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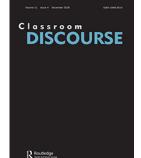Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

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Teachers' pass-on practices in whole-class discussions: how teachers return the floor to their students

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ABSTRACT

This paper reports on a conversation analytic study into the pass-on turns that teachers produce to return the floor to the class following one student's contribution, in the context of whole-class discussions around texts in 4th grade history and geography lessons. These pass-on turns are remarkable, as the teachers take the turn in order to convey that they will not be responding, but are instead giving their students the opportunity to do so. Our bottom-up analyses allowed us to identify different practices and their projections, and revealed their effects on the ensuing responses. Whereas minimal pass-on practices do not alter the sequential implications of the preceding student turn and typically lead to responses to the student turn, more elaborate practices do slightly alter the sequential implications and mostly lead to responses to the pass-on turn itself, or to an earlier turn produced by the teacher. The analyses show that, although the pass-on turns seem to sustain the Teacher-Student-Teacher-Student participation pattern, this does not hinder the activity of having a whole-class discussion in which students discuss the topic at hand and critically consider and challenge the contributions of their classmates.

Introduction

Whole-class discussions in which students have a conversation with each other and in which teachers have a less prominent role constitute a fairly uncommon and under researched type of classroom activity. To hold these discussions, teachers attempt to realise a participation framework in which students talk and respond directly to each other and in which teachers do not typically take every other turn at talk. In our video data of whole-class discussions around texts in 4th grade history and geography lessons, we found that teachers regularly realise such a framework by (more or less) explicitly returning the floor to the class following one student's contribution, inviting other students to respond. This paper presents an analysis of such 'pass-on turns'. It will demonstrate that the teachers in our data use various practices that have different sequential implications for the ensuing student responses.

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Background

McHoul (1978) uncovered the basic rules for turn-taking in classroom interaction as a modification of the rules formulated for everyday conversation by Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974). He characterised teacher-fronted classroom interaction as a heavily pre-allocated system in which teachers act as 'head' or 'director'. They take every other turn at talk and are the only ones who 'can direct speakership in any creative way' (McHoul 1978, 188). Students can also direct speakership, but they can only choose between continuing to speak and selecting the teacher as the next speaker (McHoul 1978). Unlike everyday conversation, classroom interaction is thus very hierarchical as well as being organised as a 'two-party speech exchange system', with the teacher being one party and the whole class of students, although being *multi person*, the other (Schegloff 1987).

Several scholars have added nuances to McHoul's description. For example, it has been shown that teachers sometimes select the whole class of students in order to give them a 'programmed' opportunity to self-select (Mazeland 1983; cf. 'general solicit', Van Lier 1988) or to elicit a choral response to a Designedly Incomplete Utterance (Koshik 2002; Margutti 2010). Furthermore, students do sometimes self-select (Mazeland 1983) and they can influence the teacher's turn-allocation, e.g. by showing availability through gaze (Fasel Lauzon and Berger 2015; Mortensen 2008) and by raising their hands (Sahlström 2001). Despite these nuances to McHoul's description, the position of the teacher as the one who actually allocates the turns remains intact.

Koole and Berenst (2008) note that McHoul's model mainly applies to teacher-fronted interaction and show that different activities in the classroom entail different participation frameworks. Whole-class and small-group discussions constitute activities that are very different from teacher-fronted activities, involving participation frameworks with a less prominent role for the teacher. Research on discussions, and more specifically discussions around text, has demonstrated that they are valuable environments for learning (Beck and McKeown 2001; Reznitskaya et al. 2009): they can enhance text comprehension (Applebee et al. 2003; McKeown et al. 2009; Murphy et al. 2009) and offer opportunities to reason together, encouraging the students to provide each other with context and different perspectives (Chinn, Anderson, and Waggoner 2001) and potentially leading to improved individual reasoning skills (Mercer 2000).

In order for these outcomes to be realised, the literature suggests a discussion framework in which the teacher gives the floor to the students for extended periods of time (Soter et al. 2008), facilitates the students to talk and think together (Myhill 2006; Van der Veen, Van Kruistum, and Michaels 2015) and does not dominate the discussion (e.g. through IRE-sequences) but does bring focus and structure (Soter et al. 2008). The students, in turn, may freely self-select or select another student as the next speaker. As a result, the dominant turn-taking pattern would ideally no longer have the Teacher-Student-Teacher-Student order omnipresent in teacher-fronted classroom interaction, but rather an order that reflects the multiparty character of these discussions: T-S-S-S (Cazden 1988; Chinn, Anderson, and Waggoner 2001; Myhill 2006).

This particular participation framework is quite rare in the classroom and has as a result received little attention in interactional research so far. The literature on student contributions to whole-class interactions, for example, reports on teacher-fronted interactions rather than actual conversations among the students and the teacher (e.g. Ingram, Andrews, and

Pitt 2018; Solem 2016). Our research focuses on actual whole-class discussions in which students have a conversation with each other and in which teachers play a less prominent role. Our study provides insight into the interaction in this fairly uncommon participation framework, and more specifically into one of the means though which teachers realise this framework. They make use of 'pass-on turns': turns they take subsequently to a student's contribution, in order to convey to the other students that they are encouraged to take the next turn and respond to the previous student. This way of evading the T-S-T-S turn-taking pattern is remarkable, as the teachers do at first occupy the response 'slot' in order to make it available to the students: they take the next turn, but only to give it away. Hence, with respect to sequence, one could say that the teachers do seem to be aiming at a T-S-S-S pattern, while at the same time holding onto the T-S-T-S pattern organisationally.

In this paper, we will identify different practices that teachers use for passing on the turn during whole-class discussions and analyse their projection as well as their effects on the students' subsequent contributions.

Data and method

We applied Conversation Analysis (CA) as our method of research (Sidnell and Stivers 2013). In contrast to coding schemes and/or consultation of the teachers in retrospect (e.g. Nystrand et al. 2003), CA enables researchers to study the details of the actual practices by focusing on the observable attributions and displays (Maynard 2013; ten Have 2007). Accordingly, we were able to specify the practices teachers use to pass on their students' contributions during whole-class discussions as well as the projection of these practices.

Our data set consists of 39 video-recorded history and geography lessons in 4 different 4th grade classrooms in the north of the Netherlands. The data were collected as part of a larger project on whole-class discussions (see also Willemsen et al. 2018). For the current study, we used a sample of 12 lessons. This was done in order to establish an equal distribution of lessons per classroom. For 2 of the classrooms, there were only 3 lessons each in the data set. Therefore, 3 lessons were randomly selected from each of the other 2 classrooms as well. To ensure this sample's representativeness of the data set as a whole, we executed a global analysis in which we compared the pass-on turns found in the sample to the videos and transcripts of the omitted lessons. At the time of recording, the students were around 9–10 years old. The duration of the lessons varied from 30 to 64 minutes, with an average of 45 minutes. All lessons were recorded using three cameras, resulting in synchronised videos in which the teacher and (almost) all students are visible at the same time. In order to ensure the quality of the video-recordings, the first author of this paper was present during the lessons.

As whole-class discussions are seldom put in practice at Dutch schools, we had to ask the four teachers participating in our research to depart from their 'normal' practice during history and/or geography lessons. In these lessons in Dutch upper-primary school, students typically first read the text(s) in their textbook and subsequently complete comprehension questions in an exercise book. In order to uncover exactly what teachers do to encourage a discussion framework, we asked the teachers in our study to hold whole-class discussions with their students around the curricular

history and geography texts. The lessons revolved around discussable questions, designed in such a way that they did not have one immediate right answer (e.g. 'What was it like for the Dutch people to live under the German occupation during World War II?').

In line with the literature (Cazden 1988; Myhill 2006; Soter et al. 2008), the teachers were asked to avoid acting as a dominant or primary respondent in the interaction (as described by McHoul 1978), and instead, to let the students take the floor for extended periods of time and respond to each other (Cazden 1988; Soter et al. 2008). Furthermore, the teachers received some question suggestions and tips for fostering the discussion, but they were free to monitor the discussion as they saw fit. For example, we recommended letting students respond to each other's contributions and letting them have a conversation among themselves, but we did not give any concrete instructions on how to do that (e.g. by means of a specific practice). Despite our instructions, the data are therefore natural. The objective of our research is to uncover the exact ways in which the teachers put discussion recommendations as suggested by the literature into practice and to determine the interactional effects of these practices.

In this paper, we focused on the pass-on turns through which teachers return the floor to their students following another student's contribution. In the 12-lesson sample, we identified 57 pass-on turns. All instances were transcribed according to the Jeffersonian conventions (e.g. Jefferson 1986, see Appendix) and the names of teachers and students have been anonymised. We defined a pass-on turn as a turn by means of which teachers convey that they do not consider the discussion to be over and are opening up the floor to the whole group of students following one student's contribution, thereby inviting them to continue and/or deepen the conversation on the current topic. Turns that comprise a follow-up question were not considered a pass-on turn, as they do not (only) deepen the discussion regarding the passed on student contribution but also shift the topic. Turns that did not shift the topic, but focused on a specific aspect of the student turn, were included in the collection, because these turns still convey to the class the invitation to respond to and expand on the preceding student turn.

We excluded instances in which the teacher's turn was difficult to hear and/or see, and hence difficult to identify without doubt as a pass-on turn. We also excluded instances in which the teacher continued speaking directly after the pass-on practice, thereby withdrawing the students' opportunity to respond. Other instances we excluded from the collection were cases in which the teacher immediately directed the pass-on turn to one specific student, as these students were disengaged or already had their hand raised to indicate that they wanted to contribute to the discussion. In these cases, the teachers' turns seemed to be primarily aimed at keeping order and allocating turns or re-establishing the participation framework, rather than inviting all students to the floor.

In order to obtain a better insight into the pass-on turns, we scrutinised and identified the different practices that teachers use to produce these turns. Furthermore, we analysed the projection of these practices as well as studying their interactional effects: do the students indeed respond to the preceding student contribution, or do they do something else? In the extracts presented in this paper, the transcripts include multi-modal information around the pass-on turns to clearly show what the teacher and students are doing at these moments.

Results

Our collection shows that the teachers use a surprisingly wide variety of practices to return the floor to their students: various verbal as well as bodily practices. The practices differ from each other with regard to the extent to which they preserve the sequential implications of the preceding student turn. For example, a student's question projects the provision of an answer (Schegloff 2007), but an assertion does not necessarily project anything (Pomerantz 1984). The teachers' pass-on turns either preserve or (slightly) alter these sequential implications depending on the practice used. Some pass-on practices are fairly minimal and leave the sequential implications of the preceding student turn intact. These practices seem to be primarily turn-allocational in nature and lead students to give a response fitted to the preceding student contribution in both form and function. Other practices show a slightly different projection and thereby alter the sequential implications of the preceding student turn. These practices typically result in a response to the teacher's pass-on turn itself, or a parallel response to an earlier question posed by the teacher, instead of a response to the preceding student contribution. A graphical reflection of the dichotomy between these two types of practices is given in Figure 1, in which type 1 refers to the minimal practices and type 2 to the practices that slightly alter the sequential implications.

Figure 1. Two types of practices for pass-on turns.

Practices that preserve the sequential implications

The first category of pass-on turns consists of three different practices that preserve the sequential implications of the preceding student turn. These are purely nonverbal pass-on turns, (partial) repetitions and imperatives such as 'respond'. The latter two are often accompanied by nonverbal practices. In accordance with these fairly minimal formats that do not alter the sequential implications, the practices almost unanimously lead students to respond to the preceding student contribution, regarding both format and content. The practices thus seem primarily turn-allocational: they open the floor to respond to a fellow student's contribution.

Extract 1 contains an example of a nonverbal pass-on practice. The fragment starts as the teacher has just finished reading aloud a piece of text about the Dutch resistance and their illegal newspapers during World War II. The teacher has invited the students to take the floor (see Willemsen et al. 2018) and Tristan does so by commenting on the text (line 1). When Julius spontaneously proposes that a pro-Nazi name could disguise the newspaper's illegal content, the teacher keeps silent, nods and looks at some of the other students in the circle (l. 12).

Extract 1. Nonverbal (44.2016S1L10.0.07.27).

```
1      Tri:        (nou) eh::m (0.2) die eh namen van die kranten dat komt
                   (well) u::hm (0.2) those uh names of those papers that
2                  ↑wel overeen dat ze wel vrijheid willen
                   ↑does match that they do want freedom
3      Tch:        je hoort daar veel vrijheid in [in ieder geval_=ja.
                   you hear a lot of freedom in it [in any case_=yes.
4      Tri:                                       [ja
                                                  [yes
5      Jam:                                       [ja
                                                  [yes
6                  (2.1) ((Tch looks towards Tristan, Jamiro and Julius))
7      Jul:        ↑ik zou dan eh eerlijk gezegd •h mijn naam: verandere:n
                   ↑I would then uh to be honest •h change: my name:
8                  (.) van de ↑krant van: de duitse:rs (0.2) eh gaan
                   (.) of the ↑paper li:ke the germa:ns (0.2) uh will win
9                  winnen ofzo_=>omdat de duitsers dan< (0.2) wel e:h
                   or something_=>because then the germans< (0.2) do u:h
10                 toestemming geven om die krant weg te geven, >alleen er
                   give permission to give away that paper, >but then
11                 staan eigenlijk dan< HEEL andere ↑dingen in.
                   there are actually< VERY different ↑things in there.
12        →        *(0.4) %(0.6) +(2.2)
       Tch:  →     *still gazes at Julius
                         %nods  +gazes right (away from Jul and Jam)
13     Jam:        hm *(0.4) maar dat heeft denk i:k niet veel nut ↓want
                   hm *(0.4) but there is not much use in that I: think
       Tch:            *gazes at Jamiro
14     Jam:        (.) misschien willen ze wel eerst dat- (0.3) eh als
                   ↓because (.) maybe they first want that- (0.3) uh if
15                 je die naam geeft eh •h en ze komen d'r achter, (.)
                   you give that name uh •h and they find out, (.)
16                 gaan ze die kranten lezen, >en dan< ↑gaan ze eh •h als
                   they will read those papers, >and then< they ↑will uh
17                 wrAA:k weer allemaal mensen dood↑schieten.=
                   •h out of reVEN:ge ↑shoot a lot of people again.=
18     May:        =(ja ook weer bombardementen [doen)
                   =(yes also do bombardments a[gain)
19     Tch:                                    [dus dan breng je mensen
                                               [so then you are uh
20                 eh in gevaar?
                   endangering people?
```

After Julius's contribution in lines 7–11, the teacher refrains from taking the floor himself. Instead, he leaves the floor to the students by merely nodding to receipt Julius's contribution and looking at some of the other students in the circle while keeping silent for 3.2 seconds (l. 12). By doing this, the teacher does not intervene or alter the sequential implications of Julius's turn, but leaves it to the other students to continue the discussion and format their turn as a direct response to Julius's assertion. Despite not being within the teacher's gaze direction, Jamiro enters the discussion and challenges the remarks made by Julius. By means of 'but' in line 13 and the deictic expressions 'that' and 'that name' in lines 13 and 15, his turn is also explicitly designed as responsive to Julius's contribution.

Pass-on practices consisting of (partial) repetitions are similar with respect to the preservation of the sequential implications: they do not alter the projection.

Accordingly, these practices also lead to responses to the preceding student turn. An example of this type of pass-on practices is presented in Extract 2. In this extract, the practice follows one student's response to the teacher's initial question about the resistance in World War II.

Extract 2. Partial repetition (43.2016S1L10.0.03.32).

```
1     Tch:          eh:m (0.3) kan jij w- eh kan jij aan de klas vertelle:n
                    uh:m (0.3) can you w- uh can you te:ll the class
2                   wat wat het verzet eh inhield? in in de tweede
                    what what the resistance uh meant? in in world war two?
3                   wereldoorlog?
4                   (0.2)
5     Jas:          (↑nou ik denk) dat je dan eh (.) gewoon (0.4) het nie-
                    (↑well I think) that you then uh (.) just (0.4) did no-
6                   dat je je tegen duitsland verzette.
                    that you opposed against germany.
7                   dat je niet wil dat ze je land e[:h
                    that you did not want them to  u[:h
8     Kar:                                          [inpikken,
                                                    [take over,
9     Jas:          inzet
                    put in your country
10                  (1.2) ((some inaudible murmuring))
11    Tch:          heel [↑goed, heel goed,
                    very [↑good, very good,
12    Kar:               [pikken
                         [take
13                  (0.3) ((teacher gazes at Kars on his right))
14    Kar:          eh ik de- ik denk dat je bijvoorbeeld misschien ook
                    uh I thi- I think that you for example maybe also
15                  gaat demonstreren,
                    go and demonstrate,
16                  (0.3)
17    Tch:          *↑demonst+reren.
      →             *↑demonst+rate.
      Tch:    →     *brief backward nod, eyebrows raised, gazes at Kars
                         +briefly points to Kars with textbook
      Kar:                +gazes away from teacher
18    →             %(0.6)       *(0.8)
      Tch:          %gazes forward *then left
19    Lou:          °(maar) +als ↑je gaat demonstreren dan pakken ze je
                    °(but) +if ↑you go and demonstrate then they will
      Tch:                 +gazes at Louis
20    Lou:          denk ik wel op.°
                    arrest you I think.°
21                  als je gaat demonstreren op straat.
                    if you go out and demonstrate on the streets.
22                  (0.7) ((teacher nods and looks around))
23    Jam:          °(meteen)°
                    °(immediately)°
```

In line 11, the teacher positively evaluates Jasper's contribution elicited in lines 1–3. He then looks at Kars (l. 13) who tried to contribute with 'take over' twice in lines 8 and 12. Kars now gives another response to the teacher's invitation to talk about the resistance movement, while formatting his turn as adding to Jasper's turn with 'also' (l. 14–15). The teacher repeats Kars's last and key word with a backward nod and his eyebrows raised, then briefly points to him and silently looks around (l. 17–18). The partial repetition is produced with a high-pitched

onset and a falling intonation at the end, which is different from the repetitions with a slight rising intonation at the end that we often encounter in third position during the listing and cumulating of several parallel student responses (e.g. when students give different examples of the same phenomenon). Combined with the teacher's bodily practices (i.e. his nod, facial expression, gaze, gesture and long silence), the repetition works as a pass-on practice, inviting the other students to respond. The sequential implications remain intact, as the teacher only literally repeats part of Kars's turn. Louis indeed responds by challenging Kars's assertion and designing his own turn as a response to Kars: '(but) if...' (l. 19–21). One could say that, as the teacher repeats (part of) the first student's contribution, the second student not only responds to the preceding student contribution but also to the teacher's recycling of those words.

Another pass-on practice that does not alter the sequential implications, and hence projects direct responses to the previous student, is the more explicit 'respond' and similar imperative formats. Extract 3 presents a clear example. At the start of this extract, the teacher is reading aloud the last sentence of a text about the Dutch queen's flight to England shortly after the German invasion in May 1940.

Extract 3. Imperative (42.2016S1L8.0.18.52).

```
1    Tch:        ((voorlezend)) en de koning↑in (.) die gaat naar
                 ((reading aloud)) and the ↑queen (.) she goes to
2                engeland.
                 england.
3    Mir:        (dat's) echt stom.
                 (that's) really stupid.
4                (0.6)
5    Tch:        ↑NOU.=ja.
                 ↑well.=yes.
6                *(0.5)
     Tch:        *directs gaze to Mirjam on his right
7    Tch:        w:aarom.
                 wh:y.
8                (0.4)
9    Kar:        [(vluchten)]
                 [    (flee)    ]
10   Mir:        [ze laat dan] *gewoon ze laat dan gewoon: het hele land
                 [she then just] *leaves she then just: leaves the whole
     Tch:                       *crosses arms
11   Mir:        in de +steek.=dat is echt niet goed.
                 country in the +lurch.=that really isn't good.
     Tch:                       +distinctly nods once
12   Tch:    →   okee.
                 okay.
13               *(0.2)
     Tch:        *directs gaze to other students, forward-left down
14   Tch:        +rea%geer.
         →       +res%pond.
     Tch:        +open palm gesture to other students
                     %retracts gesture
15   Tri:        >ja maar *die< koningin die wil zelf ↑ook niet doodgaan.
                 >yes but *that< queen she herself doesn't want to die ↑either.
     Tch:                 *lifts head, gazes (forward-left) at Tristan
16               (0.5)
17   Kar:        ja maar [(bedoel)
                 yes but [(mean)
18   Tri:                [(want dan denkt) JA die is koningin,=
                         [(because then thinks) YES she is a queen,=
```

When Mirjam spontaneously assesses the Dutch queen's behaviour without providing supporting arguments, the teacher's 'why' (l. 7) is almost inevitable. Mirjam subsequently accounts for her assessment (l. 10–11), which is acknowledged by the teacher with a nod and 'okay' (l. 12). With this 'okay', the teacher closes the accounting sequence and signals the movement to a new action (Beach 1995); with the imperative 'respond' (l. 14) he then invites other students to respond to Mirjam's assessment and account. This invitation is further supported by the teacher's gaze shift (l. 13) and his open palm gesture (l. 14). Again, the practice used preserves the sequential implications. This time, however, the pass-on practice is more pronounced as the imperative explicitly conveys the projected action: a direct response to the preceding student turn from one of the other students. Tristan self-selects (l. 15) and responds to Mirjam both in content and format: he gives a counterargument preceded by the agreement token 'yes' and the contrast conjunction 'but' (Pomerantz 1984), which explicitly links his response to Mirjam's turn (as well as the deictic expression of 'that queen').

Practices that slightly alter the sequential implications

Apart from the pass-on practices that preserve the sequential implications and predominantly result in responses to the preceding student contribution, the teachers in our data also use practices that slightly alter the projection and thereby change the sequential implications of the preceding student turn. Again, the practices are often accompanied by bodily practices, such as gaze and gesturing. We will demonstrate that the pass-on turns within this category lead to contributions that are responsive to one of the *teacher's* turns rather than to the preceding student contribution: the students respond to either the pass-on turn itself or to an earlier turn produced by the teacher.

One of the clearest examples in our data of a pass-on practice that alters the sequential implications is shown in Extract 4. In this fragment, the teacher has just instructed the students to read the next piece of text after a discussion of the caste system, when Mick appears to still have something to add. After some classroom management, the teacher gives Mick the opportunity to do so. By means of her pass-on practice, she turns this remark into a question of problem-solving.

Extract 4. Problem-solving question (34.2015S2L3.0.26.50).

```
1    ???:        (kwamen [die)
                 (did those[come)
2    Mic:            [maar [eigenlijk
                        [but [actually
3    Tch:               [maar mick wil nog even wat zeg[gen_
                          [but mick still wants to say some[thing_
4    Mic:                                              [maar
                                                        [but
5                eigenlijk m: moet de school van eigen kaste zijn want
                 actually the school must be of the own caste because
6                als de meester •h een ei- andere [kast is dan] jou dan
                 if the teacher •h is of an ow- other [cast(e) than] you
7    Djo:                                         [eigen kast.]
                                                  [own cast(e).]
8    Mic:        (  ) moet je (0.2) moet je (0.2) ka- moet je ne
                 then (  ) you have to (0.2) have to (0.2) ca- you have
```

```
9                    helemaal niks zeggen tegen hem.
                     to say nothing at all to him.
10                   (0.7) ((Tch gazes at Mick, Djobal whispers 'cast(e)'))
11   ???:            *en=
                     *and=
     Tch:            *gazes and gestures to her left with palm sideways
12   Tch:            = dat vind ik nog we- wie oe- weet %hoe je +dat probleem
       ➜             = that is something I find- who oo- knows %how you can
     Tch:                                                %gazes right
13   Tch:            op kan los*sen.=
       ➜             +solve that pro*blem.=
     Tch:            +palm sideways gesture follows gaze around circle
                             *retracts gesture, runs hand through hair
14   Djo:            =%•H
     Tch:             %gazes left (Djobal is on her right)
15   Djo:            +ja.
                     +yes.
     Djo:            +raises hand, gazes at teacher
16   Djo:            briefjes schrijven.
                     write notes.
17   Clss:           ((    laughter   +    [                        ))+]
     Djo:                                 +holds up one hand with palm up . . .+
18   Djo:                               [(dat's ge[woon serieus hoor,]]
                                        [(that's ju[st serious PRT,)  ]
19   Mar:                                          [JUF  IK  IK   DENK ]
                                                   [MISS  I   I   THINK ]
20                   DAT ZE GEWOON een speciale school hebben.
                     THAT THEY JUST have a special school.
```

Mick's remark on the caste system (l. 4–6, 8–9) is followed by a pause of 0.7 seconds after which the teacher gestures and gazes to other students (l. 11) and starts to give a meta-comment ('that is something I find-', l. 12). She abandons this comment and then produces a question targeting possible solutions to what she assesses as a problem (l.12–13), again gesturing and gazing to other students. Notice that Mick has not so much put forward a problem, as the first thing he does in his turn is mention the *solution* to the possibly problematic situation: 'but actually the school must be of the own caste' (l. 4–5). With her question formatted as a who-question that invites the students to bid for a turn (Mazeland 1983; Mehan 1979; Shepherd 2014; Willemsen et al. 2018) and the accompanying bodily conduct, the teacher returns the floor to the students and encourages them to expand on Mick's remark. She does not change the topic and gist of Mick's remark, but treats it as presenting a problem to which a solution must be sought. She thereby alters the sequential implications, as she reformulates Mick's assertion as a question of problem-solving: Mick's assertion does not make a next action relevant (Pomerantz 1984), but the teacher's question does make an answer, and more specifically a solution suggestion, a relevant next (Schegloff 2007).

By means of a sharp inbreath, raising his hand, gazing at the teacher and uttering 'yes', Djobal responds to the invitation to bid and nominates himself for the next turn (l. 14–15). He suggests a solution of writing notes (l. 16) which is received by the other students as a witty remark (l. 17), but seems to be meant as a serious contribution (l. 18). With this possible solution, accompanied by a gaze towards the teacher, Djobal responds to the teacher's pass-on practice rather than Mick's remark. Similarly, Marte directs her turn to the teacher ('Miss') and responds to the teacher's pass-on practice with the suggestion of separate schools (l. 19–20); a solution Mick had already mentioned in lines 4–5.

It is worth noting here that there are incidents in which teachers' invitations to bid lead to similar responses, but then with an orientation to both sequential implications: first to the teacher's pass-on turn by raising their hand or uttering 'me', and then to the preceding student contribution by producing a direct response to that turn. This is the case for some instances of pass-on turns of the form 'who wants to respond?'.

Another practice that alters the sequential implications is the yes/no-type interrogative (Raymond 2003) such as 'is that right' (and similar formats), which is demonstrated in Extract 5. In this fragment, occurring near the beginning of a lesson on World War II, the class has just read a first piece of text about the resistance. The teacher asks whether the students have already found an explanation of the notion of resistance, and after Fay's answer, he looks around in silence and produces the 'is that right' pass-on practice.

Extract 5. 'Is that right'- yes/no-type interrogative (3.2015S1L3.0.03.01).

```
 1     Tch:         is d'r al: gebleken wat het verzet: is_
                    has it already: become clear what the resista:nce is_
 2                  (0.3) ((Fay raises hand))
 3     Tch:         fay_
 4     Fay:         dat is een stie- dat is een le:ger, die ehm tegen de
                    that is a secr- that is an a:rmy, that uhm against the
 5                  duits- die tegen de duitsers >was en die< de •h joden
                    germ- that was against the germans >and that< really
 6                  graag wouden helpen.
                    wanted to help the •h jews.
 7        →         +(2.3)      *(0.3)
       Tch:         +gazes left  *then right, eyebrows raised
 8     Tch:         is dat %zo?
          →         is that %right?
       Tch:                %gazes forward at various students
 9                  +(0.5) *(0.8) %(0.2)
       Tch:         +gazes forward-left
                           *shifts gaze to forward-right with chin forward
                                %shifts gaze back to forward-left
10     Tch:         [+ie*mand?
                    [+any*one?
       Met:          +raises hand
                        *gazes at Mette (forward-right)
11                  %(0.6) +(0.6) *(0.1)
       Ang:         %raises hand
                           +lowers hand
       Tch:               +gazes at Angelo on her left
                                *gazes back at Mette
12     Tch:         mette?
13     Met:         %mensen die niet onder de bezetting wouden leven en
                    %people who did not want to live under the occupation
       Met:         %lowers hand
14     Met:         eigenlijk gewoon weer vrij ↓zijn,
                    and actually just be free ↓again,
15                  (.)
16     Tch:         ↑okee.
                    ↑okay.
```

Instead of receipting Fay's response, the teacher looks around in silence (just like the teacher in Extract 1) and then asks 'is that right' (l. 7–8). In doing so, he is handing the turn back to the students and altering the sequential implications, since the practice

makes confirmation a relevant next action (Schegloff 2007; Raymond 2003). Furthermore, the practice hints at an evaluation of Fay's response, or in any case treats it as incomplete: there is more to say about it. Thereby, the teacher draws attention to Fay's response, but also ties back to the initial question.

Another gap follows, in which the teacher gazes around (l. 9). He then produces a verbal pursuit ('anyone?' l. 10) and after another gap (l. 11), he verbally allocates the turn to Mette. She does not respond to Fay's answer in lines 4–6, nor does she produce a type-conforming response to the teacher's turn. Instead, she responds to the teacher's initial question in line 1, parallel to Fay's response in lines 4–6. Although Mette's response is not type-conformingly designed as responsive to this initial yes/no-type interrogative, her contribution clearly reverts to the embedded content question of what the resistance is ('[the resistance is] people who…' l. 13). The fact that Mette does not self-nominate or self-select until after the teacher's pursuit (l. 10) may indicate that she was not planning on responding to the pass-on practice or Fay's answer in the first place. It could well be that she waited for a chance to put forward her own definition and found the opportunity when none of her classmates took the turn. Another possibility is that the teacher's orientation to the correctness of Fay's answer in itself issues alternative, parallel answers, as negatively assessing a fellow student's answer may be a delicate and dispreferred action.

In this example, the 'is that right' yes/no-type interrogative pass-on practice leads to an answer to the teacher's initial question, parallel to another student contribution. In other cases, this practice leads to type-conforming responses to the pass-on turn itself (similar to Extract 4). Practices such as 'who (dis)agrees' are similar, as these also alter the sequential implications and invite (dis)affiliative responses and accordingly lead to responses to the teachers' pass-on turn (e.g. 'I do, because' or 'a little bit').

The practices discussed in this paragraph do retain the topic of the preceding contribution, but alter the sequential implications. Accordingly, the practices do not result in responses to the preceding student contribution, but in either a (type-conforming) response to the pass-on turn itself or a parallel answer to the teacher's initial question.

Following students' questions

Some pass-on turns alter the sequential implications, but do nevertheless lead to responses to the preceding student turn as opposed to one of the teacher's turns. These instances concern pass-on turns that follow a student's question. Whereas assertions do not necessarily project a response (Pomerantz 1984), questions constitute the first pair part of a question-answer adjacency pair. This, together with interrogative syntax, makes a response relevant (Schegloff 2007; Stivers and Rossano 2010). Hence, the specific pass-on practice that follows a student's question seems to be of less influence on the ensuing response, as the question itself powerfully projects a next action.

In Extract 6, we demonstrate an example of a pass-on turn following a student's question. The teacher is repeating and explaining a text fragment about the Dutch resistance fighters helping foreign pilots to escape when Pim asks a clarification question. The teacher's pass-on practice alters the sequential implications of Pim's question by inviting the other students to bid for a turn.

Extract 6. Passing on a question (50.2016S1L10.0.34.46).

```
1    Tch:       ze komen niet uit nederland >na↑tuurlijk<, (0.2) e:n
                they are not from the netherlands >of ↑course<, (0.2)
2               (0.2) verzetsmensen helpen dus dan die piloten om (0.3)
                a:nd (0.2) so then resistance fighters help those pilots
3               weer terug te komen, (na/naar) een HEle lange route
                to (0.3) come back again, thus (after/to) a VEry long
4               dus,=[via belgië frankrijk en portugal,=
                route,=[via belgium france and portugal,=
5    Pim:            [(maar) ((kijkt voortdurend naar leerkracht))
                     [(but) ((continuously gazes at teacher))
6    Pim:       =rijden (.) e:h die verzetsmensen dan gewoon met een
                =do (.) u:h those resistance fighters then just drive
7               auto, of met een boot (0.2) naa::r eh met die piloot dan
                with a car, or with a boat (0.2) to:: uh then just there
8               +daar gewoon heen, of gaat die *piloot dan %allee:n,
                +with that pilot, or does that *pilot then go %alo:ne,
     Tch:       +nods                          *gazes left    %then right
9    Tch:       wie heeft daar een ide- idee van,=
          →     who has an ide- idea of that,=
10   Tri:       =+(nou want je) NAH ik de:nk dat ze want je hoorde
                =+(well because you) WELL I thi:nk that they because you
     Tch:        +gazes at Tristan in front
11   Tch:       natuurlijk wel (.) in 't eh i- in 't ↑stukje, •pt over
                heard of course (.) in the uh i- in the ↑piece, •pt about
12              deè- de verzetsmensen.=>dus< ze gaan niet alleen.
                the- the resistance fighters.=>so< they are not going alone.
13              (0.9)
14   Tch:       die helpen hun wel.=ja
                they do help them.=yes
15   Tri:       ja: maar ik denk (niet) ((fronst)) als ze lopend gaa:n_
                ye:s but I (don't) think ((frowns)) if they go walki:ng_
                (0.2)
16   Jam:       dan ben je wel ↑heel lang onderweg.
                then it ↑really would be a long journey.
```

The teacher does not respond to Pim's question in lines 5–8 himself, but passes it on to the other students by gazing around and asking 'who has an idea' (l. 8–9). This question is specific for passing on questions, as it is oriented towards the relevance of an answer and the need for certain knowledge in order to be able to give that answer. The practice alters the sequential implications, following up an alternative question that projects an answer comprising one of the options with a who-question that projects bidding for a turn first (Mazeland 1983; Mehan 1979; Shepherd 2014; Willemsen et al. 2018). Tristan self-selects and first refers to the text before formulating an answer to Pim's question: 'so they are not going alone' (l. 10–12). This contribution is not a type-conforming response to the teacher's pass-on practice, such as producing 'me'. Instead, Tristan directly responds to Pim's question. Despite the fact that the pass-on practice is formulated as altering the sequential implications, the subsequent student turn responds to the preceding student turn rather than one of the teacher's turns. This seems to be caused by the powerful projection of an answer in the preceding student question.

Deviant cases

Our data contain a few deviant cases (Sidnell 2013) that endorse our analysis as a whole: they comprise instances in which the students do not provide a response to the previous student or the teacher, but nevertheless show an orientation towards the pass-on turn as an invitation to respond to the previous student. A case in point is given in Extract 7, in which the class discusses the options of marrying or fighting a cousin around 1400 AD.

Extract 7. Deviant case: orientation towards the pass-on turn (9.2015S2L1.0.22.23).

```
1     Wal:        maar dan is zij wel d'r al- al haar landen kwijt.
                  but then she loses her all- all of her lands.
2                 ze krijgt een heel bee- een +heel klein beetje van de
                  she gets a very bi- a + very small bit of the
      Tch:                         +coughs
3     Wal:        *↑opbrengst %maar (0.3) (dat is niet veel)%
                  *↑revenues   %but (0.3) (that is not much)%
      Tch:        *averts head %coughs . . . . . . . . . . . . . %
4          →      +(1.2)    *(2.2)   %(0.4) $(0.9) ^(0.6)
      Tch:        +gazes at Waldemar on her left
                            *averts head and coughs again
                                     %gazes right
                                           $open palm gesture
                                            ^gazes forward-left
      Amy:                                  ^raises hand
5                 +(0.4)     @(0.6)
      Tch:        +gazes at Amy on her left
                            @nods and points at Waldemar
6     Tch:        *↑zeg maar?
           →      *↑go ahead?
      Tch:        *retracts pointing
      Amy:        *lowers hand
7     Amy:        m:aar ehm •hh >oh ja maar dat- dat is meer een beetje
                  b:ut uhm •hh >oh yes but that- that is more a bit of
8                 een andere vraag.=>maar dan kan je toch ook gewoon eh:m:
                  another question.=>but then you can just also uh:m:
9                 maar waarom kan je dan niet met je neef gaan trouwen.=
                  but why can't you just marry your cousin then.=
10                =dat je: ook- (ja) dat kan niet maar eh nou °dat kan op
                  =that you: also- (yes) that's not possible but uh well
11                zich wel°,
                  °it is in fact possible°,
```

After Waldemar produces a remark on the outcome of a fight between two cousins (l. 1–3), the teacher silently looks at him and then looks around with the palm of her hand up, which can be interpreted by the students as an invitation to take the floor (l. 4). None of the students self-selects, but then Amy raises her hand (l. 4) and the teacher eventually allocates the turn to her while pointing to Waldemar (l. 5–6). Almost immediately, Amy explicitly frames her turn as something else than expected (l. 7–8 'oh yes but…question'). Through this *misplacement marker* (Schegloff and Sacks 1973) she displays an orientation to the teacher's bodily practices as a pass-on turn projecting a response to the preceding student turn, and shows recognition that her contribution does not answer to this projection but rather launches another question. Hence, she uses the 'open slot' to do something else. Nonetheless, her contribution ties in with the overarching discussion about fighting or marrying a cousin.

Amy's response is representative of most of the deviant responses in our data, as it shows an orientation towards the pass-on turn as an invitation to respond to the previous student and is still closely related to the topic. It is particularly the students' misplacement marking that makes their contributions exemplary deviant cases that confirm our analysis.

Conclusion and discussion

This study has shed light on the fairly uncommon and under researched setting of whole-class discussions. We have shown that teachers produce pass-on turns following student contributions. With these pass-on turns, they occupy the response slot in order to provide other students with the opportunity to take the next turn and respond to their classmate. By means of these pass-on turns, the teachers demonstrate their attempt to realise a discussion framework in which they play a less prominent role. Simultaneously, however, they retain the role of turn-allocator that is typical for teacher-fronted classroom activities (Koole and Berenst 2008; McHoul 1978). Nonetheless, many pass-on turns in our data result in direct responses to the preceding student turn, as well as interesting discussions in which the students critically consider each other's contributions.

Our data reveal a great variety of pass-on practices, which are often combined with several bodily practices, such as gaze, gestures and gaps. The pass-on practices alter the sequential implications of the preceding student turn to different degrees and have different effects on the ensuing interaction. Relatively minimal practices, such as non-verbal practices, imperatives and (partial) repetitions, do not alter the sequential implications. Indeed, these practices predominantly result in responses to the preceding student turn. Other, more elaborate practices do in fact alter the sequential implications and thereby the projected responses. Accordingly, these practices generally lead to contributions responsive to one of the teacher's turns (the pass-on turn or an earlier turn) rather than to the preceding student turn. The first type of practice thus comes between two student turns ((T-)S-T-S), but seems primarily turn-allocational in nature. Sequentially, the pattern namely is (T-)S-S, as the second student responds to the first. The second type of practice does have an influence on the sequence and brings about a (T-)S-T-S sequence pattern as the student responds to one of the teacher's turns.

Although the examples shown in this paper may have given the impression that the first contribution, the pass-on turn and the second contribution always directly follow each other, there were also a small number of pass-on turns in our collection that referred back a few turns (for example: 'please respond to what Tristan said'). In these cases, the teacher makes more of an effort to invite responses to the student contribution. Nonetheless, these pass-on turns result in responses similar to those discussed in this paper, including direct responses to the preceding student contribution.

The different types of pass-on practices all return the floor to the students to respond to the preceding contribution. They differ from new actions – which constitute (subtle) topic shifts – as the pass-on practices steer towards deepening and expanding on the preceding student turn, whereas new actions move away from that turn. However, this distinction is presumably not always unequivocal, especially since recipients can ascribe other actions to a speaker's turn (Levinson 2013). It would be worth further scrutinising this distinction between pass-on turns and new actions.

The contributions that are passed on by the teachers in our data are mainly assertions about historical and/or hypothetical situations. Other contributions convey opinions or questions. We have shown that questions are an exception, as these turns constitute first pair parts projecting the production of a second pair part: an answer to the question. Therefore, the specific practices that teachers use to pass on questions seem to be of less importance. Further investigation of these passed-on questions could yield detailed insight into the passing-on of this category of contributions.

It is not surprising that the bulk of the passed-on student contributions is constituted by assertions about historical and/or hypothetical situations, opinions and questions. These contributions lend themselves particularly well for responding to and challenging each other. Hence, they are well-suited to whole-class discussions, in which students actually reason collaboratively and build knowledge together (Mercer 2000). Indeed, our analysis has shown that – following pass-on turns – students are well capable of critically considering and challenging the contributions of their classmates.

As has become clear, the type of practice a teacher uses to produce a pass-on turn has an impact on the ensuing interaction. If teachers wish to give their students the floor as much as possible and encourage them to actually respond to each other, minimal pass-on practices seem to be most suitable as they do not alter the sequential implications and seem primarily turn-allocational. Other types of practices, on the other hand, can be useful for slightly steering the discussion in a specific direction while simultaneously emphasising the discussion framework.

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Disclosure statement

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Appendix

Transcription conventions (based on Jefferson 1986)	
`Tch:`	teacher
`Sum:`	Sumaya, pseudonym of an identified student
`???:`	unidentified student
`Tri?:`	probably Tristan
`Clss:`	several students simultaneously
`[word` `[word`	overlapping talk
`word=` `=word`	'latching': no gap between two turns
`(1.0)`	pause of one second
`(.)`	micro-pause, shorter than 0.2 seconds
`?`	sharp rising phrase intonation, not necessarily a question
`,`	slight rising phrase intonation, suggesting continuation
`.`	falling phrase intonation
`_`	flat intonation
`↑word↓ing`	marked rising or falling shift in syllable intonation
`WORD`	louder than surrounding talk
`°word°`	softer than surrounding talk
`word`	stressed syllable
`wo:rd`	lengthening of the preceding sound
`wo-`	cut-off (often audibly abrupt)
`>phrase<`	faster than surrounding talk
`<phrase>`	slower than surrounding talk
`hh`	audible aspiration
`•hh`	audible inhalation
`(word)`	unclear talk
`(    )`	inaudible talk
`→`	focus of analysis
`((points))`	verbal description of (non-verbal) actions
`Tch:`	teacher's bodily behaviour
`*word` `*bodily action`	talk and simultaneous bodily behaviour marked with *, +, etc.