INITIATING ROUND ROBINS IN THE L2 CLASSROOM – PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS

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Abstract: Complementing recent interactional research on the contingent operation of online task accomplishment, this paper deals with a specific way of organizing and managing tasks in plenary L2 classrooms – namely *the round robin*. This may seem like a "traditional" and rigid form of classroom organization that reduces students' contributions to responses to the teacher's elicitations. This paper shows that although the round robin puts certain interactional features out of play, it is nonetheless done in and through participants' mutual orientation to the ongoing activity. The paper describes the sequential position in which round robins are initiated and how this is talked and embodied into being by the participants as well as the design of the turn that initiates the round robin activity. Relevant to the initiation and further development of the round robin are the physical arrangement of the classroom and artefacts and graphic structures that are used not only as mediating tools in the (supposed) learning relevant activity, but also as structurally relevant features to organize the ongoing interaction, in which these activities emerge.

Keywords: Conversation Analysis, L2 Classroom interaction, Round Robin, pre-allocation of turns, classroom management, turn-taking organization

Özet: Süreç içi gerçekleşen aktivite tamamlamanın bağımlı işleyişi üzerine son zamanlardaki etkileşimsel araştırmanın devamı olarak bu makale yabancı dil sınıflarında aktivitelerin organizasyonu ve yönetimine özgü olan *çevrimsel sırayı* incelemektedir. Bu, öğretmen söyletimlerini takip eden öğrenci katılımını kısıtlayan, geleneksel ve kalıplaşmış bir sınıf organizasyonu şekli olarak görülebilir. Bu makale göstermektedir ki, çevrimsel sıra uygulaması bazı etkileşimsel özellikleri devre dışı bıraksa da, sözkonusu yöntem yine de katılımcıların sürmekte olan aktiviteye karşılıklı yönelimleri neticesinde gerçekleşmektedir. Çalışmamız çevrimsel sıranın başlatıldığı ardışık pozisyonu, bunun katılımcıların konuşmaları ve fiziksel aktiviteleriyle nasıl gerçekleştiğini, ve çevrimsel sıra aktivitesini başlatan söz sırasının nasıl tasarlandığını tasvir etmektedir. Çevrimsel sıra aktivitesinin başlatılması ve devam ettirilmesiyle bağlantılı olarak; sınıfın fiziksel düzenlemesi, yapıtlar ve grafik yapılar, öğrenmeye ilişkin aktivitede sadece bağdaştırıcı araçlar olarak değil, aynı zamanda bu (farzedilen) öğrenme aktivitelerinin ortaya çıktığı sürmekte olan etkileşimin organizasyonuna yapı bakımından bağıntılı özellikler olarak da kullanılmaktadır.

Anahtar sözcükler: Konuşma Çözümlemesi, ikinci dil sınıfı etkileşimi, çevrimsel sıra, söz sırasının ön-dağıtımı, sınıf yönetimi, konuşma sırası organizasyonu

Introduction

Within the last 10 years, a new line of research, primarily departing in conversation analysis (CA), has addressed various aspects of classroom task accomplishment in the second or foreign language classroom (e.g., Hellermann, 2008; Markee & Kasper, 2004; Mondada & Pekarek Doehler, 2004; Mori, 2002). Following Breen's (1989) distinction between tasks as teacher prepared activities and tasks as interactional accomplishments, this research highlights the co-constructed emergence of classroom tasks as a sequentially unfolding process and as an independent social practice. Although the (teacher's) intended task indeed provides a "behavioural blueprint" (Coughlan & Duff, 1994: 175) for how the lesson proceeds, CA based classroom research provides two analytic arguments for focusing the attention on the task-in-process. First of all, the teacher's plan is often not made available to the students

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(although see Mortensen, 2008), but is assumed to transfer directly into actual classroom lessons (Seedhouse, 1999, 2004) and assumed to lead to certain types of interaction. Tasks, as the teacher's workplan, are in this way based on a certain degree of intentionality –from the teacher's perspective– which can not directly be described in interactional terms (Duranti, 1993, 2006; Jones & Zimmerman, 2003). Secondly, although plans provide a framework in which the task is accomplished it nonetheless has to be carried out in and through interaction (cf. Suchman, 2007) and this includes negotiating how the task is to be performed. Mori (2002), for instance, shows how two students engage in a very different type of interaction ('interview') than the one elicited by the teacher ('discussion'). As a result, CA studies have primarily looked a how students accomplish tasks with a peer or in groups (Hellermann, 2007; Mori, 2004), how a task is managed during plenary lesson (Mortensen, 2008, 2009), and how students orient to the teacher's activities during their task accomplishment (Koole, 2007; Markee, 2005). Besides analysing the interactional process of the assumed pedagogical aim of the activity, these studies have highlighted the interactional (and supposedly learning relevant) work being done in initiating tasks (Hellermann, 2007), in managing tasks (Mondada & Pekarek Doehler, 2004; Mori, 2004), and in ending them (Hellermann & Cole, 2009). Hellermann (2008) has in this respect used the term *task occasioned interaction* to enclose the various contingencies that have to be managed during social interaction in general. This line of study adds to the description of the complexity of classroom interaction by focusing on the interactional work being accomplished as socio-interactional necessities during micro-moments of interaction, but which is typically not of the teacher's pedagogical concern when planning the lesson. Indeed, it is social practices such as these that are the very object of language learning (see e.g., Hellermann, 2008; Pekarek Doehler, 2010).

The majority of this work has focused on how pedagogical tasks are accomplished interactionally and the socio-interactional contingencies within which the task is embedded. Here, on the other hand, we want to look at a specific way of organizing and managing pedagogical tasks. Our focus is *the round robin*, in which students, one after the other, are required to provide responses to the teacher's elicitations. Round robins seem to be a frequent way of organizing tasks in our corpora – English as a foreign language classrooms and Danish as a second language classrooms.[1] What characterises a round robin is a certain degree of pre-allocation of turns, which often is associated with the projection of the pedagogical task. However, this paper will show that a pre-allocation of turns does not mean that this organizational type is less interactional, but that "local management and party administration may still be of primary importance to the accomplishment of turn-transition at the local level" (Hauser, 2009: 215-216). From a pedagogical perspective, although round robins may appear to be a quite rigid type of classroom organization, our analyses suggest that they allow all students an opportunity to contribute to the ongoing activity even in classrooms where there are a larger number of students, but at the same time restrict students' opportunities to offer contributions "out of turn" so to speak (cf. Heritage & Clayman, 2010: 37-38).

The description of how turn-taking in the classroom is organized has formed a steady research topic in the classroom literature since McHoul's (1978) initial 'application' and modification of Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson's (1974) empirically based description of turn-taking in ordinary conversation. The reason of this focus is based on two general assumptions: first of all, that getting access to turns-at-talk is essential for language learning, and secondly, that the teacher and the way (s)he organizes classroom activities both facilitates and constrains turn-taking in different ways. Paoletti and Fele (2004) describe this as the teacher's (pedagogical) challenge between the simultaneous management of turn-taking and 'order' in the classroom. Seedhouse (2004), in detail, shows how turn-taking and the pedagogical focus are reflexively

organized: as the pedagogical focus changes so do turn-taking practices. Similarly, several studies have reported on turn-taking in different pedagogical settings (e.g., Hauser, 2009; Hellermann & Pekarek Doehler, 2010; Mondada & Pekarek Doehler, 2004). Recently, several studies have documented how visual resources, such as gaze, gesture and body posture, as well as material artefacts are relevant semiotic resources in the contingent operation of organizing turn-taking (e.g., Käänta, 2010; Mori & Hasegawa, 2009; Pitsch, 2006; Sahlström, 2002). The present paper adds to the description by analyzing a specific 'type' of turn-taking, which, as we will show, despite a certain degree of pre-allocation, is employed and managed on a moment-to-moment basis by the participants.

In this paper we will provide some initial observations on a number of practices employed in the initiation of round robin sequences. We will look at how round robins are initiated and how the specific organizational feature of the speakership allocation is talked and embodied into being. Among other things, we will look at the incipient recognisability of a round robin-in-progress, the role played by the physical organization of the classroom environment, and the use of material and graphic structures such as textbooks and drawings on the board. Prior to this, we start by looking at the sequential position in which round robins appear to be initiated.

Sequential boundary
The initiation of a round robin is commonly preceded by a sequential boundary, which indicates a transition into a new activity and, where appropriate, a procedural management of the class. To this end, sequential boundary markers, in particular '*okay*', are frequently found in our data. The round robin organization seems to be particularly frequent in what Gourlay (2005) calls *checking episodes*, such as checking homework or group work, and an explicit mentioning of the incipient activity is common (see example 1 below). Additionally, the transition phase into the round robin often includes a procedural management of the class. Here, there may be a (re-)arrangement of books, writing utensils and even the participants' bodies, a call to silence and a focusing of participants' shared attention on the projected activity. In sum, round robins are overwhelmingly initiated following an orchestrated transition phase, which marks a shift in pedagogical activity:

Ex. 1[ii] LI-ode520U1,5:20

```
1    Te:   godt vi ska::: arbejde med mellem li:njerne
            good we are going to work with between the
            lines ((book title))

2    Ps:   (4.1) ((te gazes into textbook))

3    Te:   å je:res ehh lektier det va::r=ehh: hundredeti
            and your homework that was eh hundred and ten

4    Te:   å hundredeelleve
            and hundred and eleven

5    Ps:   (28.0) ((students re-organize books etc))

6    Te:   sssssssssssy::::::::
            sssssssssssy::::::::

7    Ps:   (1.5)

8    Te:   michel vil du starte med den første sætning
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```
          michel do you want to start with the first sentence

9    Te:  i nummer hundredeti
          in number hundred and ten
```

In this sequence, the teacher projects a next activity (line 1). In line 2 she gazes into the textbook and hence orients to it as relevant to the upcoming activity. Through the characterization of the upcoming activity as 'correcting homework' (line 3), the teacher projects the upcoming or incipient activity as relating to a task that the teacher can assume to be known to the students. Following her inclusion of the homework, in lines 3-4, the students orient to the necessary steps prior to initiating the activity, i.e. reorganizing the participation framework and preparing the necessary steps accordingly (e.g. opening the textbook, finding a pencil, disengaging from prior activities or interactions etc.). The incipient activity includes a projection of the different subtasks or task elements that constitute the pedagogical task. This often becomes even more explicit during the instruction that initiates the incipient task (see below).

The elicitation: turn design
Overwhelmingly in this data, the teacher prompt in the unfolding round robin activity is designed with the next-turn-selected speaker's name in TCU-initial position:

Ex. 2 Lux-pl090608D1

```
96 -> Te:  er::::: (0.5) camilla can you read question one?
97    Ps:  (0.7)
98    Te:  and the an°swer please°
99    Ps:  (0.6)
100   Ca:  what do you do. (0.5) i am? (.) artist.
```

Ex. 3 (fragment of example 1)

```
8 -> Te:  michel vil du starte med den første
          michel will you start with the first

9    Te:  sætning i nummer hundredeti
          sentence in number hundred and ten

10   Ps:  (0.7)

11   Te:  som er øvelser me:: adjektiver
          which is exercises with adjectives
```

The address term is followed by the instruction or prompt, which refers the student-participant to the relevant sub-task. This referring action, constituted as a request, then makes up the remainder of the turn construction unit (TCU). The address term is produced here as being one element in the same intonation unit that constitutes the entire elicitation, produced with a continuing or falling intonation contour and without any gap or prosodic shift between the address term and the rest of the prompt. As such there is no place for the selected speaker to respond to the address term with some form of verbal go-ahead response, such as "yeah" (cf. Schegloff, 1997), as in summons sequences, where availability for further talk were being checked. Where elsewhere such a summons is usually responded to with some overt, vocal or

embodied, display of attention (Eriksson, 2009; Schegloff, 1968), here such displays, where produced, are indeed not treated as sequentially constitutive to the ongoing activity. Students may direct their attention, or continue to direct their attention, to the referent alluded to in the remainder of the task-elicitation (for example "question one" in Ex 2 line 96). Where we do see instances of a student orienting his or her gaze to the speaker, suggested elsewhere by Eriksson (2009) as a preferred way of displaying attention in response to a summons when participants are co-present, there is no consistency in whether mutual gaze is established with the teacher, who for example may have his or her gaze directed at the whiteboard, the handout or textbook containing the task at hand, or even at other members of the class. Invariably in these instances, the student's gaze orientation then follows that of the teacher, either to the artifact to which the teacher has directed his or her gaze, or to the corresponding graphic in the student's own textbook or handout. On the occasions when mutual gaze is established between teacher and student, it may then be promptly followed by a gaze shift to the relevant task materials, as participants co-jointly establish the specific contextual configuration (Goodwin, 2000) relevant to the task engagement.

It appears then that the turn initial summons follows the practice of preparing a selected co-participant for the action of referring to a sub-task in the pedagogical activity to be completed, and thereby to "provide the necessary conditions, e.g. recipient's attention, for a successful outcome of the referring action" (Eriksson, 2009: 246). However, by not orienting to post-summons displays of recipiency, and indeed by designing the turn to forestall uptake on the part of the recipient, the teacher thereby shows that students' attention is already deemed a requisite of the task enactment. This presupposition may be a constitutive feature of the organization of the incipient task. This is further displayed by the absence of any receipt token on the part of the selected-student, acknowledging the teacher's prompt, prior to him or her engaging in producing the requested action.

Pertinent to the discussion of this particular institutional speech-exchange system, the turn design described here, with the address term in turn initial position, may constitute an efficient tool in the managing of the round robin activity. Elsewhere, a question or prompt *followed* by the to-be-selected speaker's name engages the students in a different way. There, all students must be prepared to answer the question or follow the prompt, in case they are selected (see Mortensen, 2008) or indicate that they are available as next-speaker.

Ex. 4 LI-ode620U1, 11:55, simplified transcript

```
6     Te:   å:: eh den næste
            and eh the next one

7     Ps:   {(0.9)
  -> Ay:    {turns the gaze towards the teacher

8     Te:   hvem vil [ta::] ↑den ja ayaan
            who wants to take that one yeah ayaan

9 -> Ay:            [°ja° ]
                    [°yeah°]
```

In example 4, we see that the teacher projects the next sub-task in the checking activity (line 6), and makes it relevant for the students to project whether or not they are available to be

selected as next-speaker. Although Ayaan turns the gaze towards the teacher during the pause in line 7 and by that indicates that she is willing to be selected as next-speaker, the teacher initiates an explicit request for a next-speaker, to which Ayaan promptly responds with a verbal acknowledgement in line 9.

Where the selected speaker's name is placed at the beginning of the elicitation, however, the non-selected students are able to take a different role in the participation framework, as for example potential support providers, or as next-to-be-selected-speakers in the unfolding task (cf. McHoul, 1978). It also allows for differentiation between prompts which are part of the progression of the round robin sequence, and others 'within' each sub-task, for example opening topics up to the whole group, or in selecting willing next-speakers to provide support when the current turn-holder is unable to complete the set task.

Instruction
The prompts produced by the teacher in initiating a round robin sequence are characterized by being the most explicit in how much instruction is provided on how to engage in the task. As the round robin progresses, the prompts tend to be increasingly less explicit, relying on students to draw on knowledge of the regularity of the required task activity.

Ex. 5 Lux- pl090608D1

```
92     Te:    °↑good° (0.2) she ha:s two jobs.
93     Sa:    she has two job≈
94     Te:    ≈ okay
95            (0.8)
96 ->  Te:    er::::? (0.5) camilla can you read question one?

(…)

112    Ca:    ≈ things≈
113    Te:    ≈ careful with your pronunciation all (0.6) kinds (.) of
              things
114    Ps:    (1.2)
115 -> Te:     okay (0.6) andre what is: question: two::

(…)

118    An:    i work at home. (.) i have the room? (0.2) just for
119           working in
120           (0.2)
121    Te:    ↑good (0.5) yeah
122           (1.3)
123 -> Te:    sabine (0.2) °question° three

(…)

137    An:    how many hours do you w[ork]
138    Te:                          [h o]w many hours do you work
139    Ps:    (5.0)
140 -> Te:    camilla (.) number four

(…)

170    Ca:    and (.) i don't ha:ve paid holiday.
171    Te:    good
172    Ps:    (1.8)
173 -> Te:    andre number five
```

```
(…)
182    Te:   <ima[gination    ]>
183    Ca:       [imagination]
184    An:   imagination
185    Te:   okay
186    Ps:   (2.3)
187 -> Te:   sabine?
```

The first teacher turn in the sequence can be heard as containing explicit instruction, establishing the set activity, whereas once the activity has been established, the teacher turns are increasingly designed as prompts to follow the instruction given earlier. The initiating prompt in line 96 is the most elaborate in how the turn is designed and the request is explicitly formulated, but it also includes the onset of a list. A question can only be 'question one', if there is at the very least also a 'question two', in much the same way as the 'first sentence' in example 3 inherently implies that there is at least a 'second sentence' which will be attended to at a later point. The inclusion of a numerical initial orientation can then be heard as projecting a sequence of events – which incidentally we see featured in the prompts that follow. In our data we observe that the use of a *numeral* in the prompt that initiates the round robin is not obligatory. However, an orientation to a feature of the new activity which projects further sequential steps does seem relevant. In example 6, for instance, we see the teacher initiate a round robin by orienting to the title of the exercise in question.

Ex. 6 Lux-pl090608

```
40    Te:   okay
41    Te:   {and (.) eh the ↑text (.) eh a double li:fe.
      Te:   {points to place in the textbook (see fig. 1)
42    Ps:   (.)
43    Te:   andre why:: (0.3) a double life
```


Ex. 6, fig. 1

In this sequence, we see the teacher display the relevant page from the textbook away from himself, in the direction of the students, and with a deictic pointing gesture single out a particular heading on the page. In printed matter, titles' graphic qualities conventionally differ from the typographical layout and appearance of their related text. However, they never stand in isolation, but are a constituent feature of the larger body, i.e. the referent that they are the title of. Without the artifact it points to, a title itself is functionally incomplete, and unidentifiable as serving such a purpose as a spate of text. Such conventional affordances can

be exploited by co-participants when the artifact is brought into play and made active as part of the interaction. As we see in the instance described here, the orientation to a title positioned at the head of, for example, a printed exercise, projects a further action, that of moving on to the artifact which it indexes. In example 6, the teacher's question regarding the title in lines 41 and 43 precedes a list of questions contained in the task, which then feature as steps in the sequential organization of the projected round robin. The teacher is able to point to the section of text in the textbook that can be identified as a title, and thereby initiate an orientation to future sequential moves. The following prompt to the next elicited speaker, line 43, proceeds then with the first question in the printed exercise.
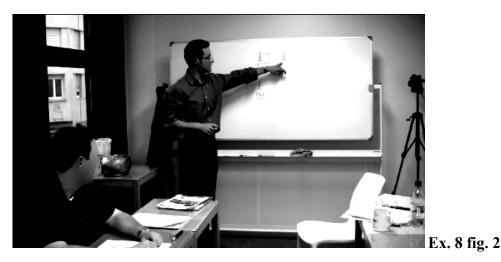
Ex. 7 Lux-pl090608

```
        Te:   looks down at the textbook on the desk
34      Te:   .hhhh okay
35      Ps:   (0.9)
36      Te:   homework
37      Ps:   {(3.8)
        Te:   {moves chair into position and sits
38      Ps:   {(2.6)
        Te:   {reaches and picks up textbook and holds it up to his
              field of vision as if to read
39      Ps:   {(2.4)
        Te:   {turns the book and places it against his chest with
              relevant page displayed to students
40      Te:   okay
41      Te:   {and (.) eh the ↑text (.) eh a double li:fe.
        Te:   {points to place in the textbook
42      Ps:   (.)
43      Te:   andre why:: (0.3) a double life
```

Finally, the elaborate choreography that the teacher performs at the start of the round robin which features the textbook list of questions, seems to display the utility accorded such material artifacts and their graphic structures for the initial move of a round robin activity, as it occasions an orientation by the students towards the sequential layout of the exercise. Indeed, he performs the action in spite of the fact that it makes the text more difficult to read for himself, and without the text in his textbook being able to be utilized by the students.

Emergent graphic structures
Following on from the above discussion of the embedded characteristic of succession in the instruction prompts, round robins do not necessarily rely on the deployment of artifacts to facilitate this overall organization in this speech exchange system; but they very often do. Artifacts embody certain affordances, proposed by Gibson (1977) as those features of possible action the environment offers us. In the examples in this data where artifacts are used during round robin activities, the affordances are not simply content, topic, or task relevant, those affordances conventionally attributed to graphic structures as books and pictures; but they afford the interaction an explicit orientation to sequentiality. A textbook may give a numbered list of questions to answer; a handout may provide a series of images to describe. As discussed earlier, initiating a round robin activity often includes a specific orientation to a first item in the organization of this material. Although it is not a requirement that the sequential pattern of the artifact is kept to, it seems very much to be the default, and a deviation from the sequential pattern afforded by the artifact would be somewhat marked (in the data at hand there is no such deviation).

In some artifacts and graphic structures used in the examples here there is a ready-made sequential element that can be brought to bear on the unfolding organization of the classroom interaction (e.g. in the textbook example, and the handout example). There are other graphic structures, however, that are created in situ as part of the unfolding task. In example 8, which concerns a vocabulary exercise to review lexical items relating to family members, the teacher develops a family tree graphic on the whiteboard, with the students taking turns adding the lexical items to the emerging graphic. The teacher provides the verbal next prompt when the on-task student in the round robin has provided the appropriate designation for the family member, and the teacher has added the next part of the emerging family tree to the graphic. The indexical labeling of the various figures in their respective places in the graphic layout is a constitutive feature of the structure. Without the labels denoting the relative positions of the category 'family', the structure remains incomplete. An understanding of what a family tree represents and looks like can then act as a blueprint for an emerging graphic co-constructed between the participants.

Ex. 8 fig. 2

Ex. 8 Lux-pl090610

```
30    Ps:  {(4.8)
      Te:  {draws a stick-figure on the whiteboard, turns
31    Te:  it's {me
      Te:       {points to stick-figure
32    Ps:  {(5.1)
      Te:  {adds another 2 stick-people, female and male to the
            graphic
33    Te:  sabine who is (.) {that
      Te:                    {points to one of the stick
            figures (fig.2)
34    Sa:  {°him°
      Sa:  {raises hand and points to andre, then returns it to desk
35    Ps:  {(5.3)
      Sa:  {raises finger again, indicating andre and mouthing "him"
36    Te:  that's {me? (0.5) who's {that.
      Te:        {points to lower figure
      Te:                          {points to upper figure
37    Ps:  {(5.4)
      Sa:  {points again to andre, then whispers something to
            camilla, camilla whispers back
38    Te:  let's start again (1.4) (°voila°)
```

The teacher initially draws a stick-figure on the centre of the whiteboard, and adds his name underneath it. He then turns to face the class and says 'it's me', as he makes a brief pointing gesture to the figure. He subsequently draws a line to a place above the figure, using a vertical line, a horizontal line to the right, another vertical, and a horizontal to the left, and draws another, this time female, stick-figure at the end of it, positioning the figure then directly above the initial one which indicates himself. Another horizontal line of an equivalent length is then drawn in the opposite direction, where a male stick-figure is added. At this point, the teacher then prompts Sabine to identify this male figure, again accompanied by a pointing gesture (see figure 2). Sabine responds with 'him' spoken in soft voice, and makes a deictic gesture in the direction of one of the other students. The teacher orients his gaze back at the board, and then towards Sabine, who again points to Andre, and is seen to mouth 'him'. It seems then apparent from this response that Sabine has not yet identified the graphic on the board as constituting the beginnings of a family tree. The teacher initiates a repair sequence by repeating the elicitation, this time without the nominal token at the beginning, but preceding it with the initial orientation to the figure representing himself, '*that's me? (0.5) who's that.*', and accompanying the turn with two pointing gestures which single out the figures the two pronouns refer to. This time, Sabine does not answer at all verbally, but simply repeats her deictic gesture indicating Andre. At this point, the teacher announces that they will start again, and he erases the graphic from the board, and redraws it lower down, before adding the words 'My family' at the top of the board.

Ex. 8 Lux-pl090610 continued

```
39      Ps:    (11.8)
40      Te:    {remember this is my family uh?
        Te:    {writes 'my family' at top of whiteboard
41      Ps:    (4.0)
42      Te:    {okay (0.4) so (.) that's me?
        Te:    {points to lower stick-figure
43      Ps:    (0.5)
44      Sa:    ye↑s:
45      Ps:    (0.3)
46      Te:    {who's this?
        Te:    {points to top right stick-figure
47      Ps:    (1.3)
48      Sa:    ((boy?))
49      Ps:    (1.3)
50      Sa:    heh
51      Te:    no
52      Sa:    huh huh
53      Ps:    (3.5)
54      Ca:    father
55      Ps:    {(5.9)
        Te:    {writes 'father' under the figure
```


By adding 'My family' as a header to the graphic, the teacher now allows for a more contextually restricted reading of the drawing. Although Sabine is still unable to grasp the significance of this, she is subsequently offered support by Camilla in line 54, who has been able to identify the graphic structure as a family tree, and can provide a candidate response to the teacher's question.

By providing an initial representation of self and parents in a family tree drawing on the whiteboard, the teacher is able to produce a 'designedly incomplete graphic'. Koshik (2002)

has described teacher utterances which enlist students' participation in the completion of the initiated language form 'designedly incomplete utterances'. In our example, an incomplete graphic generated by the teacher may act to prompt students to contribute to its development and completion. The initial first section of the family tree projects a further development of the graphic, as otherwise it would remain incomplete. As such, the students can follow and contribute to the graphic on a step-by-step basis, while organizing the round robin sequence accordingly.

'Next-to-first'-position
A practical problem for participants in the classroom, and in particular for students, is the recognition of *when* a certain activity is organized as a round robin as this gives them a reasonable although not programmatic projection of when it will be their turn, and which sub-task they will be expected to perform. The round robin in its most stereotypical and recognizable design is to follow the physical seating of the students. As such, physical ending positions, for instance when the classroom is organized as a U-shape the two students with only a neighbouring student on one side, are critical positions not just for the student seating in 'an end', but also for the other students. Although the selection of a student in an ending position does not necessarily mean that the activity will be organized as a round robin with one 'end' being the first sub-task to be performed, at least this is oriented to as a possible organizational format. In this sense, the selection of a 'next to first' positioned student is not only relevant, but the selection of 'next to first' following the 'ending first' constitutes the organizational format *as* a round robin. Although the selection of students is often done by the teacher, we do find cases in which the next-speaker relies on the projection of the task organization and the sequential structure to project a relevant position for initiating a turn-at-talk.

Ex. 9 LI-ode625U1, 49:25

```
1    Te:   hvis vi lige ta'r den (0.3) ↑eh::::rm::::::
           if we just go through this one (0.3) eh::::rm::::

2    Te:   (1.4) vi s- ka starte over ved dig michel å så {gå rundt
           (1.4) we mu- can start with you michel and then go around
     Wu:                                                  {gazes
           towards teacher

3    Te:   å så ta'r vi bare en ad gangen (0.2) bare sig ordet
           and then we just take one at a time (0.2) just say the word

4    Te:   så ka je høre om det rigtigt
           so I can hear if it is right

5    Ps:   {(0.5)
     Wu:   {->gazes into textbook

6    Mi:   apotek°et°
           the pharmacy

7    Ps:   (0.4)

8    Te:   a[:
           a:

9    Mi:    [tek
            [tek
```

```
10    Ps:   (.)

11    Te:   apoteket
            the pharmacy

12    Ps:   (.)

13    Mi:   tek
            tek

14    Ps:   (0.6)

15    Te:   husk å ha bestemt form apote:ket
            remember the definite form the pharmacy

16    Ps:   (0.2)

17    Mi:   apotek°et°
            the pharmacy

18    Te:   jaer (.) det rigtigt (.) der er (kun) (.) ehh
            yeah (.) that's right (.) there's only (.) ehh

19    Te:   tr[yk på te (.) jaer
            stress on te (.) yeah

20    Mi:      [te
               [te

21    Ps:   (1.1)

22->  Wu:   eh[hh]hh tablet?
            ehhhhh tablets

23    Te:      [wu]
               [wu

24    Ps:   (0.7)

25    Wu:   ehh på {let
            ehh on let
      Wu:         {gazes to teacher
```

This example[iii] comes after a listening activity where the students were to mark the stressed syllables of the words they hear. Although the teacher in lines 1-4 formulates the projected organization format it is still an interactional job for the participants to negotiate transitions to the next task item. Here we have Wu in a 'next to first' position – sitting adjacent to Michael in an ending position in the U-shaped classroom. After Michael's completed answer and the teacher's evaluation of it, Wu self-selects in line 22. Note that this is done *before* the teacher selects him as next-speaker in line 23, and that his gaze is maintained towards the textbook in front of him. He is thus able to project a relevant position to answer the question as well as selecting a relevant next task item to be produced based on the teacher's previous instructions and Michael's answer format.

In this case, mutual gaze between teacher and student is not a necessary resource in selecting students in the round robin as found in other turn-taking systems (Mortensen, 2008).

Although relevant next-speaking students frequently turn their gaze towards the teacher, the teacher does not return the gaze prior to the next-speaker selection:

Ex. 10 Lux-pl090527, 1:58

```
1     An:   he live: in a flat
2     Te:   careful he:
3     Ps:   (1.2)
4     Sa:   °lives°
5     Ps:   (.)
6     Te:   liv:e[s
7     An:        [lives
8     Te:   he li{ves in flat
      Te:        {gazes into textbook
9     Ps:   (0.6)
10    Te:   perfec:te
11    Ps:   (0.7)
12    Te:   okay
13    Ps:   (0.2)
14    Te:   eh{rm:: >sabine what's the} verb for number two:<
  ->  Sa:      {turns the gaze towards the teacher}
15    Sa:   hmm
16    Ps:   {(7.1)
      Te:   {gazes towards sabine
17    Sa:   work,
18    Te:   good (.) in a sentence
```

Following the teacher's evaluation of a first task-item and the sequential boundary 'okay' which projects a transition to the next task item, the only student to turn the gaze towards the teacher is Sabine. She's physically in a 'next to first' position, and therefore in a possible next-speaker position. However, the teacher does not return the gaze but maintains the gaze towards the handout in front of him around which the activity is organized. Organizing a round robin is in this way not dependent on mutual gaze between teacher and the (possible) next-speaking student. This is fundamentally different from other ways of organizing similar tasks. Mortensen (2008) describes how the selection of a next-speaker in planned and projectable activities, such as correcting homework, is based on interactional work between teacher and students. He shows how students display whether or not they are willing to be selected as next-speaker, and that the teacher orients to these displays are relevant before selecting a next-speaker. In this way, although the teacher is *managing* turn-allocation it is based on interactional work between teacher and students.

Concluding remarks
The social practice of the round robin is both an appropriate and useful means for organizing certain types of classroom activities, primarily those that benefit from an efficient way to pre-allocate a series of rights and obligations to each member of a class to contribute to the lesson. Employing such a system of pre-determined turn allocation occasions a shift from other classroom interactional contexts where teacher and students are in the position of deciding or negotiating the selection of next-speaker on an elicitation-by-elicitation basis. Here, participants orient to a system of speaker-selection, which is not tied to the relative level of language proficiency of individual students or to their level of confidence. Both teacher and students then temporarily suspend interactional features found elsewhere for the negotiation of next-speakership. These features may become operational again *within* a round robin sequential step, should the participants' choose to offer support or elaborate on the turn-holder's response, but participants then are able to skillfully return to the round robin when

the next turn becomes relevant.

In this paper, we have discussed a number of observations relating to the resources that participants draw on to occasion a shift in interactional context to a round robin, or display understanding of it in its incipient progress. Our initial observations of the data have focused on the talk, the embodied conduct, the seating arrangement and those artifacts and graphic structures, which are utilized in the initiating of this particular social practice. From our data the round robin organization seems to be frequently associated with two pedagogical objectives: Firstly, it assumes a (relatively) rapid progression of the ongoing activity, i.e. the overall time to be spent on the activity seems to be of the teacher's concern. Each task item is in its basic sequential organization limited to a basic adjacency pair, which may be expanded typically in cases of trouble or as the classic IRF format. As such, the round robin organization is like pearls on a necklace with each task item being completed before the next one is initiated. Secondly, the activity often assumes a relatively low complexity level, for instance producing a simple sentence, describing a picture etc. Often the activity is linked to some prior activity, e.g. correcting homework, which assumes not only that the responses are known to the students, but also that they are easily and rapidly accessible. This is further ratified as the activity progresses as the first student to respond to the teacher's first elicitation sets up a framework for how the responses can be produced, and this serves as a background for the responses to follow.

Round robins are by no means limited to classroom settings, but can also be found in various types of meetings, such as live-TV political debates and panel discussions. It is a systematic way of organizing activities in multi-party interactions to ensure that all participants get a turn-at-talk, and this may even be controlled to the extent that all participants get (approximately) the same speaking time. This organization sets certain interactional features out of play, for instance the relevance of speaker-allocation following a possible TCU completion, due to a constituent feature that is 'external' to the interactional organization itself (e.g., a 'chairman' or a 'teacher'). As such, our initial observations describe 'an alternative' turn-taking organization (see e.g., Schegloff's (2009: 358-359) call for the description of different speech-exchange systems as a contribution to *comparative* CA studies), in which the order of speakers is not negotiated on a moment-by-moment basis, although the *timing* of when a new speaker initiates his/her turn-at-talk may underlie the contingencies of interactional work. On the other hand, as this paper has shown, the organization of a round robin relies on participants' continuous display of understanding of, and participation in, the moment-to-moment progress of the round robin, and is indeed an interactional accomplishment. A thorough description of the interactional features of this turn-taking organization, however, is to follow.

Acknowledgement

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[i] The Danish second language corpus comes from the research project "Learning and Integration – Danish as a L2 for adults". The English foreign language data come from language centres in Luxembourg.

[ii] Transcription symbols follow Jefferson (e.g., 2004). Visual information is described in curled brackets '{ }'. '->' marks that the gaze/gesture is held throughout the fragment (or until otherwise indicated).

[iii] In Danish, the definite article is included as a suffix to the root of the noun. Here, in line 6 it is marked through –*et*, which is produced in a lower voice than the rest of the word, which is later treated as a trouble source (line 15).