Soliciting teacher attention in an L2 classroom: Affective displays, classroom artefacts, and embodied action

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Abstract

This paper explores L2 novices' ways of soliciting teacher attention, more specifically, their summonses. The data are based on detailed analyses of video recordings in a Swedish language immersion classroom. The analyses illuminate the lexical shape of summonses in conjunction with prosody, body posture, gestures, and classroom artefacts. As demonstrated, a simple structure of summoning provided a handy method for soliciting and establishing the teacher's attention, and facilitated the novices' participation in classroom activities from early on. Importantly, though, the local design of the summonses was influenced by the competitive multiparty classroom setting. The analyses illustrate how the novices upgraded their summonses by displaying a range of affective stances. Different aspects of the students' embodied actions were employed as ways of indexing affective stances, e.g., 'tired', 'resigned' or 'playful', that in the local educational order created methods that invited the teacher's attention and conversational uptake. These locally available resources allowed children to upgrade their summonses and to indicate their communicative projects, in spite of their limited Swedish (L2) resources. The findings are discussed in terms of their implications for understanding participation in L2 classroom interactions as being a matter of delicately calibrated collaborative accomplishments.

Keywords: L2 novices, summonses, embodied action, affective stances, classroom artefacts

The present paper explores how primary school students solicit and secure teacher's attention and participation in an immersion class context, where a second language (L2) constitutes the primary mode of classroom life. Recently, ethnographic discourse-oriented studies have illustrated how the micropolitics of classroom life shape children's access to 'linguaculture' and resources in L2 learning (Willet 1995; Toohey 2000; Day 2002). To underscore the relevance of active participation in language practices, a growing number of microanalytical studies highlight how language learning opportunities are collaboratively constructed in

learners' interactions with teachers in mundane classroom discourse (Hall & Verplaetse 2000; Mondada & Pekarek Doehler 2004; Seedhouse 2004). As indicated by prior research, to be reviewed below, the ability to recruit participation of expert others is crucial for language learners. Managing to secure the teacher's attention forms a part of a student's interactional competence in the social ecology of the classroom (cf., Mehan 1979; Markee 2004). However so far, little is known about how children at an early stage of L2 learning are able to bring about the teacher's attention and conversational involvement.

Attention-getting strategies are important interactional devices that children employ to bring about the teacher's involvement. The present study focuses on children's (L2 beginners') summonses as well as the responses they occasion in the unfolding classroom interaction. As an initiating speaker's part in a sequence of actions, a summons (a vocative address, physical action, e.g., raising a hand) is typically designed) to solicit the recipient's attention (Schegloff 1968: 1080). The recipient's answer to the summons (e.g., 'yes', gaze, nod) displays her/his expectation for further action on the first speaker's part (C. Goodwin et al. 2002). Thereby, the recipient commits him-/herself to staying within the encounter (cf., Schegloff 1968). This type of sequence provides the most rudimentary form of attention-getting activity in L2 novice's talk. However, in everyday life in the classroom, L2 novices attempting to secure teacher's attention often face a much more elaborate interactional task. Classroom life takes place in an interactional environment, where multiple simultaneous activities are pursued by various constellations of participants (van Dam 2002). Thus, an overwhelmingly pressing concern for students is to secure the teacher's attention and interactional uptake in the context of many competing voices. By investigating ways in which children solicit and establish teacher's attention, the present study seeks to address the issue of learners' access to participation in educational activities in a complex interactional setting. More generally, by examining the complex communicative abilities required when learners

attempt to get conversational access to classroom activities, the present study seeks to enhance our understanding of a multilingual classroom as a social site for participation and language learning (Willet 1995; Breen 2001).

Earlier research on attention-getting in children's L2 interactions

Focusing on child L2 learners, several studies have illustrated the importance of attention-getting within L2 conversations. In her early discourse-oriented study, Hatch (1978) has shown that summonses are a crucial interactional resource in language learning. Attention-getting formats facilitate language acquisition in that they allow for collaborative topic nominations, establishment, and negotiations together with a more competent speaker (Hatch 1978; on L1 see Bruner 1981).

Summoning is reported to be an initial and recurrent interactional device in children's early L2 use (Hatch 1978; Linnakylä 1980; Cathcart 1986; Cathcart-Strong 1986; Willet 1995; Pallotti 1996). For instance, in her study of a 5-year-old Finish boy learning English, Linnakylä (1980) documented that attention-getting strategies (vocatives, directives to look at something) were crucial initial means of achieving participation in informal conversations. Moreover, at an early stage of learning, such actions were often the only lexical contributions the child could make to the interaction (see also Krupa-Kwiatkovski 1998).

Educational settings, including language classrooms, present institutional environments in which students' and teachers' actions are guided by the local institutional order that defines participants' mutual rights and responsibilities and makes them accountable for specific actions (Freebody & Freiberg 2000). They also delineate what provides access to the teacher's interactional space. Classroom discourse entails a variety of speech-exchange systems that define what counts as a legitimate way of gaining the conversational floor, and the teacher's attention (Mehan 1979; Merrit 1982; Seedhouse 2004). Merrit's (1982) analysis of children's

solicitation of the teacher's attention (during individual seatwork) in a L1 primary classroom setting revealed that getting the teacher's attention was by no means unproblematic: the students often needed to recycle their soliciting moves several times. They used numerous lexical reformulations of their summons turn, at times verbally indicating their reason for wanting the teacher's attention and assistance (e.g., 'Ms. C. I haven't done this one yet'). Clearly then, being accepted as a ratified conversational participant presents a basic communicative challenge that the student faces in multiparty classrooms, and requires complex interactional skills (Merrit 1982).

Studies on formal L2 learning settings have also provided some evidence that securing teacher's attention involves considerable interactional work. For instance, Cathcart (1986), in her study of Spanish children's interactions in a bilingual English-Spanish immersion class, demonstrated that calling the teacher's attention ('Lookit', 'Mrs P.') and asking for compliments on their classroom work constituted a substantial part of novices' language use during classroom seatwork. Such interactional moves also entailed a nonverbal element, in that the children held out their papers when summoning the teacher.

Further, in a study of a 5-year-old Moroccan girl's L2 learning during her first year in an Italian kindergarten classroom, Pallotti (1996) demonstrated that the novice initially learned and used words ('Look', 'teacher', proper names) that allowed her to become accepted as a communicative partner in this multiparty kindergarten setting.

Yet, although studies on children's early L2 learning show that summoning forms a crucial interactional resource, we know surprisingly little about the interactional organization of such practices as they are produced within the dynamic flow of classroom encounters.

Embodiment in L2 speaker talk

C. Goodwin argues that, in order to properly understand how people manage their face-to-face encounters, we must take into account the multiple semiotic systems on the basis of which interaction is designed (Goodwin, C. 2003). Multimodality is, thus, fundamental for the organization of social interactions, and talk gains its meaning as a social action in conjunction with embodied features, encompassing activities, sequential structures, and the material structure in the surround (Kendon 1990; Goodwin, C. 2003). Although van Lier (2000) suggested that nonverbal aspects of action comprise significant interactional resources for L2 novices at an early stage of learning, it is fair to say that work on multimodal aspects of L2 interactions is still an emergent area of research.

In general, second language acquisition (SLA) research has been preoccupied with verbal aspects of language learning. Lately, however, several microanalytic studies have focused on teacher's gestures and other nonverbal behaviour as significant forms of input in L2 classrooms (e.g., Allen 2000; Lazaraton 2004). Several studies have explored the role of nonverbal aspects, primarily gestures, in L2 learners' speech. However, they have mostly dealt with dyadic interactions between native and non-native speakers (McCafferty 2002) and story retelling tasks (Gullberg 1998; McCafferty 1998), rather than complex multiparty classroom environments.

Some of the few studies on L2 novices' small group interactions demonstrate the intricate ways in which adult L2 learners employ verbal and nonverbal resources in interaction (Carroll 2004; Olsher 2004). For instance, Olsher (2004) explored adult learners' embodied practices evolving during small group project work. He demonstrated how the novices completed the (initially verbal) turn with gestures and embodied displays. In conversations between adult L2 and L1 speakers, such embodied completions provide opportunities for language learning because they allow L1 speakers to reformulate what the L2 speaker has said with a more elaborate linguistic expression (Mori & Hayashi 2006).

Language use being inextricably interwoven into embodied aspects of action, it is of course important to consider the multimodal resources deployed by the participants in relation to talk. That is, in addition to examining L2 novices summons sequences as segments of talk alone, this study also places the locus of interest on embodied accomplishment of these communicative practices (e.g., Hatch 1978 on the importance of visual aspects in the analyses of learner-expert interactions). Such an approach may provide insights into how L2 novices deploy a broad range of resources in order to facilitate interaction, and elucidate how learners and teachers organize and coordinate their participation in the dynamic classroom setting.

In line with studies that investigate 'the social construction' of language classroom talk (cf., Markee 2004: 583; see also Hall & Verplaetse 2000), the present study presents an in-depth analysis of L2 novices' interactional work when summoning the teacher during individual seatwork. By attending to the sequential organization of the participants' actions, I will explore how L2 novices deploy summons-answer sequences in pursuit of their teachers' attention. More specifically, the lexical shape of the summons will be examined in conjunction with the multiple semiotic resources exploited by the participants, including body posture, gestures and the artifacts provided by the surroundings.

Importantly, when located in the interactional ecology of the classroom, summoning sequences can be defined as a type of interactional routine involving language use as an enactment of specific social relations (Peters & Boggs 1986: 81). By highlighting the recipient design (Sacks et al. 1974) of children's summons, I will explicate how children's ways of designing such calls display their sensitivity to the social ecological demands of classroom discourse. By demonstrating how complex the ability to recruit the teacher's attention is, the present paper tentatively suggests that summoning (in and of itself) may provide a context for the development of interactional skills.

In the dynamic multiparty classroom setting, L2 novices face several tasks when summoning the teacher, including (i) establishing attention and (ii) indicating what they want to interact about, that is, achieving shared understanding of specific actions. Moreover, students have restricted rights to initiate talk in classroom settings, as well as restricted rights to choose topics; they also face the task of securing the teacher's uptake. So, how do they solicit and establish the teacher's attention?

METHOD

Methodologically, the present study adopts conversation analysis' (CA) detailed attention to interactional processes explored through participants' sense-making orientations on a turn-by-turn basis (Sacks et. al 1974; Lerner 2004). By attending to the sequential organization of talk, it explores the resources and methods participants rely on in the accomplishment of talk-in-interaction. The analysis also incorporates from language socialization a concern with participants' use of indexical resources for the enactment of specific communicative roles and social relations (cf., Ochs 1988, 1996; Garrett & Baquedano-Lopez 2002). Integrating microanalyses with ethnographic observations allows us to more fully analyse children's interactional contributions, which in many cases are comprehensible only in the light of the classroom-specific interactional arrangements (e.g., Kasper & Rose 2002).

Setting

The analyses presented in this paper are based on video recordings and ethnographic observations of everyday interactions in a Swedish immersion class for refugee and immigrant children – a so-called 'mottagningsgrupp' (*'reception classroom'*) in a Swedish school. 'Reception' classes have several aims, such as introducing the children to Swedish

language, and preparing them for transfer to regular classes, that is, introducing them to the Swedish educational system. The present group included children in grades 1-3 (7-10 years). They represented several languages: Arabic, Kurdish and Thai. All children in this class were beginner learners who had recently arrived in Sweden. However, the children's time spent in Sweden and the time spent in this class varied, as did the children's L2 proficiency. Swedish was the language of instruction as well as the language taught, in that the teachers Vera (a native Swede, not present in the current episodes) and Fare (a Swedish-Arabic bilingual) taught Swedish vocabulary and reading, as well as maths and other school subjects. Fare used Arabic (as a language of instruction) only when the Arabic-speaking children experienced repeated problems in understanding classroom activities.

Data and recordings

The present study is a part of a larger investigation of children's participation and L2 learning in an immersion classroom, where the children's classroom interactions were videorecorded during three periods, covering an early (autumn), middle (winter) and late phase (spring) of the school year (90 hours of recordings). The data for this study are recordings from the middle phase (winter period) of the school year.[1]

The present study focuses on two girls, Fusi (a Kurdish 7-year-old) and Nok (a 7-year-old from Thailand), who were some of the latest arrivals in the class. During the mid-period of data collection, they had spent between 4 and 5 months in this class, and were the least proficient in Swedish. Fusi also mastered some basic Arabic, and used it occasionally when addressing Fare, or Arabic speaking classmates (girls). At the time, the other children had spent up to one year in the classroom and were more proficient in Swedish. Although Fusi's and Nok's Swedish skills were (still) very limited, they were actively engaged in individual

work on assignments (instrumental classroom activities where talk was just one mode of participating, e.g., Goffman 1963).[2]

Interactional organization of individual work on assignments

This study presents analyses of the girls' participation during individual work on an assignment. During these classroom activities, the children usually worked on their own. They were seated in a half-circle, while the teacher walked around assisting them. Hand-raising was rare. The students were usually involved in many separate activities (doing exercises at their own skill level in, for instance, maths, writing, drawing), and the teacher was engaged in multiple tasks with multiple students. The students needed continuous supervision from the teacher in order to get instructions on a new task, to get an evaluation of completed work or to get help on work in progress. Because the teacher was continuously assisting the children, there were generally no 'empty' conversational slots during which the teacher was 'free' from involvement with other students. Therefore, it was often the case that several students were soliciting the teacher's attention simultaneously, and they were often facing the task of either getting the teacher's attention by disrupting the teacher's current activity or having to wait for his/her postponed involvement.

Figure 1: Classroom layout

Layla	Miran	Ali	Ahmed		whiteboard
Rana					
Nok					
Hiwa					
Sawan		Fusi			
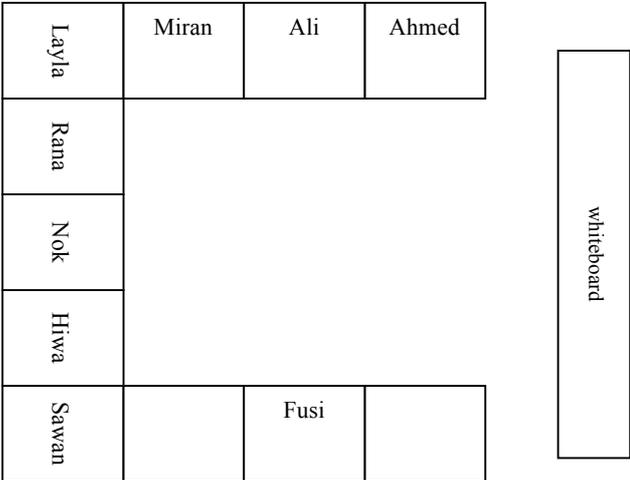
Analytic unit

The analytic units are students' summonses of the teacher. They have been analysed in relation to the children's *communicative projects*. The term communicative project is meant to include not only the verbally invoked topic related to the summons, but also a range of visible displays (e.g., of classroom artifacts) that invoked the reason for the call. A communicative project is defined as 'the task it is designed to solve, and/or in fact actually solves' (Linell 1998: 220). Communicative projects are inherently dialogical in the sense of being jointly produced in an interactional context by the participants (Linell 1998). In the present analyses, the communicative projects were identified through post-hoc analysis of the students' summonses. Thus, in the context of individual seatwork, the students' summoning can be related to distinct communicative projects, such as calling for assistance or inviting evaluations.

SOLICITING TEACHER ATTENTION

Summons sequences and verbal contributions among more advanced learners

In order to outline a more complete picture of the interactional ecology of the present classroom, I will initially illustrate the methods that the more advanced students in the classroom relied upon when calling for assistance from the teacher. At the time, they displayed a broad repertoire of interactional resources, in that they could produce rather elaborate linguistically formed turns; they also participated in conversation-based classroom

activities. When soliciting the teacher's attention, they recurrently introduced their communicative project verbally, as a request for action on the teacher's part.

Ex. 1. Individual work on maths. Teacher FARE, class, including the girls Layla and Nok. FARE is standing close to Nok and is helping her.

```
    1    FARE:   vad blir det här? ((to Nok))
                 how much is this here?
    2            (1) ((FARE points at Nok's exercise))

→   3    Layla:  Fare: [jag kan inte fatta det här. ((looks at
                  Fare:  I don´t understand this here.
                 her book))

    4    FARE:         [fem fem det bara noll det blir bara noll
                        five five it just zero it is just zero
                       ((looking at Nok's exercise, points at it))

    5            (2.5) ((FARE moves to Layla))

    6    FARE:   <ta första (.) x tio minus två?> ((to Layla))
                 <take the first (.) x ten minus two?>
```

Layla (an Arabic speaker) calls for the teacher, who is involved in talking to a nearby child, Nok (line 3). Layla employs lexical means to perform several actions within a single turn. She (i) specifies the recipient of the utterance, the teacher; (ii) calls for his attention; (iii) indicates that she experiences difficulties in her work on assignment, thereby accounting for why she needs his assistance, that is, providing a reason for the summons (cf., C. Goodwin et al. 2002). Note that the teacher does not stop talking to Nok (moreover, he does not even shift his gaze from Nok to Layla).

Thus, despite the overlapping talk and the teacher's gaze towards another student, Layla succeeds in securing his assistance, in that he (i) moves to Layla and (ii) answers her request by immediately providing instructions on the task ('take the first' in line 7). In this way, Layla and other relatively advanced learners performed several actions within the same turn using verbal means, indicating the communicative project at issue in their initiating move; they did not need to first secure the teacher's visual orientation. Thus, similarly to the L1 primary grade students in Merrit's study (1982), the advanced students in the present study could verbally introduce the reason for their summons, thereby making the teacher accountable for

providing assistance. Naturally, this is not to say that their calls for the teacher's attention lacked embodied characteristics (see line 3, Layla's gaze at the book)[3] but rather that the analysis above aimed at highlighting the verbal means that the students used to solicit the teacher's attention.

Visual displays of classroom artifacts in novices' summons-answer sequences

In contrast to the more advanced students in Ex. 1, the L2 novices in this classroom did not have elaborate verbal resources at their disposal. In the following, I will present the ways in which they solicited the teacher's attention through their summons turns. Excerpt 2 illustrates how an L2 novice deploys a summons when addressing the teacher during individual maths work. In particular, I will focus on how a visual display of a classroom artifact, the book, makes relevant a specific communicative project, that of securing the teacher's assessment.

Ex. 2. Individual work on maths. Teacher FARE, class, including Fusi and the boy Sawan. FARE assists Sawan at his desk.

```
→  1    Fusi:    Fare ((turns toward FARE))

   2    FARE     jepp ((looking down in Sawan's book))
                 yep

   3    Fusi:    shuffi haie? ((raises her book toward FARE))
                 look at this?

   4             (1.5) ((FARE looks at Fusi´s book))

   5    FARE:    bra. (.) okey=
                 good. (.) okay=

   6    Fusi:    =°jala!° ((packs her book into her desk))
                 =°let's go!°
```

The girl Fusi summons the teacher Fare, using a vocative (line 1). His response 'jepp' (*'yep'*) indicates that he is waiting for Fusi's forthcoming action, but he is still looking at the book of another student. Fusi's directive to look 'shuffi haie' (*'look at this'* in Arabic) invites him to scrutinize her book, which she now holds raised towards him (line 3). Because of her limited skills in Arabic, Fusi wrongly uses a feminine verb form 'shuffi' to address the male teacher.

The correct (masculine) form is 'shuff'. Although grammatically incorrect, Fusi's summons combined with her visual display of the book provides information on her communicative project and guides the teacher's interpretation of her actions (lines 4 and 5). By looking at her book and by producing an evaluation of her work (line 4), the teacher is orienting to Fusi's communicative project. This interpretation is supported in that Fusi in fact packs her books, after obtaining his positive assessment.

The (deictic) display of the specific page with the completed exercise constitutes an efficient 'meaning producing system' (C. Goodwin 2003: 228) and provides a way of precisely indicating the communicative project, that is, inviting an evaluation of work completed. That is, Fusi's actions make relevant the contextually bound routines that together enable the teacher to 'read' and act upon her communicative project (asking for evaluation).

Although the novices' L2 vocabulary was still very limited, the teachers recurrently easily recognized what was apparently their communicative project. The participants' shared knowledge of the encompassing activity (individual work on task) constituted the broad frame of interpretation for the visual displays of the classroom artifacts.

Thus, a summons-answer sequence allowed the novices to recruit the teacher as a conversational partner in that (i) it committed the teacher to subsequent interaction, and (ii) it allowed for embodied demonstrations of the (significant) classroom artifacts. Such a summons sequence involves a multiparty performance of actions, organized and sustained within the 'frameworks of attentiveness' (M. Goodwin 1998: 39)[4]. Instead of directly telling the teacher why they need his/her assistance, the L2 novices first need to establish the teacher's visual orientation (so as to be able to indicate their interactional concerns at hand).

Upgrading summonses

During individual seatwork, the teacher was multitasking and several students would simultaneously call for assistance, thus summons turns were often unavoidably ignored. Although the classroom activities in this study were based on a student-centred approach, the student's conversational rights were limited in terms of the topics to be brought up, the manner of speaking, and the timing of their contributions. Recruiting the teacher's attention within the multiple voices of a classroom was usually a time-consuming activity that involved a considerable amount of interactional work. Although the L2 novices did not yet have elaborate lexical resources, the analysis demonstrated that through prosody, gesture, body posture and position, and the lexico-semantic features, their summons turns were highlighted, upgraded and differentiated. The children upgraded their summonses in a number of ways: e.g. by moving towards the teacher (ambulatory design) and by combining their summons with displays of affect.

'Ambulatory' design of a summons

Because the participants needed access to each other's visual field, the novices could make their summons attempts visible by using what I will call an *ambulatory* design of a summons, which simply entailed moving into the physical proximity of the teacher.

Ex.3. Individual writing exercises. Teacher FARE, temporary teacher MARTIN, class, including the girls Fusi and Layla. FARE assists Layla at her desk.

```
  1    Fusi:   klar Fare ((raises her gaze from her book))
               ready Fare

  2            (2) ((FARE is talking to some students at the
                    other end of the classroom))

→ 3    Fusi:   ((grabs MARTIN who is about to go close to her
                  desk, and puts her book in front of him))

  4    MARTIN: bra  ((looking at her writing book))
               good

  5    Fusi:   ((retreats to her desk))
```

When Fusi has finished her exercise, she issues an announcement concerning her progress with the work and directs it to Fare (line 1). Fare, however, is involved with some other

children at the other end of the classroom and does not respond to her. Fusi then leaves her desk, grabs the teacher Martin (a temporary replacement) who is passing by, stops him and puts her writing book in front of him, displaying her finished exercise. By approaching the teacher, she actively constructs a state of 'copresence' (Goffman 1963: 17). Although she does not provide any verbal indication as to what is expected from the teacher when she approaches him, she successfully obtains his evaluation of her exercise.[5]

Affective design of a summons

In producing and upgrading a summons, a student calling the teacher took up different affective stances (cf., Ochs 1996). Affective stances are important aspects of language use and language socialization, in that they are part of what constitutes interactional competence, in this case, students' 'appropriate' classroom behaviour. Affect permeates different layers of human interaction, and even 'novices are expected to recognize and to display emotions in culturally defined ways and according to local norms and preferences' (Garrett & Baquedano-Lopez 2002: 352).[6] While affect can be indexed at all levels of language: grammar, prosody, lexical, and conversational structures (e.g., Ochs and Schieffelin 1989; Besnier 1990; Caffi and Janney 1994; Günthner 1997), it is also located within embodied sequences of action (Goodwin, M. & Goodwin, C. 2000).

In the present classroom, the students recurrently employed gestures, body posture, and body position in arranging affective displays. Such bodily displays (e.g., half-lying on the desk, turned to the teacher, leaning away from the book, ambulatory design of actions) became meaningful in relation to situated classroom artifacts (books, desk).

Repeatedly, novices and the more advanced students alike emphatically marked their summoning turns. In the conversational context of summoning, increased volume, accentuated and markedly prolonged vowels, and shifting the position of stress to the final

prolonged vowel were recurrent features of prosody displaying the emphatically marked claims for the teacher's co-orientation. While there are no prosodic features that can be straightforwardly associated with specific affective stances, an interactional approach to prosody has shown how some specific features tend to be recurrently employed in particular sequential and situational environments (e.g., Selting 1994; Local 1996), and can be seen to display 'iconicity with the affective referents' (Freese & Maynard 1998: 198)[7]. The present students' emphatically marked summons turns carried a distinctive prosodic shape, marked by abrupt pitch leaps (high pitch) and a rising-falling pitch movement on a lengthened syllable (employed on key words, e.g., vocatives). Also, shifts in prosodic cues in relation to the prior turns as well as the surrounding talk in the classroom provided critical devices in the prosodic indexing of affectively charged summons turns. Such actions (prosodic indexing of affective stances) were significant interactional resources in that they audibly indexed an affective stance and could alert the teacher even before the teacher's visual orientation was established (e.g., Ex. 4 below).

In the following example, I will discuss how multimodal resources are configured so as to bear on the interaction, by allowing the novice to display an affective stance as a 'public and witnessable' method for highlighting her claims for the teacher's attention and assistance (Ex. 4).

Ex. 4. Individual work on maths. Teacher FARE, class, including Nok and the boy Hiwa. FARE is assisting Hiwa.

```
→  1    Nok:    Fare:::[: ((creaky voice, looks at FARE, lying
                 on the desk and partly on the exercise book))

   2    FARE:          [mh ((turns towards Nok))

   3           (1.5) ((FARE steps towards Nok´s desk, looking
                       at her book))

   4    FARE:   fortsätt då. plus x. ((points with finger
                continue then. plus x.
                at her exercise))
```

Nok summons Fare with an elongated (singing) vocative, Fare:::, in an intonation that can be glossed as 'resignation'. She is also lying on her desk, looking at him, thereby 'doing being ignored' (e.g., Sacks 1992, v.I). The prosodic indexing of 'resignation' ('creaky' voice and elongated final vowel) can be seen to indicate that this student is in trouble and needs help. The affective display is audible before the teacher has turned towards Nok, highlighting her summons. It is also embellished by the 'reclining' body posture that can also be seen to indicate resignation.

Nok's affective display is coordinated with her simultaneous orientation to the classroom artifact, more specifically, her task. Through her body posture, Nok foregrounds the page with the problematic exercise while covering the irrelevant (left) page of the book, thus indicating that the teacher's help is needed on the ongoing work (on the right page). Fare is turned away from Nok, involved in assisting Hiwa. While he turns to Nok, he produces a summons response ('mh'), directing his gaze at Nok and her exercise, which is displayed on her desk. He then provides instructions and encourages her to continue to work on a particular 'problematic' exercise (line 4). Thereby, Nok's visual display of the book provides for an interactionally economic performance in that it directly 'catches' the teacher's eye and, together with the affective display, invokes the reason for the teacher's assistance.[8]

As can be seen in Ex. 4, resources such as prosodic cues, in coordination with body posture, and orientation to classroom artifacts were employed in constructing the affective stance. The summons turn was tailored as affectively charged action that provided cues to the teacher concerning the reason for the student's call for the teacher. Thus, when situated in the encompassing activity, the affective stances co-created the interpretative framework of the action. In this case, it was successful, in that the teacher, Fare, responded to her communicative project (line 4), even though she had not stated it in words.

Affective design in regaining the teacher's attention

In the following, we will further explore the interactional work accomplished by such affectively charged summons turns. Due to the asymmetric distribution of tasks and responsibilities between teacher and students, the teacher's uptake and alignment with the students' communicative project was not something that could be taken for granted. In much of the classroom talk, as in this example, the student needed to persuade the teacher to 'commit' himself to the student's communicative project. Even when the teacher's orientation was obtained, his uptake and assistance needed to be continuously negotiated and sustained. In the following example, I will again demonstrate how affectively indexed summonses were employed so as to (finally) secure the teacher's uptake.

Ex. 5. Individual work on maths. Teacher FARE, class, including Fusi and the boy Sawan. FARE is helping Sawan close to Fusi. Fusi works on the last exercise on that page.

```
    1    Fusi:   °ett två tre fyra fem sex.° ((writes ´6`))
                 °one two three four five six.°

    2            (4.4) ((Fusi looks at FARE))

→   3    Fusi:   ((raises her hands and claps three times
                   towards FARE))

    4            (1)

→   5    Fusi:   Fare: ((looking at FARE))

    6            (6.2) ((Fusi turns a new page in her book))

→   7    Fusi:   ↑Fare: ↑shu:ffi ih ih (.5) ih ((´moaning´ voice,
                 ↑Fare: ↑loo:k   ih ih (.5) ih
                 pretend weeping, moves her hand across the book))

    8    FARE:   vad är det som kommer efter sex här? granne?
                 what´s after six here? neighbour?
                 ((steps toward Fusi))
```

When Fusi summons the teacher using handclapping (line 3), her book displayed on her desk is open for the teacher's potential scrutinizing gaze. Fusi then summons the teacher using a verbal summons, a vocative (line 5). There is no uptake (as the teacher is looking down at another child's book), but again Fusi summons him by requesting that he look at her book (line 7). It can be seen that she has now code-switched to Arabic.

Note that Fusi's summonses in lines 5 and 7 seem to invoke rather different propositions. A crucial difference here is the prosodic indexing of affect. The first vocative is produced with normal, non-prominent pitch (line 5). In contrast, the prosodic features of the vocative and directive '↑sh<u>u:</u>ffi' (*'look'*), and a falsetto moaning voice quality in line 7, index her turn as a display of frustration (cf., Freese & Maynard 1998, on the use of creaky voice in indexing frustration). Here, she ends her request with non-lexicalized 'weeping' sounds.

Fusi's code-switching can be seen as yet another interactional resource for increasing her chance to establish the teacher's uptake. It may indicate her affiliation with Fare, Arabic speaker. In addition, it can be seen as a resource in the multimodal performance of the affective stance of 'unhappy' (e.g., Ochs 1996; M. Goodwin et al. 2002; Cromdal 2004). As noted earlier, Fare predominantly spoke Swedish and prompted the Arabic-speaking children to use Swedish in classroom interactions. Arabic was employed as the language of instruction in cases when the Arabic-speaking children were experiencing major difficulties in understanding classroom tasks. Fusi's Arabic '↑sh<u>u:</u>ffi' (line 7), after unsuccessful summonses, can be seen as upgrading her claim, allowing her to display a sense of 'trouble' and a need for assistance. Noticeably, Fare switches back to Swedish (line 8), thereby adhering to the institutional organization of the classroom.[9]

Let us consider the participants' interactional work in lines 7 and 8 in more detail:

```
7.   Fusi: ↑Fare: ↑shu:ffi ih ih (.5) ih
           ↑Fare: ↑loo:k   ih ih (.5) ih
           ............................................................................

     FARE: S_____F_____S_____F

8.   FARE: vad är det som kommer efter sex här?
           what's after six here?
```

Line .... indicates Fusi's pointing at the book; line _____ indicates Fare's shifts in gaze towards Sawan (S) and Fusi (F).

Fusi gets the teacher's attention when he turns towards her and looks at her. The teacher's body posture ('body torque'[10]) turned towards Fusi, while standing close to Sawan, displays his temporary withdrawal from his primary interactional commitment with Sawan. However, the teacher withdraws his gaze from Fusi and turns back and looks at Sawan's book. Hence, it is interesting to note that Fusi produces the 'pretend weeping' sounds in concert with the teacher's actions: it seems that Fusi's turn-final affect display is produced and timed to regain Fare's attention. In other words, through her locally sensitive production of the affective display ('weeping'), which she exploits to display her inability to continue her work without the teacher's assistance, she manages to regain the teacher's attention in line 8.

Other important features of Fusi's interactional work to get the teacher's attention are the sequential organization of the book display and her pointing. As in Ex. 4, the book display occurs simultaneously with the summons. During her summons, Fusi is continuously moving her hand across the workbook's new exercises (line 7). In this way, the communicative project is presented to the teacher's scrutinizing gaze, as confirmed by the direction and timing of his gaze.

Fusi moves her hand away from the page only when the teacher steps towards her. By (i) terminating her gesture at that point, and (ii) moving her hand away form the relevant page as well as (iii) stopping her 'pretend weeping' sounds, Fusi acknowledges that the teacher has aligned himself with her communicative project. Taken together, the affective display of 'weeping' and visual demonstration of the book are deployed as resources to obtain and secure the teacher's uptake. Thereby, Fusi manages to perform several actions within a single turn and finally secures the teacher's uptake. Thus, similarly to the advanced learners, who could verbally indicate the reason for their summons, the novice tailored the embodied complex of action so as to provide cues to the teacher concerning the reason for her summons.

Employing contrastive affective stances in pursuit of teacher's attention

As demonstrated in Examples 4 and 5 above, the affectively indexed summonses were not random displays of emotion. Instead, they provided the students with resources to take up different types of footing, or projected selves (Goffman 1981: 128), displaying their alignment with respect to the current action (summons). The way in which the present students shaped their summonses as emotionally charged action indicates their thorough work on recipient design (Sacks et al. 1974) and their delicate attunement to the institutional order of the classroom[11]. Hence, the girls were able to recognize and deploy institutionally relevant ways for indexing social identities and relations (Ochs 1996; Antaki and Widdicombe 1998; Aronsson 1998). In the present classroom, affectively charged summons turns appealed to the teacher as a person responsible for the students' classroom work, conduct, and emotional status. As Sacks (1992, vol. I: 256) has pointed out, announcement of a relevant trouble to the other can serve as a proper beginning to a conversation when a conversationalist's rights to talk to the other are somehow restricted. Affectively charged summonses provided interactional procedures for constructing locally relevant student identities interpretable as 'needy', 'irritated', 'demanding', 'frustrated', 'resigned'. They oriented to the teacher's responsibility to supervise classroom work, thereby making him accountable for responding.

Ex. 6. Individual work on maths. Teacher FARE, researcher R, class, including the girls Nok, Layla[12], and the boy Hiwa. FARE is helping Nok at her desk.

```
     1     FARE:  °tjugofem°. ((to Nok))
                  °twenty five°.

     2            går det bra?= ((moving toward Layla))
                   how is it going?=

     3     Nok:   =°fem°. (.) ((writes))
                  =°five°. (.)

→    4            Fa↑RE: hhh ((creaky voice, turns to FARE,
                  glides down from the chair))

     5            o::hhhh (.) ((with difficulty rises back in the
                  chair, ´tired` face))

     6            heh ((looks at researcher smiling))

     7     FARE:  ja det var rätt. (.) här blir det åtta=
                  yes that's right. (.) it is eight here=
```

```
                     ((to Layla))

   8    Nok:    =och tjugi tie [heh heh heh ((looking at
                =and twenty ten heh heh heh
                researcher))

   9    FARE:                  [en två tre (.) xx ((to Layla))
                                one two three (.) xx

→  10   Nok:    Fare:! °pepepe° ((turns towards FARE,
                'nonsense´talk))

→  11           Fa↑re: Fa↑re: ↓lilla ↑Fale↓ ((singing, moving
                Fa↑re: Fa↑re:  ↓little ↑Fale↓
                closer to FARE))

   12   FARE:   ja det  var rätt. minus x [då blir det åtta.
                yes that´s right. minus x is eight.
                ((to Layla))

→  13   Nok:                             [°(kom) ↑Fale°
                                          °(come) ↑Fale°
                ((playfully laying upper body on the desk near
                 FARE, points at him with a pen))

   14           (1.2) ((FARE looks at Nok, their gazes meet. FARE
                 moves away from Layla, and Nok moves back to her
                 place))

   15   Nok:    tatapatapahhh ((´nonsense´ talk, stretches out))

   16   FARE:   plus fem? ((tense voice, points at Nok's book))
                plus five?

   17           (3) ((Fare waits close to Nok))

   18   Nok:    °två° ((looking at the book))
                °two°
```

Nok has been doing a mathematics exercise (adding 5 to a preceding number). The teacher Fare, who has been assisting Nok, moves to another student, Layla (line 2). Nok comes up with an answer and writes it down (line 3), and she then summons Fare (lines 4–5). Her summons is embellished with a prosodic marking (rising tone), emphatically marked loudness ('FA↑RE:') (Selting, 1994), a prolonged vowel, an additional loud outbreath, and a nonlexical response cry 'o::hhh' (Goffman 1981: 97). Nok's actions, gliding down from the chair and raising herself with difficulty, are finely coordinated with her facial expression of a 'tired', 'exhausted' person, and with her response cry (line 5). In that Nok's affectively indexed summons appears in the sequential context of her writing an answer to an adding operation, her multimodal performance makes her actions readable as those of a somewhat frustrated student who experiences trouble in her work on the current task and needs assistance.

Upon returning to a seated position, Nok laughs and looks at the researcher. Her laughter and collusive gaze towards the researcher (line 6) indicate Nok's somewhat playful attitude towards her immediately previous displays of the 'exhausted student' (in lines 4–5). Note that there is no uptake from Fare, who is still engaged in work with another student, Layla (line 7).

Nok addresses the researcher in a rather loud collusive side-play 'och tjugi tie' (*'and twenty ten'*) (line 8). Although this is not directed at the teacher, it is interpretable as a humorous comment on her task that flouts the task conditions, adding five to a preceding number (20+5; 20+10), and it is still formatted as 'on-task' action. Generally, the teachers responded to and corrected the students' erroneous contributions. The 'incorrectness' of Nok's loud comment can be seen to work on the conditions that the teacher will correct, that is, respond to such an action.

Nok then turns to the teacher and produces her second recycled summons 'Far<u>e</u>:!', followed by nonsense talk ('pepepe') in a low volume (line 10). Her summons is marked by a prolonged final syllable and exclamative intonation, and presents a shift in affective stance (now to a serious summons mode). Thus, once again, while calling the teacher, Nok indexes her summons as an indignant request for the teacher's attention, on the part of a student who is rightfully entitled to the teacher's assistance.

Nok also starts moving closer to the teacher using an ambulatory design in her actions, thereby upgrading her attempts to summon the teacher. Her summons (line 11) presents a contrast in affective stance, in that it is marked by a playful mode, evident in the singing intonation and the metric pattern of the repetitive use of *'little Fale'*. In fact, the lexical design 'lilla Fale' (*'little Fale'*) can be interpreted as an expression of inverted social relations, a tease, as the diminutive formula 'little + name' was quite commonly used by the teachers to address the children. Clearly, Nok's address is packaged as a humorous and teasing sort of action. The playful affective stance co-occurs with Nok leaving her desk and can be seen to

modulate the 'inappropriate' character of her actions, that is, leaving her desk without permission. Simultaneously, the lexical design can be seen to highlight the student's summons attempts in that it makes the teacher accountable for responding to her teasing.

Nok again summons Fare (line 13). She elaborates her performance, playfully positioning her upper body and head on the desk, close to the teacher, and speaking in a playful key. She also points at him with a pencil. At this moment, he turns to Nok, their gazes meet, and the teacher finally leaves Layla's desk. Nok moves back to her desk and waits for him (line 15). Finally, Fare looks at her book and instantly addresses the problematic issue in her exercise, that is, the adding operation (25+5; line 16). The prosodic characteristics of the teacher's turn (emphatic marking and voice quality) display an affective stance that makes his utterance 'witnessable' as a disciplining move, aimed at re-establishing the classroom order. Thereby, he does not simply respond to Nok's summons as a request for assistance, but also to her playful affective displays.

An important point demonstrated here is that whereas most of Nok's utterances were summonses of relatively similar semantic content, they were differentiated in a progressive fashion through a range of contrasting affective stances when initial summoning attempts did not achieve success. While she employed a range of paralinguistic cues when highlighting her summonses, she was also actively rearranging her bodily position in the classroom space, thereby making her 'non-working' identity publicly witnessable. The 'nonworking' display was invoked by arranging body posture (and position) with respect to the workbook: while leaning away from the desk, gaze averted from the workbook, gliding down from the chair; or turned in body torque towards the teacher, moving closer to the teacher in an ambulatory design of summons (see also Ex. 2). I want to argue that such multimodally structured summonses are based on some crucial knowledge of the classroom, namely, that if the student does not work, the teacher will – or at least will be expected to – deal with that. Thus, the

different keyings of Nok's affective stances are not unmotivated; rather they accomplish different interactional tasks. Nok shifts the affective indexing of her actions with regard to (i) the addressee, ('frustrated', 'resigned' affective stance towards the teacher, whose help she is entitled to) and 'playful' towards the researcher (an observer, who has no responsibilities or rights to assist the student in classroom work), (ii) the student's own appropriate or inappropriate classroom conduct: calling the teacher from her own desk ('resigned' stance), or while approaching the teacher (playful keying of summons). Hence, Nok's differentiated summonses located the teacher in a web of different institutional responsibilities: answering a 'resigned' student in need of assistance, or answering a playful action teasing the teacher's authority. Such embodied performances served as powerful devices in pursuit of the teachers' uptake in the socially and materially sedimented space of the local classroom setting (cf., M. Goodwin 1998) and were crucial for the local constitution and coordination of participants' actions.

CONCLUDING DISCUSSION

As demonstrated, a simple structure of summoning provided a handy method for soliciting and establishing the teacher's attention, and facilitated the novices' participation in classroom activities from early on. Importantly, though, the local design of the summonses was influenced by the competitive multiparty classroom setting. A detailed analysis of multiple modalities in the summons turns demonstrates the intricate work in which the L2 novices engaged in order to achieve the communicatively loaded content of the summons. Thus the classroom was not a neutral setting, unaffected by (tacit) norms guiding the participants' actions. As can be seen, both novices and more advanced students oriented to similar requirements concerning what constituted an appropriate reason for calling the teacher. In the local institutional order, they designed their initiating moves as displays of 'trouble relevant

for the other' (Sacks 1992, vol. I: 256), orienting to the teacher's responsibilities to help and assist the children. Such moves served as relevant warrants to initiate interaction, and created additional incentives for the teacher to assist the student.

The use of summonses as a method for engaging others in talk relied greatly on novices' deployment of affective stances as well as their use of classroom artifacts. When highlighting and upgrading their summons, they deployed a multimodally structured performance. In conjunction with the visual displays of classroom artifacts, affective stances were employed as parallel ways of spelling out the communicative project (for instance, appealing to the teacher's responsibilities to assist students who were experiencing difficulties with their work on an assignment). Also, summons turns could be designed as affectively charged action that invoked and exploited these institutional responsibilities For instance, Nok's publicly recognizable display of 'not working' (Ex. 6) traded on the teacher's responsibility to keep the students at work. That is to say, it spelled out the summons turn as 'trouble for the other' and invited the teacher's response.

Within the local classroom community, affective stances were accomplished through prosody, simple forms of grammatical structure and embodied action, rather than 'emotive vocabulary' (Wierzbicka 1999). The nonverbal devices included prosody (pitch, loudness, tempo, etc.), paralinguistic characteristics, such as voice quality (smiley, creaky, tense voice), and body posture, movements and body positioning with respect to classroom artifacts (e.g., half-lying on the desk, gaze averted from the book).

Such nonverbal resources were artfully used in conveying a range of affective stances, casting students as ostensibly 'resigned', 'eager', 'bored', 'needy', 'challenging', 'indignant' or 'witty'. These affect displays simultaneously revealed the children's orientation to the local classroom ethos, and their intricate interactional work on recipient design in pursuing the teacher's attention in the often fragmented and busy classroom interaction. As such, displays

of affect comprised an integral feature of classroom interactions. For the L2 novices, the performative displays of affect supplemented the children's limited lexical repertoire by establishing a framework for interpreting their interactional moves and provided embodied cues as to how one might construe a subsequent interactional move.

Here, it is important to underscore the teachers' readiness to make sense of minimal verbal or visual cues, to work out the communicative project invoked by the student, and to draw on the shared interactional history of the classroom. Achievement of involvement and participation in classroom activities, thus, relies on participants' employment of socially distributed methods for the production of accountable actions, including embodied action.

Although the present study did not explicitly focus on L2 development, it may provide ground for considerations regarding potential implications of summons for language learning, more specifically, learners' development of interactional competencies. As noted earlier, being able to recruit the participation of the 'expert' and direct the teacher towards specific interactional tasks is one of the basic conditions for gaining access to the 'linguaculture' of the classroom (e.g., Willet 1995; Toohey 2000). As the close scrutiny of children's summonses demonstrated, these seemingly simple discursive structures involve rather complex communicative abilities. While summoning can be accomplished by employing resources that are already available even for language novices, these resources need to be configured so as to fit into the interactional ecology of the institutional setting (e.g., Ochs 1996; Garrett & Baquedano Lopez 2002). Language learners, thereby, need to display affective stances and identities in institutionally ratified ways. These interactional procedures, however, are not taught explicitly. The novices therefore (may) need to discover and appropriate these local procedures through observations and participation in the everyday classroom activities (e.g., Rogoff 1990; Ohta 2000). Summoning, thereby, may in at of itself provide a learning context. If we see language (including interactional competencies) as

evolving from specialized ways of solving interactional problems (Hatch 1978; Bruner 1981),

summons sequences may provide a fundamental framework for students' initial L2 learning.

Acknowledgements

Transcription key

:	: prolonged syllable
[ ]	: demarcates overlapping utterances
(.)	: micropause, i.e. shorter than (0.5)
(2)	: numbers in single parentheses represent pauses in seconds
YES	: relatively high amplitude
x	: inaudible word
(xx)	: unsure transcription
what	: translation into English
jala	: word in Arabic
° °	: denotes speech in low volume
(( ))	: further comments of the transcriber
> <	: quicker pace than surrounding talk
< >	: slower pace than surrounding talk
?	: denotes rising terminal intonation
.	: indicates falling terminal intonation
=	: denotes latching between utterances
<u>Fa</u>re	: sounds marked by emphatic stress are underlined
heh	: indicates laughter
↑↓	: rising, falling intonation

Footnotes

1. Thus, this study does not entail a developmental focus. On the results of the longitudinal study, see Cekaite (2007).

[2] Individual work on assignments provided locus for the girls' very early active participation in the classroom, documented already during the first period of recordings, see Cekaite (2007).

[3] Szymanski (1999), for instance, has demonstrated how, during group work, the students relied on both verbal and visual characteristics of actions to alert the others to the upcoming talk.

[4] From a somewhat different setting, C. Goodwin et al. (2002) demonstrated that a person with aphasia employed the summons as a systematic procedure to establish the recipient's visual orientation. When visual orientation was established, pointing, gestures and embodied demonstrations of artifacts were deployed as meaningful interactional resources in collaborative meaning making.

[5] Although in this case, Fusi achieved evaluation of her work without being disciplined, the children were usually not allowed to leave their desks to approach the teacher. Instead, they had to comply with the norms of appropriate classroom behaviour and solicit the teacher's assistance from their own desks. It is notable that Martin was a substitute teacher present in the classroom just for a couple of days, which is probably why he did not discipline Fusi. Simultaneously, his 'reading' of why his attention was needed demonstrates that even a novice teacher in the classroom orients to the book display as a locally meaningful artifact.

[6] Different language communities and communities of practice may have certain commonalities "in the linguistic means used to constitute" certain situational meanings, including affective stances (Ochs 1996: 425). These common features in the linguistic structuring of social activities may present a common ground for socialisation for different categories of novices (Ochs 1996: 428). However, "these commonalities do not necessarily imply that the full social meanings of particular stances or particular acts are shared across communities" (Ochs 1996: 426). Novices (including L2 learners) need to recognise, develop and learn to deploy the distinctly local ways of indexing social situations (according to the expectations of the local community of practice).

[7] Participants' heightened emotive involvement is, for instance, indexed through an *emphatic speech style,* which is constituted through shifts in prosodic markers in relation to prior turns of talk (Selting 1994). Affective intensity may be indexed through modulation of volume, vowel lengthening, and code-switching between registers (Ochs 1996: 427).

[8] Here, Nok pre-arranges the prospective locus of mutual attention during the ongoing summons, before the teacher had indicated that he has committed himself to participating in the encounter. Simultaneous displays of classroom artifacts can be seen as a method that provides early (visual) indications of the communicative project.

[9] Fare's preference for Swedish as the language for communication and instruction is also demonstrated by his choice to ignore Fusi's incorrect use of verb gender 'shuffi' (fem.) instead of 'shuff' (masc.).

[10] *Body torque* is a postural configuration that displays orientation to several courses of action, through divergent orientations of the upper and lower body segments (Schegloff 1998: 540).

[11] Ochs (1988), in her study on Samoan children's primary socialization, demonstrated that even young children are sensitive to the social organization of the group with respect to participants' mutual rights and responsibilities, and, consequently, communicative roles in child-adult interactions. The children designed their requests to caregivers by employing affective markers rhetorically, for instance, they used pronouns expressing sympathy for oneself in order to elicit sympathy from the adult (1988: 187).

[12] Rana, who was usually sitting between Nok and Layla, is not present in the current episode.

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