TURN-TAKİNG: TEACHER-STUDENT CONVERSATİON

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Abstract

This study aims at showing the types of turn-taking and its relation to cooperative principle and Grician maxims, which organize speech information and duration of speech of the participants. It is hypothesized that the adjacency pair is the dominant type that controls the conversation, and the classroom conversation is a formal conversation rather than being informal, regardless the age and gender of students and teacher. Some selected conversations of different environments will be analysed according to the types of turn-taking which is posed by Cook (1989). It is obvious that classroom conversation contains a lot of questions which require answers. Thus, the students frequently answer the questions that are posed by the teacher. This gives an indication that the adjacency pair is used a lot in the classroom, which organizes the role of each participant. Also, the overlapping is few in the classroom, because the conversation in such environment is systematic more than other places. The formality of school obliges teachers and students to use formal language as an academic institution, beside the formal language of the books. The study involves an introduction, a theoretical background, data analysis and results, and finally conclusions.

Keywords: turn-taking, Teacher, conversation.

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1. Introduction:

Language is an essential part in human being life, in which they convey their ideas, express their emotions, and participate speech with each other for all aspects of life. In conversation, interlocutors participate speech, but this process has some rules that organize turn-taking. The problem in turn-taking is that, each interlocutor should know his/her turn without overlapping the turn of other participant(s), or interrupt others; otherwise it will be considered as a kind of impoliteness to interrupt others. Conversation is not a random practice, in which each one must not talk haphazardly without paying attention to other participant turns. Besides, each culture has a particular rules and systems in conversation, where in some societies overlapping and interruption is accepted but refused in another. Conversation in classrooms has some principles, in which the conversation between teacher and students is organized.

2. Turn-taking: Definitions and Types:
2.1 Definitions:

Crystal (2008:498) defines turn-taking as a strategy in conversation, in which the participation of each participant is governed by rules, like the rules of determining whose turn to speak next is. Yule (2010:146) defines turn-taking as the process of knowing when to start talking, ask a question, or answer. Another definition is poses by Hirsch (1989:10) who claims that turn-taking system is a local management system, because it performs at the transformation point between interlocutors when one finishes and the other starts talking without previous planning to such interaction.

It is obvious that the concept of turn-taking involves speakers, that, when a speaker finishes his speech the other one begins to talk. In some cases, some participants trespass their role and talk before the speaker finishes, though it may occur almost 5%, in which most speakers know how to participate. By using some signals through conversation, the participants know when to talk. Each culture and each language has its own rules about speech participation and turn-taking mechanisms. In some societies, overlapping may be acceptable, while in others not, (Cook,1989:52-53).

These signals enable speakers to start, pass their turn to another one, or to leave the conversation. It depends on to whom the speaker talks, and the circumstances of the conversation. Not all cultures have mechanisms of turn-taking. Using paralinguistics in conversation is another factor in effective turn-taking. Facial expressions, eye contact,

body language, and gestures are the most effective signals that are used, especially in British culture. In formal conversations, interlocutors adhere to the turn-taking rules. They are governed by the social status and power, for instance, students keep silent when their teacher talks inside the classroom, or outside it (ibid:53).

Such signals organise the process of turn-taking rather than rules. Gazes, for example, are used by a speaker who turns his eyes, and again gazes for a while to the hearer. A problem will take place in such a situation. If the speakers participate speech, but not face-to-face, how can such signals be predicted? The answer will be by the audible cues, like using intonation. Telephone conversations researches prove that not all speech participations have overlapping; they are sometimes ordered like face-to-face conversations. So, considering such signals as a complement to turn-taking process is incorrect, but they just refer to the completion of turn-constructional units, not basic elements that organise turn-taking through conversation (Levinson, 1983:302).

Mechanisms of exchange, which depend on the interchanging information, distinguish human interaction. In ordinary cases, only one interlocutor speaks in order to get a response. Turn-taking is controlled by the behavioural principles of interaction. Children, not only adults, adhere turn-taking, in which Levinson (2006) points out that humanity being social and interactive is inherited genetically. He says that the "interaction engine" may occur in the children's heart (Holler et al,2016:6).

Different strategies are used to participate conversations. The participant may be described as rude due to rudeness strategy, when the speaker interrupts the other participants, and act rudely during conversations. The other strategy is shyness. When the speaker waits other participant(s) to keep silent and complete their speech to start talking, and waiting the opportunity may cost time. In this strategy, the participant is described as shy (Yule,2010:146).

 Some people use pauses at the end of their speech, so to keep the turn, the good speaker uses connectors to make their speech runs on, like "and, but so, then…etc". These expressions are used to avoid interruption from other participant(s), and to show that there is more to be said. When the message is incomplete, filling pauses is used to over flow speech, like em, er, uh, eh…etc. such expressions are used when the speaker is hesitated and confused to what to say. These strategies are useful in conversation, and help participants to talk easily and to make the process of speech co-operative (ibid:146 -147).

Turn-taking involves the "how', "when" and "who" in its linguistic study, beside the social mechanisms. It also contains the relationship between turn and action, its patterns and roles, relationship and identity, and the turn-taking itself and other cultural factors (Aijmer&Anderson,2011:501).

Sacks et al (1974) describe turn-taking as a face-to-face interaction as an organised system, and focus on the primacy of turn-taking in human participation. They also point out to the speed of the addresser transition that needs 'prediction' at the end of the participant's turn, in which the turn of the other begins. Sometimes overlapping occurs. But not all overlapping can be interpreted as rules of violation. Sacks et al (1974) clarify that overlapping is something ordinary to occur. Thus, gaps or silence are used, but such gaps are not preferred to be used (Levinson,2015:9).

Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson publish a paper named as ''A simple systematic for the organization of turn-taking for conversation" in 1974. This paper is regarded as a stone foundation for the analysis of turn-taking. It supplies a technical observation of the structure of common participation. According to Sacks et al (1974), turn-taking has two components:

1. Turn-construction. This kind constructs units like sentences, clauses, phrases, or single words. This kind can't be adopted in conversation analysis, because it contains participants' problems. So, it is out of what a turn is built of. In this description, two keys' features are introduced for turn-construction unit which are:
    a. They have the features of 'projectability', that it is easy to project something.
    b. Turn-construction units refer to transition-relevance places. It means that, when a participation is about to be finished, there is a possibility to authentic participation between interlocutors.
2. Turn-distribution. Sacks et al put rules that clarify how this model works at transition-relevance places. It contains two basic rules which are:

Rule (1):
    a. If the interlocutor is known, a specific next interlocutor should take the next turn.
    b. If the first identification is not achieved by assigning the next interlocutor, any next interlocutor, by self-select, can take the turn.
    c. If the next interlocutor is not chosen, the current interlocutor can keep on his speech with another turn-constructional unit.

Rule (2):
    Any choice is used, the rules 1(a)-(c) can be used frequently for the followed transition-relevance place (Hutchby&Wooffitt, 2008:49-50).

2.2 Types of Turn-taking as a Model:

There are many types of turn-taking which are used during conversation. They are clarified by Cook (1989:54-56) as follows:

1. Adjacency pair. This type is noticed when a participant say something causes a response from the same kind, somehow, of the

speaker's utterance, for example, greeting is followed by another greeting, or a question is followed by an answer, apology is followed by acceptance or refusal.. etc. If the participant does not show any attention about the speaker's utterance, it will be considered as a kind of rudeness, deafness, or lack of attention. Two types of responses are there in adjacency pair, that a request either to be followed by acceptance or rejection.

The accepted response can be called as a preferred response, because it is common to be used, and the rejected is called undesirable one, due to its uncommon use. It can be noticed when the interlocutor uses pauses, or expressions like "well" or "you see", or even by justifying responses.

2. Insertion sequence. In this type, the question is answered with another question, e.g,

A: Do you agree with his opinion? (Q)

B: Do you? (Q)

A: No. (A)

B: Me too. (A)

This type relates to the adjacency pair, in which (B) should answer the question of (A), but s/he turns the role to question (A) instead of answering him. The technique of this kind will be (Q (Q-A) A).

3. Side sequence. Switching to another irrelevant topic by saying something out of the topic, and then returning back to the main topic. These two sequences prove that conversation is a process that a topic should be negotiated at its time.

4. Repair. In this type, the participant cannot repair and correct what has been said, because there is no chance for going back for correction, or rewriting and reconstructing. When someone, for example, says an ambiguous utterance, like "children bar", definitely a misunderstanding occurs, and interrupts communication process, so the hearer asks the speaker to clarify what is said, as it is shown in this conversation:

A: what have you got to do this afternoon?

B: oh I'm*going to repair the child bar.

A: what do you mean CHILD bar

B: uh it's er metal bar goes acr_ has to be fixed from one side of the car

A: AH.

5. Gist or the upshot of what has been said. In the case of gist, the addresser can summarize the literal, or which is called the locutionary, meaning of an utterance, and considered as a formal style, but they are rarely used, e.g. I'll just go over the main points again. Upshot deals with the illocutionary or prelocutionary, by which the speech act is involved, that, what an addresser wants to perform with his/her utterance to be obvious, e.g. Are you trying to

annoy me? These two formulations, upshot and gist, are significant in written and formal speech.

6. Pre-sequence. Interlocutors of any conversation attract attention to which type of turn they will get. It is as a kind of informing others before to start, like saying '' OK, let's start''. Pre-sequence has many types. One of them is the pre-request, like:

A: Are you free tonight?

B: Yes.

A: Like to have supper outdoors?

When the speaker finishes the speech, s/he ought to give signs of finishing the speech, in order to give a chance to other participants to talk, and to avoid the concept of interruption. Pauses, specific types of laughing, and words are used to refer to finishing the conversation.

3. Turn-taking and Pragmatics:

Some linguists classify turn taking as a field that uses semantic dimensions in its construction. Other linguists disagree with this assumption, and tend to classify it as a ''pragmatic completion'' or '' discourse pragmatic''. Pragmatic completion is defined as an utterance that recognisably implies an action. This type is regarded as the most significant kind of completion, in which the point of grammatical completion could be achieved without finishing the turn, in case; the pragmatic activity is not met. This opinion of completion appears in the analysis of conversation. Sacks (1968) points out that, the main relevance of an ''adequate complete utterance is that it is adequate for sequential purpose, when it is over, the next should speak'' (Aijmer&Anderson,2011:519).

4. Turn-taking and other Theories:
4.1 Conversation Analysis:

Conversational analysis (CA) is a principle that shows the sequential structure and the coherence of conversation as theories of studying, which uses the ethnomethodological techniques. It is a practical study which adopts inductive way (Crystal,2008:114). Yule (2010:145) claims that practising conversation needs two or more participants to take their turns. In each time, just one participant speaks, but the participants should avoid keeping silent, in order not to break the series of conversation. In any conversation process, only one person must talk, if not, the speaker spontaneously stops to allow the overlapped one to complete his/her speech.

According to Chapman (2011:177), conversation analysis relates to social studies, which deal with the structures, patterns, and regularities of usual conversations. The promotion of this field began in 1960s and 1970s. Harvey Sacks and Emmanuel Schegloff are the

pioneers of this promotion. In the first appearance of this field, it seems to tend to pragmatics, because its focus is on how language is used, but there are some differences between pragmatics and conversation analysis. One of these differences that concerns conversation analysis is the kind of data, and the kind of questions that are posed about these data. It also focuses on the formulation of the structure in the interactive sequences, and how linguistic and other conversational characteristics act as social behavioural mechanisms. Pragmatics poses questions about how addresser communicates and the addressees comprehend meanings.

The process of conversation is "locally managed", as Chapman's (2011:178) description, in which the form and structure are shaped by the speaker, without previous planning for what will be said and which structure will be used. The concept of taking turns grows basic. It is an over flow of speech created by one participant till s/he finishes the speech to give the turn to the other participant. Turn-taking has a " transition relevance places", which are a set of factors, like intonation, expanded syllables, semantic completeness and the like.

4.2 Co-operative Principle:

Yule (2010:147) mentions in his account about turn-taking that this process relates to the co-operative principle. Co-operative principle is the principle that makes "the conversational contribution as is required". Crystal (2008:114) argues that this term is deduced from the philosopher H. P. Grice's work which nowadays becomes an important element in studying the conversational structure. This principle states that participants are co-operating and participating with each other during communication process. They try to adhere to these four maxims (ibid). The concept of co-operative principle is reinforced by the Gricean maxims, which are:

1. Quantity:
   a. Make your contribution as informative as is required.
   b. Don't make your contribution more informative than is required.
2. Quality:
   a. Try to make your contribution one that is true.
   b. Don't say what you believe to be false.
   c. Don't say that for which you lack adequate evidence.
3. Relation:
   a. Be relevant.
4. Manner: be perspicuous:
   a. Avoid obscurity of expression.
   b. Avoid ambiguity.
   c. Be brief.
   d. Be orderly.

It is significant to refer to these maxims in conversational analysis, in which hearers presume that the speaker tells the truth, and saying

relevant utterances, and avoid using vague expressions by being clear (Yule,1996:37).

5. Data Analysis, Results and Conclusions:
5.1 Introduction:
The classroom conversation is a formal type of conversations, because of the nature of the school as an academic institution. Turn-taking is a basic element in organising classroom. It is a systematic process that puts rules to avoid overlapping and interruption, in which the classroom should be organised and governed by rules. The duration of speech of each student, the turn of each one, and the kind of their speech must be organised, because of the limited time of the lesson. Usually the turn of the teacher is longer than other students.
5.2 Data Analysis:
Cook's classification (1989,53-56) of the types of turn-taking will be adopted as a model for analysing the types of turn-taking. The corpus for analysis will contain four classrooms' conversations from different levels These types of turn-taking are analysed to show which type is the dominant one and why. Tables will be used to show the analyses of these conversations. The researchers will add numbers to each utterance in the conversation, and these numbers will be used in the first column of the Table.

    Example no.1
In this conversation, the teacher is a woman, teaching in a primary school. The example is tackled from Thornbury's (2005:71) book ''How to Teach Speaking'':
    T=Teacher,   S=Student:
    T: ...what other advantage do you think you may have, if you were the only.
    child in the family? (1)
    S: I'm sorry? I beg your pardon. (2)
    T: Er, if you were the only child in your family, then what other advantages.
    you may have? What points, what other good points you may have? (3)
    S: It is quiter for my study.(4)
    T: Yes? It's quitter for you to study. Yes? Any other? (5)
    S: No more. (6)
    T: Ok. Fine. (7),
Table no.1 Shows the Analysis of Conversation:

No. of the line of the conversation	Type of the turn-taking

1.	Adjacency pair (question).
2.	Repair.
3.	Gist.
4.	Adjacency pair (answering the question after repairing it).
5.	Adjacency pair. (the answer is repeated, another question is posed).
6.	Adjacency pair (preferred response).
7.	Pre-sequence (giving a sign of finishing the speech).

Example no.2

Another conversation between a female teacher and two students in a secondary school is analysed. It is cited from Thornbury's (2005:108) book '' How to Teach Speaking":

Teacher: You watched the hero and the….. Where, and the where? (1)

Keiko: Weirdo. (2)

Teacher: And the weirdo….Hero and the weirdo…. I've never heard of that movie … is it scary? (3)

Keiko: Yeah, scary…You like? (4)

Teacher: Tan? Did you want to say something? Is there a movie that you like ? (5)

Tan: Scary movie. (6)

Teacher: You like scary movie? I think everyone likes scary movies. (7)

Keiko: Oh, you like? (8)

Teacher: No, I don't like them, but I can only watch a couple, I get nightmares, I'm   a baby. (9)

Keiko: I know, I know, when you saw them, you sacred when you sleep and then you sacred they coming and they beat you up. (10)

Teacher: That's right, that's right… Sometimes I get sacred after watching a scary   movie… I have nightmares. (11),

Table no.2 shows the analysis of the second example:

No. of the line of the conversation	Type of the turn-taking

1.	Adjacency pair, repair (asking for correcting a missing idea – Weirdo-).
2.	Repair.
3.	Adjacency pair.
4.	Adjacency pair, insertion sequence.
5.	Adjacency pair.
6.	Adjacency pair (preferred).
7.	Insertion sequence, adjacency pair.
8.	Insertion sequence.
9.	Adjacency pair (dispreffered because of giving justification).
10.	Gist.
11.	Adjacency pair (preferred).

Example no.3

Another conversation is posed between a teacher and a girl student in a secondary school. This conversation is taken from '' Classroom Teaching Skills", a book by Cooper (2011:355):

> Teacher: Let's do a brief review of lungs for life information so that you're ready for the test next week. What are some of the issues we have studied about the lungs? Take some time to jot down at least four ideas on your organizer sheet. (Time passes, students write.) Who has at least six ideas? Okay, wow, almost everybody. Sarita? (1)
> Sarita: Smoking is bad for your lungs. (Four seconds pass). (2)
> Teacher: Please be more specific. (3)
> Sarita: I know this because I have seen photographs of the lungs of smokers. They are terrible to see, black and diseased. (4)
> Teacher: Do you remember what we call that disease? (5)
> Sarita: Emphysema. I remember from the video. (6)
> Teacher: Absolutely correct on the name. Now, you all read a brief description and watched the video about emphysema. Who has a question about this disease and how it affects the lungs that will help us to review? Take some time to think. (7)

Table no.3 Elaborates the analysis of the above conversation:

No. of the line of the conversation	Types of turn-taking

1.	Pre-sequence, adjacency pair.
2.	Adjacency pair (preferable response).
3.	Adjacency pair.
4.	Gist.
5.	Adjacency pair.
6.	Gist.
7.	Adjacency pair, pre-sequence.

Example no.4

This conversation is between a male teacher and his teenager primary school pupil. It is cited from all results (2015) website:

Student: Good morning sir, how are you? (1)

Teacher: I am fine, how are you? (2)

Student: I am fine too. Sir, I want to know about necessity of learning English. (3)

Teacher: Thank you for your curiosity. We know that English is an international language and communication defends on the language. (4)

Student: But, why shall we learn it? (5)

Teacher: If you want to serve in a post office, in a foreign office, in an airport and to study higher education, you must know English. (6)

Student: Now, I think that everybody should learn English. Because we can not progress in life without learn it. (7)

Teacher: I hope that you have understood properly it. (8)

Student: Thank you sir, for your advices. (9)

Table no.4 shows the analysis of the dialogue above:

No. of the line of the conversation	Type of turn-taking
1.	Adjacency pair (greeting)
2.	Adjacency pair (preferred response), insertion sequence (asking a question of the same type of the first question).

3.	Adjacency pair.
4.	Adjacency pair (preferred response).
5.	Adjacency pair.
6.	Adjacency pair (preferred response), gist.
7.	Gist.
8.	Adjacency pair (preferred response).
9.	Pre-sequence (giving sign of finishing the speech).

5.3 The Results:
In the first example, the analysis shows that the adjacency pair is the most type that is used by the interlocutors, in which it is used four times. In the second example, the analysis elaborates that, the adjacency pair is the dominant type in the conversation between the teacher and her students. It is used frequently for seven times. The third example shows that the adjacency pair is repeated also for five times, as it is shown in the analysis. The last example clarifies, as it is obvious from the Table, that the dominant type is the adjacency pair. It is used for seven times.

It becomes clear now that the dominant type of turn-taking in the classroom interaction is the adjacency pair which is repeated for twenty-three times in the four conversations. It is the most dominant one because of the nature of the pedagogical environment that requires posing questions by both of the teacher and student, but it is more from the teacher's side, regardless the gender and the level of the students, whether they are girls or boys, teenagers or adolescent, and also the teachers' gender, male or female. The second type that comes after the adjacency pair is gist, because, in the classroom, it is important to give a brief idea about what is said. Other kinds are also used frequently like repair, pre-sequence, and insertion sequence, but not like the wide use of the adjacency pair.

5.4 Conclusions:
Turn-taking is one of the important mechanisms used in conversation. It has rules that organise the role of the participants in the conversation. By adhering to the maxims of Grice, the conversation will be informative, qualitative, related, has a limited duration to avoid redundancy, and to make speech clear. Linguists prove that turn-taking is a discourse-pragmatic branch, and a pragmatic complement, in which it has a relation to pragmatics and discourse rather than semantics. There are six types of turn-taking which are adjacency pair, sequence insertion, gist, side sequence, repair, and pre-sequence. Each

type describes the different states that the speakers commit during their participation.

The classroom conversation is covered by formality, in which the relationship between the teacher and students is formal and respective, and the amount of interruption from student to the teacher is few. Adjacency pair, which describes the sequence of replying by the same kind of the speaker's utterance, is used widely. This kind shows that if the first utterance is greeting, it will be followed by another greeting, or a question will be followed by an answer and so on. In the analysis of the four conversations, it seems overtly that this type of turn-taking is used because of the nature of the classroom participation which requires posing questions and answering them. Most of the conversations are conducted by this type, especially by the preferred response rather than the undesirable response of adjacency pair. This type is used in both primary and secondary schools, by both male and female teachers.

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