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Turn-taking as a Pedagogical Strategy in Classroom Interaction: A Conversation Analysis of Adjacency Pairs

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Abstract

Most part of teaching and learning in the classroom is done through interaction or 'talk'. The importance of teacher-student interaction in the teaching and learning process can, therefore, not be overemphasised. This study investigates the adjacency pair patterns of teacher-student classroom interaction and how these patterns impact on pedagogy. It is a qualitative study. All the four Senior High Schools in the Agona West Municipality of the Central Region of Ghana were engaged in the study. One English teacher each from the schools was selected through a random sampling technique. Their classes of an average size of 60 students were observed through participant observation and the teacher-student interactions were recorded through audio recording and note-taking. Analysis of the data was grounded in Schegloff's (2007) conceptual framework of adjacency pair. The outcome of the study revealed that eight adjacency pairs were used in the language classroom. These are; greeting/greeting, check/clarification, instruction/compliance, question/answer, request/accept, accusation/refusal, complaint/apology and leave-taking/leave-taking. The data also revealed that 82% of the interactions is initiated by the teacher while only 18% is student-initiated. This has impacts on pedagogy and must therefore ignite the scholarly interests of pedagogues and linguists.

Keywords

classroom interaction, adjacency pairs, pedagogue, linguists

Introduction

Teaching is basically the transfer and exchange of ideas or knowledge. Riana (2018) contend that this 'transfer and exchange of ideas' is normally conducted through talk. Huda (2017) asserts that the 'talk' practically goes beyond the exchange of information to include the speaker and the listener mutually consenting to and cooperating to achieve an orderly and meaningful communication. According to Richard (1990), in conversation, two or more participants engage in the exchange of ideas, and it is expected that these conversationalists would take turns to speak. Hence, while one speaks, the other listens. Then, while the conversation unfolds, the listener also gets 'the floor' to share his ideas (Huda, 2017). However, getting 'the floor' to speak is not a haphazard activity. It is supposed to well organised, planned, and strategic. In fact, Rheisa (2014) argues that there are 'unconscious' rules that guide every conversation and the participants unconsciously perform the rules. Baity (2019) emphasises that even though there are no written rules in conversation to determine whose turn it is talk and who must be the next speaker, the communicants know it subconsciously and contextually. In fact, the conversation is likely to breakdown and the purpose for which the conversation is had may not be achieved if the 'unconscious' or 'unwritten' rules are neglected. One of such 'unconscious' rules is turn-taking ((Liddicoat, 2007).

Hashamdar (2012: 71) defines turn-taking as "one of the basic facts of conversation in which speakers and listeners change their roles in order to have a fruitful and normal interaction". Simply, Napitupulu & Siahaan (2014) posit that turn is the 'chance' to get on the 'floor' to speak, and normally, the next speaker knows when to speak in the interaction process. Generally, there are two competing theories on how to achieve turn-taking (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974). These theories are the projection theory and the signal or reaction theory. The projection theory implies that the next speak 'projects' or anticipates when they must talk based on the context and structure of information being delivered. Hence, the next speaker waits for the current speaker to end a particular structure, often referred as turn-constructive units (TCU), and then the next speaker steps in to take their turn. Hoey & Kendrick (2021) explain turn-constructive units (TCU) as the linguistic units such as words, phrases, clauses, or sentences that "form a recognizably complete utterance in a given context". With the second theory, that is, the reaction theory, the next speaker does not wait for the current speaker to 'end' their TCU necessarily. The next speaker initiates his talk even while the current speak is still on the floor as a way of reacting or signalling the latter to 'end' his talk (Heldner & Edlund, 2010). On how a next speaker can be selected to take a turn, Ghilzai (2015) explains two ways. First, the next speaker 'self-selects' himself and starts talking, and second, the next speaker is selected by the current speaker. Notable to mention is that, in either case, selection is done based on 'unconscious' rules. Hoey & Kendrick (2021) argue that turn-taking basically answers the question of 'who speaks next' and 'when do they speak?' through the coordination of the end of a turn with the beginning of the next.

However, beyond the question of 'who speaks next?' and 'when they are to speak?', equally important is the question of 'what to speak?' Ordinarily, when a speaker produces an utterance, a response or a range of responses are expected to be given and

the content of the response must align with the content of the utterance. Take the two conversations below for example,

A

1st Speaker: How are you?

2nd Speaker: I'm fine

B

1st Speaker: How are you?

2nd Speaker: The police is not here.

While A could be considered as the norm in ordinary conversation, the response of the 2nd speaker in B is not the expected. Schegloff (2007) contends that such response is not *conditionally relevant* [to the conversation]. Schegloff (1978) cited in Haapaniemi (2011, pg. 18) says,

By conditional relevance of one item on another we mean: given the first, the second is expectable; upon its occurrence it can be seen to be a second item to the first; upon its nonoccurrence it can be seen to be officially absent – all this provided by the occurrence of the first item.

Every utterance has its *conditionally relevant* response. For example, for an utterance such as *invitation*, a response such as *acceptance* or *decline* becomes *conditionally relevant*. Basically, it is this conditionally relevant 'expected' response required of an utterance that pragmatists term as *adjacency pairs*. Paltridge (2006) asserts that an adjacency pair is the utterance produced by a (second) speaker in a manner such that its content corresponds with the demand of the content of the first utterance and the former can be identified as the 'expected' follow-up to the latter. In fact, Seedhouse (2004, pg. 20) contends that "if the next pair part [of a conversation] is not produced and the next speaker gives no account for its absence, this absence will be treated as noticeable, accountable and sanctionable".

Rahim et al (2019) insinuate that both the teacher and the student must have some appreciable knowledge on turn-taking and adjacency pairs in order to engage in an effective conversation. For instance, a student should be able to identify when a turn or a 'floor' is given him/her to speak so that he/she doesn't end up interrupting or delaying response unnecessarily. Apart from knowing 'when' to take a turn, the student must equally know 'what' (range of) response he/she is 'expected' to give when the turn is taken. Rosenshine (1971) emphasises that effective interaction in the classroom [which inherently incorporates *turn-taking* and *adjacency pairs* principles] contribute significantly to students' achievement, especially with regards to speaking and listening skills. It is therefore important for both the teacher and the student to understand and perform their roles; that is, take their turns appropriately and produce *conditionally relevant* responses, in the communication process to ensure a successful teaching and learning process (Rahim et al, 2019). Based on the arguments advanced in the previous studies, this paper argues that even though the content of a subject is a basic condition for learning and knowledge formation, the medium and manner in which the teacher packages and transfers, exchanges and negotiates knowledge with the students through

interaction in the classroom are equally important. On this backdrop, the current study purposes to expose teachers and students to the concept of turn-taking and adjacency pairs, reveal how these concepts are realised in interactions in the language classroom and examine their implications or impacts on pedagogy. Specifically, the study would provide answers to these research questions:

1. What turn-taking patterns are used in the language classroom?
2. What is the impact of turn-taking on pedagogy?

The concept of adjacency pair is the conceptual framework for the study (Schegloff, 2007). Adjacency pair is a fundamental element in conversational analysis. Basically, adjacency pairs are the pairs of utterances that are ordered in first and second parts, where the first part necessarily requires a particular or range of specific type for the second pair. Often, utterances are paired in accordance with the communicative functions. For instance, usually, a greeting is paired with a greeting response. Hence, when a speaker utters, *Good morning*, the expected paired response is *Good morning*. Again, when one utters an *apology*, the paired response is either an *acceptance* (of the apology) or a *rejection/denial* (of the apology). In the classroom, interactions are organised. The teacher and the students, in the process of conducting teaching and learning activities, engage in communicative actions. As characteristic of all formal settings, interactions in the classroom are expected to be well organised and structured, and in doing so, the concept of adjacency pairs become indispensable. Typically, the structure of interactions or communicative actions in the classroom is organised such that the teacher initiates the conversation, the students give 'expected' responses (adjacency pair), and the teacher gives evaluation. Schegloff (2007) mentions that the adjacency pairs in classroom interaction could be instruction/compliance, request/acceptance, question/answer, check/clarification or greeting/greeting.

Earlier related literatures such as Riana (2018), Sari (2019), Saputra (2019) and Fitriani (2019) have all confirmed that turn-taking and adjacency pairs are important in classroom interaction. However, these studies predominantly adopted the conceptual framework of Sacks et al. The current study differs from the earlier works in terms of conceptualisation and contextualisation. The current study used the concept of adjacency pairs championed by Schegloff (2007) as the conceptual framework upon which the data analysis was grounded. This is a gap in the earlier works because none of them focused on it. The current study also identified that there is a contextual gap. The earlier works did not focus on the Ghanaian context. Most of the works were done in other contexts hence focusing on the Ghanaian classroom setting fills the contextual gap left in the earlier works.

Method

The study adopts the qualitative research approach. The study records, transcribes and describes the turn-taking practices in the language classroom. Ideally, it is argued that the qualitative approach is usually best suited for studies that focus on describing, usually in textual terms, the opinions, views, beliefs, behaviours and practices of people

in their natural settings. Unlike the quantitative approach which uses numerical systems to assess data, the qualitative approach provides some in-depth description and examination of participants lived experiences. The researchers engaged the participants in their natural environment, which is the language classroom, recorded the turn-taking practices, transcribed relevant portions of it, examined it critically and provided in-depth description of the data. The approach is adopted consistent with Patton's (1990) argument that the goal of qualitative study is "to explore, explain, or describe the phenomenon of interest."

The study was conducted in all the four Senior High Schools located in the Agona West Municipality. The researchers believe that engaging all the schools would provide a more comprehensive data for the study and make the outcome robust. Through a random sampling technique, a language teacher was selected from each school. Therefore, four English language teachers were engaged for the study. Through participant observation, the researchers observed and recorded a session of the classroom lessons of each of the teachers. Each lesson lasted an average of 40 minutes, and the class sizes was an average of 60 students. In sum, the study engaged four Senior High Schools, four teachers of English language and 250 students. The researchers observed four language classroom sessions and recorded a cumulative 300 minutes length of classroom interactions.

Two instruments were used to collect data for the study. These are participant observation and semi-structured interview. Each of the classroom sessions was observed and the turn-taking strategies were recorded predominantly through note taking. After the recordings, interview sessions were conducted with the teachers and some of the students in order to ascertain their general subjective opinions and attitudes towards turn-taking and its impact on pedagogy. The data gathered from the two instruments were triangulated and analysed.

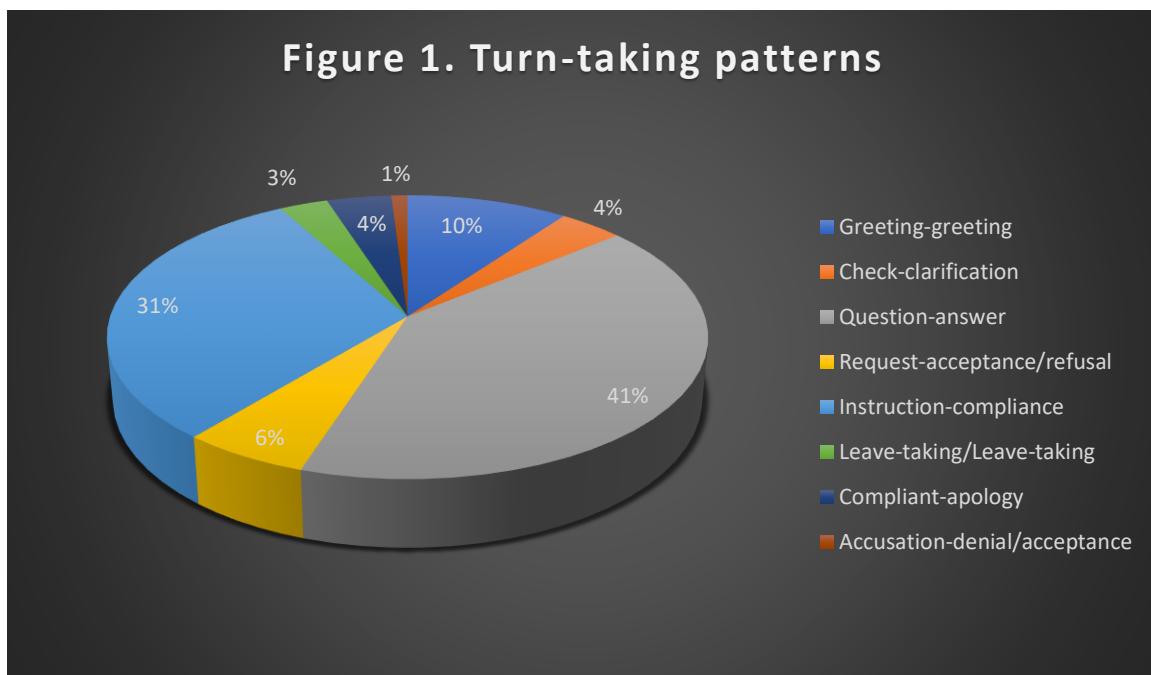
The researchers used three steps in analysing the data. These steps were data reduction, data display and data conclusion. Data reduction is about summarising, selecting the essentials, paying attention to the important things, extracting identified, common or dominant patterns and removing unnecessary data so that the data would become clearer and easier to work with. After collecting the raw data, the researchers undertook the exercise of reducing the data to a relevant workable size. The researchers summarised, selected only the fundamental parts and recorded the common patterns. After the data reduction, the data were displayed or presented. The data display, as could be seen in the next section, was done in the form of brief descriptions, themes and figures or diagrams. Relevant excerpts of the interactions between the teachers and the students were transcribed and described. The analyses were done through thematic analysis. After the data display, conclusions were drawn. The reduction and display of data aid to draw conclusions. It is usually the evidences adduced from the data reduction and display that are put together to determine what conclusions can be drawn. Going through the three steps, the researchers were able to respond fairly appropriately to the research questions by analysing the data and revealing the turn-taking strategies and practices in the language classroom and how the practices affect pedagogy.

Results & Discussion

This section examines, reveals and discusses the data found during the observation and interview sessions. The analysis is done to provide direct responses to the research questions.

Research Question 1: What turn-taking patterns are used in the language classroom?

Data in response to the first question of the study were collected and collated guided by the theory of adjacency pair advanced by Schegloff (2007). It was revealed that eight (8) turn-taking practices manifest in the classroom. Figure 1 below illustrates the eight turn taking patterns.



Greeting-greeting

It can be observed from figure 1 above that greeting-greeting forms 10% of the entire turn-taking patterns revealed in the data. Teachers usually 'open' their class sessions with pleasantries. It was observed that these pleasantries served as the 'opening' and a psychological conditioning of the students to prepare themselves for the lesson. It was observed that a minimum of subjects were studied in a day and teachers attended class in turns. Therefore, greeting-greeting normally became the first tool teachers employ to announce their presence in the class and 'switch' the student from the previous lesson. Excerpts 1-2 illustrate a typical greeting-greeting in the classroom.

Excerpt 1

Teacher: Good morning, class!

Student: Good morning, Madam.

Teacher: How are you, all?

Student: We are fine and you?

Teacher: I'm also fine.

Excerpt 2

Teacher: We are winning!

Student: We won last week, and we'll win today too.

Teacher: I am fine, how are you too?

Student: We are also fine.

The two excerpts above illustrate two forms of greeting-greeting. While the first one is generally a conventional way of greeting in the morning, the second is unconventional and a customised form of greeting specifically existing between the teacher and the students. It could also be observed that beyond the greetings, the teacher also asks about the well-being of the students and the latter replies as expected. It was observed that, beyond the academic and professional relationship between the teacher and the student, the greetings are able to foster a good social relationship between the two. This finding is consistent with Riana (2018) who also revealed that there were conventional and customised (religious) greeting turn-taking patterns in the classroom

Check-clarification

Sintiani (2017) asserts that check-clarification turn taking pattern is usually employed in classroom discourse to 'check' or seek clarification on some of the activities of the learners. As revealed in figure 4.1, 4% of the data were check-clarification turn taking pattern. Indeed, in the classroom, students undertake certain actions on the blind side of the teacher. It is therefore important that the teacher is able to seek clarification and sometimes get to understand the reason behind some of these activities before he/she takes action. Consistent with Sintiani (2017), the study identified some check-clarification discourses such as illustrated in excerpt 3 below.

Excerpt 3

Teacher: I have not seen Kusi in class yet, where is he?

Student: He was here in the morning but we can't see him.

Teacher: When he comes back, tell him to see me at the office.

In the conversation above, it could be observed that the teacher was 'checking' on one of his students and needed 'clarification' on his whereabouts. Again, in excerpt 4 below, the teacher had given the students assignment/project to do in the house and was following up to see if they had done it.

Excerpt 4

Teacher: The class prefect has not brought the assignment I gave you yesterday, what's happening?

Student (class prefect): I brought exercise books to the staff room but you weren't there, Sir.

Teacher: Then, after the lesson, follow me with them.

Student: Ok Sir, thank you.

Question-answer

Question-answer turn taking dominates the turn-taking patterns identified in the classrooms as illustrated in figure 4.1 above. It is 41% of the data. This illustrates how teachers depend on the tool to ensure effective engagement of the students in the classroom. Excerpts 5 and 6 illustrate different types of questioning system identified in the classroom.

Excerpt 5

Teacher: What are some examples of adjective?

Student 1: Beautiful

Teacher: Who else?

Student 2: Wise

Teacher: Yes, who else?

Student 3: Blue

Teacher: Great answers, clap for yourselves.

Excerpt 6

Teacher: Who can identify the subject in the sentence: Alfred walks with confidence.

Student 1: confidence

Teacher: No

Student 2: Alfred

Teacher: Correct. Clap for him.

Riana (2018) argues that teachers use question-answer technique to enhance the language proficiency of learners. The frequency and continuous practice of speaking through regular questioning and answering sessions ensure that students better their speaking skills. Similarly, Zhao (2014) contends that the regular use of question-answer turn taking pattern develops the communicative skill and critical thinking skills of the learners. In fact, the data revealed that not only teachers initiate the questions. Students also do same. Excerpts 7 and 8 illustrate student-initiated question-answer turn taking.

Excerpt 7

Student: Madam, you said the noun phrase can be the object of a sentence. What does it mean?

Teacher: It means it can be the 'recipient' of the action of the verb.

Student: So is 'a doctor' the object in the sentence 'Ama was a doctor'?

Teacher: No, because the verb 'was' doesn't carry any action.

Student: Oh, I now understand. Thank you

Excerpt 8

Student: Sir, the word 'concomitant' was found in the comprehension passage. What does it mean?

Teacher: It means 'mixture', 'combination' or 'concurrent'

Student: Ok Sir, thank you

As can be observed, students equally have the opportunity to initiate the question-answer turn taking. Tsui (1995) and Chang (2003) believes the tool helps the teacher to confirm if the students understand and knowledge what has been taught and also monitor the progress of the students. Similarly, Riana (2018) contends that the question-answer tool increases learners' motivation and interest to actively involve themselves in

the teaching and learning process. The study's finding that question-answer tool dominates the turn-taking patterns is inconsistent with Sintiani (2017) whose study identified instruction-compliance tool as the most dominant. Her argument is that the teacher mostly resorted to instructions as way of controlling the students' attitudes and guiding them in the teaching and learning process. However, in this study, as revealed in the next section, the instruction-compliance tool is employed 31% in the data, coming as the second most employed tool in the classroom. It was realised that the students did not need instructions to get them engaged in the learning process. It is revealed that the teacher and students found question-answer turns as effectively tool in learning.

Instruction-compliance

Instructions are generally important. It is usually a tool employed by a boss to a subordinate. Therefore, in the classroom setting, where the teacher is seen as the boss or authority, it is the teacher who usually gives instructions. 31% of the turn-taking patterns recorded were instruction-compliance. It was found in the classroom interactions that instructions play significant roles in the teaching and learning process. It was one of the major tools teachers used to draw and maintain the attention of the students in class, control their excesses and keep them focused on the lesson. Sintiani (2017) elaborates that teachers depend on instructions to not only pay attention in class but also nominate one student to speak or move to the front of the class to respond to a particular questions or illustrate something. The below excerpt is an example

Excerpt 9

Teacher: Write only your index numbers on the papers.

Students (chorus): Yes Sir

Teacher: Any student who writes their name instead of index number will be punished.

Students (chorus): Yes Sir

In the above conversation, the teacher instructs the learners to indicate only their index numbers on the sheets of answer papers. The students were being prepared for the WASSCE and one of the practices they needed to familiarise themselves with was the use of index numbers. The teacher depended on the instruction-compliance tool to teach the students such practice.

In another except as illustrated below, the teacher used instruction to direct the attention of the students on the chalkboard. Obviously, an activity outside the class had disrupted their attention and many of them were peeping through the window. The teacher felt the students were not paying attention to what he was teacher and, hence, depended on instruction to whip them back in line.

Excerpt 10

Teacher: All of you, look on the board.

Students: silence (every focuses on the board)

Teacher: If I see anyone look through the window, I'll punish him/her.

Students (chorus): Yes Sir

One important observation is that, unlike some of the adjacency pairs, all the instruction-compliance tools were initiated by the teacher. It is obvious from the data that a student is unable to issue instruction to the teacher. Instructions seem to be the reserve of the teacher and shows a mark of authority.

Request-acceptance/refusal

One other turn-taking pattern identified in the classroom interaction is request-acceptance pattern. It was found that, sometimes, the teachers implored, requested or asked the students to do something or accomplish a particular task. As illustrated by figure 4.1 above, 6% of the turn-taking patterns were request-acceptance. Request seems to be the polite form of instruction. However, unlike instructions were the students had no option than to comply, request afforded the students the opportunity to accept or turn it down even though the teachers' 'authority' made it difficult for the students to turn down any request. Some of the requests were; asking students to describe an object, repeat an expression or take a particular action such as leave the class, stand during class session, clap their hands, among others. Excerpts 11 and 12 below illustrate request-acceptance patterns.

Excerpt 11

Teacher: Kindly, pick the book for me.

Student: Yes sir (picks and hands over to teacher)

Teacher: thanks

Excerpt 12

Teacher: Could you sit in groups of four?

Students: Yes Sir (start moving to their partners)

Teacher: Good. Today we'll do group discussions

It was also observed that not only the teacher could make requests. The students could too. It was however realised that the, unlike the students, the teachers could easily refuse a request without any shred of fear. An example is excerpt 13 below.

Excerpt 13

Students: Sir, we have library in the afternoon. Can you come and occupy the class?

Teacher: No. I am tired and I need some rest.

Students: Oh, sir, please (pleading with teacher).

Teacher: No.

Leave-taking/Leave-taking

In the classroom interaction, leave-taking/leave-taking is found to be the opposite of greeting-greeting. While the latter is used to start/open the class session, the former is used to end/close the class session. The pattern is used to indicate that the classroom interaction between the teacher and the students has ended and, therefore, students are to prepare for the next teacher, go out for break or close from school, depending on what next is indicated on the school timetable. In order words, leave-taking/leave-taking is the way a teacher part ways with the students. As illustrated on figure 4.1, the leave-taking/leave-taking pattern forms 3% of the data. Just as the greeting-greeting, some

teachers used conventional ways to end the lesson and others used customized ways. These different modes of leave-taking/leave-taking pattern are illustrated in excerpts 14 and 15 below.

Excerpt 14

Teacher: If there are no further questions, let's end of the lesson here.

Students: Ok Sir

Teacher: Have a nice day

Students: Same to you

Excerpt 15

Teacher: Aboozigi papabi

Students (chorus): Aboozigi ankasa

Teacher: I'm off

Student: Bye-bye

In excerpt 15, a terminology coined, used, and understood only between the particular teacher and students is used to end the session while excerpt 14 looks more of a natural ending process of a session. Interestingly, the data reveals that not only teachers had the power to initiate the leave-taking/leave-taking pattern, students, especially the class prefects could also do that. Example of student-initiated leave-taking/leave-taking pattern is seen in excerpt 16

Excerpt 16

Student: Madam, please your time is up.

Teacher: Oh, so soon?

Student: Yes please

Teacher: Then you may go out for break

Students (chorus): Thank you madam

Complaint-apology

Nurhayati, Maria & Suryani (2020) explain complaint as the utterance (s) used to display or register one's feeling of dissatisfaction about a person, object or a service. Apology is the way of responding to a complaint often to show regretfulness. It was found in the classroom 4% instances where students and teachers had a cause to complain about something and apologies were used as response. Excerpts 17 and 18 are examples in the data to show instances of complaint-apology.

Excerpt 17

Teacher: The room is too noisy.

Students: (they stop making noise)

Teacher: It's not good to talk while the teacher is talking

Students: We are sorry Sir.

Excerpt 18

Student: Sir, you have blocked my view

Teacher: Oh sorry (shifts himself)

The classroom interactions above show that complaint-apology adjacency pair can be initiated by the teacher (excerpt 17) or the student (excerpt 18). It can also be observed apologies are not only rendered by word of mouth, but they are also accompanied by action. In excerpt 17 when the teacher complained about the noise making in the class, the students did not only apologise but they also stopped making the noise. Similarly, in excerpt 18, the student was writing notes from the chalkboard and felt that the teacher had stood his way preventing him from seeing clearly from the board. The student then initiated a complaint, which the teacher responded by apologising.

Accusation-denial/acceptance

Used minimally in the classroom is the accusation-denial adjacency pair. It was used 1% in the data gathered for the study. Basically, accusation is the claim or charge that someone had committed an offence or done something wrongly. It is identified that mostly, accused persons denied the accusation because the consequence of most accusations came with punishments. However, a few of the students accepted the accusations but sought to explain the reasons for which they committed the respective offences. Examples are seen in excerpts 19 and 20.

Excerpt 19

Teacher: Bismark has stolen my red pen so I can't mark your work.

Bismark: Sir, I haven't taken your pen oo

Teacher: You were the last who came to my table

Bismark: I didn't see your red pen.

Excerpt 20

Student: Sir, you are late to class.

Teacher: Yes oo. Little traffic. Sorry.

Student: Ok

It is evident from the interactions above that a complaint-apology pattern can be initiated by either the teacher or the student. It is also evident that accusations can be denied (as can be seen in excerpt 19) or accepted (as can be seen in excerpt 20).

In conclusion, this section dealt with the identification of adjacency pairs employed in the language classroom. The adjacency pairs are not only identified but are supported with evidences and excerpts from the data collected. It is revealed that eight adjacency pairs are identified in the classroom. These are greeting-greeting, check-clarification, question-answer, request-acceptance/refusal, instruction-compliance, leave-taking/leave-taking, complaint-apology and accusation-denial/acceptance. It is realised that teachers carry out their classroom pedagogy essentially through these turn-taking tools. The next section responds to the research question 2 and delves into the impact of these adjacency pairs on pedagogy.

Research Question 2: What is the impact of turn-taking on pedagogy?

According to Kapur (2020), pedagogy refers to the entire composite process of teaching and learning. Pedagogy entails a wide range of concepts such as teaching and learning

activities which the teacher and the students engage in in the classroom, teaching and learning resource materials which are used in the classroom, teaching and learning techniques and strategies, assessment strategies, among others. The manner in which the teaching and learning activities and materials are conducted and manipulated respectively determine how the students are able to fully benefit from the educational process. The second research question finds out how the types of turn-taking elaborated in research question one above determine, influence or impact pedagogy. The data for the study make strong revelations about how turn-taking patterns and practices influence teacher-learner activities and the use of teaching and learning materials.

First of such impact is that, the turn-taking patterns make pedagogy teacher-centred. A teacher-centred pedagogy is the practice where most of the classroom activities are not only initiated by the teacher but also made to revolve around the teacher. In such a classroom, the students are made to become passive participants in the teaching and learning process. They only 'receive' and 'tag along' what the teacher does and says. The data reveal that most of the turn-taking patterns are initiated by the teacher. The learners wait for the teacher to initiate the classroom interaction and then they tag along. Figure 2 breaks down the frequency (in percentage terms) of teacher-initiated and student-initiated turn-taking patterns of each of the eight adjacency pairs identified in the classroom interactions.

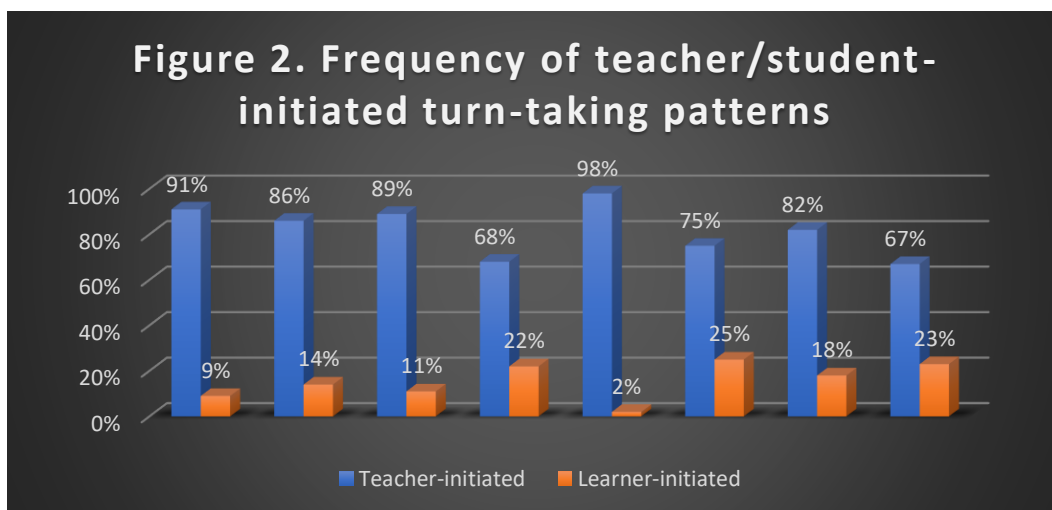
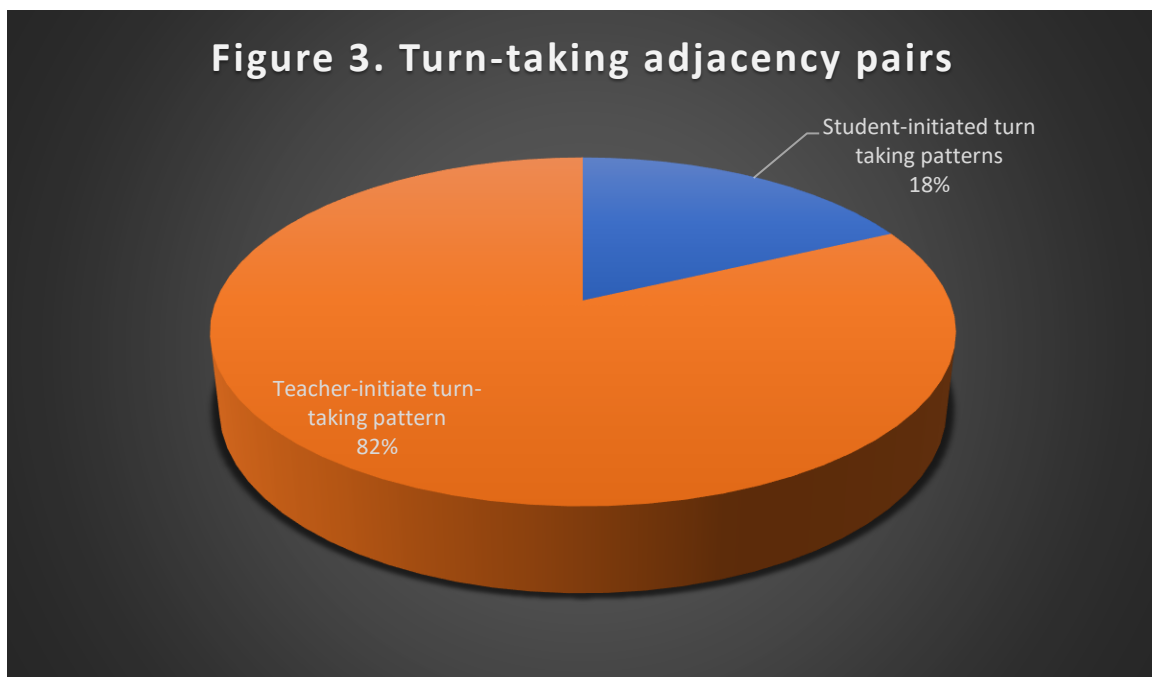


Figure 2 details the frequencies with which each of the turn-taking patterns discussed in question one were initiated by the teacher and the student respectively. This results give evidence that most of the language classroom were teacher-centred. Most of the conversations and activities were initiated by the teacher and the students were merely to respond to what the teacher initiates. The data reveal that, with respect to greeting-greeting turn-taking pattern, while 91% of it was initiated by the teacher, 9% was initiated by the student. Normally, teachers are the first to greet when they enter the classroom except on few occasions where students initiated it. Similar pattern can be observed with check-clarification turn-taking practice where 86% and 14% were initiated by the teacher and student respectively. Question-answer pattern was no exception as 89% was teacher-initiated and 11% was student-initiated. This proves that a lot of the questions were initiated by the teachers and the students were invited to respond. Similarly,

request-acceptance pattern was 68% and 22% teacher and student initiated respectively. As expected, teachers are seen as the 'authority' in the class and, therefore, predominantly issue instructions. It is not surprising that 98% of instruction-compliance turn-taking pattern is teacher-initiated and only 2% is student-initiated. It can also be observed from figure 4.2 that, most of the class sessions were ended through the teacher's initiative. Hence, teacher and student-initiated leave-taking/leave-taking were 75% and 25% respectively. Similar pattern is observed in compliant-apology where the teacher initiates 82% and the student initiates 18%. In the case of accusation-denial/acceptance, 67% and 23% are teacher and student initiated respectively. It is clearly evident the teacher dominates in all the turn-taking activities in the classroom. This makes pedagogy teacher-centred. Figure 3 reveals the totality of teacher-initiated turn-taking adjacency pairs against student-initiated ones.



From figure 3, 82% of the general conversations in the classroom are initiated by the teacher. This revelation is dire and exposes how students are made passive in the teaching and learning interaction process. Many scholars have critiqued that the teacher-centred pedagogy kills creativity, critical thinking and initiative of the students. The students become lazy and do not feel compelled to think for themselves and come out with new things. Some of the student participants asserted,

Most of the interactions in the classroom are initiated by our teachers. We are not allowed to initiate anything. Our knowledge and competence are built around the topics and knowledge our teacher initiate.

We, the students wish opportunity is given us to initiate most of the classroom interactions. Some we have certain ideals and opinions we wish to share but we are not allowed to initiate and advance our knowledge.

Another impact of the turn-taking patterns is that, the nature of the adjacency pairs makes the relationship between the teacher and the students a boss-subordinate relationship. The adjacency pairs reveal that the teacher deals with the students as though they are some subordinates who are merely to 'respond' to initiated conversations. Generally, a subordinate is expected to take instructions and comply. There is no room for knowledge negotiation and discussions. This is one of the effects of a teacher-centred pedagogy. Some students had this to say,

Our classroom sessions are too regimented. A teacher walks to class, greets, introduces the topic, asks questions, leads discussions and closes. Everything is initiated by the teacher and we are only allowed to only respond to the topics raised by the teacher. I wish we can be allowed to initiate interactions too.

Nobody listens to the student. Teachers don't see us as matured enough to initiate interactions. Everybody thinks the student is dumb and must only to passively engaged in the teaching and learning process. Even when we have dissent views and opinions to the teacher's, we are not allowed to share it, especially if the teacher has not initiated a topic relating to the views we hold.

Almost contrary to the first point, the third impact of turn-taking is that, classroom activities were student-centred. The third impact appears contradictory to the first but they are practically different concepts, not contradictory. The first impact discusses teacher-centeredness within the framework that it is the teacher who predominantly *initiates* the classroom interaction. However, even though the turns are predominantly *initiated* by the teachers, adjacency pairs provide opportunity for students to be invited to respond and actively take part in the interaction process. Therefore, students are generally actively engaged in the classroom conversations despite the fact that teachers *initiate* the interactions. The learners are invited to respond, react, act, dramatize and share their opinions and knowledge about the initiated topics. In fact, some of the teachers argue that although the initiation of classroom interactions is predominantly teacher-centred, the students are constantly invited, engaged and carried along every single part of the teaching and learning process, making the teaching and learning process student-centred. Some of the teachers indicated,

I can say on authority that the data on classroom interactions where teachers predominantly initiate the conversations do not necessarily reflect the activities in the classroom. I distinguish classroom activities from classroom interactions. I see the interactions as a subset of the classroom activities. All the activities in the classroom are made to revolve around the student even though the interactions are initiated by the teachers.

In the excerpts above, the responses attempt to separate *initiation* of classroom interaction from teaching and learning *activities*. The teachers argue that the fact that one initiates a conversation, does not mean the other participants are made passive in the process. In fact, an inherent characteristic of adjacency pairs is that, it must always be a 'pair' thing, hence, the teachers are compelled to always 'invite' the learners in the interaction process. Therefore, it is argued that adjacency pairs make teaching and learning activities (not initiation) student-centred.

The fourth and last impact of adjacency pairs on pedagogy revealed in the data is that adjacency pairs make communicative events in the classroom reflect practices in the real

world. Students are generally taught and trained for the outside world. Education is of limited essence if the student is not able function effectively and efficiently in the society, the work place, social gatherings and groups, among others. It is therefore instructive that the realities that pertain in the outside world are brought to the classroom and students are given sufficient exposure in it so that transitioning from the classroom to the outside world does not become a challenge for the students upon completion. Reality therefore influences classroom practice. It is on such premise that adjacency pairs become essential in pedagogy. In the outside world, conversations and interactions are held on daily basis and in different settings, both formal and informal. Conversation is the one of the major means through people share ideas, pass information and make enquiries. Normally, these conversations are held through adjacency pairs, where one speaker initiates a conversation and expects or invites a second speaker to decode and respond to it. Since this is the reality in the outside world which students are trained to become members, the teachers are compelled to make the teaching and learning process (pedagogy) and the general sharing of information and knowledge in the classroom be conducted through adjacency pairs. A participant indicated,

Classroom pedagogy is supposed to reflect real-world practices so that students are able to transition, transfer and apply their knowledge and skills easily in both worlds. Therefore, pedagogy is built on adjacency pairs. In classroom interactions, students are constantly invited to respond and engage in conversations just as they will experience in the real-world. This makes teaching and learning practical and relatable.

Another participant who agrees with the earlier assertion that adjacency pairs is a tool in pedagogy opine that,

Effective classroom interaction is an important and effective tool in pedagogy. Adjacency pairs impacts pedagogy significantly. In that, conversations held in the classroom bridges the gap between theory and practice. Pedagogy becomes more practical and interactive such that teaching is not made to only be about the transfer of knowledge (from the teacher to the student), but also, the sharing of knowledge (between the teacher and the student).

There is a convergence of thoughts in the excerpts above to the effect that communicative events in the classroom make pedagogy practical. Hence, adjacency pair is the tool that makes teaching and learning interactive and practical. Just as the students interact with their parents in the house, their Pastor or Imam at church or mosque, bargain (through interaction) with the market woman or negotiate for prices of items at the retail shop, adjacency pair makes it possible for pedagogy to have similar interactive nature. A student recounted,

My classroom experience and my experiences in the outside world are not essentially different. Anything I experience in the outside in terms of interaction, I experience same in the classroom. This makes me connect theory (classroom) and practice (outside world) quite easily. Therefore, my knowledge, argumentative skills and confidence levels are enhanced phenomenally.

In sum, this section has dealt with the research question 2 which focuses on the impact of adjacency pairs on pedagogy. Basically, four impacts are identified. First is that, the adjacency pairs make pedagogy teacher-centred. It is revealed that 82% of the interactions in the classroom are initiated by the teacher. This means that most of the

topics, interactions, conversations and knowledge shared in the classroom come from the teacher. The student is only made to 'tag along' what the teacher initiates. Such teacher-centred practice is exposed and discouraged in the study especially in this modern era where arguments are strongly advanced by several scholars in favour of a student-centred classroom. The second impact of adjacency pairs is that, the nature of adjacency pairs foster a boss-subordinate relationship between the teacher and the student. Relationships are important in the classroom. The nature of relationship between the teacher and the student affects learning output. The data revealed that the 'authority' of the teacher is strictly maintained through the adjacency pairs. For example, most of the adjacency pairs were question-answer and instruction-complaint. It is only the teacher who had the 'authority' to 'question' or 'instruct'. The third impact is that, since adjacency pairs obligatorily have a 'pair' element, where a second speaker is compulsorily 'invited' to partake in conversations, pedagogy becomes student-centred. Those who argue for this point believe that the fact that the teacher predominantly *initiates* classroom interaction, does not mean students are not actively engaged in the teaching and learning process. Believers of this school of thought separate *initiation* from *process*. They agree that teachers predominantly initiate classroom interactions as espoused in the first point, but they also advance the argument that, after the *initiation* is done, the teaching and learning activities are left for the student. The fourth impact discussed in the section is that adjacency pairs make communicative events in the classroom connect and reflect real-world practice. One of the important goals of education is teach and train students to function effectively and efficiently in the real world. One of the real world practices is the transfer and sharing of information and knowledge through interactions, which thrives on adjacency pairs. The teachers therefore assert that it is imperative that the sharing of knowledge in the classroom is also structured on adjacency pairs.

Conclusion

In the current study, an attempt is made to investigate the adjacency pairs that are used in the language classroom and how these pairs impact pedagogy. The qualitative approach is adopted. Observation and recording of classroom interactions and interview are the instruments for data collection. Through a thematic analysis, it is revealed that eight adjacency pair patterns are practised in the classroom interaction. These are greeting/greeting, check/clarification, instruction/compliance, question/answer, request/accept, accusation/refusal, complaint/apology and leave-taking/leave-taking. The impact of these patterns on pedagogy were that classroom interactions were teacher-centred, classroom activities were student-centred, boss-subordinate relationship existed in the classroom and communicative events reflect real world situations. Based on the findings, it is recommended that pedagogues are to become mindful not only of the content they teach but also the manner in which they package and transfer the content must equally be checked. Classroom interaction is a very important part of the teaching and learning process, therefore, turn-taking organisations must be effectively and efficiently conducted.

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