from a geomety class. The class is solving the problems on a sheet that the teacher distributed at the beginning of the class. After the students have solved the problems on their own, the teacher asks which ones they could not solve on their own, and then writes those problems on the board. She selects the students who volunteer to solve those questions on the board.

The scene transcribed here consists of the last minutes before the bell. The teacher solves a question and looks for a volunteer to solve the following question. Meanwhile, she looks at her watch, and seeing that there is little time left for the question, tells the student who is coming to the board that he needs to solve the question in a very short time.

```
(14)      r01d080410p4

01    O1    yimmialtıyı çözebilirmiyim hocam
            can I solve twentysix my teacher
02    M                                    ((saatine bakıyor.))
                                           ((looks at her watch.))
03          yirmibeşi bize kim çözmek ister
            who wants to solve twentfive
04          çabuk zamanımız °(geçiyor)°
            quick time is °(passing)°
05          ((eliyle gel diyerek)) ercan hadi gel
            ((waving the student)) ercan come then
06    O1    yok hocam yirmaltı demiştim ben yirmi altı
            no my teacher I said twenty six twenty six
07    M     yirmialtı mı çözceksin
            you'll solve twenty six ha
08    O2                        hocam yirmibeşe geliymmi
                                my teacher can I come for
            twentyfive
09    M     yimmibeşe sen gel yamur
            yagmur ((a name)) you come here for twentyfive
10          ama biraz hızlı (çözeceksin) (    )
            but you'll (solve) it a bit quick
11          [yarın (              ) var
            [tomorrow (           ) there is
12    O2    [((öğrenci tahtaya geliyor ve [soruyu çözüyor.))
```

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```
                    [((the student comes to the board and [solves.))
13   M                                              [((çantasını ve kitabını
     topluyor.))
                                                     [((packs her bag and
     books.))
14   ((zil [çalıyor.))
     ((the [ring bells.))
15   S          [((öğrenciler toplanıyor.))
                [((the students stand up and leave the class.))
```

The mechanism governing the termination of the question-solving activity has a twofold characteristic. After looking at her watch, the teacher starts packing her stuff whereas the students start packing after they hear the bell ringing. However, her packing does not prevent her from participating in the question-solving activity. The final signal for the termination of the activity, and thus the lesson itself, is the ringing of the bell and the teacher's leaving of the classroom.

Turning back to the interactions in the beginning period, the initial signal is the teacher's entrance to the classroom followed by her closing the door behind to create a physical secrecy. However, at the end of the class, the bell functions as the final signal for both parties to end the cohorting period.

The third fragment is taken from a geography class. The scene depicted below occurs in the last minutes of the class. The teacher is announcing the exam results. Because there are two students named *aslıhan* in the class, the two *aslıhan*s in lines between 3 and 9 are asking the teacher which one has been called.

```
(15)     r01d080424p1

01   M   ((merkezde sınav sonuçlarını açıklıyor.))
         ((announces the exam results in the center zone.))
02       aslıhan ondokuz onsekiz=
         aslihan ((a name)) nineteen eighteen=
03   O1                         =kim aslıhan
                                  =who's aslihan
04   M   (ali) (    ) yirmidokuz (    ) sekiz
         (ali) (    ) twentynine (    ) eight
05   O2                                  hocam hangi aslıhan
                                         teacher which aslihan
06   M   ((bir öğrenciye kağıdı göstererek)) (              )
         ((showing the sheet to a student)) (              )
07       evE:T=
         yE:S:=
```

```
08    O1        =hocam aslıhan (        )
                =teacher aslihan (        )
09    M                                 aslıhan özcan kırkdokuz (    )
                                        aslihan ozcan fortynine (    )
10          ((elindeki kağıda bakıyor.)) numaran kaç abla
            ((looking at the sheet in his hand)) what's your number
            abla ((an address to elderly girl))
11    O1                                            beşyüz
            kırksekiz
                    five hundred fortyeight
12          ((kağıda [bakıyor.))
      M     ((looking [at the sheet.))
13                  [((zil çalı[yor.))
                    [((the ring [bells.))
14                          [senin kağıdına ben bakım (    )
                            [I'll look at your paper (    )
15    S                     [((öğrenciler ayaklanıyor.))
                            [((students stand up and leave.))
```

The termination of the exam-result-announcement activity is triggered by the bell. The bell signals to the students that the lesson and also the activities in the lesson ended with the onset of the bell. It is interesting to note that the bell signaling the beginning of the lesson leads to the same message for the students. In the previous fragments, the teacher needs to make use of different cohort assembling tools to assemble them and transform them into a single body. However, the ending bell is the sole and final signal.

The last fragment in this section is taken from a health science class. The teacher is sitting at the table, and a student is presenting her topic on the board. The scene here starts with the students' applause after her presentation. The teacher looks at her mobile phone to check the time. She then tells them what what they will be doing in the following lesson once lunch time is over.

```
(16)      r01d080501p3

01    S     ((alkış[lıyorlar.))
            ((appla[using.))
02    M         [teşekkür [ederiz
                [thank you[
03    O1                  [((masaya doğru yürüyor.))
                          [((walking to the table.))
04    M     ((cep telefonundaki saate bakıyor.))
            ((looking at the clock in her mobile phone.)))
```

```
05        (onbir) (   [       )
          (eleven) (   [       )
06   O2               [(       )
                      [(       )
07   M   bu ders için geçerli (.) yeterli aY
         for this lesson it is valid (.) enough heY
08       öğleden sonraki derste ben başta (      ) ben anlatırım
         for the lesson after the luch first I (      ) I'll talk
09       sonra (      ) sen anlatacak-
         then (      ) you'll talk-
10   O3                          yapmayın hocam ya:
                                 don't do that teacher ya:
11   M   (      ) anlatıp (.) bu günlük yeterince (   ) oldu
         (      ) told (.) for today enough (   ) happened
12       afiyet olsun teşekkür ederim
         bon appetite thank you
13       [((sınıf defterine bakıyor.))
         [((looking at the classroom log.))
14   S   [((gürültü başlıyor.))
         [((chatter begins.))
```

The termination of the lesson in this scene is the teacher's announcement of the plan for the following hour after the lunch. In line 8, after she has checked her watch in line 4, she utters *öğleden sonraki derste ben başta (   ) ben anlatırım* to indicate that that session's time is up. However, the common characteristic in the fragments explored is the teacher's time check. The teachers before ending the session checks the time. This move signals to the students that the class or the activity is about to end. Therefore, it can be said that the first signal of the termination of the lesson is the teacher's look at the time to know how much time is left.

4.3. Rescue from 'ha ha' Moments: Restoring Order after Humorous Events

After the discussion of order restoring mechanisms in the class beginnings and in the transition periods, this chapter investigates the mechanisms of how order is re-sustained after impromptu cases. The term, impromptu cases, refer to any unplanned event in the classroom environment. The difference between planned events such as class beginnings or transitions and impromptu events is that the teacher and students do not know when impromptu cases might appear in the flow of

instruction. However, they are aware of what happens after an impromptu case takes place.

The first type of impromptu cases in the classroom involves humorous events. The section will uncover the mechanism of how the participants restore the order after a humorous event takes place in the interaction. Following the regular EM/CA tradition, the section first defines what humor is from observations of participants' demonstrable actions. Next, it will demonstrate how cohorting is re-assembled after a joke.

Humor basically refers to any type of action involving a sense of amusement. This definition inherently involves the features that could not be observed in the interaction. Consequently, in this study, in order for a series of actions to call humor, the actions need to include a sort of demonstrable humorous feature such as laughter, a smile, or utterances such as "that was funny".

4.3.1. Defining Humor in the Classroom from the Members' Interactions

The formulation of humor through the sequential analysis of members' interactions in a conversation is the initial and essential step in describing the mechanism of how order is restored after a joke. The key sign guiding the analysis is the teacher's and students' laughter, smile, or their deliberate comments like "it was funny". Thus, their indication of amusement in the turns starts the description of humor in the study.

The following fragment taken from a geography class demonstrates how humor is initiated, maintained and terminated in a classroom environment. The teacher is talking about the last census in Turkey. The lecture activity is interposed with his remark on the difference between male teachers and female teachers. His remark is picked up by the student in line 8. A moderate level of chattering in the class ceases, and the teacher and students start laughing.

The detailed sequential analysis reveals the observable fact that in order to regard a number of subsequent turns in a conversation as humor, the fundamental move is to pick up the previous turn as the context to be acted on as something to laugh about in the following turn. It is evident that the previous turn needs to be tied to the following turn with a change in the way the previous turn is constructed.

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Further, the pick-up of the context needs to be taken as something humorous by the members (see Figure 4.3.1. for the formation of humor).

```
┌──────────────┐      ┌──────────────┐      ┌──────────────┐
│              │      │   PICK-UP    │      │ PICK-UP AS   │
│   CONTEXT    │ ───> │ AS CONTEXT   │ ───> │   HUMOR      │
│              │      │              │      │              │
└──────────────┘      └──────────────┘      └──────────────┘
```
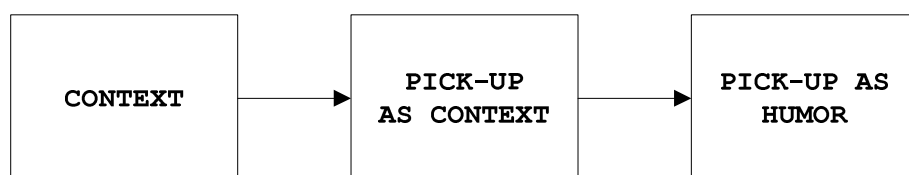
Figure 4.3.1. The formation of humor.

The humor action in this scene is initiated with the context-construction by the teacher: he is talking about the difference between what male teachers enjoy talking about and what female teachers enjoy talking about. The utterance, *female* in line 7, *kızlarda*, is picked up by a student in the classroom in line 8, <u>*KIZ ÖĞRETMEN*</u>*ler*. The level of chatters declines sharply, and the class starts laughing at the student's turn in line 10.

The sequential analysis of this scenario uncovers the basic mechanism of how the members attribute meaning to humor, and thus how they construct humor at the same time. The analysis also shows that in order for the members to call a scenario as humor, the pick-up of a context constructed in the previous turn needs to be publicly displayed as humor in the follow-up turn. This can be achieved through certain humorous ways such as laughter in this scene (see Figure 4.3.2. for the modified formation of the humor).

```
┌──────────────┐    ┌──────────┐    ┌──────────────┐    ┌──────────┐
│   CONTEXT    │    │          │    │   PUBLIC     │    │          │
│ CONSTRUCTION │ ─> │ PICK-UP  │ ─> │ DISPLAY OF   │ ─> │  HUMOR   │
│              │    │          │    │   HUMOR      │    │          │
└──────────────┘    └──────────┘    └──────────────┘    └──────────┘
```
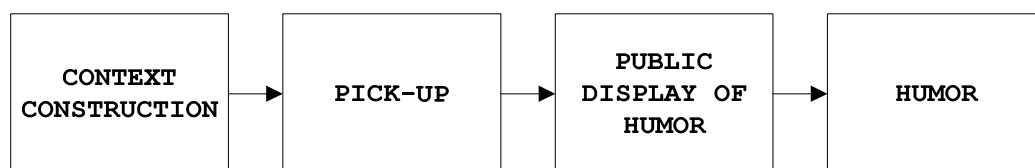
Figure 4.3.2. The modified formulation of humor.

The analysis also demonstrates the fact that the connection between the context construction and the pick-up of that context is also a mirror of tying mechanism. However, in this context, the tying mechanism has a different characteristic from the tying mechanism discussed in the previous section. The tying

mechanism governing the moves between the activities in the transition periods is coordinated by the same person, the teacher in the cases. However, the tying mechanism in the humor periods is constructed by more than one person, the teacher and the student in this case.

```
(1)      r01d080403p1

01  M   biliyosunuz ikibin yılında en son nüfus sayımı yapıldı
        as you know the last census was done in two thousand
02      hatta nüfus sayımı ile ilgili bazı (.) ha:tıralarımı
        paylaşmıştım (sizinle)=
        as well about the census I shared some of my memori:es
        (with you)=
03  O1  =(diğer ders-)
        =(the next lesson)
04  M             yok[
                   no[
05  O1               [annatçak[mısınız
                     [are you [gonna talk about
06  M                         [erkek öretmenler askerlik
        anılarını anlatmaya bayılır
                                [the male teacher like talking
        about their army-service memories
07      kızlarda şey (.) e(h) üniversitede naptı=
        females well (.) e(h) what they did in the college=
08  O2  =KIZ ÖĞRETMEN[ler
        =FEMALE TEACHER[s
09  S              [((gürültü kesiliyor.))
                   [((chatter stops.))
10  S                                 ((gülüyorlar.))
                                      ((laugh.))
11  M   nakadar dikkatli dinliyomuş ya:
        how carefully he was listening ya:
12  S                                 ((gülüyorlar.))
                                      ((laugh.))
13  M   içinde kız kelimesi geçince [(.)kaçırmıyo
        when there is a word of female [(.) he doesn't miss
14                                  [((kız öğrenciye bakıyor.))
                                    [((looking at a female
        student.))
15  S                               ((gülüyorlar.))
                                    ((laugh.))
16  M   şimdi:e bindokuzyüz- ikibin yılına (   ) sonuçlarına göre
        altmışyedi milyon
        now:ie according to the nineteen- two thousand (   )
        results sixty seven million
```

In line 11, the teacher comments on the student's joke. His remark on the student's joke is another pick-up of a follow-up joke by the students in line 12. Furthermore, in line 13, the teacher's remark on the student's joke is again picked up as a follow-up joke by the students, shown in line 15.

This analysis proves the previously constructed idea that any humorous scenario needs to be built on a context. The student's joke about the difference between male and female teachers is transformed into a context by the teacher to be joked about, seen by a follow-up joke (see Figure 4.3.3. for the transformation of humor into a context).
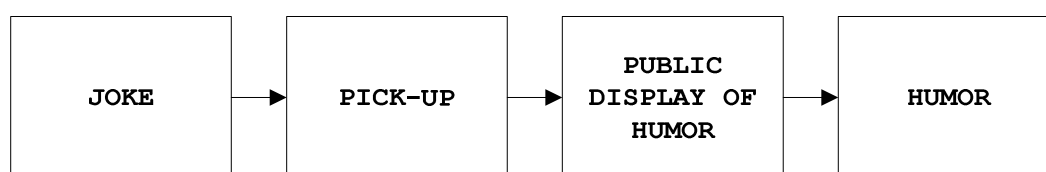
JOKE → PICK-UP → PUBLIC DISPLAY OF HUMOR → HUMOR

Figure 4.3.3. The transformation of humor into a context.

The second fragment taken from the same geography class sheds light on how the members make meaning of humor in the classroom. The teacher goes on talking about the inferences about the latest census. In line 3 upon the student's question in line 2, he gives the abbreviated name of the Statistics Bureau in Turkey. This self-selected student question is picked up as a possible general student question by the teacher. Because his answer stands for something that that student does not know, the student guesses the long version of the abbreviation in line 4. The student's guess for the last letter of the abbreviation, k, confederation, which stands for both confederation and bureau in Turkish, is picked up as a joke by the class in line 5.

The same mechanism for humor construction applies to this scene. The teacher creates the context to be acted on in line 3. The student in line 4 picks up the context and transforms it into a humorous scenario. The class responds to the student's turn with laughter, showing publicly that the previous turn is regarded as something humorous.

The simlarity between the first fragment and the second one in this section is that the teacher makes a comment after the jokes. However, the teacher's comment in the second fragment is not picked up as humorous. Consequently, in order to be identified as humor, any turn after the context-creating turn needs to be picked up and publicly displayed as humorous through the members' behavior, such as through laughter or as a follow-up joke.

```
(2)      r01d080403p1

01   M    bu rakamlar şuanda tuikin si- şeyinde sitesinde var orda-
          [°herkes bak-°] görebilir
          these numbers right now are on the tuik's si- well site
          ther- [anyone can-] see
02   O1   [NE:Yin:      ]=
          [WHA:T:       ]=
03   M    =tuik=
          =tuik=
04   O1   =<türkiye istatistik konfederasyo[(he)(he)nu>
          =<turkish statistics conferdera[(he) (he)tion>
05   S                                     [((kahkaha.))
                                           [((laughter.))
06   M    saol iiki varsın ya
          thanks glad you are here ya
07        çorbamızın tuzu bu çocuk (0.2)
          this guy is indispensible for us (0.2)
08        ((bilgisayarı kullanan öğrenciye bakarak)) geçelim (0.6)
          ((looking at the students using the computer)) let's skip
          (0.6)
09        şimdi ben: ı(h) bi hatırlatalım
          now I: e(h) let's remember
10        dünyada nereler az nüfusluydu
          where in the world are sparsely poplulated
```

4.3.2. Restoring the Order after Humor: Cohorting Practices

The formulation of a humorous event by the members in a conversation is demonstrated with the sequential analysis of their turns. The mechanism of how the order is restored after a humorous event shall be demonstrated publicly in this section. The following fragment is taken from a health knowledge class. The teacher in line 1 asks a student what 'accident' means. Waiting for a while, when she does not get any answer from the student, she directs the question to another student in line 2.

```
(3)        r01d080410p2

01   M     kaza- (    ) kaza neydi (    ) (0.3)
           accident- (    ) what was accident (    ) (0.3)
02         (    ) neydi: ı(h) kaza
           (    ) what wa:s e(h) accident
03         (0.4)
           (0.4)
04   O1    e(h) tam- tam tanımmı olması lazım?=
           e(h) ful- full definition it must be?=
05   M     =hı.?
           =ha.?
06   O2    tam tanım[mı
           full definition [is it
07   M              [ben dinledim işte senin de (       ) (0.3)
                    [I listened so you as well (       ) (0.3)
08         [kaza-
           [accident-
09   O1    [kaza: (.) ı(h) insanın başına gelebilen (.) [((gülüyor.))
           ı(h) öle bişidir
           [accident (.) e(h) that come to people's head (.)
           [((laughing.)) e(h) things like
10   S                                                 [(    )      ]
           ((gülüyorlar.))
           [(    ) ((laughing))
11   O2                                                 [şapka (    )]
           [hat (    )
12   M     evet (    )ya yardım edelim
           yes let's help (    )
13         insanın başına gelebilen negibi durumlar kazaydı (    )
           what were the things that come to people's way called
           accident (    )
```

In line 9, the student attempts to give an answer. In the middle of her turn, she gives a pause, and the other students start laughing at her definition. In line 11, the other student picks up her cut-off answers and transforms it into a joke. However, the student's joke is not picked up as a humorous event by the members. In line 12, the teacher attempts to restore order through inviting the students to help the student define it properly. As a follow-up cohorting practice in line 13, the teacher paraphrases the question and directs it to the class again.

The teacher's collective invitation to the classroom is a cohorting practice eant to restore the order dissolved in the humorous event period. The invitations in

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the naturally occurring talk-in-interaction require the acceptance or rejection in the following turns. However, the rejection/acceptance part of the invitation does not occur. Thus, it can be said that the teacher's collective invitation functioned as the order/call to the cohorted unit. This invitation/call is followed up by the teacher's reformulation of the question. This no-reply invitation functioning as a cohorting practice achieves its goal and restores the order after the humorous event.

The fourth fragment is taken from a different health science class. The class is discussing the characteristics of first aid and what a first aid box must include. In line 1, the teacher asks if any students have first aid equipment in their homes. Her question is interrupted by a student's answer. However, the teacher does not pick up his answer as a proper answer, and thus reformulates her question in line 3. In line 8, the same student gives the exact same answer. However, this time his repeated answer is picked up as a joke: the teacher repeats his answer, and the students laugh at his answer in lines 9 and 10. Furthermore, in line 12, another student makes a follow-up joke, turning the first student's joke into his context.

```
(4)       r01d080410p3

01   M    mesel- şunu- (.) şunu merak ediyorum yani- çanTAnın içinde
          olması gerekmiyoda, ani bişi olduğunda (.) evinde neyin-
          bunlar varmı (.) bun[ların
          like- this- (.) I wonder this I mean- it doesn't have to be
          in the BAG but, in an emergency (.) at your home what- is
          there- (.) the[se
02   O1                    [hastane[nin yüz metre (      )
                           [a hundr[ed meter from hospital (      )
03   M                             [neyi nerde bulacağınızı mesela
          biliyormusunuz= ((yürümeye başlıyor.))
                                   [do you know where you can find what
          like= ((starts walking.))
04   O2   =ben biliyorum (0.3)
          =I know (0.3)
05   M    varmı.? [
          is there.?[
06   OA           [(      )]
                  [(      )]
07   M                    [hı=
                          [ha=
08   O1   =benim ev hastaneye iki yüz metre mes-
          =my house is two hundred meters far from hospital
09   M    [((gülüyor.)) hastaneye (he) (he) yüz metre
```

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```
        [((laughing.)) from hospital (he) (he) hundred meter
10   S  [((gülüyorlar.))
        [((laughing.))
11   OA         [(          )
               [(          )
12   O3               [koşarak yirmi dakika
                      [twenty minutes by running
13   S  ((gülüyorlar.))
        ((laughing.))
14   M           (     ) (1.3) ((masaya yürüyor.))
                 (     ) (1.3) ((walking towards table.))
15      ((masada otururken.)) peki: (.) ı(h) ben burdan şunu
        anlıyorum
        ((sitting on the table.)) we:ll (.) i(h) I got this from
        this ((discussion))
16      bu ikinci sorum olacaktı aMA
        this was going to be my second question thOUGH
```

The mechanism of how the teacher returns to the main activity, terminating the joking sequence, takes place in lines 14, 15 and 16. The teacher first addresses the student using the computer, and then starts walking to the table. After a relatively long pause, she makes use of a signaling marker, *peki*, as her starting point; she is looking for a moment to obtain the floor from the individual conversations. As the next move from the joke sequence to the discussion activity shows, in line 15, she ties the jokes to the topic of the class.

```
(5)     r01d071203p1

01   M  (   ) tahtayı >silebilirmisiniz çocuklar<
        (   ) can you >erase the board children<
02   O1 [((tahtaya kalkıyor.))
        [((walking towards the board.))
03   M  [mustafa bugün (    ) var yavrum=
        [mustafa today is there (    ) my dear=
04   O2 =hocam[
        =my teacher[
05   S        [((kahkaha.)) ((gürültü başlıyor.))
               [((laughter.)) ((chatter begins.))
06   M  şöyle bi- bi- silkelen ((masaya doğru yürüyor.)) (4.6)
        well onc- once- pull yourself together ((walking towards
        the table.)) (4.6)
07      ((sınıfta dolaşıyor.))
        ((walking among the students.))
08      kimi: <kaldı:ra:YI:M> (1.6) ((sınıfı inceliyor.))
        who: <sha:ll I: pi:ck> (1.6) ((looking at the students.))
```

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```
09        ((bir öğrenciye bakarak.)) ge- (.) gel
          ((looking at a student.)) com- (.) come
```

The fifth fragment is taken from a math lesson. The teacher asks a student from the class to erase the board. While a student is erasing the board, the teacher comments on another student. Her comment is picked up as a humorous event by the students in line 5 with the overlap of that student's explanation to the teacher's notice. As a follow-up action, the individual chattering starts after the laughter.

The differences between the humorous events in the previous fragments from this section and the one in this scene are rooted in the fact that the joke in this scene is initiated by the teacher. Having noticed the onset of individual conversations and thus of the dissolved cohort, the teacher restores order with the use of (a) walking to the table to indicate that she is moving from the joke event to a new activity, (b) walking among the students, using proximity tool to restore the order, and (c) publicly calling that she is picking up a student for the next question. The last step of her cohort assembler practice, calling for a volunteer student, is prolonged because the teacher is searching for a floor to start her part as the speaking unit. The prolongation of her call gives her sufficient time to find her place and to publicly announce to the students that they must get united as the listening group.

The following scene taken from a chemistry class depicts this mechanism for restoring order after a humorous event. At the beginning og the class, the teacher announces the exam results. As line 1 shows, when he starts announcing, the conversations in the class abruptly stop. The sequential analysis of lines 1 and 2 display the inspiring fact that the students who have been engaged in their individual conversations pick up the teacher's call with the exam paper at his hand as a signaling marker for the announcement.

In line 3, before the teacher tells the other student's exam results, a student guesses his own result, *seksen*, eighty. His result exam however turns out to be *altmış dört*, sixty four. His wrong guess is picked up as a humorous event in line 4. The laughter triggers chattering, which then leads to a dissolved cohort. Having the dissolved cohort who has lost the basic feature of instructed unit to be called as the listening unit, the teacher is faced with the critical point for restoring the order. The

teacher in this scene continues reading the exam results with no particular change in his attempt.

The mechanism underlying the teacher's practice of restoring order in this scene, continuing to read the exam results while the students are having their individual conversations, is derived from the public aspect of classroom life. The members in a conversation are supposed to attend to what is being said in case they are being picked up. If not, they might miss some turns that will be picked up in the following turns. The same need for the students to attend to what is being said in the classroom has the students in this scene listening to the teacher's exam result announcement, since they do not want to miss their grade being called.

```
(6)      r01d071126p3


01   M   PInar [((sınav kağıdına bakıyor.)) kırk dört
         PInar [((looking at the exam paper.)) forty four
02   S         [((gürültü kesiliyor.))
               [((chatters stop.))
03   M   umut (.) siso
         umut (.) siso ((a name))
04   O1              [seksen]
                     [eighty]
05   M                           altmış dört=
                                 sixty four=
06   S                                    =((kahkaha.))
                                          =((laughter.))
07   OA                                           [(          )
                                                  [(          )
08   M                                            [ceren (.)
                                                  [ceren (.)
09       Yetmiş
         Seventy
10       berk (.) (    ) altmış
         berk (.) (    ) sixty
```

The following fragment is taken from a language arts class. The class is discussing how concepts are narrowed down from a general topic. The teacher asks the students to give an example for a general topic to narrow down. The student's answer in line 2, *orman*, is picked up as a joke.

The reason why it is picked up as a joke is not the focus of this study and is not a proper topic to study within the principles of EM/CA either. However, at this

point, the move from the joke to the main activity of the classroom needs to be publicly displayed with a particular focus on the sequential analysis of the turns. As the analysis shows in the scene, after her comment on the student's comment, the teacher asks for another student in line 6. Following his answer, the teacher reminds the other students in the class of what that student says in line 9.

```
(7)      r01d071210p6

01   M    ş:t: (.) evet umutcum
          sh:t: (.) yes umut-dear
02   O1   orman olsun[
          say jungle[
03   M              [orMAN ((sınıfa bakarak gülüyor.))
                    [junGLE ((laughing looking at the class.))
04   S                  [((kahkaha.))
                        [((laughter.))
05   M                    [doğayı kerem kaptı napalım cana da orman
          kaldı
                          [kerem picked nature so jungle was left
          for can ((can is a Turkish name))
06        ((eliyle bir öğrenciye söz veriyor.))
          ((giving the turn to a student with her hand movement.))
07   O2   (    )
          (    )
08   M    yarış: (.) güzel
          race: (.) nice
09        yarış dedi bakın
          he said race look
10        yarış diyince (alla alla) bisürü şey geliyo aklımıza
          when race is said (wow) many things come to our mind
11        evet (ruŞEN)
          yes (ruSEN)
12   O3           (    ) ((gürültü kesiliyor.))
                  (    ) ((chatter dips.))
13   M            müzik
                  Music
```

The cohort assembling practice after the humorous event in this scene is composed of the teacher's two consecutive and related moves. Her first move, continuing what she has done before the humorous event, is the tying practice that connects the previous activity with the current activity. In line 6, while some students are engaged in their conversations, and thus have transformed themselves into a dissolved cohort, the teacher carries on getting the examples from other students.

However, as the following turn in line 9 reveals, since the individual chatter persists in spite of her first move, she picks up the second student's answer as an address to the students. Her tying move for cohort assembling practice in line 9 achieves its aim: the students stop their conversation and show signs of becoming a cohorted unit (see Figure 4.3.4. for the teacher's moves).
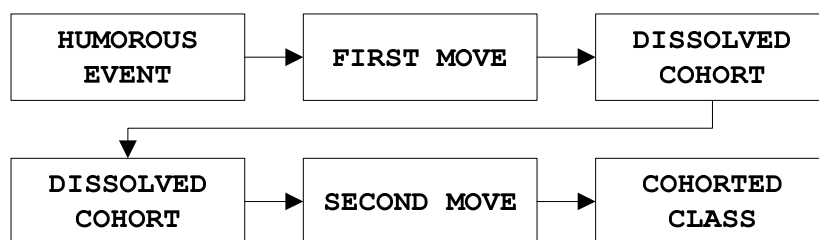
```
┌──────────────┐     ┌──────────────┐     ┌──────────────┐
│   HUMOROUS   │────▶│  FIRST MOVE  │────▶│  DISSOLVED   │
│    EVENT     │     │              │     │   COHORT     │
└──────────────┘     └──────────────┘     └──────────────┘
        ┌──────────────────────────────────────────┘
        ▼
┌──────────────┐     ┌──────────────┐     ┌──────────────┐
│  DISSOLVED   │────▶│ SECOND MOVE  │────▶│   COHORTED   │
│   COHORT     │     │              │     │    CLASS     │
└──────────────┘     └──────────────┘     └──────────────┘
```

Figure 4.3.4. The history of the teacher's moves after the joke.

The teacher's turn in line 9, *yarış dedi bakın*, as the second attempt to assemble the class as the instructed unit needs to be particularly investigated at this point. Her turn is the assessment of the members in that specific point of the interaction. She is repeating what the specific student gives as an example.

A person repeats another person's turn in a conversation when (1) that person is attempting to repair the repeated part, or (2) that person assumes that the other(s) in the conversation has/have missed that part. The function of repeat in this scene has a second function: she repeats his answer with a command, *look*, at the end in order to transform the dissolved cohort into a whole unit, implying that the students have missed his answer because they have been engaged in their own conversations. With the command at the end of the turn, she signals to the students to attend to what is being said in the classroom, and thus she implies to them that they should become cohorted at the same time.

```
(8)      r01d071210p6

01   M   neyse siso çok merak ediyosan- (.) ı:(h) [(h)
         anyway siso ((a name)) if you are that much interested- (.)
         e:(h) [(h)
02   S                                        [((kahkaha.))
         [((laughter.))
03   O1  peki (          )=
```

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```
         then (            )=
04  M    =ya: yok olmuyo işte
         =ya: that wasn't possible
05  S                          ((kah[kaha.))
                                   ((laug[hter.))
06  M                              [sekizinci kez evlenecek ama ömrü
         yetmiyo ölüyo adam=
                                     [he was going to get
         married for the eight time but no time he died=
07       =((kahkaha.))
         =((laughter.))
08       (pek-) şimdi (.) siSO (.) dinliyomusun olum
         (the-) now (.) siSO (.) are you listening my son
09       şimdi noluYO sora baKIN (.)
         now what hapPENS later look (.)
10       bakın çocuklar
         look children
11       ingiliz tahtında bugün (.) hangi kral var söleyin bakalım
         who is on the throne in england today (.) let's tell me the
         king
```

The seventh fragment is taken from a history lesson at which the class is discussing the Reform and post-Reform religious movements in Europe. They start discussing the birth of Anglican Church in England and how Henry VIII got married to eight women in his reign. Since the topic of that period, which is Henry VIII. and his eight wives, is quite interesting for the students, they have a number of consecutive and interrelated humorous events.

The key point related to the topic of this section and from the point of EM/CA principles is not why the members in the classroom find those moments humorous or how they regard them as jokes, but is the mechanism of how the class restores the order and becomes the cohorted unit after a humorous event. As lines 2, 5, and 7 demonstrate, the students are engaged in multiple humorous events. The students start involving themselves individual chattering at the same time, which are not discernible for me as the researcher to hear and transcribe. Most probably, because of their laughs, they are having follow-up jokes among themselves. The teacher's turn in line 8 that initiates the cohorting practice after the jokes involves two distinct signaling markers: (a) the first part of his turn to assemble the dissolved cohort has a time-reference signaling marker, *(pek-) şimdi*, followed by a micro pause where he is assessing whether the students are picking it up as a cohorting tool

and how they respond to his marker. The function of micro pause after a signaling marker as the part of the cohort assembling tool will be investigated particularly in the following section where the impromptu cases are discussed.

Seeing that the students have not picked up his marker and have not transformed themselves into an instructed unit to be called on as the listening unit, the teacher makes use of a 'ripple effect' (Kounin, 1970); he calls on a student in the class and asks him if he is listening to him. The fact that he answers the rhetorical question of a specific student out of the cohort while he is assembling the students into a whole unit actually construes the skeleton of the logic into the ripple effect. The practical consequence of selecting a specific address in a party while the person having the turn to call is managing the possible addresses into a whole unit to be addressed as a single party, and thus of changing the location of address, is to create a specimen out of the specific address to the other members in the party.

In line 9, the teacher changes the level of address from the specific student to the cohort. He tells them to *look at* what happened in the history of England after Henry VII. The teacher's move in line 10 has the same pattern as that of line 9: he is transforming the dissolved cohort into an instructed cohort with his command, *bakın*.

4.3.3. Tying Signals after Humor: Teacher's Toolbox

The rescue of the dissolved cohort after a humorous event is organized with a certain set of tying mechanisms. The teacher makes use of tying markers to create a connection between the previous activity and the following activity. The connection between the previous activity and the following one also leads to a change in the student's cohort situation.

The problem with humor in the classroom is rooted in the teacher's over-generalization of the dissolved cohort characteristics. Because each humorous event in the classroom results in a possible moment for the students to have individual, peer, or group follow-up interactions on the humorous event, the nature of those follow-up interactions are regarded as the symptoms for the dissolving process by the teacher. Consequently, after each humorous event, the teacher re-assembles the students. The aim of this subsection is to show how teachers re-assemble the cohort after a humorous event.

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The first fragment is taken from a history class. The teacher is demonstrating how the ideological thoughts in the Ottoman history helped the Ottoman Empire live for a hundred years more. He tells a student to come to the center zone.

```
(9)      r01d080411p2

01   M    arkadaş[lar (0.2)              bi örnek veriym (na:pıym)
          frie[nds                       let me give an example (wha:t
          shall I do)
02             [((kulağını kaşıyor.))
               [((scratching his ear.))
03        gel koçum
          come my man
04              ((elini masaya vuruyor.))
                 ((hitting the table with his hand.))
05        ((bir öğrenci ile birlikte sınıfın ortasına yürüyor.))
          ((walking towards the center of the class with the
          student.))
06        şimdi bu osmanlı
          now this is ottoman
07        tamam yaslan (0.2)
          ok lean (0.2)
08        >yasla yasla yasla yasla< ayaanı (      ) ha ha
          >lean lean lean lean< your foot (      ) yea yeah
09        osmanlıcık bu bakın
          this is ottomanism look
10   S                     ((kahkaha.))
                             ((laughter.))
11   M    ben napıyorum os[manlıya
          what am I doing to ot[toman
12   OA                   [(        )
                            [(          )
13   O1                         siz kimsiniz
                                 who are you
14   S                                 ((kahkaha.))
                                        ((laughter.))
15   M    ş: bidakka
          sh: one moment
16        bakın osmanlıya destek oluyorum (.)
          look I am supporting ottoman (.)
17        işte osmanlıyı yıkılmaktan kurtarmak ona destek olmak için
          de bazı düşünce akımları ortaya çıkmıştır (.)
          well to save ottoman from falling to support it thoughts
          appeared (.)
```

The student that the teacher has called to the board becomes the Ottoman Empire, and the teacher as the school of thought helping the Ottoman Empire. The scene itself is humorous. Therefore, any move in this scene can be picked up as a joke by the students. At one point in the interaction, the students laugh at a student's question to the teacher. The crucial part in this scene however is the mechanism of how the teacher restores the order after this joke. The tying marker the teacher uses after the public display of humor in line 14, which is regarded as a sign of a dissolved cohort interaction, is *ş: bidakka*. This tying signal is followed by his turn in line 16, *bakın osmanlıya destek oluyorum*.

In other words, the flooring marker in this fragment is the uttering of *ş: bidakka* found in line 15. After the flooring marker, he utters an address/command with *bakin*. As a result, it can be said at this point that the teacher regains the floor after the humor with two consecutive actions.

The other fragment is taken from a history class with the same teacher and same students but in a different session. Similar to the previous scene, the teacher is demonstrating the secret agreements between Italy and England. He tells two students to come to the center zone and stand for Italy and England. Similar to the previous scene, this scene itself is highly funny for the students, especially as two students are representing two countries.

```
(10)      r01d080418p2

01    M    ingiliz italyanın (ellerine) sığınır
           the english asks for (help) from the italian
02         ((öğrenciye dönerek)) elini omzuna at
           ((turning to a student)) put your hand
03    O1   ((öğrenci elini öğretmenin omzuna atar.))
           ((the student puts his hand to the teacher's back.))
04         bana diil
           not me
05    S               ((kahkaha.))
                      ((laughter.))
06    M    at italyanın (      ) at ((öğrenciye gösteriyor.))
           put to the italian (      ) put ((showing how to do it.))
07    O1   ((öğrenci elini arkadaşının omzuna atıyor.))
           ((the student puts his hand to his friend's back.))
08    M                                                    hAH
                                                           yeAH
```

```
09        derki (.) gel bizim yanımıza gel ((eliyle öğrencinin
          tekrarlamasını istiyor.))
          it tells (.) come to our side come ((showing the student
          to repeat what he has said with his hand.))
10   O2   gel bizim yanımıza gel olum [(      )
          come to our side man come [(      )
11   S                                [((kahkaha.))
                                       [((laughter.))
12   M    eğer bağlaşma grubunday-san (.) sole
          if you are in the other sid-e (.) tell
13   O2   eğer bağlaşma grubunday-san
          if you are in the other sid-e
14   M    anlaşma grubuna gelirsen
          if you come to our side
15   O2   anlaşma grubuna gelirsen
          if you come to our side
16   M    sana anadolunun ege ve akdeniz kıyıları senindir
          to you the eagean and meditterian sides of anatolia yours
17   O2   sana anadolu ege ve akdeniz kıyıları [(   )
          to you the eagean and meditterian sides of anatolia [(   )
18   S                                         [((kahkaha.))

          [((laughter.)
19        çocuklar (.) ing- italya şöle düşünür
          children (.) eng- the italian thinks like
```

The maneuver that the teacher is using in this scene to restore the order after the students' laughter is continuing to do what he has been doing. The previous fragments also demonstrated that this keep-present-task maneuver is a frequently used cohort assembling tool by the teacher. At this point of the analysis, the logic behind the reformulation of the maneuver needs to be explained.

The teachers are certainly attending to what is happening during a humorous event. One transforms another one's turn into a context that would be joked about. Following the joke, the others laugh at the joke. At this point, the teachers are faced with two options: either they comment on the joke and create a follow-up joke, or they must continue what they have done before the joke. In order to decrease the time spent on the joke, they resume the task they had previously been doing.

The following fragment is taken from a geography class in which a student is writing the question on the board. The teacher tells her to come near him. For some reason, which is irrelevent for us at this point for the sake of the analysis, she does not come near the teacher. Meanwhile, another student comments on her resistance

to go near the teacher. That comment is picked up as something humorous in line 12. This context is elaborated by the other students in the classroom in the following turns, and thus the chatter level increases. In order to re-assemble the class as a cohort, the teacher utters *evet (.) arkadaşlar dinleyelim* in line 15.

```
(11)      r01d080307p1

01    M    ((tahtadaki öğrenciye)) gel tamam gel
           ((looking at the student on the board)) come ok come
02         şimdi arkadaşlar=
           now friends=
03    O1              =çöl var hocam=
                       =there is desert my teacher=
04    M                            =yok çöl- o ay[rı
                                    =no desert- it's
           differ[rent
05    O2                                  [(    ) gelmedik
              [(    ) we haven't discussed
06    M    gel yanıma gel
           come near me come
07         kız yanıma gel
           girl come near me
08    S    [((kah[kaha.))
           [((laugh[ter.))
09    OA      [(        )
                  [(        )
10    M    gel:        gelmiyosun
           come:          you aren't comin
11          [(      )]          [(      )]
             [(      )]          [(      )]
12    O3                              heycan yaptı tabi
                                      excited is she what
13    M    neyse otur bakalım yerine
           anyway sit down your place
14    S                           [((kahkaha.))
                                  [((laughter.))
15    M    evet (.) arkadaşlar dinleyelim (0.2) dinle türker
           yes (.) friends listen (0.2) listen turker ((a name))
16         önce şunu çözelim de ondan sora
           first solve this problem and then
17         şimdi tundra biliyosunuz
           now you know tundra
```

The mechanism of how the participants in this scene restore order is similar to the one discussed in the previous section where the transitions have been

demonstrated with particular focus on tying signals. The tying signal connecting the current activity with the previous activity is the teacher's last three turns in the fragment.

```
15   M    evet (.) arkadaşlar dinleyelim (0.2) dinle türker
          yes (.) friends listen (0.2) listen turker ((a name))
16        önce şunu çözelim de ondan sora
          first solve this problem and then
17        şimdi tundra biliyosunuz
          now you know tundra
```

In line 15, the teacher utters his first cohort assembling tool, *evet (.) arkadaşlar dinleyelim (0.2) dinle türker*. The first part in his turn is the flooring marker that helps the teacher to find a place to start his party. The second part, which starts with a micro pause, is the teacher's collective call to the students. In line 17, the teacher uses a temporal marker, *şimdi*, to connect the previous activity before the joke with the present situation (see Figure 4.3.5. for the summary of the tying signal after a humorous event).
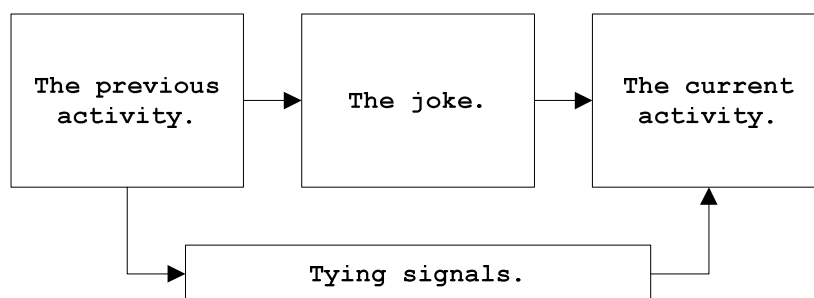
Figure 4.3.5. The summary of the tying signal after a humorous event.

The last fragment in this section is taken from a physics course. The teacher is reading the question, and the students are writing down this question in their notebooks. A student misses a word and asks for the missing part in a loud level. Her question is picked up as humorous by the others in the classroom. The teacher does not pay attention to this short-term humor and goes on reading the question.

```
(12)      r01d080307p2
```

```
01    M    noktalı virgül satırbaşı yapalım (0.2)
           semicolon another paragraph
02         a şıkkı
           item a
03    O1        cismin ivmesi (   )
                the velocity of the object
04    M                              cisim hareket ederken
                                     while the object is moving
05    O2                                                  NEY:
                                                          WHAT:
06    M    [cisim hareket ederken
           [while the object is moving
07    OA   [((gülüyorlar.))
           [((laughing.))
08    M    oraya be sı:fı:r (.) sıfır olsun
           there say b ze:ro: (.) be zero
```

In this scene, the teacher is making use of the keep-present-task maneuver to restore the order diffused in the humor. However, her turn in line 7 overlaps with the student's laughter. The teacher must have known that the class was laughing at the student's loud request. But, in order to reduce the possible time that would be spent for the follow-up jokes in the situation, she goes on reading the question.

4.4. Rescue from the Dissolved Cohort: Specific-student Calls

The impromptu cases in the classroom are the ad-lib events that are not planned or anticipated but are just acted on when they appear in the flow of a class session. The first group of impromptu cases has focused on the mechanisms of how the order is restored after a humorous event. The second group of impromptu cases uncovers the mechanisms of how the order is restored after a student-specific call.

4.4.1. Defining Student-specific Calls from the Member's Perspectives

The first step involves confirming the applicability of mechanisms found in the kindergarten environment to the possible mechanisms that will be found in the high school environment. In addition to confirming the findings, the second aim in this subsection involves describing what a student-specific call includes from the points of the members.

The first fragment is taken from a math class. The teacher is checking a student's homework located on the table. The scene is lifted from the first minutes of the class after the teacher has started lecturing.

```
(4)      r01d080107p1

01   M   ((masada bir öğrencinin ödevlerini imzalıyor.))
         ((checking a student's homework on the teacher's table.))
02       ((öğrenciye bakarak)) tolga kaldır onu (0.2)
         ((looking at the student.)) tolga ((a name)) take away that
         (0.2)
03   O1  ((öğrenci kaldırıyor.))
         ((the student is taking it away.))
04   M   ((diğer bir öğrenciye bakıyor.))
         ((looking at another student.))
05       ah:met ayaklanmayın=
         ah:met don't stand up=
06   O2                   =bi soru sordum=
                          =I've asked a question=
07   M                             =hayır geç yerine
                                   =no get in your desk
08   O2                                       pekala
                                              okay
09   M   ((başka bir öğrencinin ödevine bakıyor.))
         ((looking at another student's homework.))
```

A close look at the interactions in the scene shows that in order to call a specific student, the teacher needs to change her gaze. Namely, the teacher needs to turn her body to the student whom she calls. The change in the teacher's gaze is the first signal to both the specific student and the others in the class that the address might take place. The reason why the previous statement is worded as the address 'might' occur is that sometimes the change in the teacher's gaze is sufficient for a student-specific call. After the gaze shift, the student's name is being called. After the student's name, the message for the student-specific call is uttered by the teacher. The message then is followed with a pause. The examples in this fragment are:

```
((change in gaze.)) tolga kaldır onu (0.2)
((change in gaze.)) ah:met ayaklanmayın
```

The reason why the second call does not have a pause is that the teacher's turn in line 5 is latched to the student's following turn in line 6.

```
(5)      r01d071226p4

01   M   ((merkezde duruyor ve konuyu anlatıyor.))
         ((standing in the center zone and lecturing.))
02       ((öğrenciye dönerek)) keremcim kendin biz konuşmuyoruz
         (0.2)
         ((turning to the student)) kerem-dear ((a name)) we don't
         speak to yourself
03       buraya gelirmisin
         can you come here
04       bunu yapmak istememiştim
         I didn't want to do this
05       ama sen (.) zorladın beni lütfen [(0.3)
         but you (.) forced me please  [(0.3)
06   O1                                  [((toparlanıp diğer sıraya
         geçiyor.))
                                         [((packing and moving to the
         other desk.))
07   M   (   ) diil ama
         (   ) not but
08       pe:ki konumuz yanlızlık
         o:ka:y our topic is loneliness
09       devam ediyoruz şimdi
         we're going on now
```

The same pattern found in the first fragment applies here: *((change in gaze.)) keremcim kendin biz konuşmuyoruz (0.2).*

```
(6)      r01d080114p7

01   M   ((merkezde öğrencilere bakıyor.))
         ((looking at the students in the center zone.))
02       eve:t beyLER BAYANLAR selamlaşalım
         ye:s laDIES GENTELMEN let's have a greeting
03   O1                                  selam
                                         hello
04   M   ((öğrenciye bakarak)) keremcim geç yerine (.)
         ((looking at the student)) kerem-dear ((a name)) get in
         your seat (.)
05       ((öğrenciye bakarak)) ceren meraba (0.2)
         ((looking at the student)) ceren ((a name)) hello (0.2)
06       hepinize tünaydın buyrun oturun
         good afternoon to all you have your seats
```

```
(7)        r01d071210p2

01   M    ((merkezde öğrencilere bakıyor.))
          ((looking at the students in the center zone.))
02        ((öğrenciye bakıyor.)) gülayça tamammı (.)
          ((looking at the student.)) gulayca is it ok (.)
03        Günaydın
          good morning
04              sao:l
                    Thanks
05               hadi oturun
                    let's seat
```

The patterns in the sixth and seventh fragments above are:

```
((change in gaze.)) ceren meraba (0.2)
((change in gaze.)) gülayça tamammı (.).
```

The analyses in the fragments demonstrate that the mechanism of producing a student-specific call is built on these steps: (1) the change in the teacher's gaze from somewhere else to the student who is going to be called, (2) calling the student's name, (3) the message of the call, and (4) the pause (see Figure 4.4.1. for the overall organization of the mechanism).
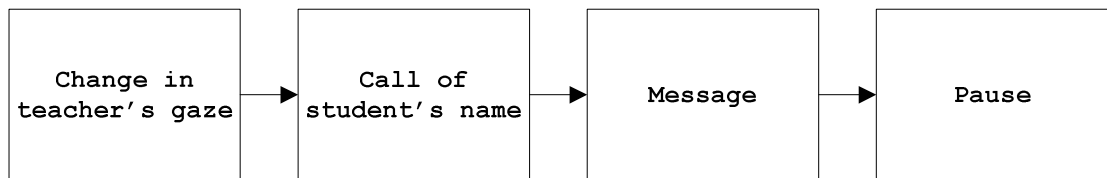
Figure 4.4.1. The overall organization of student-specific call.

The preliminary findings from the pilot study have shown that a student-specific call is built on the five stages: (1) stage, (2) action, (3) alert, (4) modified action and (5) transition. The findings in this subsection prove the teacher's action in this process. The change in the teacher's gaze and her call of the student's name and her message all together constitute the alert stage. The pause step also corresponds to

the transition stage in the preliminary findings. Consequently, it can be said that the findings from the pilot study were focused on both the teacher's and the students' interactions while the analyses in this subsection have focused on the teacher's detailed interaction. However, the findings validate each other in the end.

4.4.2. Calling a Student without His/Her Name: Teacher's Toolbox

Calling a specific student in the cohorted group is a sudden address change from treating the students as a whole unit, as it involves selecting a student out of that group. The most convenient way to select a specific student is to call the student by his or her name. The student whose name is being called then realizes that the message in the student-specific call is meant for him/her. However, the main focus of this subsection involves showing how the teacher can call on a student whose name s/he does not know. At this point, the reason why the teacher does not know his or her students' names is irrelevant to the focus of the study. The focus is on how he or she can accomplish the task without calling the names.

The three fragments below are taken from the same teacher's classes with the same students at different sessions. The first one is taken from the very first minutes of the class beginning. The teacher enters the classroom and walks to the table. When he sees something on the floor, he tells the student to pick it up and throw it into the garbage can.

```
(8)      r01d080307p3

01   M   ((masaya doğru yürüyor.))
         ((walking to the table.))
02       arkadaşlar oturun
         friends sit down
03       ((sıradaki öğrenciye dönerek)) onu çöpe at=
         ((turning to the student.)) throw that into the garbage=
04   O1                                          =hocam (       )
                                                            =my
         teacher (      )
05   M   (            )
         (            )
06       arkadaşlar oturuyoruz
         friends we're sitting
```

The same teacher in the following fragment sits down in a student's desk in the middle row and asks a student question about that day's topic. He warns the two students who are whispering the answer to their classmate.

```
(9)      r01d080321p4

01   M   ((ortalardaki öğrenci sırasına oturuyor.))
         ((sits down on a desk in the middle row.))
02       (      )
         (      )
03       ben hangi savaşı kazandım en son [(0.2)
         what war did I win lastly [(0.2)
04                                    [ıh:
                                      [eh:
05       ((öğrenciye dönerek.))Ş: konuşma
         ((turning to the student.)) SH: don't talk
06       ((diğer öğrenciye dönerek.)) O:LU:M: (.) OĞLUM bildiğini
         kendine sakla (0.2)
         ((turning to the other student.)) MY: SO:N: (.) MY SON save
         what you know to yourself (0.2)
07       biraz önce sölemiştim
         I just said that
08       yunanlılarla yaptığı döneke savaşını yunanlı
         the doneke war with the greeks
```

The same teacher in the third fragment is standing in the center zone. He is announcing why he is six minutes late to class. Meanwhile, he sees a student talking, and warns him in line 5.

```
(10)     r01d080418p3

01   M   ((merkezde duruyor.))
         ((standing in the center zone.))
02       normalde buçukta derse girmem (gerekiyodu)
         normally I (was supposed to) come at half
03       ((sınıfa bakıyor.))
         ((looking at the class.))
04       ((tebeşirler sıraya vuruyor.))
         ((hitting the desk with chalk.))
05       ((öğrenciye bakıyor.)) konuş konuş (.)
         ((looking at the student.)) talk go talk (.)
06       altı dakika geç kalmışım
         I am late for six minutes
```

There are plenty of ways to call someone that is known to the members in the conversation. However, as the members have been engaged in a conversation and it is expected that they have been introduced, the fact that one does not know the other member's name is regarded as impolite by the members. Therefore, any attempt to call someone without using a name starts with an excuse or apology to rescue the embrassing situation, generally involving phrases such as *pardon me* or *excuse me*. The situation in the classroom is completely different. Providing that the teacher does not know his students' names, he starts his call with different maneuvers. The underlying mechanism in the teacher's maneuvers in calling a specific student without using his name involves a gaze at the student being called. Similar to the gaze, in order to gain the attention of the students, the teacher might also hit the board with his hand, or may hit the door. Also, he is able to walk to the student and touch his or her shoulders.

The following fragment is taken from a physics class. The students are going to have an examination on history in the following hour. The teacher and students have agreed to study for the exam providing that they study individually and do not talk.

```
(11)      r01d080411p1

01   M    ((öğrencinin sırasına yaklaşıyor.))
          ((approaching to the student's desk.))
02        (          )
          (          )
03               (       )
                 (       )
04        hayır bak ben- beni dinlememişsin sen (.)
          no look I- you weren't listening to me (.)
05        ben ne dedim
          what did I tell
06        karşılıklı çalışmak yok
          no cooperative study
07        herkes son tekrarını yapacaksa yapsın
          everybody will do the last wrap-up or not
```

The teacher, seeing that the two students are chattering, approaches their desk and warns them by repeating the deal that they had decided on at the beginning of the class.

The following fragment is taken from a geography class. The teacher is talking about the characteristics of Turkish population. He gives an example from a TV advertisement. A student recalls the name of the advertisement and interrupts the teacher's turn. However, the student has follow-up comments on the advertisement. The teacher first approaches that student's desk, and seeing that he keeps talking, puts his hand on the student's arm.

```
(12)      r01d080417p1

01    M    bi reklamda daa var (.)
           it's in another ad too (.)
02         diyoki dünü boşver dünya bugündür diyo
           it says forget yesterday the world is today says
03         (    [    )
           (    [    )
04    O1        [(    ) şiveps reklamımı
                [(    ) schweppes ad
05    M                             evet doru
                                    yes right
06    O1   (    [    )
          (    [    )
07    M        [evet ikibin yirmi (.) pardon ikibin yirmibeş
               [yes two thousand twenty (.) sorry two thousand twenty
          five
08         arkadaşlar bi bakın
           friends have a look
09         ikibin yirmibeş [(.) görüyorsunuz orta ça-
           two thousand twenty five [(.) as you see middle ag-
10                          [((sıraya doğru yürüyor.))
                            [((walking to the desk.))
11         [orta nüfus gitgide yaşlanıyor.
           [the middle class gets older gradually
12    O1   [(        )
          [(        )
13                          [((elini omzuna atıyor.))
                            [((puts his hand to the student.))
14         şimdi- (.) bi tane piramit görücez
           now- (.) we'll see a pyramid
15         ş:t (0.3) evet son bi piramit sizin notlarınıza koydum
           sh:t (0.3) yes the last pyramid I put that to your notes
```

Changing the gaze direction to the student being called is one of the maneuvers in the teacher's toolbox. The teacher, as shown in the previous two fragments, makes use of other tactics: (a) proximity and (b) touching. The underlying

mechanism in the tactics is that the teacher creates a short-term shift from the treatment of the students as a cohort to select a specific student out of the cohort. The teacher's calling on a student, approaching a student's desk, touching a student's arm as a method has a dual function: (a) sustaining the cohort and (b) calling on a specific student to transform him or her into the cohort.

The following two fragments in this section illustrate the literal warnings necessary to accomplish student-specific calls. The first scene is taken from a geography class. The teacher has just started talking about that day's topic. Seeing that a student is still engaged in his own conversation, the teacher warns that student in line 3.

```
(13)      r01d080501p2

01    M    ((merkezde ders anlatıyor.))
           ((lecturing in the center zone.))
02         mesela bi ders saatinde (.)
           for example in a class hour
03         dinliyosunuz dimi aliemin (0.2)
           you're listening right aliemin ((a name)) (0.2)
04         (            )
           (            )
05                   hocam nezman
                     my teacher when
06                            hocam niye takmıyosunuz
                              my teacher why aren't you
           wearing it
07         pardon
           sorry
```

The second example is taken from a health science class. On that day, the students are presenting their topics. The teacher has left the floor to the student who is presenting in the center zone. The teacher has seated herself at the back and is listening to the student. However, seeing that two students in the back row are talking to each other, she warns them in line 5.

```
(14)      r01d080501p4

01    O1   ((merkezde konusunu sunuyor.))
           ((presenting her topic in the center zone.))
```

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```
02        eğer bu durumla karşı karşıya kaldıysak
          if we face with this situation
03        eğer [(   ) kazazede bölgesine taşınır
          if [(   ) the injured will be carried to the place
04   OA       [((gürültü.))
              [((chatter.))
05   M          [((öğrencilere bakıyor.)) °beyler lütfen°
                [((looking at the students.)) °gentlemen please°
```

The fragments portrayed above show that the teacher can call a specific student with a number of ways depending on the context. However, the mechanism governing the skeleton is the teacher's change in her pose. The change in pose might be followed by her walk to the student being called, or her touching on the student's body, or her literal warning, or her calling his name.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

> I'm going to show some of the ways that I've been developing of analyzing stuff like this. There will be series of ways fitted to each other, *as though one were constructing a multi-dimensional jigsaw puzzle* (Sacks, 1992, italics added).

Maintaining order and re-maintaining it once diffused in a context where the participants have predetermined degrees of power is the most sophisticated but usually unnoticed accomplishment of social life. The unequal degrees of power result in the emergence of parties, each of whom have different roles in allocating and organizing the degrees of freedom in that social context. People, as the participants of various contexts at different times in the social world, experience these regulating strategies. However, they never become fully conscious of how they accomplish being competent members and keep interacting without any question of hows and whats. As an attempt to construct this multi-dimensional jigsaw puzzle put forward by Sacks (1992), i.e. being a competent member in the process of order construction, this study aimed at showing how the teacher and students in the classroom constructed order, and at the same time became competent participants in the classroom.

This chapter first summarizes and then discusses the conclusions in four parts: (a) class beginnings, (b) transition periods between the activities, (c) post-humor moments, and (d) specific-student calls. Afterwards, implications for practice are organized under the title of implications for the classroom practitioners, who might be interested in how they can transform the conversation analytic findings into tips that teachers, policy makers, and administrators can make use of in various

classroom environments. Then, theoretical implications for other researchers who are interested in the application of the CA experience in this study for the use in their prospective studies of classroom interaction analysis are offered at the end of this chapter.

5.1. Conclusions

The primary goal of this study was to discover how order was constructed in the classroom. The challenges at the beginning however were defining what was meant by order, discovering the ways of pointing to the order in the classroom, and uncovering the connections between order and interaction. It was also noticed that order as a social phenomenon in the classroom was investigated with various methodological and theoretical lenses. The practical challenges and different views on the nature of order in the classroom had me as the researcher locating a particular place in the field to transform my interest into a disciplined inquiry. Consequently, this study began its work that would adopt a particular standpoint on the phenomenon.

The methodological and theoretical stances of the study were based on the conversation analytic principles. The underlying assumption derived from CA works in the classroom interaction was that the order in the classroom was initiated, organized, and sustained with a set of mechanisms which were referred to as cohorting practices. This section discussed the findings in the previous chapter with its discussion of the mechanisms called 'cohorting practices'.

The findings basically showed that the process of classroom order construction was fundamentally based on the actions of the cohort practices. The term, 'the cohort practices,' denoted to the collaboratively constructed actions that were predominantly initiated, organized, and sustained by the teacher. These mechanisms were constructed to transform individual students, each of whom had the potential turn by being selected by the teacher or by self-selecting themselves, into a coherent body, a single unit, or a whole group.

As the analyses demonstrated, the principal reason to have the cohort in the classroom was to maintain a two-party speech exchange system between the teacher and the students. The naturally occurring talk in the ordinary world is inherently

organized by the turn-takings between two people, who consecutively shift their roles as speaker and listener. Providing that the number of participants in a talk is more than 3 people, participants tend to have separate two-party talks. Namely, the main talk is divided into sub-talks with two person companies.

The practical need for instruction in the classroom however did not let the classroom talk be divided into separate sub-talks between two students. The cohorting practices thus started functioning as the regulating mechanism for the maintenance of the two-party speech exchange system in the classroom. The teacher, the main actor needed to carry out instruction, became the speaking/cohorting party. The students on the other hand became the listening/cohorted party.

Previous studies in the field (see Macbeth, 1987; 1990; 1991; 1992; Mehan, 1982; Payne and Hustler, 1980 for the study of order in the classroom interaction) have demonstrated how the cohorting practices established the order in the classroom through the emergence of the two-party speech exchange system. In order to show those practices, the studies have focused on different segments of classroom life at different grades. This study, similar to the goals in those studies, aimed at demonstrating the cohorting practices in high schools in Turkey.

5.1.1. Cohorting Practices in the Class Beginnings

The discussion in this section, focusing on the mechanisms of how cohorting practices were accomplished in the classroom environment, started with the findings on the class beginnings. The first section in the results chapter uncovered the mechanisms of how the teacher and students at different classes mutually constructed order through the cohorting practices.

As the previous studies by Macbeth (1987) and Payne and Hustler (1980) put forward, the struggle between assembling and re-assembling the cohort became more apparent in the class beginnings because each beginning provided a stage for the participants to produce their demonstrable actions. The motive for both parties to produce the cohorting practices was rooted in the observable fact of classroom life; each class beginning created a different context that required the reformulation of how the members attributed meaning to the process of order construction. Each beginning consequently was thought to create a place where the teacher and students

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reformulated their understanding of a class beginning and their understanding of what mechanisms they took part in producing.

The continuous reformulation of the participants' understanding for each class beginning resulted in numerous possibilities of interactions that could not be anticipated with any comprehensive and all-encompassing explanation. However, the mechanisms that would create a base for the organization of interactions and that would govern the flow of interactions in the classroom could be uncovered to show how the members organized and maintained their interactions to re/construct order.

In order to have a picture of how teachers and students made meaning out of the beginnings, the analyses first focused on how a class beginning was formed. The findings showed that a class beginning could be divided into two main segments: (a) beginning and (b) re-beginning. The beginning period could be then segmented into two routines: (a) the greeting-seating routine and (b) the housekeeping routine. The criterion for the segmentation of the class beginning at that point was the participants' actions in the struggle between assembling the cohort and turning back to the dissolved cohort. Therefore, it could be said at that point that the segmentation of class beginning helped to locate different mechanisms at different times in the classroom.

The first mechanism of the cohorting practice in the class beginning was the teachers' spatial change in the beginning period. In other words, the teachers' first action to start assembling the students as the listening and instructed cohort was finding a place to begin their turn, and at the same time signaling to the students that they as the speaking party were in the classroom to be attended to. The change in the teacher's positioning thus functioned as the initial signal to become cohorted.

The sequential analysis of the participants' actions in the classroom revealed the list of what they did regularly after the bell: the teacher closed the door behind him or her, walked to the center zone, and waited for the students to get into their desks. After the students signaled to the teachers that they had become a single unit to be called on, shown by them stopping their individual chatters and facing the teacher, the teachers greeted them. As a result, the teacher-student greeting at that point was the key stone for the cohorting practices.

The greeting in the beginning period between the teacher and students was the other mechanism proving the presence of the two-party speech exchange system as the skeleton of order construction in the classroom. The teachers in the analyses waited to greet the students until they made sure that the students were successfully transformed into a cohorted body. At the same time, the precise timing of the greeting exchange in the beginning period was an indication of the two-party speech exchange system in the classroom. The talk-in-interaction as suggested by Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974) is predominantly a two-party work. Any conversation involving more than 3 people are divided into separate two-person groups. The regulating system in the classroom did not permit the appearance of more than one two-party speech exchange system. Consequently, the classroom talk was said to be deliberately skewed to be a two-party accomplishment, the first party as the cohorting-teacher unit and the second party as the cohorted-students.

Taking attendance was the third mechanism proving the existence of cohorting practices in the beginning period. The findings showed that taking attendance was a signal to the students that they needed to transform themselves into a cohorted unit by stopping their chattering. Terminating any multi-party speech organization, or in common terms stopping chatters, was the first requirement in the action of taking attendance. The primary indication was the observation from the findings that the onset of taking attendance overlapped with the offset of the students' individual conversations.

The findings also demonstrated that the greeting-seating routine was followed by the housekeeping routine. The typical housekeeping period included the teacher's duties before the lecture began, such as taking the attendance, signing the classroom log, switching on the computer, arranging desks, and so forth. The housekeeping routine however had a different meaning for the students. The students, who had been converted into a cohort in the greeting-seating period, became the dissolved cohort in the housekeeping period. In this period, the students resumed their party as individual people who were engaged in their individual conversations. The surprising finding about the dissolved cohortness in the housekeeping period was that the teacher was approving certain dissolved cohort actions such as talking to the students who were sitting in the next desks, but disapproving certain ones like standing up or

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talking loudly to another student. This approve/disapprove mechanism by the teacher suggested a threshold stage in the cohorting system. However, this threshold mechanism could not be discovered in this study. The threshold mechanism further revealed that the teacher was continuously making sense of what was happening in the classroom, and was assembling the cohort according to the contextual features. However, what contextual factors were playing a role in the threshold mechanism was not uncovered in this study.

The literature reviewed emphasized (see Brophy, 2006; Evertson & Weinstein, 2006) that the work of classroom order was predominantly the teacher's task to accomplish. Paraphrased with the terminology of this study, it denoted the fact that the cohort assembling was considered to be the teacher's task in the classroom. The teacher was held responsible for initiating, sustaining, and re-sustaining the cohorting practices when the cohorted students were transformed into a dissolved unit. However, the findings showed that the students also joined in the construction of order. The moments when the students took action to participate in constructing the order were the greeting-seating periods when the teachers were standing silently in the center zone. The teachers' silent-wait in the center zone was reformulated as a cohort assembling tool by the certain students. The analyses showed that obeying the previously established regulating system was a means of participating in the construction of classroom order. Nonetheless, the students also took part in the process with their deliberate actions.

The analyses of different cases from different classes demonstrated a crucial fact about the nature of order construction in the classroom. The findings showed that the teachers were equipped with a toolbox of maneuvers. In other words, it could be said that the teachers developed a toolbox of maneuvers in the course of their teaching careers. The wide range of maneuvers enabled the teachers to apply the cohorting practices to different contexts at different times. Those maneuvers also demonstrated that the process of cohort assembling in the re-beginning period was achieved gradually, not a process performed once with a certain set of formula. This was easily noticed since the teacher continuously used different maneuvers when the previous ones could not work or did not work as anticipated by the teacher.

As an offshoot, the findings proved the multidimensionality of classroom life proposed by the studies done with the ecological lenses. The classrooms basically consisted of a teacher and 20 or more students interacting continuously for forty or more minutes. Each interaction created a distinct context oriented to its peripheral features that could be noticed by the members' demonstrable actions towards one another. This non-anticipated multi-variable nature of the classroom environment as a result required the teacher to develop a toolbox of maneuvers to use in various different contexts.

The fourth piece of evidence proving that the order in the classroom was accomplished with the mechanisms of cohorting practices was the discussion of self-selected student questions. The discussion focused on a single fragment where the students were selecting themselves as the next speakers, which was a rare case in the literature of classroom interaction analysis. The findings at the end showed that only the teacher chose which one of the self-selected student questions to pick up. However, the teacher generally chose the particular one just because the particular question involved the signs of cohorting features in it.

The discussion of cohorting practices in the class beginnings ended with the analysis of another single case. This deviant case analysis showed that the teacher's shift from calling the students as a cohort to calling them individually created ambiguity in the cohorting practices. This ambiguity in return resulted in difficulty on the teacher's part to maintain the order in the classroom.

5.1.2. Cohorting Practices in the Transitions

The second part of the results section focused on the mechanisms of how order was restored in the transitions between the activities in the classroom. Following the regular tradition of EM/CA, the section first defined what a transition meant from the participants' own action in the context. It then aimed at pointing out the particular mechanisms of reassembling order.

In the study, transition was thought of a sort of change. It referred to a sort of change from one certain type of activity to another one. Thus, the transition between two activities in the classroom was considered to be a sort of mutually accomplished

change from an activity that involved a particular organization of interaction to another activity that involved a different organization of interaction.

The moments in a transition period during the move from the first activity to the second one, as the analyses demonstrated, yielded a stage for the cohorted/listening party that had maintained their cohortness in the first activity to be dissolved into separate speaking parties in those moments. The task involved with the onset of the second activity thus was to reassemble the cohort lost in the interposing moments.

The formulation of an activity from the EM/CA perspective stated that in order for an activity to be regarded as a separate entity with its own boundaries, the participants should pick up this new activity as separate from their demonstrable actions. The primary component indicating that the participants were considering it as a new activity was the tying signals.

A closer look at the fragments revealed the fact that the keystone element that governed transitions from one activity to the other is the "tying" mechanism that Sacks (1992) put forward. Tying for him was rooted in the sequential construction of talk. The previous turns in a conversation created the local platform for the members in the interaction to build their further turns. The same logic was found in the tying mechanisms in the transitions in the classroom environment. Tying functioned as creating a connection between what was said earlier and what was about to be uttered. However, the institutional characteristic of classroom talk had the tying mechanism to adopt more functions in the classroom talk: (a) moving between activities tool, (b) turn assessment tool, and (c) order restoring tool.

The primary function of the tying mechanism was to indicate a change in the flow of interaction in the classroom (Macbeth, 1992). The first part of the teachers' tying signal was its change in the physical position in the classroom. When they were about to move to a new activity, they changed their positioning in the classroom. The second component of their tying mechanism was the flooring marker. The flooring actually provided the teachers the floor to start their turn as the speaking/cohorting party. The signaling marker functioned as the tying unit that helped the teachers (a) create a connection between the previous activity and the current activity, and at the same time (b) find a place to start his or her turn as the speaking party. The third part

of the tying signal was the temporal marker, which functioned as the tying unit bringing the time of the talk to the moment. The temporal marker connected the previously moment when the order had been restored with the present moment when the order was about to be restored.

The second function of the tying mechanism was the assessment of one's turn. The assessment of one's own turn was an essential component of talk-in-interaction. The turn assessment included not only the process of monitoring what one produced in his or her own turn, but also the process of what other(s) in the conversation produced upon what s/he had produced. The tying signals in the fragments functioned as the assessment of the teacher's turns. The first part of the tying signal, indicating the transition to the interposing activity, operated as both the notice of change in the address and the assessment of the teacher's action of assessing what he had done. The second part of the tying signal, indicating the return from the interposing activity operated both as the temporal connection to the interposed activity and as the address to the students as a cohorted unit. At the same it functioned as the teacher's assessment of his turn-so-far to check whether it had worked as it was meant to.

In addition to their main function of tying the previously constructed activity to the present activity, the tying mechanisms had also the functions of restoring order. As stated previously, the moments in the transition period between the first activity and the second activity produced a stage for the cohorted unit to return back to the dissolved cohort. The teacher duty at that stage was to transform the dissolved cohort into a cohorted unit again, shown by the onset of the second activity. The analyses in the section demonstrated that in order to re-assemble the cohort, the teachers adopted a gradual route. The route actually was composed of a series of tying signals. Seeing that the first signal did not work, or did not work as anticipated, the teachers moved to the second signal. The process continued with different signals until the cohort was re-sustained for the second activity.

The analysis in this section concluded with the answer to the question of how the members were transformed into a dissolved cohort. The findings focused on the counter-process of putting the cohorted students into their individual state, which was made of persons who were oriented to their own individual talks. The results

indicated that the bell signaled to the students that the lesson and also the activities in the lesson ended with the onset of the bell. It was interesting at that point to note that the bell signaling the beginning of the lesson did not have the same final message for the students as did the final bell. The teachers in the analyses in the previous section needed to make use of different cohort assembling tools to assemble the students and transform them into a single body. However, the ending bell was enough for both parties, and furthermore the only and final signal, to act as an indication of the offset of the lesson and activities.

5.1.3. Cohorting Practices in the Post-humor Moments

After the discussion of order restoring mechanisms in the class beginnings and in the transition periods, the results chapter investigated the mechanisms of how order was re-sustained after impromptu cases. The term, impromptu cases, was employed particularly to refer to any unplanned event in the classroom environment. The difference between planned events such as class beginnings or transitions and impromptu events was that the teacher and students did not know when impromptu cases might appear in the flow of instruction. However, they were aware of what could take place after an impromptu case.

The first group of impromptu cases was the moment after a humorous event took place. The humor, as the analyses in the unmotivated look phase suggested, created a stage where the cohorted class frequently (but not always) was dissolved. The task after a joke thus was to re-gain the cohortness. Because the study was an ethnomethodological study and the literature reviewed (see McGhee, 1971; Robinson & Smith-Lovin, 2001) showed that humor had not been examined to discover its formation in the classroom environment, the section first again attempted to define what humor meant from the participants' interactions. It then illustrated the mechanisms of how the teacher and students attributed meaning to the cohorting practices after a humorous event.

Humor in this study basically referred to any type of action involving a sort of indication for the sense of amusement. The definition inherently involved the features that could not be observed in the interaction. Consequently, in order for a series of actions to be called humor, the actions needed to include a type of

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demonstrable humorous feature such as laughter, a smile, or an utterance such as "that was funny".

The sequential analysis of the humor scenarios uncovered the basic mechanism of how the participants attributed meaning to humor, and thus how they constructed humor at the same time. The analyses also showed that in order for the members to call a scenario humorous, the pick-up of a context constructed in the previous turn needed to be publicly displayed as humor in the follow-up turn through certain humorous ways such as laughter or a smile.

The analysis also demonstrated the fact that the connection between the context construction and the pick-up of that context was also a mirror of tying mechanism found in the previous section. However, the tying mechanism in the humor context had different characteristics from the tying mechanism discussed in the previous sections. The tying mechanism governing the moves between the activities in the transition periods was coordinated by a single actor, the teacher, and occasionally accomplished mutually by the students and the teacher. However, the tying mechanism in the humor periods was constructed by more than one party, the teacher and the student in this case. The humor construction required participation from both parties or more than two people from the same party because the first person created the context, and the second person joked about that context the other person had created.

The rescue of the dissolved cohort after a humorous event was organized with a certain set of tying mechanisms. The teachers made use of tying markers to create a connection between the previous activity and the following activity. The connection between the previous activity and the following one also led to a change in the student's cohort situation. The analyses at this phase portrayed that humor was thought to be an interposing activity between two activities. Hence, the teacher was held accountable to re-create the cohortness after the humorous event.

The problem with the treatment of humor by the teacher in the classroom was rooted in the teacher's over-generalization of the dissolved cohort characteristics. Because each humorous event in the classroom resulted in a possible moment for the students to have individual, peer or group follow-up interactions on the humorous event, the nature of those follow-up inter/actions were regarded as the symptoms for

the dissolving process by the teacher. Consequently, after each humorous event, the teacher was in a constant process of re-assembling the students.

5.1.4. Cohorting Practices in the Student-specific Calls

The second group of impromptu cases focused on the student-specific calls. As stated earlier, impromptu cases were ad-lib events that were not planned or predicted but were acted out when they appeared in the flow of classroom talk. The section in the results chapter first defined a student-specific call through the participants' actions in the classroom. Then, it focused on how the order was restored in a student-specific call period. Meanwhile, it presented different maneuvers that the teachers used to call a student.

The section first presented the preliminary findings from the pilot study. The analyses of the fragment focused on how classroom order was collectively constructed step by step by the teacher and students. The initial step to construct the order was (1) the 'stage' at which the classroom order unit was constructed through negotiation between the teacher and students. The second step was (2) the 'action' at which the students acted, which resulted in either following the direction rooted in the classroom order unit constructed in the first step, or not following directions. The third step was (3) the 'alert' at which the student who did not follow the classroom order unit was warned to follow directions. The following step was (4) the 'modified action' at which the student adjusted his or her action to follow the classroom order unit. The last step was (5) the 'transition' to the normal classroom flow from the student-specific call.

The first step, stage, in the construction of classroom order could become visible only in the moments when the previously constructed order was re-constructed after an interruption. The normal flow of classroom interaction, i.e. a session without any dispute over the regulating system, did not reveal the mechanism of how the order had been constructed in the first place. However, a closer look at the interruptions refusing to comply with the regulating system shed light on the mechanism of classroom order construction.

The further analyses in the fragments from the main study demonstrated that the mechanism of producing a student-specific call was built on the following steps:

(1) the change in the teacher's gaze from somewhere else to the student who was about to be called, (2) calling the student's name, (3) the message of the call, and (4) the pause. The preliminary findings from the pilot study showed that a student-specific call was built on the five stages: (1) stage, (2) action, (3) alert, (4) modified action and (5) transition. The findings in this main study however uncovered the teacher's actions in this process. The change in the teacher's gaze and her call of the student's name as well as her message altogether constituted the alert stage. The pause step also corresponded to the transition stage in the preliminary findings. Consequently, it can be said that the findings from the pilot study focused on both the teacher's and the students' interactions while the analyses in this subsection focused on the teacher's detailed interaction. At the end, the findings from the pilot study and main study validated each other by focusing on different faces of the same phenomenon.

The offshoot finding from the analyses was the teacher's skill to call on a student even though s/he did not the student's name. It was recognized that there were number of ways to call someone that was known to the members in the conversation. The participants could call the person with his name, by looking at him, or by asking a question. However, as the participants, the teacher and students in the classroom, had been engaged in talks for a certain period of time and thus had spent some time together, not knowing the member's name could be regarded as impolite by the members. Therefore, any attempt to call someone without name in a naturally occurring talk-in-interaction started with an excuse or apology to rescue the unkind situation, *pardon me* or *excuse me*. The analyses showed that the situation in the classroom was completely different. Providing that the teacher did not know his or her students' names, s/he started his call with different maneuvers. The underlying mechanism in the teacher's maneuvers in calling a specific student without telling his or her name was the gaze at the student being called. Similar to the gaze, in order to gain the attention of the students, the teacher might also hit the board with his hand, or knock on the door, the walk to the student and touch his or her shoulders.

Changing the gaze direction to the student being called was one of the maneuvers in the teacher's toolbox. The teachers, as shown in the fragments, made use of other tactics: (a) proximity and (b) touching. The underlying mechanism in the

tactics was that the teacher was creating a short-term shift from the treatment of the students as a cohort to selecting a specific student out of the cohort. The teacher by calling a student, approaching to a student's desk, touching a student's arm had a dual function: (a) sustaining the cohort and (b) calling a specific student to transform him or her into the cohort.

5.2. Implications

The underlying notion in listing the practical implications was based on the fact that the problems in the educational settings cannot be solved, or the solutions that have been formulated to solve those problems cannot be evaluated unless what the problems are or how the actors in those settings define them are understood with particular reference to the nature of those problems. Thus, the study first attempted to portray how order was constructed in the classroom environment and attempted to define it with the participants' demonstrable actions. Then, depending on these portrays, it listed how the problems related to the nature of order in the classroom could be eliminated or decreased with a number of practical solutions. The practical implications at this stage ranged from the tips for the teachers to use them in their classrooms to the suggestions at a larger context for the authorities to change their understanding of classroom organization. The second part in this section listed my suggestions for the researchers who would be interested in pursuing a conversation analytic study on the classroom order and classroom interaction. The suggestions covered my experiences as a CA researcher as well, and thus were thought to help those researchers discover many of the areas that still remained undiscovered. The suggestions also showed how I reformulated the CA understanding in an institutional setting. This understanding was considered to provide a basis for the researcher to base their own conversation analytic study.

5.2.1. Implications for the Classroom Practitioners

The underlying motive in this study was portraying how the teacher and students communicate in the classroom, and demonstrating in their demonstrable actions how they constructed the classroom order. Consequently, the focus in the study was on their communication skills in the classroom environment. Similarly, the

study concentrated on the details of classroom talks to unearth the mechanisms of order. This section however discusses the dimensions at the larger context that have been derived from the analyses.

The first dimension presented in this research is the different approach to the study of classroom management and order. The common approaches to the classroom management conclude their inquiries with theory-driven suggestions for the classroom practitioners to follow (see Brophy, 2006; Evertson & Weinstein, 2006 for the theory-driven programs of classroom management). Different from these programs, this study concludes its disciplined inquiry with the precise sights from real classrooms for the classroom practitioners to make sense and apply them to their own classrooms.

The second dimension is rooted in the study's standpoint to the understanding of classroom phenomena. The reformulation of classroom phenomena in this study results from the conceptual framework stating that any phenomena in a classroom can be made explicit and demonstrable to the third parties through the detailed representation of phenomena being studied. As a result, the implications in this section are derived from the pragmatic notion of classroom phenomena.

One of the pioneering implications for the classroom practitioners is the idea that creating an orderly classroom environment is one of the most challenging tasks. The challenging part actually results from the nature of the classroom environment: A classroom is composed of an adult, the teacher, leading 20 or more teenagers, the students, in a set of previously determined sessions. Transforming these teenagers into a single unit that will behave collectively, that will have the same destiny, and that will speak as a single entity is an enduring task. The need to socialize, the drive to share, and the motive to have secrecy among these teenagers will inevitably result in separate talks in the two-party speech classroom environment. The struggle between achieving the two-party speech exchange system and regaining the multi-party speech exchange system will lead to order problems in the classroom. Consequently, in order to decrease the moments of struggle in the classroom, the teachers can allocate certain periods in the transition periods for the students to have their private talks among themselves. Another way to provide students the opportunity to have private talks among themselves is to let them talk during the

housekeeping periods. While the teachers are busy getting ready for the lecture, they need to let the students talk and socialize for a short time before the students are required to attend to the teacher as the cohorting party.

A practical tip that could be derived from the findings is that the teacher's spatial change in the classroom has immense meaning for the students. The teacher's walk from his or her table to the center zone means to the students that he or she is moving to another activity, or changing the flow of the activity. In addition to the change in the teacher's physical positioning in the classroom, the change in his or her gaze means that he or she is going to call a specific student in the cohort, or selecting a specific student to call in the cohorted party. Consequently, the teachers need to be aware of the changes in their pose and in their positioning in the classroom. A practical way to become aware of one's spatial changes is to video-record him or her for a few sessions and then to watch them with a focus on the positioning. The awareness through watching these recordings will help the teachers understand what changes works in certain situations and how these changes function as cohorting practices.

One practical implication for teachers is that they need to treat humor as a basic and necessary component of classroom life. The analyses showed that the teachers when faced with a humor in the classroom talk treated the jokes as interposing activities or impromptu cases that they had to overcome in a short period of time. Their treatment of humor in the classroom gave the idea that jokes were considered to be a risk for classroom order. However, the nature of humor found in the findings revealed that humor creates a social platform for the participants to comment and meta-joke about the joke; each context in the humor tends to be transformed into a follow-up context. Therefore, the teachers need to let the students comment on the jokes and socialize when there is a joke in the classroom.

The nature of classroom order demonstrated that restoring order is not a result of a single action. The order in the classroom can be restored with a set of consecutive actions. As a result, the teacher should have a repertoire of different maneuvers to use to regain order providing that the previous actions fail to restore order. Furthermore, the teacher should be aware of the fact that the classroom order cannot be sustained once with one group of actions when applied, but can be

sustained gradually with different sets of actions that are specific to different contexts. The nature of classroom order also pointed the observable fact that the order construction is a mutual accomplishment by the teacher and students. The students are essentially aware of the teacher's cohorting practices in the classroom and they can attribute meaning to the teacher's actions to maintain the classroom order. As a result, they can participate in constructing the classroom order. Therefore, the teacher should motivate them to participate in constructing the classroom order by rewarding their cohorting actions.

The essential component of classroom order is the segmentation of classroom life. The analyses in the study showed that a class time is composed of various segments. Each segment involves different organization mechanisms, or simply rules. Thus, the teacher's and students' reformulation of segments and their actions in these segments are different from each other. As a result, the teacher should be aware of the fact that the students have different sets of actions that are specific to each segment. Besides, the teacher should balance his or her cohorting practices according to these various segments in the classroom. A good illustration of the segmentation is the class beginnings. The class beginning involves consecutive routines. The teacher should know what routine has what sort of mechanisms, and how the students act and react in these segments.

The teacher is equipped with a toolbox of maneuvers to transform individual students into a cohort body. The primary factor affecting the number of maneuvers in the teacher's toolbox is his or her experience with his or her students. As s/he becomes familiar with the specific ways of students' communication in the classroom, as s/he shares more time with them, the teacher develops different tools that s/he can make use of at various contexts. Thus, the findings indirectly proved the idea that the teacher should spare certain time to know what sorts of communication patterns his or her students use in the classroom. This awareness requires the teachers to make sense of their own actions as well as their students' actions. Video-recording some of the classes and watching them for certain purposes will enable teachers to gain this awareness. In the long run, this will help the teacher develop toolboxes specific to the students in different classes.

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Register change in the teachers' talks to restore the classroom order also showed that the teachers were able to make use of different levels of cohorting practices at different times. The underlying point in these register changes proved that the teachers should start their cohorting practices with mild forms such as *susalım* or *konuşmayalım* and continue with more direct ones when these mild forms do not work. Another finding for the teachers to make use of in their classrooms is the change in their use of pronouns to restore the order. The teachers should be consistent in using the same pronoun in their classes.

As the analysis showed, tying signals constitute the skeleton of restoring order in the classroom. Tying signals create a connection between the last time the order has been restored and the present time the order is about to be restored. Consequently, the teacher should pay attention to what s/he uses as tying signals in the transition periods in his or her classes. Tying signals should include certain striking, interesting, and motivating components from previous activities for the students to link them with current activities. Besides, these tying signals should be consistent at different contexts so that the students will get the same message at different times at different segments.

Constructing the classroom order follows a number of steps. Some students might not be present in the first stages, and thus cannot understand the negotiation stage. Therefore, the teacher should remind these students of the negotiation stage, i.e. what the rule is, and what kind of actions are approved and disapproved. This reminder will also help other students in the classroom to refresh their understanding of the classroom order constructs.

My talks with some of the students in the break times suggested that these students have also their own understanding of classroom order. The students were suggesting me to video-record certain teachers who did not agree to join in the study. Their offer to video-record those teachers reflected the different version of classroom order that was not presented in this study.

The moments when the classroom order was being restored by the teacher and students can be used as case studies for the pre-service and in-service teachers. The analyses of these moments might present different views for these teachers to become aware of the possible classroom moments in their own careers.

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5.2.2. Implications for the Researchers

We are born to this unknown world with two fundamental characteristics: time and place. Every action we do, we think, and we feel are all equipped with the features of time and place. As a novice researcher, I was astonished to find the all-encompassing presence of time in every action of the participants in the interactions. The sequential analysis thus governed the whole analysis in the study. The onset and offset of actions, the precise timing of overlaps and pauses among the actions, and the reformulation of the current turns according to the previous turns all showed me the fine details of ordinary life in the classrooms. My suggestion for the CA researchers is thus that they must base their analysis on the sequential feature of turn in the talks.

The challenging task while I was pursuing my CA work was to balance the route that I adopted. At the beginning of the study, I was aware that there were two strains for a conversation analytic study to follow: (a) the ethnographic-character strain that is concerned with conversational organization involved in the accomplishment of some interactional encounter, and (b) the fine-grained sequential analysis strain with the goal of describing and documenting activity in its own right, requiring no recourse to extra-conversational facets, and making no claims to be capturing wider sociological concerns. I decided to take the middle route, i.e. paying attention to the meticulous and technical details while trying to see the whole picture by taking the ethnographic details into consideration. Whether I have achieved it or not is still a question that I have not been able to answer fully. Thus, other CA researchers need to decide what route they need to follow in their studies, and perhaps this study will provide them an example with its pluses and negatives.

A prospective topic that can be investigated particularly in further studies is the teacher's threshold mechanism in the housekeeping period. As stated earlier, in the housekeeping period when the teachers were busy with teacher duties such as taking the attendance, writing the lesson plan on the classroom log or getting prepared for the lecture, they allowed certain sorts of dissolved cohort actions while they disallowed let certain ones. The mechanism regulating the decision for which

ones were approved and which ones were disapproved still needs to be demonstrated in particular.

The other prospective topic for the researchers who have taken a promised interest in unknotting the layers of classroom life is the students' mechanism of joining the construction of classroom order. It is a well-known fact that following the regulating system is an indication of participating in the construction process. However, what is meant with participation in this context is the students' deliberate participation in the construction of classroom order. This study proved that the students could deliberately take part in the construction of classroom order. Nonetheless, the challenging task of demonstrating when they decide to take part remains still uncovered.

The question of how students self select themselves as the next speaker remains a wonder in the field of classroom interaction analysis. This study managed to shed light on only one side of student's self-selection as an impossible action in the classroom talk. The findings were able to show that student's self selected questions were considered as a proper turn by the teacher when those questions had certain cohort features. However, the whole 'student self-selection' phenomenon remains an area to be discovered.

The motivating topic that emerged in the course of analyses was the mechanism of how the participants terminated an activity or a lesson in the classroom. For the sake of discovering the cohorting practices, these studies have focused on class beginnings, but have neglected the class endings. The counter-process, i.e. how the cohorted body was transformed into a dissolved unit, can shed light on how cohorting is organized in the classroom. Consequently, further studies can take an interest in class endings.

The analyses showed that calling a student without knowing his or her name was a teacher skill. In order to restore the order, the teachers were supposed to call specific students. The study was able to show how the teachers could accomplish those calls with particular reference to their demonstrable actions. However, what remains uncovered in the student-specific calls is the mechanism of how the teachers re-maintain the activity after this interposing, impromptu case. The researchers who

are interested in specific-student calls can further study these sophisticated mechanism.

This study as an example of pure conversation analytic research could not compare the characteristics of teachers and schools in terms of their own ways to gain the classroom order. The questions of how teachers at three schools differed in restoring the order and of how the school characteristics played a role in the construction of classroom order could not be answered in this study. Consequently, further studies that will focus on different schools and that will work different teachers can have another dimension where they can compare the schools and teachers in terms of how they restore order in the classroom.

The concluding remark about the study overall is that this study as an example of CA work presented one layer of classroom life. This CA layer provided a base for the other layers to build on portraying the classroom life and classroom order. The multi-layers at the end will help us understand how order works in the classroom. Hence, researchers from different fields such classroom ethnographers should present the other layer to this CA layer.

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APPENDICES

The Video Logs

School A

November 26/27, 2007	270 minutes	6 parts
December 3, 2007	270 minutes	7 parts
December 10, 2007	270 minutes	7 parts
December 24, 2007	88 minutes	2 parts
December 31, 2007	NA	NA
January 7, 2008	270 minutes	7 parts
January 14, 2008	236 minutes	6 parts
TOTAL	1404 minutes	35 parts

School B

March 7, 2008	144 minutes	4 parts
March 14, 2008	NA	NA
March 21, 2008	172 minutes	4 parts
March 28, 2008	77 minutes	2 parts
April 4, 2008	125 minutes	3 parts
April 11, 2008	95 minutes	2 parts
April 18, 2008	124 minutes	3 parts
April 25, 2008	NA	NA
May 2, 2008	80 minutes	2 parts
TOTAL	817 minutes	20 parts

School C

April 6, 2008	88 minutes	2 parts
April 10, 2008	170 minutes	4 parts
April 17, 2008	43 minutes	1 part
April 24, 2008	90minutes	2 parts
May 1, 2008	156 minutes	4 parts

May 8, 2008	46 minutes	1 part
TOTAL	593 minutes	14 parts

The Sampling Matrix

Row	O1	O2	O3
071126p1		080307p1 S3 GEO	080403p1 S3x2 GEO
071126p2		080307p2 S3 PHY	080403p2 S2 GEO
071126p3	S3 CHE	080307p3 S4 HIS	080410p1 S1 GEO
071126p4	S4 LAN	080307p4 S1 HIS	080410p2 S3 HEA
071126p5	S2x2 GEO	080321p1 S2 BIO	080410p3 S3 HEA
071126p6		080321p2 S1 GEO	080410p4 S2 GEM
071203p1	S3 MAT	080321p3 S2 HIS	080417p1 S4 GEO
071203p2	S1 BIO	080321p4 S4 HIS	080424p1 S2 GEO
071203p3	S2 LIT	080328p1 S2 BIO	080424p2 S1 HEA
071203p4	S1 HIS	080328p2 S1 GEO	080501p1 S1 BIO
071203p5		080404p1 S2 GEO	080501p2 S4 GEO
071203p6		080404p2 S2 PHY	080501p3 S2 HEA
071203p7		080404p3 S2 HIS	080501p4 S4 HEA
071210p1	S2 MAT	080411p1 S4 PHY	080508p1 S1 GEO
071210p2	S4 BIO	080411p2 S3 HIS	
071210p3		080418p1 S1 PHY	
071210p4		080418p2 S3 HIS	
071210p5		080418p3 S4 HIS	
071210p6	S3 LAN	080502p1 S1 HIS	
071210p7	S1 GEO	080502p2	
071224p1			
071224p2	S2 BIO		
080107p1	S4 MAT		
080107p2	S1 BIO		
080107p3	S1 LIT		
080107p4			
080107p5			
080107p6	S2 LAN		
080107p7			
080114p1			
080114p2			
080114p3	S3 HIS		
080114p4	S1 CHE		
080114p5	S1 LAN		
080114p6	S4 GEO		

APPENDIX C

The Consent Forms for Teachers, Parents, and Students

Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi,
Eğitim Fakültesi, Eğitim Bilimleri Bölümü,
06531 Ankara

Sevgili Meslektaşlarım,

Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi, Eğitim Fakültesi, Eğitim Bilimleri Bölümü'nde doktora öğrencisiyim ve aynı bölümde araştırma görevlisi olarak çalışmaktayım. "Sınıf içindeki iletişimin sınıf düzenini yapılandırmadaki payı: Bir konuşma çözümlemesi çalışması" başlıklı doktora tezim kapsamında 14 ile 17 yaş arasındaki ergenlerle sınıf içindeki iletişimin boyutlarının çalışılması hedeflenmektedir ve bu mektubun yollanış amacı size sınıfın bir üyesi olarak bu doktora tezi çalışması hakkında bilgi vermektir.

Bu çalışma temelde sınıf içindeki öğretmen ile öğrenciler arasındaki sınıf içi iletişimi incelemeyi hedeflemektedir. Araştırmanın ana amacı sınıf içindeki iletişim incelenerek öğretmen ile öğrencilerin sınıf düzenini nasıl sağladıklarını ortaya çıkarmaktır. Ayrıca araştırma sonunda sınıf içinde öğretmen ile öğrenciler arasındaki etkili iletişimi engelleyen etmenleri ortaya çıkararak bu engelleri iyileştirici önerilerde bulunmayı da amaçlanmaktadır.

2007-2008 eğitim dönemi Mart - Mayıs süresince haftada bir gün sınıf içindeki iletişimler kaydedilecektir. Kayıtlar dışında ayrıca bir veri toplaması **gerçekleşmeyecek** ve bu kayıtlar üçüncü tüzel ve özel kişilerden saklanacaktır. Bu araştırmada elde edilen tüm veriler sadece araştırmacı tarafından kullanılacaktır ve bu kayıtlar **kesinlikle ve hiçbir şekilde** başka birisi ile paylaşılmayacaktır.

Araştırmayla ilgili sorularınızı aşağıdaki e-posta ya da telefon numarasını kullanarak yöneltebilirsiniz.

Saygılarımla,
Mehmet Ali İÇBAY

E-posta: icbay@metu.edu.tr
Web adresi: http://www.metu.edu.tr/~icbay
Telefon: (0312)2104034

Onay bilgilerini için lütfen sayfayı çeviriniz.

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Verdiğim bilgilerin bilimsel amaçlı yayımlarda kullanılmasını kabul ediyorum.

Adı ve Soyadı: ....   İmza........................

Tarih: .... (Gün.Ay.Yıl)

Bu formu okumak için ayırdığınız zamana yeniden teşekkür ederim.

Sevgili Anne ve Babalar,

Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi, Eğitim Fakültesi, Eğitim Bilimleri Bölümü'nde doktora öğrencisiyim ve aynı bölümde araştırma görevlisi olarak çalışmaktayım. "Sınıf içindeki iletişimin sınıf düzenini yapılandırmadaki payı: Bir konuşma çözümlemesi çalışması" başlıklı doktora tezim kapsamında 14 ile 17 yaş arasındaki ergenlerle sınıf içindeki iletişimin boyutlarının çalışılması hedeflenmektedir ve bu mektubun yollanış amacı size öğrencilerimiz velisi olarak bu doktora tezi çalışması hakkında bilgi vermektir.

Bu çalışma temelde sınıf içindeki öğretmen ile öğrenciler arasındaki sınıf içi iletişimi incelemeyi hedeflemektedir. Araştırmanın ana amacı sınıf içindeki iletişim incelenerek öğretmen ile öğrencilerin sınıf düzenini nasıl sağladıklarını ortaya çıkarmaktır. Ayrıca araştırma sonunda sınıf içinde öğretmen ile öğrenciler arasındaki etkili iletişimi engelleyen etmenleri ortaya çıkararak bu engelleri iyileştirici önerilerde bulunmayı da amaçlanmaktadır.

2007-2008 eğitim dönemi Mart - Mayıs süresince haftada bir gün çocuğunuz sınıf içindeki iletişimleri kaydedilecektir. Kayıtlar dışında ayrıca bir veri toplaması **gerçekleşmeyecek** ve bu kayıtlar üçüncü tüzel ve özel kişilerden saklanacaktır. Bu araştırmada elde edilen tüm veriler sadece araştırmacı tarafından kullanılacaktır ve bu kayıtlar **kesinlikle ve hiçbir şekilde** başka birisi ile paylaşılmayacaktır.

Araştırmayla ilgili sorularınızı aşağıdaki e-posta ya da telefon numarasını kullanarak yöneltebilirsiniz.

Saygılarımla,
Mehmet Ali İÇBAY

E-posta: icbay@metu.edu.tr
Web adresi: http://www.metu.edu.tr/~icbay
Telefon: (0312)2104034

Onay bilgilerini için lütfen sayfayı çeviriniz.

Verdiğim bilgilerin bilimsel amaçlı yayımlarda kullanılmasını kabul ediyorum.

Baba Adı ve Soyadı: .... İmza........................

Anne Adı ve Soyadı: .... İmza........................

Tarih: .... (Gün.Ay.Yıl)

Bu formu çocuğunuzla okula geri gönderiniz. Bu formu okumak için ayırdığınız zamana yeniden teşekkür ederim.

Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi
Eğitim Fakültesi, Eğitim Bilimleri Bölümü
06531 Ankara

Sevgili Arkadaşlar,

Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi, Eğitim Fakültesi, Eğitim Bilimleri Bölümü'nde doktora öğrencisiyim ve aynı bölümde araştırma görevlisi olarak çalışmaktayım. "Sınıf içindeki iletişimin sınıf düzenini yapılandırmadaki payı: Bir konuşma çözümlemesi çalışması" başlıklı doktora tezim kapsamında 14 ile 17 yaş arasındaki ergenlerle sınıf içindeki iletişimin boyutlarının çalışılması hedeflenmektedir ve bu mektubun yollanış amacı size sınıfın birer üyesi olarak bu doktora tezi çalışması hakkında bilgi vermektir.

Bu çalışma temelde sınıf içindeki öğretmen ile öğrenciler arasındaki sınıf içi iletişimi incelemeyi hedeflemektedir. Araştırmanın ana amacı sınıf içindeki iletişim incelenerek öğretmen ile öğrencilerin sınıf düzenini nasıl sağladıklarını ortaya çıkarmaktır. Ayrıca araştırma sonunda sınıf içinde öğretmen ile öğrenciler arasındaki etkili iletişimi engelleyen etmenleri ortaya çıkararak bu engelleri iyileştirici önerilerde bulunmayı da amaçlanmaktadır.

2007-2008 eğitim dönemi Mart - Mayıs ayları süresince sizin, arkadaşlarınızın ve öğretmeninizin sınıf içindeki iletişimleri kaydedilecektir. Kayıtlar dışında ayrıca bir veri toplaması **gerçekleşmeyecek** ve bu kayıtlar üçüncü tüzel ve özel kişilerden saklanacaktır. Bu araştırmada elde edilen tüm veriler sadece araştırmacı tarafından kullanılacaktır ve bu kayıtlar **kesinlikle ve hiçbir şekilde** başka birisi ile paylaşılmayacaktır.

Araştırmayla ilgili sorularınızı aşağıdaki e-posta ya da telefon numarasını kullanarak yöneltebilirsiniz.

Saygılarımla,
Mehmet Ali İÇBAY

E-posta: icbay@metu.edu.tr
Web adresi: http://www.metu.edu.tr/~icbay
Telefon: (0312)2104034

Bu çalışmaya tamamen gönüllü olarak katılıyorum. Verdiğim bilgilerin bilimsel amaçlı yayımlarda kullanılmasını kabul ediyorum. (Formu doldurup imzaladıktan sonra uygulayıcıya geri veriniz).

Adınız ve Soyadınız: ....

İmza: ....

Tarih: ....(Gün.Ay.Yıl)

Bu formu okumak için ayırdığınız zamana yeniden teşekkür ederim.

APPENDIX D

The Consent Form from the Ministry of National Education

T.C.
ANKARA VALİLİĞİ
Milli Eğitim Müdürlüğü

ÖĞRENCİ İŞLERİ

BÖLÜM : Strateji Geliştirme
SAYI : B B.08.4.MEM.4.06.00.04-312/12 64
KONU : Mehmet Ali İÇBAY
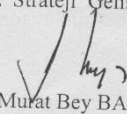
28/12/2007

ORTA DOĞU TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ
(Öğrenci İşleri Dairesi)

İLGİ : a ODTÜ. Öğrenci İşleri 22.11.2007 tarih ve 400—9205-17269 sayılı yazısı.
b)24.12.2007 tarih ve 1212 sayılı Valilik Oluru.

Üniversiteniz Eğitim Bilimleri Anabilim Dalı Doktora Öğrencisi Mehmet Ali İÇBAY'ın (a) yazınız ekindeki araştırma yapabilme isteği ilgi (b) Valilik Oluru ile uygun görülmüş olup, konu hakkında araştırmanın yapılacağı İlçe Milli Eğitim Müdürlüğüne bilgi verilmiştir.

Çalışmanın bitiminde iki örneğinin (CD/disket) Müdürlüğümüz Strateji Geliştirme Bölümüne gönderilmesi hususunda bilgilerinizi ve gereğini rica ederim.

Murat Bey BALTA
Vali a.
Milli Eğitim Müdürü

EKLER :
1 : Valilik Oluru (1 sayfa)

04.01.08 000326

İl Milli Eğitim Müdürlüğü-Beşevler
Strateji Geliştirme Bölümü
Bilgi İçin: Kamil COŞGUN

Tel : 215 15 43- 413 36 66- 212 66 40/110
Fax: 215 15 43
strateji06@meb.gov.tr

APPENDIX E

Sample unmotivated look analyses

2014-2024	Os - OmY : ders işleyişi ile ilgili soru
2024-2058	Os - OmY :
2237-2243	OmA - OA - OmD *
2525-2540	OmS - OY : çok güzel okuyorsun.
2547-2600	OmS - OY : OU : İlker sen devam et.
2617-2621	OmU : Kerem bi şi mi var olum!
2700-2710	OmU : hep aynı kişiler mi konuşuyor?
2820-2842	OmS-OY/OmU : ben ne sordum?
3002-3007	OmU : (görsel) parmak kaldırın!
3255-3308	OmS - OmU : TRP ilişkisi! *
3330-3345	OmS-OY/OmU : çalışmışsın sen, işte!
3440-3450	OmS-OY/OmU : parmak kaldırdın mı? [görsel] parmak kalkıyor.
3650-3700	OmS-OY/OmU : hanımlar siz bi şi anlamıyor musunuz?
3825-3930	Om sözünün arasına Ö tamamlıyor : rüşvet veriyor.

ROID071126P03 (37:00)

a) 0300- 0308	OmU : Ö homurdanıyor/konuşuyor. 'Arkadaşlar böyle yapamam'
0340-0345	O-O/İ : '80 [gülme] 64' ⭐g
0445-0512	OmU : [sessizce bekleme]
0520-0535	OmU : 'hazır olduğunuzu görmeden başlayamam'
-0605	
0710-0725	
0738-0741	OmU : "dinle biraz/dinleyin" / müsaade eder misin
0830-0838	OY - OmS : "ben söl'am mı?"
0846-0910	OmS - OY-OY : "söl'üm mü?" / "söyleyebilir miyim?"
1245-1248	OmU : Kerem.
~ 1400-3200	grup çalışması : deney / çoklu konuşmalar [18 dakika]
2702-2815	ö öğretmesi/anlatması (clique teaching/peer teaching) ⭐p
b) 0047-0100	Os : "bu var mı?" kendiliğinden Os [self-selected SQ]
0149-0210	OmU : [sessizce bekleme] + [kol kavuşturma]
0320-0330	Os - OmY : "affedersiniz bi şi sorucam" / "bir dakika"

0000-0008	O homurdanması, O yerlerine yerleşiyor, OmU ✓ *
0050-0053	OmU: tamam artık, yedinci saatte olduğunuzu biliyorum OTK OmU
	evet, ahmetcan, rağmen devam
0138-0142	evet. [yoklama alıyor] kes artık ediyor.
0215-0219	[sessizce bekleme] OmU / homurtu devam ediyor.
	homurtu: OTK
0245-0255	Om yer değiştiriyor: ceen buraya geçer misin
0425-0442	OmU: neden kitap yok, kitapsız öğrenci istemiyorum.
0445-0450	OmU: dinle [yüzükle sıraya vurma] [öğrencilerin gülmesi]
0635-0639	OmU: beren dinler misin [eliyle vurun]
0743-0745	OmU: [eliyle öğrencinin sırtına vurup öğrenciyi dik konuma getiriyor]
	[öğrenci ufluyor] / [yeniden yatıyor]
0822-0850	OmS - O,Y/O2Y/O3Y : toplu yanıt / bir uğultu + Om sesini yükseltmesi
1008-1010	OmU: yanlız birbirinizi dinleyerek ✓
-1017	✓
1018-1021	OY: tehdit mektubu *g
-1031	✓
1025-1123	OmU: ahmetcim şu an gülmemizi gerektiren bişi yok
1315-1325	OmU: keremcim konuşmuyoruz buraya gelir misin [o yer değiştiriyor]
~ 1400-1415	OmS - Yanıt yok: Om yanıtsız soru soruyor: di mi ✓ *YANITSIZ
1500-1505	
1512-1517	: ne söyleyebilir siniz ✓
1517-1524	OmU: kerem ben sana kitap açma mı dedim
1720-1733	Oml- OY: konuşurken boğazın görünmüyor mu
1740-1750	Om O arasına giriyor. ve tepki: gülme: bu bir şiir. *g/i
1816-1820	OmS - Yanıt yok : di mi *YANITSIZ
1932-1935	farklı bir şey?
1950-1953	OmU: umutcum kafanı kaldırarak dinliyorsun
	[umut kafasını kaldırıyor]
2016-2020	OmS - Yanıt yok : di mi *YANITSIZ*
2630-2637	✓
2638-2710	OmS - OY/OY2/OY3 : alt-düzen kurma Jo! *DÜZEN

2900-2912	OmS; YANITYOK: kim vardı / di mi
3050-3102	OmU: birlikte değil söz alarak
-3117	OmS - OY, /OY₂ -OTK :
3156-3158	OmU: berencim kafamızı kaldırır mıyız (niye 3. değil?)
~ 3517-3521	OmU: esneyenler canlanın bakalım
	siz okuyacaksınız ben diil
3549-3551	OmS: yanıtsız : di mi çouklar
3610-3615	OmU: umut kırıcam şimdi / işte yapmadığın için kızabilirim.
3756-3820	O: [kafasını sıraya koyuyor] + OmU: ne demek bu sıso
	SORU +UYARI

ROID071126P05   (31:14)

                                                                  *9

0205-0223	OS - MY / neden O güldüler?
~ 0000-1043	O sınav oluyor.
1226-1227	MU: hanımlar tamam konuşmayın
1513-1538	MU: biraz tekrar yapın [kinaye + uyarı]
-1606	OS + MY: coğrafya ezber
2037-2038	M: allahıma bin şükür [kinaye]
2226-2232	M: evet baylar bayanlar son on dakika yeni konuya girecez
2307-2315	M: şimdi sürekli bi şi [farklı bir şekilde dikkat çekme] *
2357-2400	MU: ders hazır hale gelecek mkin getirim mi ↙
2610-2612	MU: sıso kafayı kaldır
3050-3054	MS - OY - MU : su masif olur mu alın *9

ROID071127P06   (41:27)

0019-0020	MU: coşan (.)
0137-0140	MU: beni dinlermisiniz
~ 0350-	M yoklama alırken O konuşuyor (bir kural gibi)
	O sınav kağıdını kontrol ediyor.
0720-0722	MU: arkadAşLAR! (O konuşması yüksek sesli olunca uyarı geliyor.)
0918-0825	MU: (kalemle masaya vuruyor) (
1148-1152	MU: dinliyor musunuz burayı

APPENDIX F

Transcription conventions

[	the beginning of overlapped talk
(.0)	length of silence
(.)	micro pause
underlining	relatively high pitch
::	noticeably lengthened sound
CAPS	relatively high volume
-	sudden cut-off of the current sound
=	"latched" utterances
?	raising intonation
.	falling intonation
,	continuing intonation
(words)	unintelligible stretch
((words))	comments by the transcriber
hh	audible out breath
.hh	audible in breath
> words <	increase in tempo
< words >	decrease in tempo
°	quiter than the surrounding talk

Turkish summary

SINIF İÇİNDEKİ İLETİŞİMİN SINIF DÜZENİNİ YAPILANDIRMADAKİ ROLÜ: BİR KONUŞMA ÇÖZÜMLEMESİ ÇALIŞMASI

Mehmet Ali İÇBAY

Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi,

Eğitim Fakültesi, Eğitim Bilimleri Bölümü

I. GİRİŞ

Bu konuşma çözümlemesi çalışması sınıf içindeki iletişimin sınıf düzenini yapılandırmadaki rolünü ortaya çıkarmayı amaçlamıştır. Kökleri Budunyöntembilim (Ethnomethodology) ve Konuşma Çözümlemesi'nin (Conversation Analysis) kuramsal ve yöntemsel ilkelerine dayanan bu çalışma öğretmen ve öğrencilerin birlikte oluşturdukları, düzenledikleri ve sürdürdükleri sınıf düzenini incelemiştir. Araştırma için Ankara'da bulunan üç okuldaki üç sınıftan 15 öğretmenin bulunduğu 69 değişik dersten 47 saatlik bir çekim veritabanı oluşturulmuştur. Araştırma katılımcıların gözlenebilir davranışlarını temel alarak sınıf düzeninin yeniden oluşturulduğu anlara odaklanmıştır. Bu anlar sınıf yaşamında yer alan dört farklı süreçte incelenmiştir: (a) ders başlangıçları, (b) etkinlikler arasındaki geçişler, (c) gülmece sonrası anlar ve (d) belirli öğrenci seslenmeleri sonrası anlar. Dolayısıyla araştırmanın sonunda sınıf içindeki katılımcıların düzen olgusuna nasıl anlam yükledikleri, düzen olgusu hakkındaki anlayışlarını gözlenebilir davranışlarıyla harekete nasıl dönüştürdükleri ve bu gözlenebilir davranışlarıyla düzeni sağlayan düzenekleri diğer bağlamlara nasıl aktardıkları ortaya çıkarılmıştır.

1.1. Amaç ve Sorular

Bu çalışma temel olarak sınıf içinde öğretmen ile öğrenciler arasındaki iletişimin sınıf düzenini yapılandırmadaki payını konuşma çözümlemesi ilkeleri

doğrultusunda incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Araştırmanın ana amacı sınıfta öğretmen ile öğrenci arasındaki iletişimin sınıf düzenini yapılandırma sürecini ortaya çıkarmak ve sınıf düzeni yapılandırma sürecinde sınıf içindeki iletişimin ne türden devinimler yarattığını belirlemektir. Bu ana amaç doğrultusunda bu çalışma araştırma süresince aşağıdaki soruları yanıtlamaya çalışmıştır.

(1) Öğretmen ile öğrenciler arasındaki iletişim sınıf düzenini nasıl yapılandırmaktadır?

(a) Sınıf içindeki katılımcılar ne türden gösterilebilir davranışlar oluşturmaktadır?

(b) Katılımcılar hem kendi hem de diğerlerinin davranışlarına sınıf düzenini oluşturma davranışları olarak nasıl anlam yüklemektedirler?

(2) Katılımcılar sınıf düzenini kurarken hangi aşamalardan geçmektedirler?

(3) Çift-taraflı konuşma düzeni sınıf ortamında nasıl sağlanmaktadır?

(a) Sınıf yaşamında düzenleştirme uygulamaları nasıl başlatılmakta, örgütlenmekte ve sürdürülmektedir?

(i) Ders başlangıçlarında düzenleştirme uygulamaları nasıl davranışa dönüştürülmektedir?

(ii) Etkinlikler arasındaki geçişlerde düzenleştirme uygulamaları nasıl davranışa dönüştürülmektedir?

(iii) Gülmece sonrası anlarda düzenleştirme uygulamaları nasıl davranışa dönüştürülmüştür?

(iv) Öğrenci-özel çağrı sonrası anlarda düzenleştirme uygulamaları nasıl davranışa dönüştürülmektedir?

(b) Sınıfta düzenleştirme uygulamaları nasıl sonlandırılmaktadır?

(4) Öğretmenler öğrencilerin sınıf düzenine katılımlarını nasıl düzenlemektedirler?

1.2. Sayıltılar

Bu araştırmada sayıltı olarak dile getirilen kuramlar ve maddeler araştırmaya önceden belirlenmiş yöntemsel bir yol çizmemekte, araştırmanın kuramsal alt yapısını oluşturarak araştırmaya ilkeleri ve sınırlarıyla belirlenmiş bir bakış açısı

sağlamaktadır. Bu araştırmadaki sayıltıların temeli konuşma çözümlemesi kuramsal ilkeleridir. Konuşma çözümlemesi (KÇ) bir toplumsal iletişim çözümleme yöntemi olarak insanların çeşitli zamanlarda kendiliğinden ve gelişigüzel oluşturdukları konuşmaları inceleyen bir söylem çözümlemesi alanıdır. Kökleri Goffman'ın (1983) iletişim düzenine ve Garfinkel'in (1967) budunyöntembilime dayanan KÇ sadece muhatapların konuşmalarını temel alarak bu konuşmaları ayrıntılı bir yazımlaştırma yöntemiyle inceleme biçimidir. Budunyöntembilim ise insan davranışlarını inceleyen araştırmacıların konularına dışarıdan bakış açısı ile incelemelerine karşı oluşturulmuş tepkisel bir toplumbilim inceleme yöntemidir. Dolayısıyla budunyöntembilim araştırmanın konusu ve odağı olan katılımcıların bakış açılarını inceler ve aynı zamanda katılımcıların araştırmaya konu olan davranışlarını yine onların davranışlarını temel alarak çözümlemeye çalışır (Seedhouse, 2004). Heritage'a (1984) göre budunyöntem toplumun sıradan üyelerinin anlamlandırdığı, kendi yollarını buldukları ve kendileri hakkında fikir sahibi oldukları yordamları ve sağduyuları içinde barındıran çalışma yöntemine denir.

1.3. Araştırmanın Önemi

Eğitim alanında çalışan bilim insanları olarak bizler daha etkili, daha verimli bir eğitim/öğretim ortamı oluşturmak için bilimsel çalışmaları sürdürmekteyiz. Bu doğrultuda sınıf içinde gerçekte neler olduğunu tanımlamak daha verimli bir eğitim ortamı oluşturmak için ilk adımdır. Bu çalışma da sınıf içinde öğretmen ve öğrencilerin sınıf düzenini nasıl oluşturduklarını tanımlayarak bu ilk adımı atmayı amaçlamıştır.

Anderson-Levitt'in (2006) de belirttiği gibi eğitim alanındaki sorunlar ya da bu sorunlar için ileri sürülen çözümler, sorunlar tanımlanmadan ya da eğitim alanında yer alan kişilerin davranışları çözümlenmedikçe yararlı olamaz. Erickson ve Gutierrez'e (2002) göre bir çözüm önerisinin işe yarayıp yaramamasının saptanmasından önce çözüme neden olan sornunun tanımlanması gerekir. Bu doğrultuda, sınıf içerisindeki düzen sorunu tanımlamayı amaçlayan bu çalışma sınıf yaşamının nasıl örgütlendiğini ve özelikle de sınıf düzeninin katılımcılar tarafından nasıl oluşturulduğunu sınıf içindeki öğretmen ve öğrenci davranışlarına odaklanarak göstermeyi amaçlamıştır.

Sınıf içinde düzeni sağlama çabaları, öğretmenlerin meslek yetisinin önemli bir kısmını oluşturmaktadır. Ancak, öğretmenler bu yetinin sınıf ortamında nasıl oluştuğunun farkında değillerdir. Payne ve Hustler'ın (1980) da belirttiği gibi öğretmenler bu yetilerini o kadar benimsemişlerdir ki onlara sorulduğunda sınıf düzenini nasıl sağladıklarını açıklayamamaktadırlar. Bu nedenle, bu çalışma görünür ama farkedilmeyen bu yetilerin ortaya çıkarılmasını amaç edinmiştir.

II. ALANYAZIN TARAMASI

Bu araştırmanın alanyazın taraması aşamasında özelikle konuşma çözümlemesi ve sınıf içindeki iletişim/söylem çalışmalarına yer verilmiştir. Böylece çalışmanın gerekli kuramsal ve yapısal altyapısı oluşturulmaya çalışılmıştır.

2.1. Konuşma Çözümlemesi

Konuşma çözümlemesi budunyöntembilim yöntemini kuran Harold Garfinkel ile başlayarak birçok toplumbilimci tarafından uygulanan ve Harvey Sacks, Emanuel Schegloff ve Gail Jefferson tarafından günlük konuşma çözümlemesine aktarılmış bir söylem çözümlemesi yöntemidir. Tanımdan da anlaşılacağı gibi konuşma çözümlemesinin temeli budunyöntembilim yöntemine dayanmaktadır.

Garfinkel (1967) tarafından ortaya atılan budunyöntembilim yöntemi araştırmanın konusu olan katılımcıların davranışlarını temel alıp katılımcıların yetkin birer bireyler olduğunu düşünerek davranışlarını katılımcıların kendi davranışlarına göre incelemeyi amaçlamıştır. Bir araştırmada yer alan insanların kendi koşullarının ve etrafındaki koşulların bilgisinde olması ve bu bilgiye göre davranması davranışlarının toplumsal örgütlenme biçimlerini oluşmasını sağlamıştır. Katılımcıların içinde bulundukları koşulların bilgisinde bulunması ve bu koşulların içindeki davranışları araştırmacılara katılımcıların toplumsal örgütlenme sürecini göstermektedir (Schiffrin, 1994).

Budunyöntembilim yönteminin ana kuramı katılımcıların var oldukları toplum içinde yetkin olarak yaşabilmeleri için kendilerinin ve iletişim içinde oldukları diğerlerinin davranışlarını çözümleyip anlamlandırmaları ve bu anlamlandırma üzerine davranışlarını yeniden şekillendirmeleri düşüncesidir

(Heritage, 2001). Bu kuramsal düşünce yöntemsel olarak birtakım sonuçlar doğurmaktadır. Katılımcıların içinde bulundukları çevrenin bilgisi ve bu bilgi doğrultusundaki davranışları birbiri ile derinden ilişkili ve birbirini tamamlayıcıdır. Bu nedenle araştırma sırasında bilgi ve davranış birbirinden ayrılamaz. Katılımcıların koşul bilgileri ve davranışları katılımcılardan ve içinde bulundukları koşullardan bağımsız değildir. Bu nedenle her araştırma her durumu koşulları doğrultusunda incelemeli ve bu koşulların getirdiği özel durumlar doğrultusunda sonuca varmalıdır. Katılımcılar davranışlarını kendileri çözümleyip anlamlandırdıklarından araştırmaya başlarken araştırmanın kuramsal yapısını dışarıdan getirilecek bir kuramla yapılandırmak anlamsızdır. Araştırmacının temel görevi katılımcıların davranışlarını yine onların davranışlarını inceleyerek bulgulara varmaktır (Garfinkel, 1967).

Konuşma çözümlemesi çeşitli durumlardaki kendilinden gerçekleşen konuşmalarla insanların neler yaptığını inceleyen bir söylem çözümlemesi yöntemidir. Konuşma çözümlemesi budunyöntembilim yönteminden kaynaklanan konuşma içersindeki kişilerin konuşmanın ilk çözümleyicileri ve yorumlayıcıları olduğu ana teması doğrultusunda konuşmaların yapısındaki örgütlenmeleri çeşitli zamanlardaki doğal iletişimleri inceleyerek bulmaya amaç edinir (Seedhouse, 2004). Ayrıca konuşma çözümlemesi, iletişim dünyasının nasıl çalıştığını, toplumsal yaşam deneyimlerinin nasıl oluşturulduğunu ve toplum düzenin nasıl örgütlendiğini saptamayı ve betimlemeyi amaçlar (Moerman, 1988).

Konuşma çözümlemesi iletişim sürecindeki anlam ve davranış konularını inceleyen bir alandır. Davranış ardışıklığının davranışın oluştuğu koşulu belirlediğini ve davranışların anlamlarının bu davranış ardışıklığından kaynaklandığını temel kuram olarak alan konuşma çözümlemesi iletişim sürecinin ardışık örgütlenmesini toplumsal düzenin yapılandırdığını tartışır (Heritage, 1984).

Konuşma çözümleme çalışmasındaki amaç kişiler arasındaki iletişimin süreklilik gösteren desenleri çalışmanın soruları doğrultusunda betimlemeler üretmektir (Perakyla, 1997). Bu betimleri gerçekleştirebilmek için konuşma çözümlemesi birtakım ilkeler ve süreçler belirlemiştir: (1) iletişim her boyutunda sürekli bir düzenin olması ilkesi, (2) iletişimin bağlam kısıtlı ve bağlam yaratıcı olması ilkesi, (3) iletişim ardışıklığında ayrıntılı inceleme süreci ve (4) veri öncelikli inceleme ilkesi (Seedhouse, 2004).

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Herhangi bir konuşma çözümlemesi araştırmasına rehberlik edip araştırmanın tüm boyutlarında etkili olan ana ilke konuşma sürecinin her aşamasında bir düzenin var olmasıdır. Herhangi bir iletişimin yöntemsel bir yapı içerdiğinden, bu iletişimin her noktasında bir düzen içerdiğinden ve iletişime katılan kişiler tarafından bir biçemi var olduğu varsayılıp iletişimime bu anlayış doğrultusunda katıldıklarından iletişimin her aşamasında düzenin var olması ilkesi konuşma çözümlemesi çalışmalarını temelden etkilemektedir (Moerman & Sacks, 1988). Dolayısıyla konuşma çözümlemesi çalışmasında iletişimin her anında bir desen olduğundan, bu desenlerin rast gele gerçekleşmediğinden ve desenlerin bağlamla doğrudan ilgili olduğundan tüm ayrıntılar yazımlaştırma sürecinde incelenir. Yazımlaştırma süreci böylece Jefferson (1979) tarafından geliştirilen ilkeler doğrultusunda iletişim sürecindeki çakışmaları, boşlukları, vurguları ve benzeri tüm ayrıntıları içerecek biçimde belgelenir (konuşma çözümlemesi ilkeleri doğrultusunda yapılmış yazımlaştırma örneği için Şekil 1'e bakınız).

```
A:      hadi gidelim mi diyo:rum [sana-
B:                              [işim var DEDİM ya:
A:      hep de işin [çıkıyor <ama:>
B:                  [BİLİyorsun di mi
```

Şekil 1. Örnek konuşma çözümlemesi yazımlaştırması.

Konuşma çözümlemesi araştırmalarına yön veren ikinci ilke ise iletişimin aynı anda bağlam kısıtlayıcı ve bağlam yaratıcı olmasıdır. İletişim sırasında üretilen herhangi bir davranış katılımcıların ürettiği bir önceki davranıştan etkilenip bağlamı üretir. Benzer şekilde iletişime katılan kişilerin davranışları bir sonraki davranışın bağlamını yapılandırır (Heritage, 1984) (konuşma çözümlemesi yöntemindeki bağlam kısıtlı ve bağlam yaratıcı ilkeler için Şekil 2'ye bakınız).

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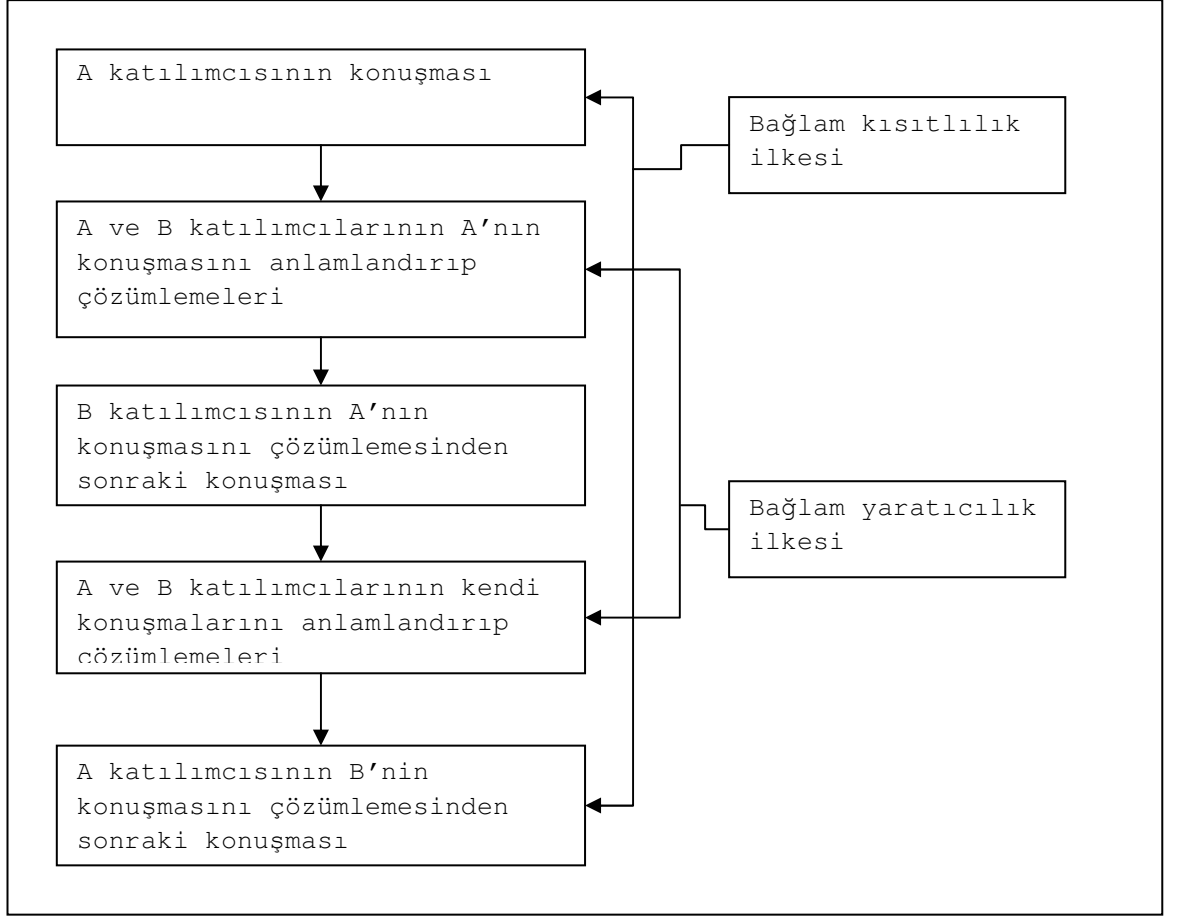
Şekil 2. Bağlam kısıtlılık ve bağlam yaratıcılık ilkeleri.

Bir konuşma çözümlemesi çalışmasını temelden biçimlendiren ilke de iletişimin ardışıklığı fikridir. KÇ'ye göre bir konuşma sürecinindeki örgütlenme biçimlerini görünür hale getiren devinim konuşmada yer alan katılımcıların söz ardışıklığıdır. Söz ardışıklığı konuşma sırasında konuşan kişinin bir önceki konuşan kişinin sözlerini anlayıp yorumladğını gösterir ve aynı zamanda da bu anlamlandırma ve yorumlama süreci araştırmacılara katılımcıların örgütlenme biçimlerini gösterir.

Konuşma çözümlemesi çalışmasının ana ilkelerinden biri de veri tabanlı çözümleme sürecidir. İletişimdeki katılımcıların yetkin birer toplumsal varlıklar olduklarını ve bu doğrultuda katılımcıların iletişim sırasında hem kendi davranışlarının hem de muhataplarının davranışlarını anlamlandırıp yorumlayabildikleri temel ilkesi dışında konuşma çözümlemesi iletişim verilerini gerçekleştiği bağlam içerisindeki durumlara göre inceler (Seedhouse, 2004).

2.2. Sınıf içi İletişim/Söylem ve Sınıf Düzeni/Yönetimi Çalışmaları

Dilin ve dolayısıyla iletişimin düşünce biçimini etkilediği ve davranışlarımızı yönlendirdiği bilinmektedir (Verducci, 2000). Ayrıca kişiler arasındaki iletişim, öğrendiğimiz davranış kalıplarını etkilemekte ve bu sırada edindiğimiz değerleri biçimlendirmektedir (Ayim, 1997). Sınıf içindeki iletişim de benzer olarak öğrenimin gerçekleşmesini ve bilgilerin oluşturulmasını sağlarken sınıf düzeni kurallarının, sınıf içindeki değerlerin ve buna benzer saklı unsurların da yapılanmasını sağlamaktadır (Hull et al., 1991). Sınıf içi iletişim/söylem çalışmaları ve sınıf düzeni/yöntem çalışmalarının ortak ilgisi ise sınıf içindeki düzenin ve sınıf yönetiminin iletişim/söylem yoluyla nasıl yapılandırıldığıdır.

Sınıf yönetimi çalışmaları öğretmenlerin öğrenciler ile birlikte sınıf içinde uyulması gereken kuralların nasıl oluşturulduğunu göstermeye çalışmıştır. Sınıf düzeni kuralları ve yordamları kimin kime ne zaman neyi nasıl söyleyeceğini, kimin kimi ne zaman nasıl dinleyeceğini ve neyin nasıl söyleyeceğini belirtir. Bu doğrultuda sınıf düzeni ve yönetimi araştırmaları hangi kuralların ve yordamların sınıf düzenini oluşturmada yaralı olduğunu, öğrencilerin sınıf düzeni sağlanırken derslerine nasıl yoğunlaştırılabileceğini, etkili sınıf düzeni kural ve yordamlarının etkili biçimde nasıl uygulanabileceğini ve bu aşamada öğretmenlerin onaylanmayan davranışlara nasıl tepki vermeleri gerektiğini araştırır (bakınız Evertson & Weinstein, 2006).

Sınıf içi iletişim/söylem çalışmaları sınıf düzeni oluşturan kural ve yordamların öğretmen ile öğrenciler tarafından nasıl uygulanıp izlendiğini ve değişik zamanlarda ve değişik durumlarda bu kural ve yordamların öğretmen ve örenciler arasında iletişim yoluyla nasıl yapılandırıldığını inceler (Morine-Dershimer, 2006). Lin (1994) yaptığı ayrıma göre ise sınıf içi düzen ve yönetim araştırmaları öğretmenlere özel olarak hangi kuralların ve yordamların ne zaman ve ne şekilde sınıf düzenini sağlamada etkili olduğunu ve hangi tür kuralların öğrencilerin başarısını etkilemede etkili olduğunu açıklarken sınıf içi iletişim/söylem araştırmaları öğretmenlerin belirli kuralları hangi yollarla öğrencilerine tanıttıklarını, uyguladıklarını ve değiştirdiklerini betimler.

III. YÖNTEM

Bu çalışmanın yöntemsel ve kuramsal temelleri konuşma çözümlemesi ilkelerine dayandırılmıştır. Saf bir betimleyici araştırma örneği olan bu çalışma, belirli bir toplumsal gerçeklik olan sınıf düzeni oluşturma sürecinin sınıf ortamında nasıl oluşturulduğunu, sürdürüldüğünü ve paylaşıldığını öğretmen ve öğrencilerin sınıf-içi iletişimleri sırasındaki davranışlarını temel alarak ortaya çıkarmayı amaçlamıştır. Çalışma daha önceden oluşturulmuş kuramlarla başlamak yerine sınıf içinde kendiliğinden ortaya çıkmış konuşmaların kaydedildiği ve bu video kayıtların yazımlaştırıldığı verilerle başlamıştır. Araştırmanın çözümleme mantığı ise iki boyutludur. İlk boyutunda ayrı durumlardaki farklı özellikler saptanmış ve ikinci boyutunda ise farklı durumlarda geçerliliğini sürdüren genel özellikler belirlenmiştir.

3.1. Pilot Çalışma

Pilot çalışma için veriler ABD'de yer alan bir üniversitede anaokulundaki sınıfın bir haftalık öğretmen ile öğrenciler arasındaki iletişim kayıtlarını içermektedir. Alan çalışması ilk aşamada öğrencilerin paylaşım zamanı (circle time) dedikleri süreyle kısıtlıyken daha sonraki alan çalışmaları öğrencilerin günlük iletişimlerini de kapsamıştır. Pilot çalışmanın verileri üniversite alanı içinde yer alan laboratuar anaokulunda toplanmıştır. Yaşları 3 ile 5 arasında değişen 20 öğrenci ve bu öğrencilere rehberlik eden 4 öğretmenin sınıf içindeki iletişimleri videoya kaydedilmiştir. Bu laboratuar anaokulundaki olağan bir gün (a) öğrencilerin birden çok oyun olanaklarını seçtikleri oyun zamanından, (b) değişik nesneleri ve olguları inceleyip araştırdıkları küçük grup zamanından, (c) hep birlikte fikirlerini paylaştıkları, şarkı söyledikleri ve hafta için yeni tasarılar ürettikleri büyük grup zamanından ve (d) öğle yemeklerini yedikleri öğle yemeği zamanından oluşmaktadır. Ayrıca bu laboratuar ana okulu eğitim fakültesinin değişik bölümlerinde eğitim gören öğrencilere çocuk gelişimini gözlemlemeleri için olanak sağlamaktadır.

Pilot çalışmadaki süreçte veri çözümlemesi kayıt haftasının üçüncü gününden sonraki iletişime odaklanmıştır. İlk gün öğrenciler ve öğretmenlerle tanışma ve uyum sağlama süreci ile geçmiştir. İkinci günde ise video kayıt teknik sorunlarından dolayı kayıtlardan beklenen nitelikli veriler elde edilememiştir. Deneme çalışmasından elde

edilen konuşma kayıtlarının bir özeti Şekil 3'te sunulmuştur. Ancak bu araştırma önerisine rehberlik edecek bulgu aşağıdaki şekilde özetlenmeye çalışılmıştır:

1. Sınıf düzenini yapılandırma sürecinin temeli Sınıf Düzen Öğesi (SDÖ)'dir. Sınıf Düzen Öğesi öğretmen ile öğrencilerin sınıf düzeninin nasıl yapılandırılacağı hakkında karşılıklı uzlaşmaları ile başlar.

2. Karşılıklı uzlaşılan Sınıf Düzen Öğesi öğretmen ve öğrenciler tarafından uygulandığı sürece sınıf düzeni sağlanmış olur. Ancak Sınıf Düzen Öğesi'ne aykırı bir davranış gerçekleştiğinde ve bu onaylanmayan davranış öğretmen ve öğrenciler tarafından da onaylanmayan şekilde yorumlanınca ya öğretmen ya da öğrenciler onaylanmayan davranışı sergileyen öğrenciyi uyarırlar.

3. Onaylanmayan davranışı sergileyen öğrenci bir sonraki adımda davranışını onaylanacak şekilde düzeltirse sınıf düzeni yapılandırma süreci olağan geçiş sürecine girmiş olur.

4. Bu bulgulara ek olarak deneme çalışması sınıf düzeni yapılandırma sürecinin öğretmen ile öğrencilerin ortaklaşa ürettikleri bir süreç olduğunu, onaylanmayan davranışların sürekli bir uzlaşma içinde yeniden anlamlandırıldığını ve öğretmenler ile öğrencilerin sınıf düzeni yapılandırma sürecinde farklı ama birbirini tamamlayıcı birer bakış açıları olduğunu göstermektedir.
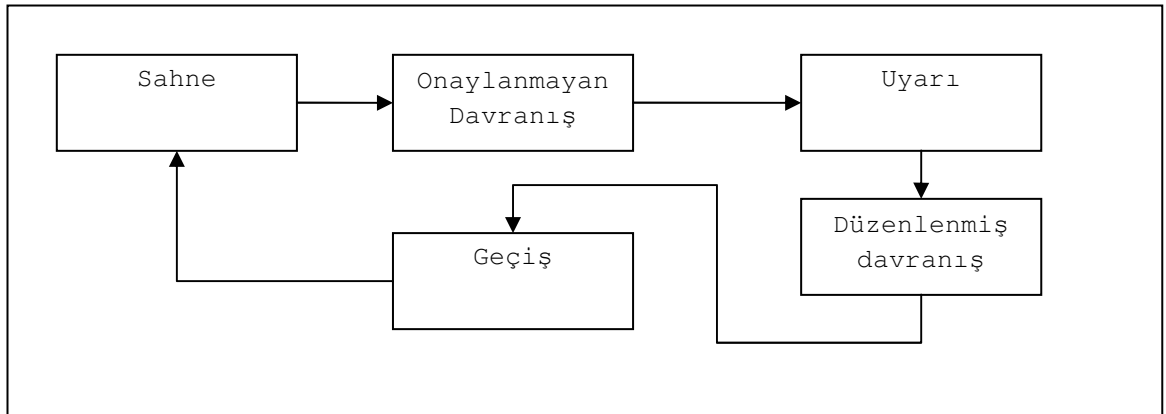
Şekil 3. Sınıf düzeni yapılandırma süreci.

3.2. Katılımcılar

Bu nitel araştırmada katılımcılar Ankara'daki üç değişik okuldaki üç değişik sınıftaki öğretmenler ve öğrencilerdir. Ankara'da aynı ilçe sınırlarında yer alan bu üç okul veri toplama sırasına göre (1) özel bir okul, (2) düz lise ve (3) Anadolu lisesinden oluşmuştur. Bu okullardan birer 10. Sınıf seçilmiştir. Bu sınıfların ve bu okulların seçimi maksimum farklılık ilkesine göre seçilmiştir.
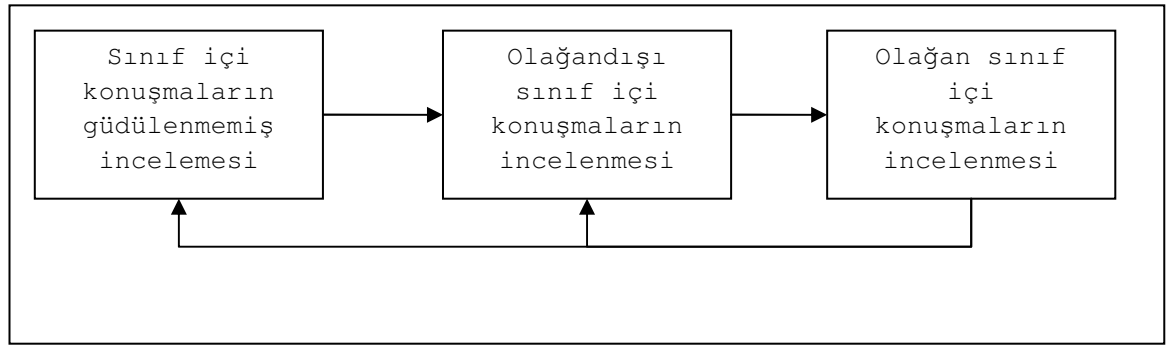
3.3. Araştırma

Okul A bir üniversitenin kampusunda konumlandırılmış özel bir okuldur. Okulda ilk ve orta eğitim binaları aynı yerde bulunmaktadır. Okul sınırların içinde diğer olanaklar haricinde (a) kafeterya, (b) spor merkezi, (c) konferans salonu bulunmaktadır. Araştırmacı için kaydedilen sınıf öğrencileri derslerini farklı dersliklerde işlemektedirler. Böylece öğrenciler aynı gün içinde fizik, kimya, biyoloji labaratuvarlaında deneyler yapmakta ve derslerin içeriğine göre düzenlenmiş sınıflarda Türkçe, Coğrafya ve Tarih dersleri işlemektedirler. Tüm dersliklerde data projektör ve internete bağlı bir bilgisayar bulunmaktadır. Özel bir okul olduğundan öğrencilerin sosyo-ekonomik seviyeleri birbirlerine benzemektedir.

Okul B Ankara'nın merkez ilçelerinden birinde yer alan düz liselerden birisidir. 4 katlı bir binadan oluşan okulda kantin, spor salonu, idari ofisler, öğretmenler odası ve derslikler aynı binada yer almaktadır. Benim izlediğim sınıfta 35'ten fazla öğrenci bulunmaktadır. Okul A'dan farklı olarak, bu okuldaki öğrenciler bir sınıfta ders almakta ve öğretmenler aynı sınıfa gelmektedir. Okul B gecekondu ve lüks apartmanların birarada bulunduğu bir yerde olduğu için öğrencilerin sosyo-ekonomik düzeyleri farklılık göstermektedir.

Okul C Ankara'nın kenar mahallerinin birinde yer alan bir Anadolu lisedir. Okul B'ye benzer şekilde, Okul C de 4 katlı bir binadan ibarettir. Derslikler, kantin, idari ofisler ve öğretmenler odası aynı binada yer almaktadır. Bu okuldaki öğrenciler okula bir sınav sonucu alındıkları için kaydedilen sınıftaki öğrencilerin akademik başarılarının diğer okuldakilere göre daha yüksek olduğu düşünülmektedir.

3.3. Veri Çözümleme Süreci

Konuşma çözümlemesinin ilk aşamasında öğretmenler ile öğrenciler arasındaki konuşmalar belirli bir amaç olmaksızın incelenmiştir. Böylece araştırmanın ana konusuna bağlı kalmadan ve ana konudan etkilenmeden ortaya çıkabilecek noktalar bağımsız bir şekilde saptanmıştır. Araştırmanın ikinci aşamasında ise sınıf içi konuşmalar araştırma soruları doğrultusunda incelenmiştir. Bu aşamada çözümlemenin odak noktası olağan dışı sınıf içi konuşmalar olacaktır. Araştırmanın üçüncü ve son aşamasında olağan dışı konuşmaların ortaya çıkardığı noktalar olağan sınıf içi konuşmalardaki biçemini incelenmiştir (araştırmanın veri çözümleme sürecini özetleyen Şekil 4'e bakınız) (Sacks, 1992).

Şekil 4. Veri çözümleme süreci.

IV. BULGULAR

Bu çalışmanın ana amacı sınıf-içi iletişim sırasında sınıf düzenin nasıl sağlandığını ortaya çıkarmaktır. Bu doğrultuda araştırma öncelikle sınıf düzeninin sağlandığı anlara odaklanmıştır. Pilot çalışmadan elde edilen bulgular ve güdüsüz inceleme aşamasında ortaya çıkan sonuçlar göstermiştir ki sınıf düzeni sağlama mekanizması kendini düzen sorunlarının meydana geldiği anlarda en görünür şekilde göstermektedir. Dolayısıyla araştırma düzen sorunlarının ortaya çıktığı dört ana yoğunlaşmıştır: (a) ders başlangıçları, (b) etkinlikler arasındaki geçişler, (c) gülmecelerden sonraki anlar ve (d) belirli öğrenci seslenmelerinden sonraki anlar.

4.1. Ders Daşlangıçları

Araştırmadan elde edilen veriler sınıf düzeni sağlama sürecinin kendini en belirgin şekilde ders başlangıçlarında ortaya koyduğunu göstermiştir. Her yeni ders hem öğretmen hem de öğrenciler için yeniden ve baştan kurulması gereken bir düzen demektir. Bu düzen diğer derslerdeki düzenden farklı da olabilir, benzerlikler de taşıyabilir ya da tamamen farklı da olabilir. Ancak her iki taraf için de önemli olan nokta da yeni dersteki düzenin yeniden yapılandırılması öğretmen ve öğrencinin birbirlerinin davranışlarını yorumlamaya ve onlara anlam yüklemelerine bağlıdır.

Çözümlemeler bize ders başlangıçlarının iki ana aşamadan oluştuğunu göstermektedir: (a) başlangıç ve (b) yeniden başlangıç. Temelde başlangıç diye adlandırılan aşamada öğretmen ve öğrenciler düzeni kurmaya çalışmakta ve yeniden başlangıç aşamasında yeniden kurulmuş düzenle birlikte işlenecek konuya başlamaktadırlar. Çözümlemeler ayrıca bize başlangıç aşamasının kendi içinde ikiye ayrıldığına göstermiştir: (a) yerleşme-selamlama alışkanlığı ve (b) evişleri alışkanlığı.

Bu bölümde göze çarpan diğer bir sonuç da öğretmenin sınıf düzenini sağlarken sürekli olarak yer değişiminden yararlandığıdır. Sınıf düzenini sağlamaya çalışan öğretmen sınıf içindeki konumunu değiştirerek öğrencilere belirli işaretler vermektedir.

4.2. Geçişler

Budunyöntembilim/konuşma çözümlemesi geleneğine uyarak araştırma bu bölümde önce geçişlerin katılımcıların davranışlarına bağlı kalarak açıklamıştır. Daha sonra da bu anlarda sınıf düzenin nasıl sağlandığını göstermeye çalışmıştır.

Temelde sınıf içinde bir etkinlikten diğerine geçiş anı öğrencilerin birliktelik sağladıkları anın çözülmesi için uygun bir ortam sağlamaktadır. Çözülmenin yaşandığı geçiş anından kurtulup yeniden düzenin sağlandığı ana geçmekte öğretmenin kullandığı araç bağlama işaretleridir. Bir önceki etkinlikle bağlantı kurabilmek ve böylece o etkinlik sırasındaki düzeni yeniden sağlayabilmek için öğretmen bir önceki etkinlikle ilgili bağlama işaretleri kullanmaktadır.

4.3. Gülmece Sonrası Anlar

Öğretmenin sınıf düzenini sağlama dakikakarından biri de gülmece sonrası çözülen birlikteliğin yeniden kurulmasıdır. Bu bölümde elde edilen veriler göstermiştir ki gülmece doğası gereği öğrencilerin birbirleri arasında gülmeceye konu olan olay hakkında yorum yapmalarını yol açmaktadır. Bu da düzenin çözülmesine ve böylece öğrencilerin kendi aralarında bireysel konuşma yapmalarına neden olmaktadır. Bu nedenle öğretmenin bir diğer görevi de öğrencilerin gülmeceden sonra yeniden düzenin sağlanmasıdır.

Çözümlemeler bize bir senaryonun gülmece sayılabilmesi için katılımcıların daha önceden bahsedilen bir konuyu gülünecek bir olay olarak ele almaları gerektiğini göstermiştir. Gülmece sonrası andaki düzen daha önceki böülmlerde tartışıldığı gibi bağlama işaretleri yardımıyla sağlanmaktadır.

4.4. Belirli Öğrenci Seslenmeleri

Bu bölümde önce pilot çalışmadan elde edilen veriler sunulmuştur. Pilot çalışmada elde edilen veriler sınıf düzenin sınıfta belirli bir sıra içinde oluşturulduğunu göstermiştir: (a) sahne, (b) hareket, (c) uyarı, (d) uyarlanmış hareket, (e) geçiş. Ana çalışmadan elde edilen veriler bu aşamaların doğruluğu vurgulamış ve değişik bir bakış açısıyla yeniden yorumlamıştır: (a) öğretmenin bakışındaki değişiklik, (b) öğrencinin adının seslenilmesi, (c) seslenmenin teması, (d) durak.

Bu bölümde öne çıkan bir bulgu da öğretmenin yer değiştirmesi ve bakışı öğrenciler için büyük bir anlam taşımasıydı. Çözümlemelerden elde edilen veriler bize öğrencilerin öğretmenin yer değiştirmesine ve bakışına dikkat ettiklerine ve bu değişikliklere göre kendi davranışlarını yeniden oluşturduklarını göstermiştir.

V. SONUÇLAR

Araştırmanın sonuç bölümünde konuşma çözümlemesi üzerinde çalışacak araştırmacılar için önerilerden ve öğretmenler, idareciler ve eğitim hakkında politika ve kararler verenler için önerilerden bahsedilmektedir.

5.1. Sınıf İçi Etkinliklere Yönelik Öneriler

1. Her ders belirli bölümlerden oluşmaktadır ve her bölüm kendi içinde birbirinden farklı örgütlenme süreci barındırmaktadır. Bu nedenle, öğrencilerin bu bölümleri yorumlamaları ve bu yorumları sonucundaki davranışları birbirinden farklıdır. Sonuç olarak öğretmenler bu farklı davranışlara karşı hoşgörülü olmalılardır.

2. Bu ders bölümlerinden birisi de ders başlangıçlarıdır. Ders başlangıcını oluşturan rutinlerden birisi de evişleri bölümüdür. Bu aşamada öğretmen öğrencilerin toplumsallaşma gereği olarak onların kendi aralarında konuşmalarına izin vermelidir.

3. Öğretmenler sınıf düzenini sağlayabilmek için birden fazla teknik kullanmaktadırlar. Öğretmenlerin bu tekniklerin hangilerini ne zaman ve ne şekilde kullanacaklarını belirleyen ve etkileyen temel etmen de onların öğrencilerle geçirdikleri zamandır. Öğretmen ve öğrencilerin bir arada geçirdikleri zaman onların birbirileri hakkındaki düşüncelerini etkilemekte ve davranışlarını yorumlamada çeşitliliğe neden olmaktadır. Sonuç olarak öğretmenler sınıfta geçirdikleri süre içersinde öğrencilerinin ne türden iletişim desenleri kurduklarına dikkat etmelidirler.

4. Bulgular göstermiştir ki sınıf düzenini sağlamak iki tarafında birlikte başardığı bir girişimdir. Öğrenciler öğretmenlerinin hangi davranışı neden ve nasıl yaptıklarının farkındalar ve gerektiğinde bu uğraşıya katılmaktadırlar. Bu nedenle öğretmenler sınıf düzenini kurarken öğrencilerin katılımını güdülemelidirler.

5. Sınıf düzenini sağlamak bir davranışla gerçekleşen bir başarı değildir. Bu başarı öğretmen ve öğrencinin birlikte yaptığı birden fazla davranış sonucu ortaya çıkan bir süreçtir. Bu nedenle öğretmenler sınıf düzenini sağlarken birden fazla teknik kullanmalı ve sabırlı olmalıdırlar.

5.2. Diğer Araştırmacılar için Öneriler

1. Bu araştırma sırasında araştırmacı olarak zorlandığım bir nokta araştırmanın temelini oluşturan yolun dengelenmesiydi. Bir konuşma çözümlemesi çalışması olarak başlangıçta iki yolun olduğun farkındaydım: (a) etnografik temelli yol ve (b) ayrıntılı ardışık çözümleme yolu. İki yoldan birisini seçmek yerine ben orta yoldan yürümeyi seçtim. Diğer bir değişle konuşmalardaki ayrıntılara odaklanırken büyük resmi görmek amacıyla etnografik özelikleri de incelemeye

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çalıştım. Bu aşamada orta yolu tutturmayı başarıp başarmadığım hala bir soru işaretidir. Sonuç olarak konuşma çözümlemesi çalışacak diğer araştırmacıların hangi yolu seçeceklerini ve seçtikleri yolda neyi nasıl inceleyeceklerini başta belirlemeleri gerekmektedir.

2. Sınıf düzeninin sağlanması konusunda çalışan araştırmacılara çalışma konusu olacak bir alan da öğretmenlerin sınıf düzenin sağlama sırasında karar eşiği mekanizmasıdır. Bu çalışma bu konuya yeteri kadar zaman ve yer ayıramamıştır. Ancak sonraki araştırmacılar bu eşik mekanizmasının sınıf içinde nasıl işlediğini araştırarak sınıf düzeni konusunda birçok konuya ışık tutabilirler.

3. Diğer bir konu da öğrencilerin sınıf düzeni kurma sürecine katkılarıdır. Bu araştırma el verdikçe öğrencilerin bu sürece katkısını açıklamaya çalışmıştır. Ancak ışık tutulması gereken daha bir çok yer vardır. Bu nedenle bu konuda çalışacak diğer araştırmacıların öğrencilerin sınıf düzenine nasıl katıldığını inceleyebilirler.

4. Çözümlemelerde ortaya çıkan bir konu da katılımcıların dersi ya da bir etkinliği nasıl sonlandırdıklarıydı. Ancak bu araştırma yeteri kadar bu konuya ışık tutamamıştır. Diğer araştırmacılar öğretmen ve öğrencilerin dersi ya da bir etkinliği nasıl sonlandırdıklarını inceleyerek bu alana ışık tutabilirler.

APPENDIX H

Curriculum Vitae

Mehmet Ali Icbay was born in 1980 in Gaziantep, Turkey. He received his B. Sc. degree in Foreign Language Education and his B. A. degree in Psychology in 2003 at Middle East Technical University, Ankara. He has been working as a research assistant in the Department of Educational Sciences at Middle East Technical University since 2004. Between 2006 and 2007, he was a visiting scholar at The Ohio State University and completed the pilot study for his dissertation project in Columbus, Ohio. His research interests are conversation analysis, classroom discourse analysis, and classroom ethnography.