

**REPUBLIC OF TURKEY
ÇUKUROVA UNIVERSITY
THE INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHING**

**OPERATION OF POWER IN CLASSROOM INTERACTION
IN THE EFL CONTEXTS**

Cihan TEKİN

PhD. DISSERTATION

ADANA / 2019

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PhD. DISSERTATION

ADANA / 2019

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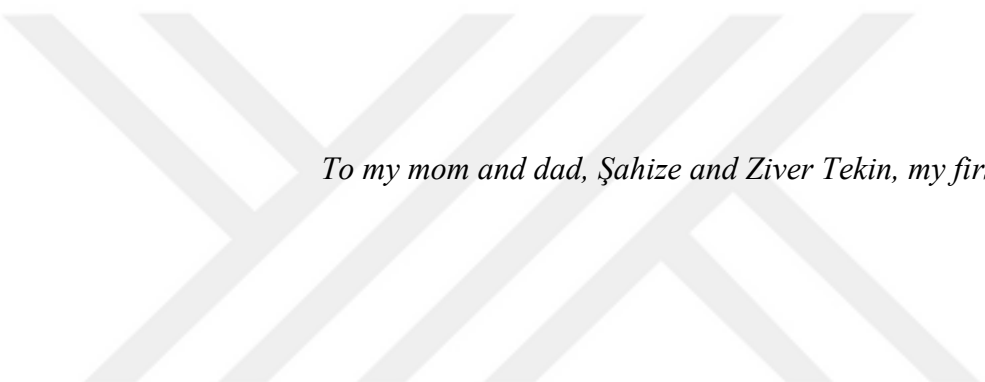
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To my mom and dad, Şahize and Ziver Tekin, my first teachers,

ETİK BEYANI

Çukurova Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Tez Yazım Kurallarına uygun olarak hazırladığım bu tez çalışmada;

- Tez içinde sunduğum verileri, bilgileri ve dokümanları akademik ve etik kurallar çerçevesinde elde ettiğimi,
- Tüm bilgi, belge, değerlendirme ve sonuçları bilimsel etik ve ahlak kurallarına uygun olarak sunduğumu,
- Tez çalışmada yararlandığım eserlerin tümüne uygun atıfta bulunarak kaynak gösterdiğimi,
- Kullanılan verilerde ve ortaya çıkan sonuçlarda herhangi bir değişiklik yapmadığımı,
- Bu tezde sunduğum çalışmanın özgün olduğunu,

bildirir, aksi bir durumda aleyhime doğabilecek tüm hak kayıplarını kabullendiğimi beyan ederim. / /2019

Cihan TEKİN

ÖZET

İNGİLİZCE’NİN YABANCI DİL OLARAK ÖĞRETİLDİĞİ ORTAMLARDA SINIF ETKİLEŞİMİNDE GÜCÜN İŞLEYİŞİ

Cihan TEKİN

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Sınıf etkileşimi alanında, sınıfların sosyal mekanlar olarak doğal tasvirlerine katkıda bulunan birçok çalışma vardır. Bu çalışmalar, İkinci Dil olarak İngilizce (SLA) ve Yabancı Dil olarak İngilizce (EFL) ortamlarında sınıf etkileşiminin birçok yönünü aydınlatmış olmasına rağmen bu ortamlarda henüz yeterince araştırılmamış çok sayıda unsur vardır. Bu unsurlardan biri sınıftaki güç mekanizmasıdır. Günlük yaşamın yapı ve dokusuna gömülü bir oluşum olan güç, sınıflarda da kaçınılmazdır, çünkü bu yerler karmaşık ilişkilerin (güç ilişkileri dahil), anlamların ve uygulamaların dinamik olarak birlikte inşa edildiği sosyal yerlerdir. Sınıftaki güç mekanizması konusunda Türkiye’deki araştırmaların azlığından ilham alan bu çalışma, bir Türk üniversitesindeki İngilizce hazırlık okulunda güç konusunu araştırmayı hedeflemektedir. Çalışma, öğretmen ve öğrencilerin söylemsel stratejilerini sınıf etkileşimi içindeki güç yapılanması açısından çözümlemek için tasarlanmıştır. Bu nedenle, bu çalışma sınıf etkileşiminde öğretmen ve öğrenci tarafından başlatılan karşılıklı konuşmaların öğretmen ya da öğrenci açış sözceleriyle başlatılma sıklığına, karşılıklı konuşma örüntülerine, öğretmen- öğrenci açış sözceleri ile oluşan söz edimlerinin tür ve işlevlerine, ayrıca öğretmen konuşma sırası dağıtım tekniklerine dayalı olarak sınıftaki güç konusunu araştırmayı hedeflemiştir. Çalışmanın verisi toplam beş sınıftaki öğretmen öğrenci etkileşimlerinin görüntü ve ses kayıtlarının alınmasıyla toplanmıştır. Veri, söylem çözümlemesi yaklaşımı benimsenerek betimsel istatistik yöntemi aracılığıyla ve veriden elde edilen etkileşim örneklerinin söz sıraları da incelenerek çözümlenmiştir. Çalışmanın bulguları, incelenen sınıflardaki İngilizce derslerinde öğretmen tarafından başlatılan karşılıklı konuşmaların fazla olduğunu ve ayrıca karşılıklı konuşma örüntüleri ile ilgili olarak da, öğretmen tarafından oluşturulan Açış, öğrenciden alınan Yanıt ve öğretmen tarafından verilen Geribildirim

(IRF)'den oluşan yapının hakim olduğunu ortaya çıkarmıştır. Öte yandan, öğretmen-öğrenci açış sözcelerindeki söz edimler ve işlevleri göz önünde bulundurulduğunda öğretmen açış sözcelerindeki söyletimsilerin ve buyurucuların çokluğu sınıf söyleminde öğretmenin baskın olduğunu ortaya çıkarmıştır. Ancak öğrenci açış sözcelerindeki söz edimler ve işlevlerine bakıldığında, öğrencilerin de sınıf söyleminde söz sahibi oldukları görülmüştür. Ayrıca veri örneklerinin analizlerine bakıldığında, öğrencilerin karşılıklı konuşma esnasında, konuşma başlatma, diğer katılımcılara geri bildirim verme, konuşma bölme, diğer katılımcıları düzeltme gibi güç mekanizmalarını kullandıkları görülmüştür. Ortaya çıkan sonuçlar öğretmenin sınıf söyleminde baskın olduğunu ortaya çıkarırken sınıftaki gücün devinimsel olup öğretmen ve öğrenci arasında müzakere edildiği gözlenmiştir.

Keywords: Söylem örüntüleri, söz edimleri, sınıf etkileşimi, açış-yanıt-geribildirim, güç.

ABSTRACT**OPERATION OF POWER IN CLASSROOM INTERACTION
IN THE EFL CONTEXTS****Cihan TEKİN****Ph. D. Dissertation, English Language Teaching Department****Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Hatice SOFU****July 2019, 158 pages**

There is a great number of studies on classroom interaction adding to the naturalistic portrayal of classrooms as social places. Although these studies have clarified a wide range of aspects of classroom interaction in English as a Second Language (SLA) and English as Foreign Language (EFL) settings, there are numerous aspects that have not been searched enough in these settings. One of these aspects is the power mechanism in the classroom. Power, as a structure embedded in the fibre and fabric of everyday life, is inescapable in the classrooms as well, for these sites are social places in which complex relationships (including power relationships), meanings and practices are co-constructed dynamically. Inspired by the scarcity of research on power in the classroom in Turkey, this study aims to explore power at an English preparatory school at a Turkish university. The study has been designed to analyse teachers' and students' discursive strategies in terms of power construction within the classroom interaction. Therefore, it aims to arrive at meanings about power based on the frequency distribution of student and teacher-initiated exchanges, the discourse patterns in these exchanges, the forms and functions of discourse acts that are found in students' and teachers' initiation moves as well as teachers' turn allocation strategies. The data for the study were collected through audiotaped and video-recorded teacher-student interaction in five classrooms at total. The data were analysed by adopting Discourse Analysis approach through descriptive statistics and by analysing the excerpts from data on a turn-by-turn basis. The findings of the study revealed that in the classrooms under investigation in English lessons there was the abundance of teacher-initiated exchanges and related to discourse patterns, it was also found that Initiation by teachers, Response by students and Follow-up by teachers (IRF) was the prevalent structure. On the other hand, when discourse acts and their functions

were taken into consideration, the abundance of elicitations and directives in teacher initiations uncovered the fact that teachers are dominant in classroom discourse. Yet, when looking at the discourse acts and their functions in student- initiations, it was seen that students had a say in the classroom. Furthermore, when looking at the excerpt analyses it was seen that student used power mechanisms such as providing initiations, follow-ups, interruptions and corrections for other participants' remarks. While overall results indicated that teachers dominate the classroom discourse, it was seen that classroom power was dynamic and negotiated by students and teachers.

Keywords: Discourse patterns, discourse acts, classroom interaction IRF, turn allocation, power.



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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.0. Introduction

In this chapter, the background of the study, the problem statement, the purpose of the study, research questions, the significance of the study, the limitations of the study, and the operational definitions are presented.

1.1. Background to the Study

1960s were the years during which Second Language classroom research steer its direction into the classrooms. From then on, several approaches to classroom research (Discourse Analysis, Conversation Analysis, Ethnographic Analysis, to name but three) have been presenting various issues, instruments, techniques with a view to aiding the methodological development in the field. Although these approaches have different focus of research, they have a common point. Research through these traditions takes its primary data from the interaction in the classroom (Van Lier, 1988). Through these studies, many aspects of classroom such as teacher talk, patterns of discourse, structure of language, general features of classroom discourse have been explored (Allwright, 1980; Bailey, 1985; Macbeth, 1992; McHoul, 1990; Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975; Van Lier, 1988). Especially, towards 1990s, classrooms were regarded as social places (Van Lier, 1988). It is a feature of classroom, which requires an understanding that takes account of the process of co-construction of meanings and practice dynamically within the interaction. This brings with itself a need for more research that depicts classrooms with its dynamic and changeable structure so that it can add to our understanding and so that databases, on which new methodologies are built, can be provided. Inspired by this need, this research aims to add to the ongoing search for the new forms of learning and teaching, by exploring an important aspect of classroom the issue of power and its exercise and manifestation in the classroom through the discursive practices of students and teachers.

As a concept “embedded in the fibre and fabric of everyday life”, (Hardy and Clegg, 1996, p.631) power has been at the centre of attention by many scholars who wish to uncover its nature and the principles emerge while it is being operated in public or

private domains of life. Therefore, existing literature has yielded a great number of theories, facts, and views about the power mechanism at work in a wide range of disciplines (Bachrach and Baratz, 1970; Baldwin, 1978; Clegg, 1989, 1993; Clegg, Courpasson, and Phillips, 2006; Dahl 1961; Gramsci 1971; Giddens, 1984; Foucault, 1980, 1987; Laclau and Mouffe, 1985; Lukes, 2005).

During 1960s, the behaviouristic perspective on power was put forward through the writings of some scholars (Dahl, 1961). In this view, power is associated with human agency instead of organizations (Thornborrow, 2013). The key point is the understanding that power is something physical that can be observable and measurable (Clegg, 1993 as cited in Thornborrow, 2013). Lukes (2005) provides a conceptualization that attempts to explain power in an abstract way by focusing on the ideology and hegemony in power.

Early modes of studies generally attempted to theorise power on the basis of dominance and ideology. Foucault (1977) challenged this understanding by moving towards a definition of power as a dynamic and multi-faceted phenomenon. In fact, Foucault's conceptualization that resides in his oeuvre indicates "a radical departure" from the early theories of power as "concentrated", "possessed" and "coercive". To him, "power is diffuse rather than concentrated, embodied and enacted rather than possessed, discursive rather than purely coercive, and constitutes agents rather than being deployed by them' (as cited in Gaventa, 2003,p.1)

Foucault argues against the view that people wield power against other people with the goal of dominating them. He regards power as ubiquitous 'Power is everywhere' (1978, p.93) and inevitable. All people are surrounded by power and its exercise involves a constant flux and negotiation. Since it cannot be possessed, its location cannot be presupposed. Power in Foucauldian terms is a structure of negotiation. It is actually a form of relation between people.

According to Johnson (1981) "Like all social systems the school and (the classroom) is made up of a network of interpersonal relationships structured to facilitate the achievement of educational goals" (p.5). In this sense and related to Foucauldian conceptualization of power, it is natural to assume that power relationships in classroom are built by teachers and students jointly. This understanding indicates a point of departure from a traditional concept of power in classroom, which is built on binary oppositions: teacher's power versus student's power (Manke, 1997). Teacher's institutional positions provide the teacher with the initiative to take decisions about the content and goal of the lessons. That is why, traditionally all classroom power is

presupposed to belong to the teacher (Saikko, 2007). However, institutional power should be differentiated from interactional power which is discursively gained and lost during the dynamic classroom interaction. Manke (1997) argues that the teachers are not the only people who own the power. Teachers and students share the responsibility of constructing power. It is not only the teacher who is responsible for events and outcomes; students also play their part, affecting both their own actions along with the teachers'. "How can one individual build relationships? They must be the work of all who participate – both teachers and students" (Manke, 1997, p.2). Manke (1997) states that both teachers and students own classroom power. Teachers use interactional means to influence the way students act, students employ their interactional means to shape teachers' actions.

Therefore, Foucault's concept of power is in line with the co-constructed nature of the classroom and thus classroom power negotiation can best be demonstrated through this concept. There are several ways to show how Foucauldian understanding of power serves to manifest power in classroom. First, power is inescapable (Foucault, 1978) and inherent to classrooms. Second, it has a relational character (Foucault, 1978). Thus, nobody can exercise power alone. Teachers and students exercise power in different ways. Third, it is decentred and not in the hands of teachers or students alone and it is exercised from bottom up.

In providing the portrayal of classroom in terms of the power manifestation focusing on the classroom conversation can yield insights. This is because conversation is a type of study that reveals key social aspects (Macbeth, 1994). On the other hand, elements of language indicate power asymmetry since even in daily conversation, despite being reciprocal and egalitarian; speakers compete for power to take as Lakoff (1990) states. When it comes to language use in institutions, it is possible to state that language is strategic and power laden as Habermas (1984) reports. Furthermore, language is constitutive of social institutions (Deetz, 1982). That is to say, language is a means by which institutions establish an ordered social reality that shapes their perception of who they are (Mumby and Clair, 1997). Hence, people in institutions are being constructed and reconstructed in institutional discourse (Mayr, 2008). Yet, as Silverman (1997) argues "[institutions] structure but do not determine, what may be said in social settings, how it may be said, and who may say it" (as cited in Thornborrow, 2013, p.4). Rather, it can be stated that what participants do in institutional interaction is produced, overall, as a result of the interplay between interactional and discursive role of the participants and

their institutional identity and status. Therefore, it is possible to state that participants build the context of their institution in and through their talk (Heritage, 1997). Therefore, talk in institutional organizations should be analysed with the transcriptions in order to arrive at meanings about the social relationship of the participant in these settings (Silverman, 1997)

Although it is difficult to find studies merely on the concept of power (Candela, 1998) it is still possible to arrive at conclusions about classroom power from the existing literature, for it is inherent to the classroom and manifested in some classroom interaction-based studies. According to this principle, there are several research strands on classroom interaction from which power in the classroom can be extracted. Within the first strand of studies, a unit of Discourse Analysis has been utilized. Classroom discourse patterns have been searched, on the basis of the smallest structure, namely triadic dialogue or IRF (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975) or (IRE) Mehan (1979, 1985 and 1998). IRF stands for recurring patterns of Initiation- Response- Feedback/ Evaluation. The Initiation patterns mainly consist of initiation move uttered by teachers, response move by students and feedback/ evaluation move by teachers. IRF cycle has been used to arrive at meanings about classroom, control and power. This is because within this cycle teachers and students are claimed to be assigned some roles. The teacher acts “as an expert” responsible from framing the interaction, by asking questions, orienting students’ replies and evaluating “the accuracy” of students’ answers (Leith and Myerson, 1989 in Thoms, 2012, p.11). On the contrary students take over a role which is partly shaped by teachers’ decisions, for it is the teacher who decides who talks, “when and how much interaction” occurs among teachers and students (Thoms, 2012, p.11). Therefore, it is believed to be “ubiquitous” in “teacher-fronted classrooms” (Riordan, 2018, p.64) and it can be found in every classrooms in which “teacher controls the discourse” (Ellis, 2012, p.88). It is also believed that in this cycle students’ freedom to contribute to the interaction in meaningful ways depends on the teachers’ decisions (Hall and Walsh, 2002; Thoms, 2012).

On the other hand, interactional power is negotiable and dynamic. Therefore, students have their own interactional tools or strategies to negotiate power the same way as teachers do. These resources are shown by some scholars who focus on power from learner’s perspective (Candela, 1998; Saikko, 2007; Sunderland, 2001). Candela (1998) has explored classroom interaction on the basis of learner contribution through Discourse Analysis to search for the interactional strategies used by students. One of the findings of the study reveals that students change the inner dynamics of discourse by some strategies

of to move out of teachers' control even in IRF dominated classroom. In the same vein, Rashidi and Rafieerad (2010) have explored the classroom discourse in EFL classrooms through Discourse Analysis to see if the interaction was teacher-dominated or student dominated as a dimension of their study. The results reveal teachers' domination of classroom talk in IRF cycle. However, the study also reveals the existence of student-initiated sequences with follow-up moves resulting in student-initiated IRF. Sunderland (2001) is another scholar who confirms students' production of initiation and follow-up in her study.

Another strand of research has examined classroom interaction on the basis of teachers' and students' actions. Based on this strand, it is possible to draw conclusions about the issue of power. Drawing on frameworks such as speech acts (Austin, 1962; 1968) or acts in Sinclair and Coulthard's Discourse Analysis Model (1975) the units of these models have been applied to the classroom interaction (Basma, 2017; Arıkdal, 2006). Speech act analyses of various researchers suggest important findings about classroom control and power (Haryanto and Mubarak, 2018; Swandewi and Ramendra, 2018; Widya, 2017). In this sense, directives are the mostly explored illocutionary acts (Hidayati, Zen, and Basthomi, 2017). According to Bernier (2008), researchers explore directives as a marker of teacher-student relationship. This is because directives have a "controlling nature" (Kato, 2010, p.133). Arıkdal (2006), based on the Sinclair and Coulthard's framework (1975), compares the teachers' and students' types of initiation moves. The findings reveal that teachers' data includes "elicit, clue, informative, directive, check, loop and others" (p.53). While students' data include elicitation and inform directives are included in only teachers' data, as a marker of classroom control. Teachers' questioning style has also attracted attention of many scholars. In their study Long and Sato (1983) explored teachers' questions and identified important difference between display and referential questions (476 display versus 128 referential questions). They attribute this finding to the teachers' preference accuracy over the communication. On the other hand, Boyd and Rubin (2006) claim that contingent questioning promotes extended student talk and argue against the claim that display questions, which can be defined as closed questions, impose thematic control over the students. However, as Barnes (1983) suggests, closed questions restricts the student options to only one answer as in transmission model of education and promotes recitation rather than extended student talk. Student questions have also attracted attention of several researchers (Ohta and Nakaone, 2004; Yuksel and Yu, 2008; Yuksel, 2014). Student questions are stated to

be important not only because they are instruments for negotiation of meaning but because they assign the role of knowledge demander to the students.

Lastly, a strand of studies which approaches the classroom talk, uses the units of Conversation Analysis (turn-taking, turn-management, turn-shift etc.) to explore teachers' and students' turn-taking in the classroom in order to arrive at conclusions about the negotiation of power. For example, Wanpeth (2016) in his conversation analytic study, has explored teachers' topic management methods along with the "features of teachers' and students' turns-at-talk in relation to topic shift and negotiation" (p.101) in the opening phase of classrooms. One of the results of this study is that there is power asymmetry among teachers because teachers' turns are longer than students' turn and topic change and new topic initiation also performed by teachers. In the same vein, some researchers have concentrated on teacher and student talk time and they have indicated that teacher talk dominates classroom interaction and students' and teachers' time use do not seem to be balanced (Liu and Zhu, 2012; Setiawati, 2012). In this paradigm, the issues of control, power and power negotiation have been reduced to the quantitative findings. However, power is a social structure that requires an understanding that facilitates its being exercised and negotiated in relationships. That is to say, the analyses of power in the classroom should be based on the analyses of real classroom events and talk in their context. In line with this need, this study aims to focus on power in terms of discourse structure, discourse acts and teacher's turn allocation strategies by being alert not only to the quantitative aspect but also to the micro context of classroom discourse.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

There is a great number of studies focusing on classroom interaction adding to the naturalistic portrayal of classroom as "social" places (Seedhouse, 2004; Seedhouse and Walsh, 2010; Walsh, 2011; Zemel and Koschman 2011). Some studies have demonstrated a wide range of aspects of English as a Second Language and English as Second Language settings (Jones, 2009, Walsh, 2002). Yet, little has been told about the "routine enactments" of power in the classroom (Van Dijk, 1989 as cited in Oral, 2013, p.96). That is to say, there is a scarcity of research into the classroom on power. Manke (1997), Candela (1998) and Thornborrow (2013) focused students' contribution in constructing power relationships. Oral (2009) explored power relationships in Turkish EFL settings from a critical pedagogical perspective through control of space and movements,

teachers' questions and directives and students' use of L1. Oral (2013) also explored how power relationships are constructed by the teacher and students during students' individual seatwork.

Apart from the studies which focus on power exclusively, there are some studies into the classroom that examine discourse units, conversation analytic units, classroom actions and speech acts, but they simultaneously reveal points about control and power. Studies including IRF analysis (Nikula 2007; Rafieerad and Rashidi, 2010) analysis of conversation analytic units such as turn taking, turn allocation, topic shift (Lemke, 1990; Shepherd, 2012) and analysis of speech acts (Haryanto, and Mubarak, 2018; Swandewi and Ramendra, 2018; Widya, 2017) has contributed to do portrayal of dynamics such as control and power.

Therefore, it can be stated that despite the abundance of studies on classroom interaction, studies which focus on power are handful in international arena. Yet, in Turkey the scarcity of these studies are extreme. Although Oral's studies (2009 and 2013) added to the illumination of power mechanism in Turkish EFL setting, these studies do not include the analysis of student-initiated sequences in terms of discourse patterns, acts and their functions. Furthermore, the present study, to the best of researcher's knowledge, is the first study which focuses on power in the classroom based on both teachers' and students' discursive practises on the level of discourse structure, discourse acts and their functions along with the teachers turn allocation strategies.

1.3. Aim of the Study

This study aims to explore power in the classroom in an English as a Foreign Language (EFL) setting of English Preparatory Program at a state university. The study seeks to analyse teachers' and students' discursive strategies in terms of power construction within the classroom interaction. Therefore, first, it aims to find the frequency of student and teacher-initiated exchanges, and to analyse the implication of this distribution in terms of power. Second, the discourse patterns of teacher and student-initiated exchanges are to be explored and their implication on power is to be analysed. Third, the study aims to explore discourse acts occurred through students' and teachers' initiation acts as well as the forms and functions of the initiation acts. Lastly, teachers' turn allocation strategies are to be identified in order to further clarify the issue of power in the classroom.

1.4. Research Questions

Based on the aims given in the previous section the study attempts to answer the following research questions:

- 1) How are the initiation of exchange sequences distributed among teachers and students in university preparatory class contexts? What does the distribution of exchanges initiated by teachers and students imply in terms of classroom control and power?
- 2) What types of discourse patterns occur in the lessons?
 - a) What types of discourse patterns occur when exchanges are initiated by teachers versus students?
 - b) What are the implications of discourse patterns in teacher-initiated exchanges versus discourse patterns in student-initiated exchanges in terms of power?
- 3) A) What are the overall discourse acts found in the classroom interaction during the lessons? What are the features of discourse acts occurred through teachers' and students' initiations in terms of
 - a) Forms and functions of discourse acts of teachers versus students
 - b) What are the implications of each discourse act on power negotiation between teacher and students in the classroom?
- 4) What are teachers' turn allocation strategies? What do these strategies imply in terms of power?

1.5. The Significance of the Study

The significance of the study resides in several important points. Firstly, the scarcity of studies addressing the classroom interaction, and power necessitates more classroom research. Moreover, there is need for approaches that takes holistic nature of classroom into account as social places (Oral, 2009). Next, as power is a pervasive, inescapable, and fluid entity inherent to classrooms, the approach to power should take into account its co-constructed nature. Furthermore, there is need for studies which addresses the working principles and embodiments of power in the classroom from both teachers' and students' perspectives. The present study addresses these needs in two ways. First, this study embarks on a research on power construction of both teachers and

students in the interaction with a holistic approach that accounts for classroom as a dynamic place. Second, informed by the Foucauldian concept of power this study approaches the power as negotiated between teachers and students and seeks to find how power is negotiated through participants' discursive strategies.

Moreover, the significance of this study lies in its methodology. As Seedhouse (2004) states, reliance on IRF to approach classroom fails to account for its dynamic and fluid nature because L2 classroom is a setting that is "talked in and out of" by teachers and students (as cited in Sert, 2015, p.16). Parallel to this; the present study includes IRF and Discourse Analysis procedures. Namely, this study does not rely on pre-set categories provided by Discourse Analysis, rather (with an emic perspective) it seeks for emerging categories in the data. Moreover, the enactment of power is manifested through the analysis of a collection of excerpts on a turn-by-turn basis as in Conversation Analysis.

1.6. Limitations of the Study

The quantity of video and audio recordings in this research is sufficient for the purposes of the study. Yet, a limitation can be stated that the findings presented come from only one institution and five teachers, which makes it not possible to draw cross-cultural generalizations.

Technical limitations may be said to potentially have an impact on the analysis of the data. Placement and the number of cameras are the most important ones. During the data collection, only one camera and a voice recorder were available for recordings. The camera was set at the back of the classroom in order not to distract participants' attention yet the faces of participants were not visible. Therefore, visual information that might be important for the analysis might have been missed.

1.7. Operational Definitions

In the literature of classroom interaction, many terms are being used interchangeably although they refer to the same thing. Following operational terms are presented with a view to avoiding any ambiguity or confusion.

Power: Present study draws on Foucauldian concept of power, which can be defined as a complex strategy, which is employed through a web-like organization among all participants. Unlike classical concepts of power which suggest that power is a structure that an actor or group exercise over another. In this conceptualization, power is

subjectless, decentred and multidirectional as it is not in the hands of a person or group. In other words, it cannot be exercised by a person or group alone.

Classroom power: A structure that students and teachers build in the interactional space they live in. Both teachers and students exercise classroom power. Both teachers and students use interactional means to shape other participants' actions (including the teacher) in the classroom (Manke, 1997).

Classroom discourse: All types of talk that take place in the classroom.

Initiation: Initiation is the move in a teaching exchange that starts an interaction (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975; Tsui, 1994) Sinclair and Coulthard put forward three initiation acts as exchange level while Tsui (1994) proposed four subclasses: elicitations, requestives, directives, and informatives.

Acts: The smallest unit of classroom discourse in Sinclair and Coulthard's rank scale. Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) put forward twenty-two 'acts' under three broad categories. These are meta-interactive, interactive, turn taking and others. 'Acts' are expressed by clauses or single words. Tsui's discourse acts taxonomy differentiated from speech acts theory in terms of "how they are related to each other in the discourse" (Tsui 1994: p.10).

Move: "The minimal contribution a speaker can make to an exchange" (Ellis, 2012, p.78).

Exchange: They are made up of "reciprocally-related moves" (Wells, 1996, p.78). There are two types of exchanges: Boundary and Teaching Exchanges. Boundary exchanges signal an end or a beginning of a stage of the lesson and can be carried out with a framing or a focusing move. Teaching exchanges are categorized as free exchanges and bound exchanges. Free exchanges can take various forms such as directing, eliciting, and checking. Bound exchanges include re-initiation, listing, reinforcement, and repeat. Bound teaching exchanges have complex structures since they are added to the previous exchanges. In the classroom exchanges are in the form of Initiation- Response- Feedback. The Initiation patterns mainly consist of initiation move uttered by teachers, response move by students and feedback move by teachers.

Discourse Pattern: It refers to the way discourse is organized. Based on the Sinclair and Coulthard's Discourse Analysis Model, a discourse pattern can be defined as the way moves combine with each other to make exchanges. Sinclair and Coulthard suggest that the basic discourse pattern is IRF pattern. Interaction patterns (Myhill, Jones

and Hopper, 2005; Silver and Lwin, 2013) or discourse patterns (Zhu, 2018) can be used interchangeably. In the present study, discourse patterns will be used.

1.8. Conclusion

In this chapter, studies that form the background of the present study have been outlined. The necessity of the study and the ways the study may address the necessity, have been clearly stated in the statement of the problem section. The contributions of the research and research questions have been stated in the significance of the study section. The remainder of this dissertation includes five chapters. Chapter 2 provides a review of literature about the theoretical foundations about power and power in the classroom interaction along with a section about classroom research. Chapter 3 presents the details of the methodology of the study. The details of the analysis and results of the study are provided in Chapter 4. The discussion part that summarizes and discusses the results in the light of the review of literature is presented in Chapter 5. Lastly, Chapter 6 presents the conclusions and implications of the study.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.0. Introduction

This chapter begins with a section reviewing theories of power with a special emphasis on Foucauldian concept of power on which this study is drawn; it also provides literature on power in educational institutions and the issue of language, discourse and power. Next section reviews basic approaches to classroom research in order to integrate macro issues of power with micro-level understanding of classroom practices. Last section reviews previous research on classroom interaction and power issues.

2.1. Conceptualisation of Power

As a part of Western Social Theory (Karlberg, 2005) power has been at the centre of a great number of academic studies that have put forward diverse theories, frameworks and standpoints. Bringing something new to the table, each of these studies contribute to the conceptualization of power and the working principles of it in public and private spheres of life (Barker and Roberts, 1993) from various perspectives. Some like Hobbes (1968) focuses on the nature of power and how it is ordered, some like Machiavelli (1998) looks at political power and the various strategies it entails. Yet some other theorists, have explored the complex relationship between power, domination and authority (Weber, 1986) while some have represented diverse forms of power (Wartenberg, 1990). Hindess (1996) has examined the legitimate power and the processes of social consent which legitimate power grounded in; Foucault has explored the ways by which power circulates, and presented the processes of order and discipline through which social institutions and individual subjectivities are constructed (1980,1982 1987). As a rich body of literature exists on the power from various standpoints, it is necessary to limit the scope of this section according to the the subject of the present study. In this sense, this section will focus on a review of literature on power, which makes it possible to arrive at a detailed understanding of the nature of power as well as the ways it is manifested and expressed. Lastly, the issue will be linked to the educational settings in line with the goal of the study.

The meaning of power has been causing a debate among scholars for many years. Starting from the second half of the twentieth century, theorists have taken two positions “power over” and “power to”. First, the classical definition for “power over” is supposed to be provided in Dahl’s work in which he explains power in behavioural terms (Jasinski, 2001), stating that “A has power over B to the extent that he can get B to do something that B would not otherwise do” (Dahl, 1969 as cited in Karlberg, 2005, p.3). Bachrach and Baratz argue against Dahl’s definition by suggesting that power can also be exercised in the form of “the mobilization of bias”, a more exquisite way, in a social or political system so as to hinder people from practicing their own interests (1970, p.7). Although they contended Dahls’ behavioural definition, Bachrach and Baratz (1970) contribute to the conceptualization of power as “power over”. Similarly, Lukes defines power as restrictive since when someone exercises it affects the other person in a manner contrary to B’s interests (as cited in Karlberg, 2005) and Nyberg (1981) who offers the four “F’s”, “Force , Finance, Fiction, and Fealty” (as cited in Provenzo and McCloskey 1996, p.116) are included in the boundary of power over paradigm. This paradigm is also referred as “power as domination” (Karlberg, 2005) and it emphasizes that power in this understanding is a force of intervening in the lives of others.

Theorists of this position are considered to focus on the oppressive aspect of power by associating it with the issues of social conflict, control, and coercion (Karlberg, 2005). The conceptualization of power through “power over” paradigm is natural, for it positions one over the other in the social contexts and relations, which is not a wrong way of exploring power (Morriss, 2002, p. 32). Yet, this unilateral way of thinking excludes interest of self, the power with which people make their views known to their elected representatives (Morriss, 2002). Therefore, a detailed theory of power must consider the abilities of individuals and should not be limited to the consequences of one’s actions towards others (Morriss, 2002; Pansardi, 2012).

Giddens is one of the scholars who draws attention to the link between power and human agency. He coined the term “transformative capacity” to explain the capacity through which one achieves outcomes (Giddens, 1984, p.15). This conceptualization of power does not necessarily link power with conflict and does not view power as inherently oppressive.

However, conceptualizing power as a manifestation of inequalities in society is limiting because as Burbules (1986) states typological approaches to power limits the theorists in three ways. These ways are: (a) the reciprocal nature of power relations is not

addressed adequately; (b) the power is viewed as a conservative system that makes transformation difficult, (c) recognizing the fact that power is inherent to certain institutions, by excluding people's actively choosing or directing these institutions.

Foucault, considered one of the most influential philosopher of power, refers to those theories that characterize power with a negative relation and aim to restrict people's behaviour by imposing rules as "juridico-discursive" model. He conceptualizes power as a "complex strategical situation" (1978, p. 93) exists in a particular society and therefore must be viewed in terms of "multiplicity of force relations in the sphere in which they operate" (Foucault, 1978, p. 92). Foucault's' basic assumptions of "juridico-discursive" model of power and his alternative formulations illustrated in Table 1:

Table 1.

Juridico-discursive Conception of Power vs. Foucauldian Conception of Power

Juridico-discursive Conception of Power	Foucauldian Conception of Power
Power is possessed.	Power is not possessed but exercised.
Power flows from the top to bottom from a centralized source.	Power flows from bottom to the top.
Power is mainly oppressive in its exercise.	Power is not necessarily oppressive but it is productive as well.

(Adapted from Sawicki, 1991, p.20-21)

First, juridico-discursive model of power, conceptualizes power as the capacity of a group or person to put their will (by force) over the will of powerless, or the capacity to make them to do things they do not want to do, which assumes that power is something possessed by a dominant person or a group. When Foucault talks of power on the other hand, he emphasizes that power is a strategy, which is employed through a web like organization. Furthermore, according to him, people do not simply circulate in these netlike organizations as consenting targets of power. However, they can both abide by and exercise this power (Foucault, 1979).

Second, Juridical assumption that power descends from the top to the bottom, namely according to a hierarchal system, is criticised by Foucault. This is because there are processes of negotiation and exercise of power "in the interplay of non-egalitarian and mobile relations" among all participants regardless of their status as in "there is no binary and all compassing opposition between rulers and ruled at the root of power relations" (Foucault, 1978, p.94). This is compatible with Weberian power theory that can be

defined as "the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which this probability rests" (Weber, 1978 as cited in Heiskala, 2001). In other words, the exercise of power is based on a person's will, even if it means to be opposed to someone else's. Therefore, the actors in social relationship can try to gain or oppose that power.

Third, juridical approach views power as oppressive whereas Foucault contends that power is productive. In his own terms, he argues that knowledge is gained because of the productive side of power as in the following:

We must cease once and for all to describe the effects of power in negative terms: it 'excludes', it 'represses', it 'censors', it 'abstracts', it 'masks', it 'conceals'. In fact power produces; it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth. The individual and the knowledge that may be gained of him belong to this production. (Foucault 1979, p. 194)

Foucauldian understanding of power was further elaborated by Kelly (2009). The nuances, provided by Kelly and outlined by Bălan, are presented in Table 2:

Table 2.

Key Features of Power in Foucauldian Terms

Key features of power in Foucauldian terms	
Subjectless	Power is not directed by the will of individual subjects.
Relational	Power always encompasses an instance of power relations among people, in contrast to a quantum in the hands of people.
Decentred	Power is not centered on a single individual or group.
Multidirectional	It does not descend only from the more powerful to the less powerful, but rather it comes from below.
Strategic	It is dynamic, unique and intentional.

(Adapted from Bălan, 2010, p. 37-38)

Kelly (2009) specifies the key points of Foucauldian notions of power in several points. First, power is subjectless, as it is not in the hands of a person or group who has the right to exercise it alone; rather it is decentred and multidirectional as it is exercised in a network-like organization among all participants. Therefore, an analysis of power in

this fashion, presupposing that there are power holders and subjects, regardless of its web like organization, fails to notice the relational character of power. The relational aspect of power entails the conceptualization of power through the link between autonomy and dependence since even the most autonomous part in a relationship is to some extent dependent, and the most dependent agent retains a certain amount of autonomy (Giddens (1979). Therefore, although Foucault considers power as inescapable, since it is everywhere, it is simultaneously irresistible. People are not trapped but they have the right to resist as Foucault puts it resistances are “all the more real and effective because they are formed right at the point where relations of power are exercised” (Foucault, 1980, p. 142)"

Foucault has been criticised to be a part of power over paradigm on the ground that his analyses are concentrated on the techniques and tactics of domination as (Karlberg, 2005). Yet, Foucauldian theory of power has been considered as a new impetus (Westwood, 2002) not because it necessarily belongs to a paradigm but because his relational approach takes into account that power can be oppressive or productive while entailing all parties in a web of mutual influence.

2.1.1. Power in Educational Institutions

Educational institutions as explained by Deacon (2006) are the places in which power relations and knowledge are combined to form what Foucault called 'blocks of capacity' (Foucault, 1982, as cited in Deacon, 2006, p. 183). Deacon (2006) uses Foucauldian terms 'regulated and concerted systems' to explain the process in which these systems come together with the human capacity in order to control words, things and people, shaping abilities and imbuing behaviour through “regulated communications' along with 'power processes', and “structuring organization of teaching and learning” (Deacon, 2006, p. 183).

Burbules, also talks of the productive aspect of schools in his study dealing with power in education (1986). He maintains that schools can educate and enrich students' understandings, without being hegemonic, and provide a basis for informed, reciprocal, and egalitarian human relations if power relations are minimized. However, there are various conflicts of interests at schools. Therefore, the conditions of power relations are maintained despite the benign purposes educators state. If in these institutions teachers avoid being authoritarian masters but instead function as legitimate authorities, education

does not entail power relations, for the learning of a student does not necessarily involve the disadvantaging of another. However, power relations exists in school in different aspects. Burbules (1986) presents several of them: in administrative hierarchies and roles, in instructional methods, in classroom size and organization, in curricular values and practices.

Apart from the ways stated by Burbules, power relations are inherent in schools, in the same way, as they exist in the society as in between various groups such as, classes, sexes, racial, ethnic, and religious groups (Burbules, 1986). Building on Freire's point of oppressor/oppressed dichotomy Burbules (1986) holds the idea that oppressor/oppressed dyad is evident in the relation of teacher to student. In this relation, teachers are perceived as the sole and absolute knowers while students are perceived as empty vessel to be filled by teachers. In his banking education model, Freire explains that traditional pedagogy is generally characterized by the oppressive attitudes and practices. The roles of teacher and students are presented below:

- The teachers teaches as the agent who knows everything while the students are taught as the agents who know nothing;
- The teacher thinks while students do not think but they are thought about;
- The teacher talks whereas students listen;
- The teacher disciplines students whereas students are disciplined;
- The teacher makes choice and enforces his/her choice, whereas students abide by this choice;
- The teacher acts while students feel enforced to act through teacher's actions;
- The content of the program is selected by the teacher, and students conform to it;
- The authority of knowledge is confused with professional authority by teacher, through which the freedom of the students are limited;
- The subjects of the learning process are teachers, whereas students are objects.

(Based on Freire, 1972, pp. 72-73)

Presenting the manifestation of oppressor/oppressed relationship in traditional pedagogy Freire thinks students should be given voice so that they can have a critical perspective in both classroom and the society. However, in banking education students do not oppose or resist ideas, rather; strict structures are imposed on them. Therefore,

they cannot resist unequal conditions imposed on them in their society in their future life. He emphasized the necessity of a pedagogy in which authority and responsibilities are shared among teachers and students. This pedagogy is expected to empower all members to become active, responsible participants in the learning process, and not merely passive consumers (Freire, 1972).

As opposed to banking education, Freire (1972) put forward problem-posing education in which the dialogue is in the centre of classroom practice. Through the dialogue the relation between the teacher and students changes. The teacher in this understanding is not the only one who teaches but who is also taught through the dialogue with students. The teacher and the students jointly take over a process in which they grow together. In this process, authority facilitates freedom; it is not against it. People are mediated by the world and by the cognizable objects and they are not isolated from the content and process of education, as in banking education, but they are active in meaning making (Freire, 1972).

Building on Freire's philosophy, critical pedagogists believe that relations of power and dominance are inherent in the pedagogy and thus traditional pedagogy is the source of the social inequalities. In this understanding, schools and colleges are not merely instructional sites, however, they are cultural sites where multiple ideological, discursive, and social forms clash in a constant struggle for dominance (Kumaravadivelu, 2003; McLaren, 1995). Therefore, power relationships in the classroom is both socially constructed and historically shaped and in order to challenge this, critical pedagogy is required (Kumaravadivelu, 2003, 2006).

In Critical pedagogy tradition, teachers are assigned the responsibility of empowering students to help them to become critical and active citizens (Giroux, 1988). As opposing to the role of simple transmitters, teachers are given the identity of transformative intellectuals who manage to reflect on the ideological facts, which inform their practice, and who employ their pedagogical theory and practice in wider social issues. (Giroux and McLaren, 1986). Furthermore, with their "counterhegemonic pedagogies" they empower students by providing them with the knowledge and skills required in functioning in the society as critical beings, and educate them for "transformative action" (Giroux, 1988, p. xxxiii).

Critical pedagogy differs in many ways from Foucauldian understanding of power in education. First, critical pedagogists believe that power relationships are inherent in schools in line with Foucault's conceptualization of power as inescapable in everywhere.

However, critical pedagogy views power as a static phenomenon while in Foucault's understanding power is fluid and flexible. Second, in order to combat the micro (schools) and macro (society) inequalities, critical pedagogy changes the role of the teacher as the transformative intellectual who can change the society. On the other hand, Foucault believes that power is not a static entity which can be given (by teachers) to students. Therefore, in his understanding empowerment cannot mean the giving of power to students (Oral, 2009). However, Foucault (1988) believed that teachers can transmit the knowledge and communicates skills to students by being meticulous about not to use their authority abusively.

Power is not an evil... Let us... take something that has been the object of criticism, often justified: the pedagogical institution. I don't see where evil is in the practice of someone who, in a given game of truth, knowing more than another, tells him [sic] what he must do, teaches him, transmits knowledge to him, communicates skills to him. The problem is rather to know how you are to avoid in these practices —where power cannot not play and where it is not an evil in itself- the effects of domination which will make a child subject to the arbitrary and useless authority of a teacher, or put a student under the power of an abusively authoritarian professor, and so forth, (as cited in Gore, 1995, p. 170)

Foucault views power as pervasive and circulating. Therefore, teachers are not the only group who exercise power; rather all groups exercise power. Based on Foucauldian model of power, Gore (1995) has contributed to the illumination of power in pedagogical sites. She has conducted an empirical study in order to test the relevance of techniques of power, which Foucault elaborated originally for prisons. She carried out the study in different four sites and concluded that these techniques are inescapable, continuous and present in all sites regardless of content, level and methodology. As a result of her study, which aimed to explore micro-practices of power, she identified eight major techniques of power operative in educational practice. These techniques and their basic principles are provided:

1-Surveillance

This technique of power is defined as supervising or close observation or watch.

2-Normalisation

This technique includes “invoking, requiring setting or confronting to a standard defining the normal” (Gore, 1995, p.171).

3-Exclusion

This technique includes tracing the limits that will define the different. It is in contrast with the normalisation.

4-Distribution

This technique entails dividing into parts, organizing, isolation and ranking.

5-Classification

This technique includes differentiating one group from another.

6-Individualisation

This technique includes “giving individual character to oneself or another” (Gore, 1995, p. 178).

7-Totalisation

This technique is realized by giving collective character. It specifies collectivities.

8-Regulation

This technique includes controlling by rule and restricting.

Gore found that these techniques were employed by both teachers and students in a number of ways: in the construction of knowledge, in framing relations among participants and in processes of constructing and maintaining particular subjectivities (Gore, 1995). In other words, these techniques are inherent to pedagogy and inescapable and with them the productive moments, which cannot simply be given by teachers to students, occur. Therefore, it can be stated that instead of concentrating on how to produce classrooms free of the oppressive effects of power, educators might focus on in what ways normalisation is being permitted in their classrooms, what forms of surveillance are employed and for what ends, what types of classification are made, and so on.

In the same vein, Deacon (2006) maintains that Foucault's principles pertaining to the nature and effects of power and domination in education are worth following as he realistically suggests the workings of innumerable and various power relations which are unique to educational institutions, cannot simply be wished away or blamed merely on external forces. Therefore, current attempts to improve skills, knowledge, and attitudes at educational institutions

should not be allowed to hinder analysis of power relations. This is because the twentieth-century change from teacher-centred to more co-operative and student-centred instructional formats has not achieved the dissolution of power relations but only reformulated these relations (Deacon, 2006).

To sum up, having been informed about the diverse forms that power can take in educational institutions; present study will search for power on the basis of Foucault's conceptualization. Foucault's approach is in line with the present study in two ways. First embarking on a study on micro analytic classroom research, one must accept that power is a complex entity that can be socially constructed. Therefore, the complex and multifaceted nature of power relations should be recognized and typological divisions of power elements should be refrained as in Foucault's model. Second, viewing power as simultaneously productive and repressive as in Foucault's approach broadens one's perspective that power relationships in classrooms are not the entities that should be eradicated. Rather, it should be accepted that power exists in the classroom and it circulates among people as in all sites. Therefore, the nature of power relationships and the ways they work should be illuminated in order to portray a naturalistic view of classrooms.

2.1.2. Language, Power and Discourse

As a means of expressing, communicating and accessing, language is a source of power. Lakoff refers to language as "language is politics, politics assigns power, and power governs how people talk and how they are understood (Lakoff, 1990, p.7.) Highlighting that language is laden with power, she further elaborates on language and power as in "Language is the initiator and interpreter of power relations" (Lakoff 1990 p.13). She actually refers to the importance of connection between the interactants' language use and the way language is used in the process of realization of privileged interests. It is possible to explain relationship between language and power from various respects. Ng and Bradac, (1993) summarize four positions in dealing with power and language.

1. **Language Reveals Power:** In this position, a listener in an interaction may regard the linguistic sign of a speaker as an indication of his/her powerful or powerless condition. Language may serve to produce an intended effect on the addressee (in spite of resistance) through a non-existent power source revealed by the speaker. (Ng and Deng, 2017)
2. **Language creates power.** In this position, language is the primary means for exercising power (Paramasivam, 2008). It is regarded as an achievement accomplished through a speaker's language use. In other words, the way a speaker communicates can achieve power within and beyond a conversation (Jones and Brinkert, 2007). Ng and Bradac (1993) exemplify it by suggesting the correlation between the level of language intensity or rapid rate of a speaker and the probability that this speaker will gain a compliance from the listener.
3. **Language reflects power:** In this position, people who have established power may display it by using the special forms of language. Power precedes language in this position. Therefore, language is interpreted according to the interpreter's view of speaker's powerful or powerless condition. For example, a threat is threatening if speaker is thought to have power over the interpreter. In line with this, Ng and Bradac (1993) reported that speech practices are correlated with the powerful or powerless states of speakers. Powerless forms of speech "such as hedges, intensifiers, tag questions, hesitations, deictic phrases, and polite forms" (as cited in Bustrum 2001, p.17) were found in those of low positions in society. Therefore, through "the ideology of the social matrix", those who are powerful and those who are powerless constantly display their positions through their preferences of language forms (Bustrum, 2001, p. 17).
4. **Language obscures/ depoliticizes power:** In this position language is a means to achieve goals or fulfil intentions while simultaneously it serves to minimize or cover up the fact of the attempt at goal attainment or intention fulfilment.

As Ng and Bradac (1993) state, these approaches are not discrete positions but mutually causal. When a group achieves power, their language seem to be powerful to the interactants. This brings with itself the understanding that linguistic forms reveal a speaker's relative power and they serve to enhance the ability to control hearers.

Furthermore, after power is achieved, various means will be found to obscure its existence.

According to Bourdieu (1977, 1991), relational position in a social space shapes the language use and diverse uses of linguistic forms serve to reiterate the positions of each interactants. According to him, members of a dominant class use an elaborated form of language by which they maintain symbolic power. In this sense, linguistic capital serves also as a cultural capital through which social roles are established. Language, thus, is both the manifestation of the interactants' respective positions in social fields and it serves to reproduce structures of the social space (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990).

Fairclough (2013) contributes to this point by stating that people produce or interpret discourse by drawing upon the orders of discourse and social structures. According to him, by constantly being drawn upon, these structures are recursively being created anew. Discourse and practice, in this way, are both products of structures and the producers of structures. This process of being produced and reproduced is referred as reproduction. It is this process that suggests that ideological assumptions embodied by discourse orders "sustain and legitimize existing relations of power" (Fairclough, 2013, p. 33). He exemplifies this condition through teacher-student relationship. Concerning reproduction, Foucault maintains that the teacher and student relations, and the teacher and student positions, which are embedded in various educational discourse types, are "directly reproduced in educational discourse, while the same discourse indirectly reproduces class relations" (Fairclough, 2013, p. 33). Therefore, it is worth mentioning that education, just as any other social institutions, holds "as its 'hidden agenda' the reproduction of class relations and other higher-level social structures", along with its overt educational agenda (Fairclough, 2013, p. 33).

Van Dijk (2008) adds to the understanding of power and language by dealing with the issues of discourse, power and dominance. In his understanding, social power is the control of one group over the actions of another group and if the actions at hand are communicative actions, there is control over discourses. He further nuances that traditionally, the social power of groups was attributed to three recourses: 1-material resources, such as capital or land, 2- symbolic resources such as knowledge, education or fame, or 3- physical force which they have preferential access to, or control over. Contemporary power, however, should be defined as symbolic power, in terms of the preferential access to or control over public discourse. Control of public discourse is thus, important since it controls the mind of the public, and thus, indirectly, control of what the

public wants and does. In his own terms, Van Dijk (2008) defines discourse and power in the following:

Control does not only apply to discourse as social practice, but also to the minds of those who are being controlled, that is, their knowledge, opinions, attitudes, ideologies as well as other personal or social representations. In general, mind control is indirect, an intended but only possible or probable consequence of discourse. Those who control discourse may indirectly control the minds of people and since people's actions are controlled by their minds (knowledge, attitudes, ideologies, norms, values), mind-control also means indirect action control. Such controlled action may again be discursive, so that's powerful discourse make, indirectly, influence other discourses that may be in the interests of those in power (p.9)

Van Dijk (1993, 1996) refers to the function of social role as a critical element in shaping the discourse between powerful (elite) and powerless (non-elite). Van Dijk specifies that those who have special access to public discourse should be defined as the symbolic elites since they use discourse to shape the minds of people. Elites he mentions are politicians, journalist's, writers, professors, teachers, lawyers, bureaucrats and all others. On the one hand, these elites are powerful since they have the access to the public discourse, on the other hand, their dominance and power institutionalized through institutions such as schools and courts that reflect the organization of the society, which they live in (Van Dijk, 2008).

Language includes elements signifying power asymmetry and as Lakoff (1990) highlights even in everyday conversation, despite being reciprocal and interactive and thus egalitarian, speakers compete for power to take. On the other hand, language use in institutions is "strategic" and "power" laden as Habermas (1984) states. Because language is constitutive of social institutions (Deetz, 1982). Therefore, language is a means by which institutions establish an ordered social reality that shapes their perception of who they are (Mumby and Clair, 1997). Hence, people in institutions are being constructed and reconstructed in institutional discourse (Mayr, 2008).

Some scholars have elaborated on institutional discourse to illuminate its features (Sarangi, 2004; Heritage 1997; Silverman, 1997; Thornborrow, 2013). Thornborrow (2013) outlines several key points of institutional discourse. First, she states that institutional discourse, regardless of whether it occurs in a school or police interview or another setting, includes differentiated, pre-inscribed and traditional participant roles, or

identities. Second, in institutional talk there is a structure which includes asymmetrical distribution of turns among the participants; interactants with different institutional identities generally occupy different discursive identities; namely, they take different types of turns so that they can do different actions (for instance, interviewers typically ask questions, interviewees reply them; teachers nominate which student will talk next, students answer). Third, institutional discourse also includes an asymmetrical relationship between interactants with regard to speaker rights and obligations. That is, certain forms of language are regarded as legitimate for certain speakers but they are not acceptable for others (for instance, an examining magistrate can ask questions, a defendant cannot). Lastly, in institutional discourse the discursive resources and identities, which are available to participants to achieve specific actions, are supposed to be weakened or strengthened with respect to their current institutional identities.

Thornborrow (2013) also draws on Silverman (1997) to specify two points about institutional discourse. The first point is that “[institutions] structure but do not determine what may be said in social settings, how it may be said, and who may say it (as cited in, Thornborrow, 2013, p.4). The second point is that social roles of participants can serve some of them better than the others such that they can strategically utilize available resources to accomplish their practical interactional ends. Building on that, in institutional discourse, the relationship between a participant's current institutional role and discursive role “emerges as a local phenomenon which shapes the organization and trajectory of the talk” (Thornborrow, 2013, p.5). To put it another way, what participants do in institutional interaction is produced, overall, as a consequence of the interplay between interactional and discursive role of the participants and their institutional identity and status. Hence, as Heritage suggest (1997) participants build the context of their institution in and through their talk.

Schegloff's 1991 study (as cited in Heritage 1998, p.4) on the other hand, has suggested that if there is a claim that an interaction has a specific institutional character, “the relevance and consequentiality of this institutional context and its associated roles, tasks and identities” must be demonstrated in participants' interactional practices. Building on this, Heritage (1998) suggests that conversation analytic tasks of analysing the interactional practices of the participants and the organization of their activities must also be shown to embody orientations that are specifically institutional or that are responsive to restrictions that are institutional in origin. In order to clarify the interactional phenomena Drew and Heritage (1992) draw attention to six distinct domains of

interaction that can be explored with regard to the nature of institutional interaction (Drew and Heritage, 1992). These domains are: (1) Turn-taking organization (2) Overall structural organization of the interaction (3) Sequence organization (4) Turn design (5) Lexical choice (6) Epistemological and other forms of asymmetry. Classroom interaction as a type of institutional talk can be approached from many perspectives. In this vein, the perspectives adopted should have relevance to the topic investigated. Therefore, in order to uncover the ways how an approach or some approaches match with the issue of power the next section will present the research traditions to classroom interaction.

2.2. Approaches to Classroom Discourse

Classroom discourse in a broad sense can be defined, by Jocuns (2013), as “all types of talk which can be found in a classroom or any educational setting” (as cited in Sert, 2015, p. 14). However, the domains of the field contain both analyses of verbal conduct and macro level policies (Sert, 2015). Therefore, classroom interaction has been investigated through the principles of a wide range of disciplines. A survey of studies conducted in classroom discourse reveals that there are great numbers of classifications containing overlapping categories.

Nunan (1992) suggests that in the study of classroom instruction and L2 acquisition, experimental studies and ethnographic studies of interaction should be principal research approaches. Because through these perspectives researchers can draw a number of hypotheses, pertaining to the ways how interaction occur in the classroom and the types of interaction that contribute to the language acquisition. Mehan (1998) highlights the importance of the analysis of interaction in educational sites considering that it manifests the source of students’ achievement or difficulty. On the other hand, Walsh (2011) focuses on three basic perspectives: Interaction Analysis, Discourse Analysis and Conversation Analysis. He also suggests using combined approaches like Corpus Linguistics and Conversation Analysis. Chaudron (1988) and Nunan (1992) propose four traditions: Psychometric Approach, Interaction Approach and Discourse Analysis Approach. Psychometric and interaction analysis traditions generally involve quantitative and explanatory research, while Discourse Analysis and ethnographic traditions utilize qualitative and descriptive methods. A summary of these approaches is presented in Table 3:

Table 3.

A Summary of Research Traditions in L2 Classroom Research

Tradition	Typical Issues	Methods
Psychometric	Language acquisition through various methods, materials and treatments	Experimental methods such as – pre- tests and post-tests on experimental and control groups
Interaction Analysis	Specifying the extent to which learner behaviour is a result of teacher- determined interaction	Coding classroom interactions on the basis of various observations systems and schedules
Ethnographic	Obtaining insights about the classroom as a cultural system	Naturalistic “uncontrolled” observation and descriptions.
Discourse Analysis	Analysing Classroom Discourse in Linguistic terms	Exploring classroom interaction through transcript and assign utterances to pre-determined categories
Conversation Analysis	Exploring teachers’ and students’ actions in interaction in non-linguistic terms	Examining classroom data interpretively

(Adapted from Ellis, 1994 p.566)

In order to steer the discussion to the micro-level classroom issues and present how various traditions deal with the classroom discourse, these basic approaches will be visited individually. The strength and weaknesses of each tradition will be presented and the way these approaches aid the exploration of power will be discussed.

2.2.1. Psychometric Approach

The psychometric tradition is included in the comparative studies, which compares methods or approaches to language teaching in terms of learning and in program-product comparisons, which is utilized to evaluate various types of immersion programs. Studies conducted through this tradition are experimental since they include the application of pre-tests and post-tests on experimental and control groups (Chaudron, 1988; Ellis, 1994). As maintained by Ellis (1994), these types of studies may be problematic since they lack a process step to provide information about the actual events that occur in the classroom, which makes it difficult to arrive at a conclusion that the method- program distinctions actually result in different classroom behaviours.

The psychometric approach is also included in the correlational studies that analyse the relationship between specific classroom behaviours (e.g. teachers’ requests) and learning outcomes (Ellis, 1994). Chaudron (1988) emphasized that these studies are

usually problematic in two ways. First, the categories of instructional processes are not validated. Second, they fail to establish theoretical links between the processes observed and outcomes.

2.2.2. Interaction Analysis

Interaction Analysis is an approach to research within the larger domain of a classroom based research including systematic observation of teacher and student linguistic behaviours in the classroom. It was developed by Mid-1960s with the influence of sociological research of group processes (Bales, 1970; Flanders, 1970). This tradition makes use of a form or schedule with a set of categories for coding classroom behaviours. (Ellis, 1994). Schedules were initially developed for content classrooms, but they were adjusted to the language classroom. (Ellis, 1994). This tradition is said to be built on the Flanders' Interaction Analysis Categories and currently available instruments are mostly adaptations or simplifications of Flanders' categories (Malamah-Thomas, 1987). Among the most cited instruments, FLint (Foreign Language interaction) was a modification of Flanders' Interaction Analysis Categories developed by Moskowitz (1971). She used FLint in order to pursue the elements of good language teaching and as feedback tool in teacher training (Allwright and Bailey, 1991).

According to Ellis (1994) the earlier instruments used in classrooms typically revealed researchers beliefs about the behaviours that are theoretically motivated such as the Marburg schedule which included categories of phases of instruction, which assume that the pattern of a lesson basically should follow the "pattern 'warming up', 'presentation', 'learning, and 'using' " (Ellis, 1994, p. 567). Subsequent schedules on the other hand, have tried to produce sets of categories without method (Fanselow, 1977; Allwright (1980). Fanselow (1977) produced "FOCUS" (Foci for Observing Communications Used in Settings). It is a descriptive system developed originally for teacher training but applicable to research on any research concerning human interaction. Furthermore, some researchers (Allen, Föchlich and Spada, 1984) have preferred to build their schedule on the theoretical foundations to understand the nature of L2 acquisition.

Long's 1980 study (as cited in Ellis, 1994, p. 567) adds to the understanding of interaction analysis by dividing these systems into three types. He maintained that in a category system an event is coded whenever it happens; in a sign system an event is recorded just once in a duration of fixed time whereas in a rating scale system an

estimate of how frequently a specific kind of event took place is made after the observation period. Furthermore, in spite of the variety in type and in research focus, it is possible to state shortcomings. Chaudron (1988) suggests that there is “an interest in the nature of the dependency of student behaviours on the atmosphere and interaction engendered by the teacher and an implied quantitative focus through the measurement of the frequency of specific behaviours” (p.14).

Interaction analysis contributed to the classroom research by documenting actual classroom activities, in process-oriented way; yet these studies of classroom interaction were limited in two ways. First, they were mostly descriptive. They were restricted in investigating the relationship between instructional processes and L2 learning outcomes. To be more specific, despite the information research provides about what was happening inside the classroom, as Ellis (2009) suggest theoretical background was not sufficient for assuming that the instructional processes that were being given were predictors of language improvement in any context. Second as suggested by Yang and Walsh (2014) the patterns of interaction occurred in the classroom have to correspond to the categories given. The results are pre-determined. Therefore, they cannot account for events that are not matched to the descriptive categories. In this sense, process-product studies that are not solely based on test scores or global proficiency measures are needed as well as those aiming to portray changes in characteristics of students’ interlanguage when they are involved in different kinds of pedagogical interactions (Ellis, 2009).

2.2.3. Ethnographic Approach

Built on sociological and anthropological traditions, ethnographic research is a form of research conducted in naturalistic settings including face-to-face interaction with the people, events, and social phenomena (LeCompte and Schensul, 2010). Therefore, it involves the characteristics of research in real world rather than laboratory settings. It includes a wide range of perspectives, methods and tools to enable researchers to adopt a perspective through which they understand what is being investigated through the eyes of the participants (LeCompte and Schensul, 2010). Furthermore, in this tradition, insights and generalization come up with engagement with the data rather than with a theory of language learning and use (Nunan, 1992).

Nunan (1992) further nuanced the basic tenets of ethnographic research. According to him, these tenets are: 1) the research is defined as contextual, for it is

conducted in the context in which the participants live or work. 2) The research is unobtrusive as the researcher refrains from manipulating the phenomenon being investigated. 3) It is longitudinal 4) The research is collaborative since it includes the participation of stakeholders. 5) The research is interpretive as it includes interpretive analysis of the data. 6) The research is organic as it includes an interaction between questions/hypothesis as well as data collection/ interpretation.

Ethnography research has been employed by Gumperz and Hymes (1972) who examined speech events of storytelling, greetings and verbal duels in diverse social settings. Some researchers (Green 1983; Edwards and Westgate, 1994; Hicks 1995; Wilkinson, 1982) had contributed to the field through their classroom based research. However, it has not widely been utilized in L2 classroom because it necessitates time, highly trained observers, along with the commitment of stakeholders (Chaudron, 1988).

Various types of ethnographic research have been proposed Long (1980). Yet, there are two types of ethnography which are important to bring up here since it is related to the present study. In participant ethnography, the researcher is involved in the activities under investigation. In non- participant ethnography researcher stays outside of the classroom events being observed. Data collection tools and techniques such as note-taking, interviewing, questionnaires, ratings of personal opinions and written documents may accompany the observation (Ellis, 1994). Furthermore, the recent use of recording techniques has been another important part of ethnographic research (Van Lier, 1988).

As Ellis (1994) maintains there are advantages of ethnographic research. First, it provides insights about the conscious thought processes of participants, and it serves to reveal variables that have not been acknowledged previously. However, not all is rosy with this tradition. It includes frequent use of triangulation, multiple use of methods or data sources, which makes it hardly possible to classify ethnographic research as a method (Oral, 2009).

2.2.4. Discourse Analysis

Discourse Analysis serves as a tool for describing the interaction in language classrooms systematically. It is based on early works of Bellack et, al., (1966) and Birmingham School of linguists (Coulthard and Montgomery, 1981; Coulthard and Brazil, 1992; Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975). This tradition serves to analyse the data gathered from the classrooms by focusing on both individual utterances and the way

how these utterances come together to make larger discourse units (Ellis, 1994). Stubbs elaborates further on the definition of Discourse Analysis. According to him, Discourse Analysis is a field “(a) concerned with language use beyond the boundaries of a sentence/utterance, (b) concerned with the interrelationships between language and society and (c) as concerned with the interactive or dialogic properties of everyday communication” (1983, p.1). The studies adopted this tradition focused on a variety of discourse analytical units with reference to structure or functions (Chaudron, 1988, p. 44), some of which are listed and briefly described in Table 4:

Table 4.

Analytical Units Employed in L2 Discourse Analysis

STRUCTURAL UNITS
<i>utterance</i> : a unit of speech by a speaker which is bounded by another speaker's speech, or pause
<i>turn</i> : a single speaker's sequence of utterances preceded or followed by speech of another speaker
<i>T-unit</i> : one main clause and subordinate clauses attached to it
<i>communication unit</i> : a grammatical predication which is both independent and identical to T-unit, however in communication unit, elliptical answers to questions can also form complete predications in oral language
<i>fragment</i> : an utterance that does not make up a completed proposition
FUNCTIONAL UNITS
<i>repetition</i> : repeating the previous units of speech
<i>expansion</i> : a repetition that modifies a previous string of speech by providing syntactic or semantic information
<i>clarification request</i> : asking for further explanation of a previous utterance from an interlocutor
<i>comprehension check</i> : “the speaker's query of the interlocutor(s) as to whether or not they have understood the previous speaker utterance(s)”
<i>confirmation check</i> : “the speaker's query as to whether or not the speaker's (expressed) understanding of the interlocutor's meaning is correct”
<i>repair</i> : a speaker's attempt to change or rectify a previous utterance lacking in clarity or correctness. Repair refers to the suspension of ongoing talk; in order to handle some sort of trouble refers to hearing, production or understanding.
<i>model</i> : a speaker's prompt (typically a teacher's) designed to obtain an exact imitation from the interlocutor or “to serve as an exemplary response to an elicitation”

(Adapted from Chaudron, 1988, p.45)

However, the most well-known Discourse Analysis approach is Sinclair and Coulthard's Discourse Analysis model (1975) which has been developed on the basis of the rank scale model, originally developed by Halliday (1961), which initially concentrated on theory of grammar (as cited in Willis, 1992). Since Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) believed, it was necessary to separate discourse from grammar and phonology they offered a rank model, to analyse classroom discourse. The structure in

the model was originally developed by the application of transcripts obtained from primary school settings during the 1970's. According to this model, classroom discourse has been analysed in terms of the five units as illustrated in figure 1:

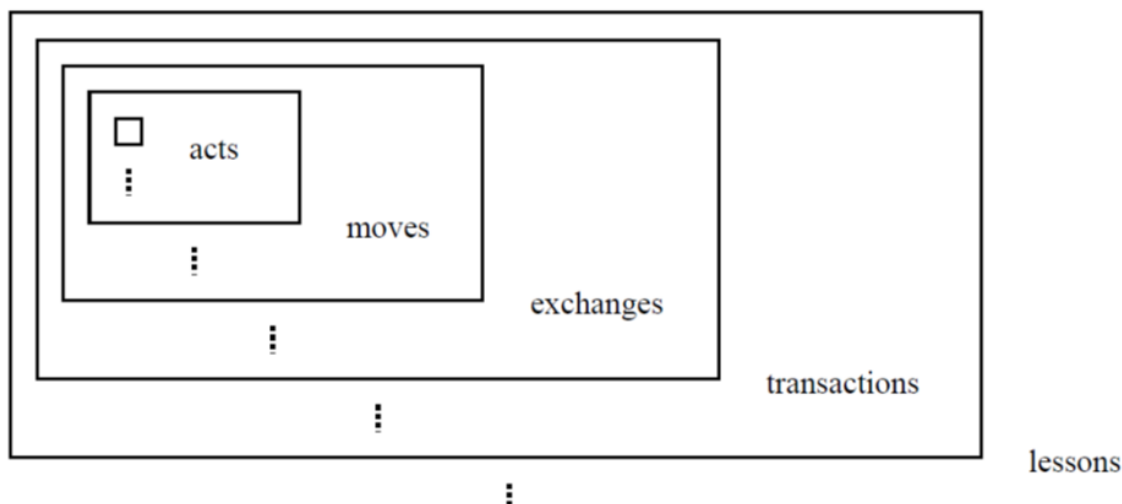


Figure 1. Units of classroom discourse

(Taken from Schiffrin, 2005, p.91)

The lesson is the largest unit and act is the smallest. Most discourse research focusing on the Discourse Analysis model of Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) has been conducted at the level of exchange. There are two types of exchanges: Boundary and Teaching Exchanges. Boundary exchanges signal an end or a beginning of a stage of the lesson, and can be carried out with a framing or a focusing move. Teaching exchanges are classified as free: informing, directing, eliciting, and checking; or bound: re-initiation, listing, reinforcement, and repeat. Bound teaching exchanges are generally initiated by an eliciting move and they are attached to the preceding exchanges.

In Sinclair and Coulthard's rank system (1975), it has been claimed that classroom interaction is characterized by IRF or IRE structure. 'I' corresponds to teacher Initiation, 'R' to student Response and 'F/E' to teacher Feedback or Teacher Evaluation. The exchange system that is also referred to as tripartite system consists of two teacher moves (Initiation and Feedback/Evaluation) for a student Response Move. Exchanges typically follow the IRF model, yet various move combinations, in which an initiation is always the first move, possible. For example, a teacher inform exchange involves a student response (IR), and a student inform exchange (IF) includes a teacher feedback. Bound exchanges provide multiple combinations. Re-initiation (ii) entails seeking clarification

from the same or another student after the wrong response and it terminates with a follow-up. This makes a structure of IRF(Ib)RF (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975). Bound exchanges also include listing, reinforcing, and repeating.

The smallest unit of classroom discourse is the act and Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) defined 22 acts produced by teachers and students. These acts are differentiated according to their function within the IRF. The opening move of exchanges include 'elicitation', 'directive' and 'informative' phases. An elicitation solicits a linguistic response, a directive seeks for a non-linguistic response (for example writing or listening) and an informative functions to express facts or ideas (Brown, 2010)

Likewise, Tsui (1994) in her book "English Conversation" provides an approach to analyse conversation through a descriptive framework for the sequential patterning of conversational utterances. Influenced by the Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) model in which they propose initiation response- feedback (I-R-F) exchange as the main tenet of cohesion in the conversation, Tsui (1994) differentiates three primary classes of acts based on the three moves of an exchange: initiating acts, responding acts and follow-up acts. Based on the structural location, Tsui identifies three types of acts that are head acts of the three moves in the exchange. The type occurring at the head of an initiation is an initiating act (or initiation); the type occurring at the head of a responding move is a responding act (or response); and the type occurring at the head of the follow-up move is a follow-up acts (follow-ups). Table 5 illustrates the discourse taxonomy of Tsui (1994):

Table 5.

A Taxonomy of Discourse Acts

Elements of structure	I	R	F ₁	F ₂
Move	Initiating	Responding	Follow-up (1)	Follow-up (2)
Head act:	Initiating	Responding	Follow-up (1)	Follow-up (2)
primary class	(Initiation)	(Response)		
	Elicitation	Positive	Endorsement	Turn-passing
Head act:	Requestive	Negative	Concession	
subclass	Directive	Temporisation	Acknowledgement	
	Informative			

(Taken from Tsui, 1994, p. 61)

Tsui's taxonomy not only categorizes utterances but also predicts which types of utterances can follow others on the basis of an utterance's (1) structural location, (2) prospective classification, and (3) retrospective classification. Firstly, the structural location of an utterance is important as it determines which type of move is realized. Tsui

(1994) has exemplified this principle: The utterance 'It is nearly three.' seems to be a responding move, as in the (A: 'What is the time? B: 'It is nearly three.'), yet it can also be an initiating move as in (A: 'It's nearly three.' B: Oh my God!') (as cited in Dudkova, p.6). Secondly, prospective classification is important in differentiating discourse acts. According to this, in the same move utterances can characterize certain acts based on the kind of response they solicit. For instance, in initiation move an utterance can be classified as an elicitation if it expects a linguistic response of providing a piece of information or as a directive if it expects a non-linguistic response (Tsui, 1994). Third, retrospective classification accounts for the situations in which the speaker's response indicates that the speaker and addressee are interpreting the illocutionary force of the initiation differently (Mandala, 2007). Tsui (1995) exemplifies this situation as in the (A: "Would you mind taking the dust rag and dust around? B: No". (Does not move) (as cited in Jafari, 2014, p.22).

According to the structural location and prospective structure, each class can be separated into further subclasses. Figure 2 illustrates the system of choices:

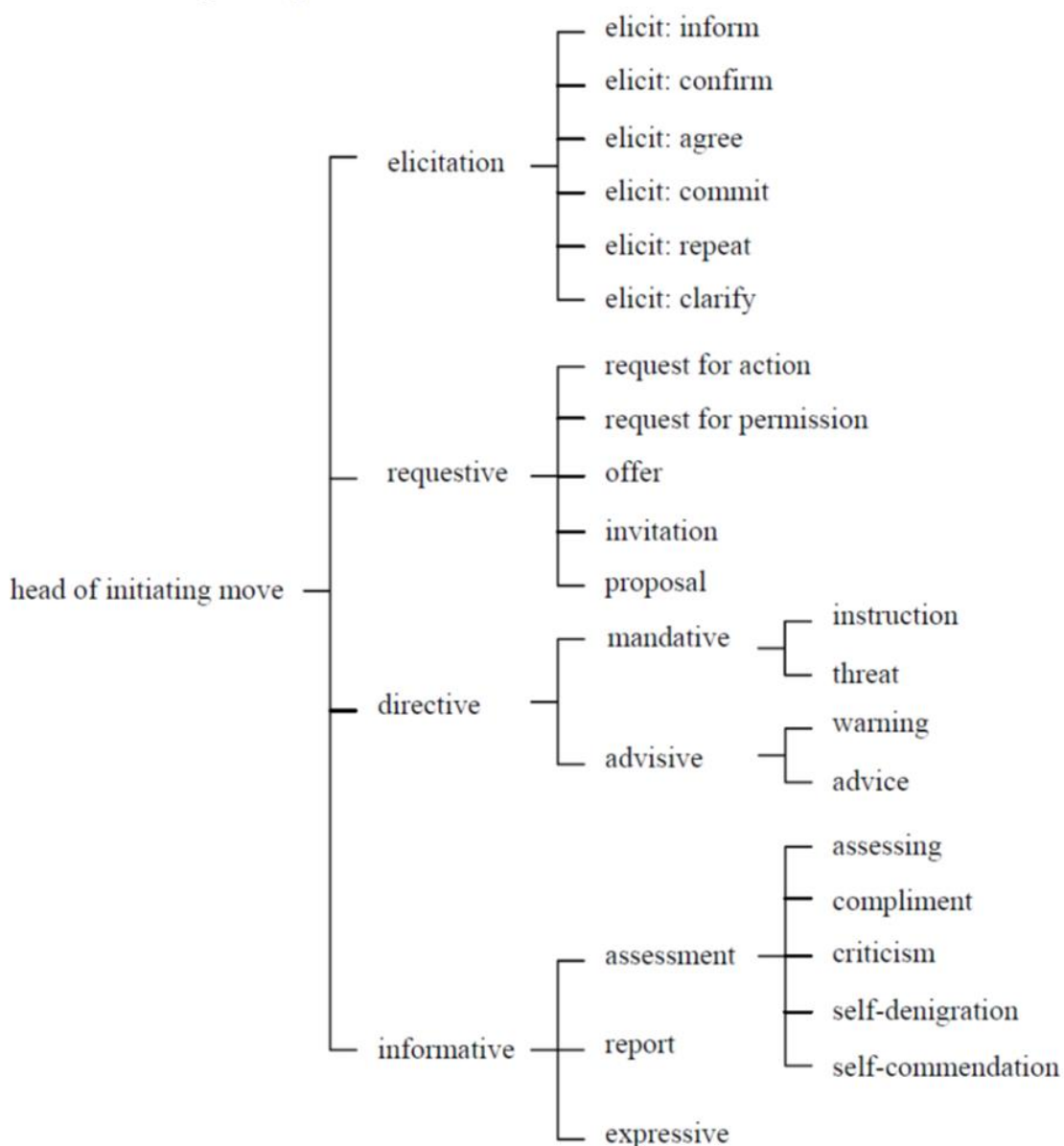


Figure 2. Tsui's systems of choices at the head of initiating move

(Taken from Schiffrin, 2005, p.95)

Discourse analysis has contributed to the growth in awareness of the internal form of structure and functional purpose of the world classroom interaction (Chaudron, 1988). Especially, Sinclair and Coulthard's model is useful for understanding classroom interaction and this model is an effective instrument for evaluating both student and teacher output in the class (McCarthy, 1991). Yet it has been criticised on the ground that it is "too static to account for the complexity of classroom instruction" (Yang and Walsh, 2014, p.473). Therefore, several limitations of this tradition are stated. First, it is both descriptive and prescriptive because it aims to classify naturally occurring patterns of

interaction with reference to discourse hierarchy (Yang and Walsh, 2014). Burton (1980) finds the model highly classroom specific. Second, it suffers from multifunctionality as the functions of categories may have multiple functions. Third, Classroom data is analysed “linguistically; many acts are realized by a set of linguistic forms” (Edmondson, 2014, p.77) for example it is claimed that elicitations are always realized by questions which ignore the intonation and gestures.

In order to overcome these limitations, Yang and Walsh (2014) suggest that not only classroom dynamics such as role relations and context but also sociolinguistic norms should be taken into account while dealing with the classroom interaction. Edmondson (2014) offers a detailed model of Discourse Analysis that involves the analysis of interactional structure, as in Sinclair and Coulthard model, and the analysis of discourse behaviour, as in speech act theory.

2.2.5. Conversation Analysis

Starting with the works of sociologists Harvey Sacks (1978) and Emanuel A. Schegloff (1987, 1992), Conversation Analysis is defined as a field of study which aims to “describe, analyse, and understand talk as a basic and constitutive feature of human social life” (Sert; 2011, p.2; Sidnell 2010, p.1). It grew out of ethnomethodology, which is “the study of a particular subject matter, the body of common-sense knowledge and the range of procedures and considerations by means of which ordinary members of society make sense of, find their way about in, and act on the circumstances in which they find themselves” (Heritage, 1984, p.4). Most of the early studies in Conversation Analysis concentrated on “ordinary conversation” the type of interaction which is not restricted to specialized settings or to the fulfilment of particular tasks (Heritage, 1998, p. 4).

In the late 1970s, the studies of institutional talk started to emerge and focus was on more restricted environments such as classrooms (Heritage, 1998). In both ordinary and institutional interaction rather than starting with a 'bucket theory' of context (Heritage 1987) where pre-existing institutional circumstances are regarded as enclosing conversation, Conversation Analysis begins with the principle that context is not only a project but also a product of the actions of the participants. That is, it is because of interaction that context is created, invoked and managed and it is through interaction that institutional forces, originating from the outside, are proved real and enforceable for the interactants (Heritage, 1998). Basic structures that are of importance in Conversation

Analysis may be counted such as; turn taking, sequence organization, preference organization and repairs.

Sacks et al., (1978) introduced the turn taking mechanism, which is managed by the speakers in the conversation. They describe the turn taking system in terms of a set of rules and two components ” (Sacks et al., 1978) which facilitate , a smooth and organized conversation among interactants and minimize the gaps and overlaps. The two components are (a) turn constructional component (b) turn allocational component (Sacks, et., al, 1978). Built on turn constructional component, turn taking happens at the point termed as Transition Relevance Place (TRP) that is the completion of Turn Constructional Unit (TCU), out of which a turn can be taken. Recent studies have suggested that transition relevance places are structurally not limited to the end of Turn Constructional Unit due to speakers’ ability to project the end of TCUs (Chalak, and Karimi, (2017). Moreover, Sacks et al., (1978), set out some rules for the allocation of turns at the transition relevance place of a turn:

- a) If in the ongoing turn, the current speaker selects or identifies the next speaker among the interactants, then the selected participant has the right and is enforced to take the next turn to speak. Other interactants do not have such rights or imperatives and transfer is realized at the place.
- b) If in the ongoing turn, the current speaker does not select or identify the next speaker, then any interactants may self-selects and claim the next turn by starting to speak at the first TCU. The first participant to start the conversation becomes the next speaker.
- c) If in the ongoing turn, the current speaker does not select the next speaker and no participant self-selects then, the current speaker may continue speaking although she/he need not.

(2) If, at the TCU, neither of 1(a) or 1(b) has occurred, and, following the operation of 1(c), current speaker has continued, then the rule-set 1(a)-(c) occurs at the next TCU and recursively occurs at each next TRP until transfer is affected. (Based on Sacks et al., 1978).

Sequence organization is one of the most important component of Conversation Analysis. It focuses on the structure of talk-in-interaction. The most basic type of sequence at talk involves two turns by different speakers, the first forming an initiating

action and the second an action responsive to it (Schegloff, 2007; Wilkinson and Kitzinger, 2017). A range of sequentially relevant next actions can follow initiating actions. Although there are several options for responsive acts, some are preferred and some are not. For example, acceptance of an invitation is a preferred next action whereas refusal of an invitation is a dispreferred next action. Furthermore, this basic two-turn structure can be stretched by pre-expansions, insert expansions, post-expansions (Schegloff, 2007).

Repair is defined as “the suspension of ongoing talk; in order to deal with some sort of trouble refers to hearing, production or understanding (Flowerdew, 2013). Therefore, Conversation analysts address it with respect to errors and other problems of speech within turn-taking system (Sacks et al., 1978). Communicative phenomenon facilitates social interaction by permitting interactants to mutually handle problems that arise when they communicate (Schegloff et al., 1977).

Repair is a structurally organized process. The typical organization of repair can be such as follows: (i) initiation (by self or other), (ii) repair (by self or other), (iii) outcome (success or failure) (Takeda, 2004). Schegloff et al., (1977) explored the phenomenon of repair in English conversations and identify four types of repair with respect to who initiates and who performs the repair. Liddicoat (2011) summarizes these types:

- a) Self-initiated self-repair: In this type of repair the speaker who is the producer of repairable item both indicates a problem in the interaction and he/she resolves this problem.
- b) Self-initiated Other-repair: In this type of repair, the speaker who is the producer of repairable item indicates a problem in the interaction but this problem is resolved by the recipient.
- c) Other-initiated Self-repair: In this type of the repair, the recipient of interaction that is the addressee of the repairable item indicates a problem and this problem is resolved by the speaker.
- d) Other-initiated Other-repair: In this type of repair, the addressee of the repairable item not only indicates a problem in the interaction but also resolves the problem.

There are several strengths of Conversation Analysis as summarized by Silverman's 1998 study. First, it provides fully detailed transcripts that aid the process of

reference and examination. Second, the process of recording the data create conditions for a detailed study. Third, reliability is established through natural occurring data. Lastly, it allows the researcher to address the most essential details of the interaction instead of false gloss appearance (Tam, 2016).

Conversation Analysis as a research paradigm has been claimed to be correspondent to the classroom in a number of ways. Walsh, (2002) summarizes these points: 1- It requires the researcher to concentrate on the patterns of interaction that emerge from the data, rather than concentrating on any preconceived assumptions which teachers may bring to the data. 2- CA methodology accepts that language patterns, which arise in a second language classroom, are socially constructed by the teachers and students. Therefore, it takes the interdependency of turns and the social practices at classroom into account while trying to make sense of classroom interaction. 3- CA regards the classroom as places in which contexts are not fixed but which operate during the whole lessons. In this sense, CA takes account of micro contexts of classroom to document “what actually happens at classroom” (Sert, 2011, p.2). 4- The institutional discourse is goal oriented. Although interactants may have different agendas, the discourse is mutually constructed on the basis of intended outcomes and associated expectations of the interactants.

CA has some limitations. First, Baxter 2002 claims that it is monolithic (as cited in Paltridge, 2012). The view of CA as a self-sufficient tool is problematic because it does necessitate merely one type of data that is conversation. Second, Yang and Walsh claim, “that is unable to make generalizations across context and making comparisons and more comprehensive observation difficult to apply” (p. 475). Levinson synthesizes the dispute between DA and CA and their individual strengths as in the following:

Discourse Analysis] theorists can accuse CA [conversation analysts] of being inexplicit, or worse, plain muddled, about the theories and conceptual categories they are employing in analysis...CA practitioners can retord that DA theorists are so busy with the premature formalization that they pay scant attention to the nature of the data. The main strength of the DA approach is that it promises to integrate linguistic findings about intrasentential organization with discourse structure; while the strength of the CA position is that the procedures employed have already proved themselves capable of using by far the most substantial insights that have yet been gained into the organization of conversation. (Levinson, 1983; as cited in Nunan, 1992, p. 161).

These five traditions have yielded a large amount of research into L2 classroom processes and products. Therefore, embarking on a research on classroom interaction necessitates being cognizant of the advantages and shortcomings of each tradition. In this sense, an ethnographic approach along with Discourse Analysis procedures may be stated to be in line with the exploration of power in two ways. First, the ranking system of Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) provides a detailed account about the hierarchical discourse structure which facilitates the exploration of power. Second, framework of Tsui, as stated by Schiffrin (2005) is fruitful in identifying discourse acts since discourse acts are indicated in the initiation moves. Discourse acts are important in arriving at meanings about power because they provide information about the actions of the students and teachers. Yet, it must be stressed here that the criticism of discourse analysis that stems from its pre-set categories will be alleviated since the researcher is looking for the emerging categories of related areas. The research also adopts the tenets of Ethnographic Research, as it is unobtrusive and interpretive. Furthermore, power as a social phenomenon necessitates the researchers to focus on the contexts of the studies. Therefore, the researcher was the participant observer during the observation and recordings in order to collect details about the natural embodiment of power in the classrooms under investigation. Having been informed about the macro issues of power and classroom research approaches, the next sections will deal with the nature and aspects of classroom interaction.

2.3. The Nature of Classroom Interaction in Second Language

It is necessary to refer to the features of classroom interaction as the present study aims to portray classroom power in the interaction. Some researchers have stated the importance of interaction in Second Language classroom. According to Mehan (1974), interaction is a process by which lessons are 'accomplished'. Building on this notion, Allwright (1984) maintains that interaction is “the *sine qua non* of classroom pedagogy” (p.159). He highlights the fact that all classroom pedagogy “proceeds through a process of interaction, and can proceed only in this way” (Allwright, 1984, p.159)

Ellis (1994) adds to the understanding of interaction by emphasizing the role of teacher in interaction while at the same time referring to the co-operative nature of interaction by stating that classroom discourse “meditates between pedagogical decision-making and the outcomes of language instruction” (p.574). He actually maintains that

classroom interaction arises out of the result of teachers 'pedagogical plans which are prepared by taking into account of what to teach (syllabus), how to teach (methods) and the nature of the social relationship they wish to encourage (atmosphere). He insists that although there are plans, classroom interaction evolves as it is co-produced with the learners (Ellis, 1994). Allwright (1984) suggests that interaction management is by no means an entity which is in the hands of the teacher although the official responsibility is given to the teacher. Interaction has a social aspect that necessitates co-operation on the part of teachers' and learners. The nature of interaction, on which Allwright (1984) built these principles, is in the following:

Classroom lessons are socially constructed events, no matter how strongly any one participant may dominate, nor how compliantly other participants may react. Even the mere presence of a participant constitute a contribution to the management of the interaction, since it will affect the behaviour of others. (p.159)

Therefore, as Allwright proposes, it is necessary to stop regarding interaction as an aspect of teaching method which may or may not be preferred in the lessons, as a weapon in teachers' pedagogical "armoury to be used only when appropriate" rather, it must be conceptualized as something "inherent in the very notion of classroom pedagogy itself" (Allwright 1984, p.158). In this sense, illumination of the nature of L2 interaction and its aspects may add to the understanding of L2 pedagogy.

2.3.1. The Aspects of Classroom in Second Language

In illuminating the workings of the classroom, several researchers present various classification of classroom aspects. Allwright (1984) states that classroom interaction has five aspects of interaction: "management of turn", "topic", "task", "tone", and "code" (p.161-163). Ellis (1994, p. 566) lists the aspects of classroom interaction as "teacher talk, error treatment, teachers' questions, learner participation, task-based interaction, and small group work". Bailey (1985) identifies four main areas "patterns of participation, the speech and behaviours of teachers, the treatment of learners' errors, and individual student (or teacher) variables" (as cited in Van Lier, 1988, p. 60). Yang and Walsh (2014) have paid attention to four key areas while illuminating the aspects of L2 classroom: teachers' control of patterns of communication, questioning, repair, modifying speech to learners. Van Lier (1988) emphasizes, the role of the context and the necessity to adopt qualitative or ethnographic approach to classroom research through an examination of

events in the classroom. Furthermore, classroom research should take into consideration the following points:

1. Our real knowledge related to what happens in classrooms is remarkably limited.
2. It is necessary and valuable to increase this knowledge.
3. This can only be achieved by entering the classroom to collect data;
4. All data are needed to be interpreted by taking into the classroom context into the account.
5. Classroom context is not only a linguistic or cognitive one, it is also essentially a social context, (Van Lier 1988, p.37).

Along with the issues that have been presented, Van Lier identifies the following macro-topics for research:

- control and initiative
- quality and kinds of participation
- planned and unplanned sequences of interaction
- feedback and evaluation
- authenticity of task and interaction
- comprehensibility of input
- perceptions and criteria of progress and success
- cooperation and competition in classroom work
- equity of rights and responsibilities

(1988, p. 85)

As seen, researchers preferred to focus on various aspects of interaction and they have demonstrated the mechanisms at work in the classroom. Ellis (1994) proposes that although lessons are not organized in advance studies have shown that classroom interactions demonstrate fairly predictable and recognizable features in terms of their structure, types of language use, turn-taking mechanisms (Ellis, 1994). Therefore, since power is inherent in classroom interaction and it “cannot be totally separated out from other studies on classroom interaction” (Oral, 2009, p.67) general survey of the features of classroom studies may facilitate understanding of how power has been dealt with in

mainstream classroom research. Therefore, related to the subject of this study, features of the classroom, based on structure of the interaction, turn taking patterns, and teacher's and students' acts will be analysed in the next section.

2.4. Previous Research on Classroom Interaction and Power

Previous research into the classroom that can be illuminating in conceptualizing power in the classroom discourse is presented here. Studies have been categorized under three categories: general structure of the classroom discourse, turn-taking patterns in the classroom and speech acts used by teachers and students.

2.4.1. General Structure of Classroom Discourse

A number of studies focusing on classroom interaction contribute to the understanding of workings of classroom (Jones, 2009; Hall and Verplaetse, 2000; Hall and Walsh, 2002, 2006, 2011; Mehan, 1980; Paoletti and Fele, 2004; Tsui, 1995). The general structure and general characteristics of classroom interaction has been the centre of attention. Scholars identify several divisions to identify the components and phases of classroom discourse from different perspectives. Mehan (1979) provides a linear classification by dividing the classroom interaction into three layers: opening phase, instructional phase and closing phase. In the opening phase, the teacher and students make it known to each other that they are going to carry out a lesson and they make procedural arrangements according to this. During the instructional phase, the teacher transfers the academic information to the students. In the closing phase, teachers and students focus on what they have done.

Walsh (2002) proposes four micro-contexts that can be found in the classroom. The contexts that are referred as modes are:

- Skills and systems mode (main focus is on particular language items, vocabulary or a specific skill)
 - Managerial mode (main focus is on setting up an activity)
 - Classroom contexts mode (main focus is on eliciting feelings, attitudes and emotions of learning)
 - Materials mode (main focus is on the use of text, tape or other materials)
- (p.140).

The micro-contexts that are provided by Walsh are not necessarily linear phases of classroom discourse but they occur in the classroom discourse on the basis of pedagogical goals. “Each mode has its own interactional features that align with certain pedagogical goals” (Sert, 2015, p.54; Walsh, 2003, p.126). Understanding the features of these modes have been claimed to be vital in shaping teachers’ and students’ classroom interactional competence (Walsh, 2012).

Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) also explore the structure of classroom discourse. They suggest a hierarchical model that consists of five ranks capturing the structure of classroom interaction: lesson (the biggest unit), transaction, exchange, move, and act (the smallest unit). Mehan (1979) along with Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) thought that classroom discourse is highly organized. He proposed that lesson consists of subsuming phases (opening, instructional, closing) which are realized by sequences that consist of IREs: Initiation-response-Evaluation. In the literature on classroom discourse, some researchers have referred to the this triadic dialogue sequence or structure as IRE (Lemke, 1990; Mehan, 1979, 1985), while others referred to it as initiation- response-feedback or IRF (Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975; Waring, 2009).

Pertaining to the structure of classroom, IRF (Sinclair and Brazil, 1982; Mercer 1995; Nassaji and Wells, 2000) is the focus of a great deal of research as a tool to explore the units of classroom discourse. Viewed mainly as an aspect of teacher talk (Xu, 2010; Yanfen and Yuqin, 2010; Cullen, 1995; Sinclair and Brazil, 1982) IRF, its Limitations (Clifton 2006; Lemke, 1990) and opportunities for learning (Mercer 1995; Nassaji and Wells, 2000) have been well documented by researchers. It has been regarded as fruitful in promoting learning opportunities and assigning roles to students (Van Lier, 1998 as cited in Thoms, 2012). In the same vein, Mercer (1995) suggest that triadic dialogue is effective in checking students’ understanding and in guiding students. Nassaji and Wells (2000) explained that it has the potential to initiate the sequences of discussions and engage learners in the co-construction of knowledge.

Cullen (2002) investigated pedagogical roles of F- move. Based on the findings obtained from video recordings in an EFL context, he found that feedback move is evaluative and discorsal as it includes reformulation, elaboration, as well as responsiveness that are regarded as features of supportive teacher talk.

Similarly, Park (2014) focuses on the third move and provides an empirical study in which she applied the principles of Conversation Analysis in order to explore the

functions of action types through interaction. According to the data gathered from various L2 classrooms in ESL and EFL contexts, the role of repeats is claimed to differ depending on the pedagogical focus of the interaction, specifically between meaning-and-fluency contexts and form-and-accuracy contexts (Seedhouse, 2004). Repeats in third-turn position were found to promote an account of a previous answer on the part of the learner, resulting in further student talk in meaning-and-fluency contexts. Yet, they were found to serve to confirm the previous utterance in form-and-accuracy contexts.

Based on a single case analysis with an adult English as a second language (ESL) class, Waring (2009) showed that moving out of IRF creates opportunities for students to manage to establish a participation structure, which is renewed and thus is able to create space for further student-initiated negotiations. Waring (2009) also showed that although the use of explicit positive assessments is sequentially and affectively preferred it may restrict learning opportunities.

Nassaji and Wells (2000) focused on IRF in teacher-whole-class interaction within their collaborative action research project. They showed that triadic dialogue continues to be the dominant discourse pattern even in interaction where teachers are trying to create a more dialogic type of classroom interaction. Yet, they showed that even IRF can take a wide range of forms and utilized by teachers for a variety of functions, based on the goal of the activity. Furthermore, they emphasized that teachers' choice of follow-up type is an important aspect in interaction. The quantitative results of their study showed that frequently used evaluative follow-up to students' answers tends to hinder extended student participation; yet requests justifications, counter-arguments as well as permitting students to self-select in the interaction contribute to an equal dialogue.

A bulk of research on the other hand, has criticised IRF patterned instruction or teacher fronted classroom (Clifton, 2006) on the ground that teachers adopt the role of an expert by talking and commenting excessively (Lemke, 1990) and thereby restricting students' discursive initiatives. Clifton (2006) suggests that with the strategies a teacher controls who says what to whom and when to say which decreases students' responsibility for directing the lesson. Therefore, students remain powerless in taking initiation during an IRF dominated interaction. Clifton (2006) alternatively proposes facilitator talk which is not limited to a single pattern of interaction and through which more responsibility is allocated to the learner. Using naturally occurring data acquired from the recordings of three adult speaker of French in a language school in France, he defines the facilitator

talk as a type of talk including learner initiation, backchannelling, asking referential questions along with the co-authoring narratives.

Similarly, Thoms (2012) states that the roles of both teacher and student within the IRE structure enable the teacher to act as an expert responsible for guiding the classroom interaction and evaluating the accuracy of the student's replies. Conversely, the student takes on a role partially determined by the teacher's selections about who participates, when and how much interaction takes place between student and teacher. Therefore, the teacher's role within the triadic dialogue is to control the amount and kind of interaction that takes place in the classroom. For this reason, students' freedom to interact and respond in meaningful ways within the IRE pattern is determined by the teacher" (Thoms, 2012, p.11).

Gharbavi and Iravani (2014) focused on teacher talk through the perspective of communicative approach. Through their audiotaped classroom data, they investigated if teacher talk tends to hinder or facilitate students' learning in EFL settings. As a result of their research, they suggested that IRF is the prevailing pattern in teacher talk, thereby making student less cooperative. They further emphasized that teachers' third moves are merely function as acknowledgement of students' responses and they do not serve to extend student interaction.

Although there are many studies that focus on discourse structure in terms of IRF pattern, very little research focus on the patterns of student-initiated sequences. Using Conversation Analysis, Jacknick (2011) examines student-initiated sequences, which involve post-expansion in order to emphasize in what ways students use this practise to control the trajectory of sequences in classroom interaction in the ESL setting. In these type of sequences, the typical IRF pattern is inverted; a student starts a sequence, the teacher answers, and the student provides a follow-up in the third move. Examining minimal and non-minimal post-expansions with regard to their sequential placement, and the interactional accomplishments of such moves, the study shows students' utilization of power-moves in producing initiations, role reversal, and creating "wigggle room" (Erickson, 2001, p.175), suggesting that the students are agents in their own learning.

Rafieerad and Rashidi (2010) examined the classroom discourse in EFL classrooms through Discourse Analysis. They aimed to explore the interaction patterns and the effect of the gender of the teachers and the students on the interaction patterns and lastly to search whether the interaction was teacher-dominated or student dominated. They showed that interaction patterns between the participants vary. These patterns share

some similarities with the interaction that happens in natural contexts. Participants make use of a wide range of discourse acts as in natural occurring conversation. They also showed that there is not a significant difference in the patterns in terms of gender of the teacher but students' data reveal that male students were slightly more interactive with the teachers than female students were. Lastly, they showed that teachers dominated a high portion of classroom talk within an IRF pattern. Yet, they suggested that students also initiated sequences and produce follow-up moves to teachers' responses, resulting in an IRF pattern even in student-teacher talk.

Candela (1998) analysed classroom interaction on the basis of learner contribution through discourse analysis to determine if students comply with teachers' wishes or if they change the "local construction of power to seize power in order to construct their own representation of the curricular topics" (p.140). One of the findings of the study reveals that students modify discourse to move out of teachers' control even in IRF dominated classroom interaction. The strategies they use are "denying the teachers' orientation, by refusing to participate, or by defending alternative versions of particular topic." (p.156). Candela also states that students utilize some tactics to refuse the role allocated to them and to struggle to keep their positions within the discourse. According to this, students have the capability of handling the uncertainty within the classroom discourse, defending their point of view, rejecting to explain their point of view (by remaining silent, making side comments, or murmuring). They are also capable of utilizing preference strategies to deny the opinions they do not agree with, explaining a content (in a direct way) differently from what is expected, and evaluating the other participants' utterances including the teacher. As a result of these strategies, Candela (1998) suggests that the generality of the results of a large number of studies should be questioned. This is because they have indicated that teachers' power prevails in the classroom, and only the teachers are controlling or evaluating other participants' replies and utterances. However, as one of the result of this study, it has been found that students exercise power to "construct themselves as subjects who discursively establish their role as knowledgeable and competent communicators who are able to influence social interaction" (p.139). Therefore, the study emphasized, "discourse structure" IRE "does not define who is in control of the classroom interaction." (Candela, 1998, p.139).

As it can be seen from the bulk of research, many researchers have investigated teacher student interaction. Some documented the effects of the IRF as a facilitating practice. Some studies showed that it limits the students' discursive practises. Some

showed that even if IRF is restrictive, there are still opportunities for students to engage in the interaction. Considering the relationship of power and IRF, it is possible to state that a large sum of research documents that IRF is restrictive yet as Candela states IRF does not define who is in control of the classroom interaction as the discursive practises are available to students as well.

2.4.2. Turn- Taking Patterns in the Classroom

Turn taking refers to the interactional means by which students and teachers take the floor to speak. Turn taking is essential in all classroom interaction and important in understanding the organization of participation in classrooms regardless of whether the interaction is IRF patterned or not (Poole, 2005). In order to reveal the roles of students and teachers in the classroom interaction, previous research on turn taking is surveyed in this section.

McHoul (1978) presented the first systematic Conversation Analysis oriented study. Using data obtained from audio and video recordings of classrooms in English and Australian High school settings, he conducted a systematic study of classroom interaction in which he presents a comparison of classroom turn-taking and daily conversational turn taking patterns. Because of this study, he presents a number of rules through which management of turns can be manifested. These rules are presented in McHoul's own terms in Table 6.

Table 6.

Management of Turns at Talk for Classrooms

(I) For any teacher's turn, at the initial transition-relevance place of an initial turnconstructional unit: (A) If the teacher's turn-so-far is so constructed as to involve the use of a 'current speaker selects next' technique, then the right and obligation to speak is given to a single student; no others have such a right or obligation and transfer occurs at that transition-relevance place. (B) If the teacher's turn-so-far is so constructed as not to involve the use of a 'current speaker selects next' technique, then current speaker (the teacher) must continue. (II) If I(A) is effected, for any student-so-selected's turn, at the initial transition-relevance place of an initial turn-constructional unit: (A) If the student-so-selected's turn-so-far is so constructed as to involve the use of a 'current speaker selects next' technique, then the right and obligation to speak is given to the teacher; no others have such a right or obligation and transfer occurs at that transition-relevance place. (B) If the student-so-selected's turn-so-far is so constructed as not to involve the use of a 'current speaker selects next' technique, then self-selection for next speaker may, but need not, be instituted with the teacher as first starter and transfer occurs at that transition-relevance place. (C) If the student-so-selected's turn-so-far is so constructed as not to involve the use of a 'current speaker selects next' technique, then current speaker (the student), may, but need not, continue unless the teacher self-selects. (III) For any teacher's turn, if, at the initial transition-relevance place of an initial turn constructional unit either I(A) has not operated or 1(B) has operated and the teacher has continued, the rule-set I(A)-I(B) re-applies at the next transition-relevance place and recursively at each transition-relevance place until transfer to a student is effected. (IV) For any student's turn, if, at the initial transition-relevance place of an initial turn constructional unit neither II(A) nor II(B) has operated, and, following the provision of II(C), current speaker (the student) has continued, then the rule-set II(A)-II(C) re-applies at the next transition-relevance place and recursively at each transition-relevance place until transfer to the teacher is effected.
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(Taken from McHoul, 1978, p. 188)

Although McHoul's research unearths the system of turn management in classrooms, there is a need for modification in various ways to be able to explain turn taking system of language classrooms through these principles. This is because language classrooms are not content classrooms and conversation occurring in them is not mundane (Ko, 2013). After McHoul's study, a number of researchers extended the study of turn taking management in L2 classrooms and enlightened the issue further. Markee (2000) used Conversation Analysis as a methodological instrument for exploring L2 acquisition behaviours. He presented a modification to McHoul's turn management rules. He emphasized the presence of "choral drills" and suggested that in ESL classrooms, unlike

content classrooms, students' responses may be in the form of choral repetition (Ko, 2013; Markee, 2000). Markee also states that classroom talk includes pre-allocation of turns to the teacher and students. This modification of participants' turn taking rights has led to the sequential structure of classroom speech that is Question-Answer-Comment (Ko, 2013).

Previous research into turn-taking practices in classrooms also provides insight about the teachers' turn allocation strategies. Mehan's study (1979) presents three procedures by which teachers allocating the turns to students. These are presented as in following:

1. Nomination: in this procedure, the teacher calls on or selects an individual student (through gaze or gesture)
2. Invitation to bid: In this procedure, teacher indicates that students ought to raise their hands in order to be nominated.
3. Invitation to reply: in this procedure a teachers initiation indicates that any student can self-select or reply at will.

Poole (2005) states that these three procedures serve as tools for shifting from a teacher-initiated move to student reply within an IRE, thereby showing the characteristics of teacher fronted practises. Griffin and Humprey (1978) suggested that nominations and invitation to bid promote the maintenance of social order and establish an equal distribution of turns. Lemke (1990), on the other hand, stated that nomination and invitation to bid serve for the teacher control.

Lemke (1990) presents a critical analysis of the discursive strategies used by teachers in allocating turns in teacher-fronted lessons. According to him, teachers utilize control tactics which serve to their own interest that are not always in line with the students' interests. Therefore, students resort to techniques which are in line with their interests. These techniques are "call out answers, questioning answers, override obligations, nonverbal distending and side-talk" (Lemke 1990, as cited in Waring, 2015, p.17) among which call- out answers and side talk are the mostly tactics. According to Lemke (1990), side talks tend to serve for students in contributing to the community and creating a classroom dynamic. Students' interest are essential to education and there are strict rules against the tactics that serve for the students' interest. For example against side

talk there exists no side talk. In this case, they are essential to education and are means through which students build community and create a classroom dynamic.

Shepherd (2014) provides an analysis of the discursive strategies used by teachers in allocating turns in teacher-fronted lessons with critical perspective to analyse if these strategies facilitate equitable turn distributions. Using a classroom corpus made up of detailed transcriptions of interaction that takes place in an elementary school in Southern California, he investigates the predominant strategies of turn allocation that are used in many today classrooms. He also compares the relative prevalence of these strategies in the corpus of 2008 with the equivalent data from 1970s. According to the result of the study, there is a dramatic change in the turn allocation methods used in 1970s and 2008. In the findings of 1970s, individual nomination accounted for over 70 percent of teacher-initiated exchanges whereas in the findings of 2008 individual nomination accounts for less than 10 percent and invitation to reply account for over 70 percent.

According to Shepherd (2014), through invitation to bid, teachers avoid dispreferred (incorrect/ inappropriate) replies by soliciting voluntary students and nominating only students that actively seek the floor. He further suggests that invitation to bid does not promote the goal of equity, for it allocates less turns to students to (because of culture, personality, etc.) volunteer rarely. Shepherd (2014) also states that the advantage of this practice stems from teachers' utilisation of monologic recitation scripts. The researcher concludes that changing such scripts with dialogic classroom discourse may reduce the volunteer-based turn allocation, thereby freeing teachers to facilitate the true equity for student participation by nominating students regardless of whether they claim the floor or not.

In another research, Shepherd (2012) examines discursive strategies of students' in initiating checks and strategies used by teachers used in restricting them. Using a classroom corpus with detailed transcriptions of interaction that takes place in an elementary school in Southern California, he emphasizes the paradoxical significance of students' strategy to be able to check their understanding with teachers and significance of teachers' constraining student participation. Based on quantitative discourse analysis, the study reveals that although students raise their hands, presumably to initiate interactions outside teacher-led discussions, teachers rarely accept them and when they do, they often use discursive strategies which constraint student contributions. Yet, study also reveals that though teachers ignore many of the unauthorized utterances, they reply the called-out requests and repairs, whereby enabling students to check their

understanding. According to Shepherd (2012), students' not being disposed to call out may impede their learning. Therefore, he recommends providing students with multiple ways through which they can check their understanding.

2.4.3. Speech Acts used by Teachers and Students in the Classroom

Austin (1962), in his speech act theory, attempts to show that language is used not only to describe things but to do things as well. He states that in producing utterances a speaker performs three acts: 1- Locutionary act: the act of producing and sounds and words with meanings. 2-Illocutionary act: the act of relating an utterance with conventional communicative force achieved "in saying". 3-Perlocutionary act: The real effect is achieved by saying. According to this, he provides a taxonomy that is based on speech acts people are using. This taxonomy is made of five speech acts:

1. Representatives (Asives): these speech acts commit the speaker to the truth of an expressed proposition
2. Directives: through this type of speech, acts are to get the addressee to do something for the speaker.
3. Commissives: this type of speech acts commit the speaker to a future course of action.
4. Expressives: through these speech acts, a speaker expresses his/her psychological state to the addressee.
5. Declarations: the illocutionary force behind these speech acts is to bring about a new state of being in the world.

Since classroom is a dynamic place in which socially constructed interaction occur (Walsh, 2006), speech acts also used by teachers and students to perform acts. Focusing on the power relationship in the classroom requires reviewing acts exploited by teachers and students along with reviewing the literature on discourse structure and turn taking in the classroom so that a detailed analysis of classroom practises can be provided.

Speech acts have been regarded to be based totally on individual utterances. Therefore, context should be highlighted while dealing with these acts. (Adolphs, 2008). In this sense, a discourse dimension is needed to analyse speech acts (Tsui, 1994).

Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) incorporate discourse structure along with the lexico grammatical features into their discourse analysis model and take account of interactional function in identifying the acts. They divide classroom acts into meta- discursive, interactive and turn-taking subcategories. Tsui (1994) integrate discourse factors and acts. Tsui (1994) identifies acts in conversation according to the answer intended by the speaker.

Using this perspective to classroom research, a number of studies show the inner workings of classroom interaction. Arikdal (2006), in her descriptive study, presents some findings related to classroom discourse. Through the data obtained from audio-recordings of English classes in Turkey, she identifies interactional patterns by which initiation moves are made up.

Furthermore, based on the Sinclair and Coulthard's framework she analysed the type of initiation moves. The result of this study indicates that IRF pattern is apparent. The findings also have revealed that the function of teachers' initiation moves includes "elicit, clue, informative, directive, check, loop and others". The most frequently used acts are elicitations and least employed ones are loop. On the other hand, students' initiations include elicitations and informs. Therefore, she suggests that students' contributions in classroom interaction were quite limited compared to those of the teachers'.

2.5. Conclusion

This chapter has provided theories of power with a special emphasis on Foucauldian concept of power on which the study is drawn. It has also presented literature on power in educational institutions and the issue of language, discourse and power. Furthermore, basic approaches to classroom research by which macro issues of power with micro-level understanding of classroom practices may be integrated have been presented. Last section has reviewed previous research on classroom interaction and power issues.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

3.0. Introduction

In this chapter, information regarding participants, setting, data collection procedures and data analysis are given. Issues related to data analysis are unfolded by referring to the Discourse Analysis Model of Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) and Taxonomy of Discourse Acts by Tsui (1994).

3.1. Participants

The purpose of the study is to analyse classroom interaction in School of Foreign languages at a state university. Therefore, the participants of the study are five instructors and students who are taught in those teachers' classes. The number of students varies between 125-150 since in each class there are 25–30 students. The instructors who participated in the present study are all native speakers of Turkish, and their ages vary between 26–40 in 2016 during the data collection procedure. Detailed information about the participant teachers can be seen in Table 7.

Table 7.

Participants' Profile

Participants	Gender	Graduate	Years of Experience
P1	Female	PhD-ELT	13
P2	Female	MA-ELT	13
P3	Male	MA-ELT	14
P4	Female	MA-ELT	10
P5	Female	MA-ELT	5

The instructors, whose profile have been given in table 7, were selected by “convenience sampling” (Gall, Borg, & Gall, 1996, p. 228) since in this type of sampling, the researchers have the chance to select the population and the situation that suggest rich data at random (Stubbs, 1983). During the data collection process, all of the teachers were teaching 20 hours a week at a minimum. Three lessons of each teacher were observed,

video-recorded, and audiotaped. Before the observation and recordings, instructors were asked for permission.

3.2. Setting

The students in all five classrooms have the same proficiency level in English that corresponds to level 1 according to the assessment system of Foreign Languages School. They were working with the same course book (English file) as well as various materials the teachers provide, during teaching language skills, namely writing, reading, listening/speaking and grammar. The typical classroom has 24 hours of instruction. There is a balance in all classrooms in terms of gender, so there is no male or female dominance. The ages of the students range from 17 to 20. There are about 25 students in each classroom.

3.3. Data Collection Procedures

The data for this research were collected in preparatory classrooms in Foreign Languages School. The data collection was carried out from April to May 2016 in three weeks. Since the purpose of the study was to investigate power in classroom talk, the data consist of video-recorded and audiotaped teacher-student interactions occurred in 15 classroom hours. Before the observation and the records, teachers and the school management were asked for permission for both the observation and recordings. During data collection, one digital video camera was set at angle focused on the teacher; however, in order to minimize the effect of, it the camera was put at the back of the classroom. Furthermore, voice recorder was used to ensure the quality of the voice. The researcher was present sitting at the back of the class in all of the sessions in order to take field notes regarding the context of the research. Each class lasted approximately 50 minutes.

3.4. Data Analysis

Following early research into the classroom interactions (Mehan, 1979; Sinclair and Coulthard 1975) and taking into account the purpose of the study teacher-student interaction occurred in approximately fifteen classroom hours were transcribed by excluding the individual and group work when there is no teacher-student interaction. While transcribing the data, the researcher adopted a widely used transcription system adapted from Gail Jefferson (2004). In order to provide detailed transcription researcher

went through the audio and video-recordings several times and made use of field notes to contribute to the reliability of the data. The transcription of the classroom data was carried out through the following stages:

- Lessons were recorded and a rough transcription was produced, through successive playbacks.
- All recorded data including student-teacher interaction were transcribed into a word processor.
- The field notes were visited and relevant details were added to the transcribed data.
- The recording of each lesson was revisited as many times as necessary to provide transcription symbols (Transcription symbols are given in appendices).
- Finally, all the real names (including the names of the students and the teachers) were replaced by pseudonyms.

This study combines an ethnographic approach to the coding and analysis of student-teacher talk with the elements of Discourse Analysis and the procedure of descriptive statistics in order to uncover the concept of power in the classroom context. In order to demonstrate the representation of power in classroom interaction several procedures were carried out. First, Discourse Analysis approach was conducted and the teacher and student-initiated exchanges, discourse patterns in these exchanges and the discourse acts and their functions in the initiation moves of the exchanges were revealed along with the teachers' turn allocation strategies. Second, procedures of descriptive statistics were used in order to give quantitative data about these practices. Third, these findings have been analysed to provide implication on power in the classroom. Table 8 illustrates the outline of the data analysis of the present study.

Table 8.

Representation of the Data Analysis of the Study

Categories of Analysis	Methodological Basis
Distribution of Teacher-initiated Exchanges and Student-initiated Exchange	Discourse Analysis Model Sinclair and Coulthard (1975)
Discourse Patterns of Teacher- Initiated Exchanges and Student- Initiated Exchanges	
Types and Function of Discourse Acts in Teacher-initiated Exchanges and Student-initiated Exchanges	Discourse Analysis Model Tsui (1994)
Teachers' Turn Allocation Strategies	Turn Allocation Framework Mehan (1979)

The next section presents the frameworks that inform the present study. Yet, it is relevant to stress here that the data is analysed to find emerging categories. Therefore, the categories that are presented in this section are not pre-set; rather they serve to inform our analysis.

3.4.1. Analysis of Discourse Patterns in Teacher-Student Talk

The present study aims to investigate the power in the classroom by focusing on the discursive practices of teacher and students. As the first step of the analysis, the transcribed data is analysed in order to find the distribution of student and teacher-initiated exchanges. As the second step, the discourse patterns of student and teacher-initiated exchanges are identified. These two analyses are done on the basis of Sinclair and Coulthard's Discourse Analysis Model which was originally developed by the application of transcripts taken from primary school classroom settings in the 1970s. Although the framework has been criticised for relying too much on the data from teacher-centred settings (Nicholson, 2014), it remains as an efficient tool as it explains the classroom discourse in a highly ordered structure designed to show the ways interaction occurred in the classroom through a linguistic and functional approach. The discourse analytic framework is expected to yield insights about power and control in the classroom as it makes it possible to focus on the discourse patterns in terms of the initiator and the evaluator in teacher and student-led interaction (Zhu, 2018).

Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975) Discourse Analysis model was developed in 1975. It was based on a system drawn from Halliday's rank scale (1961) on the description of grammar. The model provides a structural look at classroom conversation through five ranks: lesson, transaction, exchange, move and act that are related

hierarchically. The lesson is the highest unit made up of various exchanges. On the other hand, exchanges are formed by moves. Moves are made up of acts, in return. In this framework, a typical exchange is characterized by an initiation-response-feedback move. There are five main classes of moves: framing, focusing, opening, answering and follow-up. Framing and focusing moves form boundary exchanges. Opening, answering, and follow-up moves form teaching exchanges. Teaching exchanges are classified as “free” and “bound exchanges” (Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975, p. 49). These sub-categories are presented in Tables 9 and 10 that are taken from Raine (2010, p. 7).

Table 9.

Sub-categories of Free Exchanges

Subclass of Exchange	Structures	Function of Exchange
Teacher inform (Inform)	I (R)	To convey information to the pupils
Teacher direct (Direct)	I R (F)	To elicit a non-verbal response from the pupils
Teacher elicit (Elicit)	I R F	To elicit a non-verbal response from the pupils
Check (Check)	I R (F)	To discover how well students are getting on and identify any problems
Pupil elicit (P-Elicit)	I R	To elicit a verbal response from the teacher
Pupil inform (P-Inform)	I F	To convey information to the teacher

(Taken from Raine, 2010, p. 7)

Table 10.

Sub-categories of Bound Exchanges

Subclass of Exchange	Structures	Function of Exchange
Re-initiation (i) (Reinitiation)	I R Ib R F	To induce a response to a previously unanswered question
Re-initiation (ii) (Re-initiation)	I R F (Ib) R F	To induce a correct response to a previously incorrectly answered elicitation
Listing (Listing)	) I R F (Ib) R F	To withhold evaluation until two or more responses are received to an elicitation
Reinforce (Reinforce)	I R Ib R	To induce a (correct) response to a previously issued directive
Repeat (Repeat)	I R Ib R F	To induce a repetition of a response

(Taken from Raine, 2010, p. 7)

Although the present study is informed by the classroom discourse patterns provided by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975), the researcher is attentive to the emerging categories in the classroom data.

3.4.2. Analysis of Discourse Acts in Teacher -Student Talk

The second step of the study includes the identification of discourse acts and the functions of these discourse acts. Acts are the lowest category in Sinclair and Coulthards' Discourse Analysis Model (1975) and they are more general acts than those in Searle's Taxonomy of Speech Acts (1968). Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) classify acts into three further categories: meta-discursive, interactive and turn-taking acts. Their interactive acts at the exchange level are:

- (1) informative
- (2) directive
- (3) elicitation

A statement whose sole function is to provide information relevant to the lesson is defined as an informative act. Directives are the acts that request a non-verbal response. On the other hand, elicitation acts request linguistic replies. Although Sinclair and Coulthard's Discourse Analysis Model unveils the discourse structure of the classroom, it falls short in presenting classroom acts. This is because it is shown that many acts are realized by a set of linguistic forms for example, it is claimed that elicitations are always realized by questions (Edmondson, 2014). In this sense, Tsui's (1994) outline of discourse acts is a more thorough approach. In this framework, the discourse acts are characterized mainly on a three-part transaction: initiating acts, responding acts and follow-up acts. It is also based on both intended speaker response and the criteria of whether they are initiating, responding, first follow-up or second follow-up which is fruitful in considering "what has gone before in the assignment of speech function" (Schiffrin, 2005, p. 96). In other words, unlike Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975) framework which is merely based on linguistic forms of utterances, Tsui' taxonomy categorizes utterances based on three principles. These principles are (1) structural location (based on whether they are in the initiating move, responding move or in the follow-up move), (2) prospective classification, (based on the kind of reply they expect) and (3) retrospective classification

(this category is allowed in situation where the illocutionary act of the utterances is interpreted differently by the speaker and the listener).

Tsui (1994) classifies three primary classes of acts based on their structural location. Each class is the head act of the three moves of an exchange. The class occurring at the head of the initiating move is defined as initiating acts (or initiations); occurring at the head of the responding move is defined as responding acts (responses), and occurring at the head of the follow-up move is defined as follow-up acts (follow-ups). According to the prospective classification, each primary class has further subclasses: elicitations, requestives, directives and informatives. As the discourse acts are the focus of this section, each of these four acts will be visited individually with their further subcategories.

3.4.2.1. Elicitations

This category is defined as “a discourse category to describe any utterance, both inside and outside the classroom which functions to elicit an obligatory verbal response or its non-verbal surrogate” (Tsui 1994, p. 80). Under elicitation category, Tsui provides six subclasses according to the responses prospected. These are: elicit: inform, elicit: confirm, elicit: agree, elicit: commit, elicit: repeat, and elicit: clarify (Tsui, 1994).

1-Elicit: inform

These types of elicitations invite the addressee to supply a piece of information. In the example (1) A seeks for information:

(1) A: What time will you be finished?

B: Lecture finishes at about quarter past twelve. (as cited in Dudkova, 2008, p.11)

2-Elicit: confirm

These types of elicitations expect the message receiver to confirm the speaker's assumption as in the example:

(2)A: These are the students in the English department.

B: That's right, they are all English majors. (as cited in Dudkova,2008, p.12)

3- Elicit: agree

Tsui (1994) states that elicit: agree category includes the acts that “invite the addressee to agree with the speaker's assumption that the expressed proposition is self-evidently true” as in the example (3):

(3)A: I suppose he's a bit senile now, isn't he.

B: He looks it." (as cited in Dudkova, 2008, p.13)

4- Elicit: commit

Apart from a reply, this category solicits some kind of commitment. For example, "Can I talk to you?" or "Have you got a minute?" (as cited in Dudkova, 2008, p.13) both solicit reply and necessitate the message receivers to commit themselves to future actions.

5- Elicit: repeat

These types of elicitations prospect repetitions. They are typically "realized by wh-interrogatives such as 'Who/When/Where/What?' or "Say that again?" or words such as "Huh?" "Sorry?"

6- Elicit: clarify

These types of elicitations prospect the clarification of a preceding utterance or preceding utterances. They can be in wh-interrogatives such as "What?", "Which" or "Where".

3.4.2.3. Requestives

Requestives are the acts that expect the hearer to reply by a non-verbal action. However, it is up to the hearer to do the expected action or not (Tsui, 1994). The category of directives also expects non-verbal actions as well. Yet, the hearer does not have the option of carrying or not carrying out the action. Based on the classroom examples from Tsui (1994), Sinclair and Coulthard (1975), Dudkova (2008) suggests that in the classroom the occurrence of both of these categories depends on by whom they are being produced. If for example, "Can we give in our grammar on Wednesday?" (Dudkova, 2008, p. 15) is produced by the teacher it is the requestive, if it is produced by a pupil it is a directive. However, this understanding would give the option of non-compliance merely to the teacher. In this case, all the students' acts that prospect action would be counted as requestives and all the teachers' acts that expect action would be counted as directives. However, in our data, there are instances in which the demanded action of teachers' are not carried out by students. Furthermore, in these types of acts where one part demand action from another part, teachers from students or students from teachers, the responses can be both verbal and non-verbal which makes it difficult to determine if the action is realized in the case of non-verbal replies.

On the other hand, the only difference between directives and requestives is the option of non-compliance in the latter, which makes it impossible to differentiate teachers' and students' requestives and directives. Therefore, requestive act category is not included in the data as it is not clear whether the action necessitated in this category is carried or not. Instead, both teachers' and students' acts that expect action from the other participant have been counted as directives regardless of whether they give the option of compliance or non-compliance.

3.4.2.4. Directives

Tsui (1994) defines directives as the acts that expect a non-verbal action from the hearer. She classifies them into two major categories: *advisives* (she claims to hold the benefit of the hearer and *mandatives* (she claims to hold the benefit for the speaker).

1-Advisives

Within this category, Tsui (1994) talks of *advice* and *warning*. Advice is a type of directive in which the desirable consequence of complying is emphasized (Tsui, 1994). In contrast, a warning is an act in which the undesirable consequence of not complying is highlighted (Tsui, 1994). The consequences in these directive types can be either explicitly stated or only implied.

2-Mandatives

Within this category, there are two subclasses: *instructions* and *threats*. Both of these directive types aim to get the addressee to perform an act. Yet, as Tsui (1994) states a warning is performed in the interest of the hearer, whereas a threat is performed in the interest of the speaker. An instruction is usually given by a person who has the right to get the addressee to comply. On the other hand, in a threat speaker generally states that if the hearer does not obey, the speaker himself/herself will bring about the undesirable consequence.

3.4.2.5. Informatives

Informatives include those utterances that provide information, report events and state-affairs, recount the personal experience, convey evaluative judgements, or express beliefs, feelings, and thoughts. Furthermore, informatives expect a verbal response of acknowledgement. Tsui (1994) presents two subclasses of informatives: *report* and *assessments*.

1-Reports

Tsui, talks of *reports* as the type of informatives that report events or states of affairs, or recount personal experience, for example, "John Fraser is a personal friend of ours, Michael went to school with him" (as cited in Dudkova, 2008, p.18).

2-Assessments

Assessments are the type of informatives in which the speaker express his/her judgement or evaluation of certain people, objects, events, or states of affairs. Tsui identifies five subclasses: *assessing* (evaluation of a third part), *compliment* (positive evaluation of the addressee), *criticism* (negative evaluation of the addressee), *self-denigration* (the negative evaluation of the speaker himself/herself), and *self-commendation* (a positive evaluation of the speaker).

3.4.3. Teachers' Turn Allocation Mechanism

In the classroom interaction, the systematic turn taking principles are different from the rules in every day conversations. For example, if the teacher is the current speaker, she/he can nominate the next speaker. The student who is selected by the teacher is obliged to take the next turn. If the teacher has not nominated the next student, no one will take the turn. Therefore, there is no opportunity for self-selection (McHoul, 1978). Thus, in the present study, teachers' turn allocation strategies will be explored by being informed by Mehan's strategies of teacher turn allocation strategies. Mehan (1979) put forward three strategies employed by teachers while allocating the next turn. These strategies are:

1-Individual nominations are the practices where the teacher selects an individual student by name or gesture as the next speaker.

2- Invitation to bid strategies are the practices where the teacher asks a question and expects students to raise their hands, then wait to be picked up by the teacher to supply the answer.

3- Invitations to reply strategies are the practices where teachers' questions are addressed to the whole class but without naming or bidding. Therefore, the students have the chance to self-select.

3.5. Reliability and Validity

The issues of reliability and validity are significant since the objectivity and credibility of research is based on them (Kirk & Miller, 1986). Reliability in a qualitative

study depends on the quality and accuracy of field notes, recordings and transcripts (Peräkylä, 2004). In the present study, the quality of recordings has been established through the multiple tools in recording the interaction (a camera and a voice recorder). The accuracy of transcriptions was established through the procedures of interrater reliability. On the other hand, the use of audiotaped and video-recorded data and transcripts along with the field notes, have intrinsic strength in terms of accuracy. Peräkylä, (2004) mentions the importance of securing the public access to transcriptions to achieve reliability. In this respect, samples of transcriptions and analysis of data are open to public access. They were produced and provided in Appendices part (appendix 1). Furthermore, interrater reliability checks were done for each of the following procedures: a) identification of discourse patterns c) identification of discourse acts d) identification of functions discourse acts e) identification of teacher turn-allocation strategies. These areas were analysed by an independent rater who has an MA degree in ELT. The independent rater has knowledge about the procedures of Discourse Analysis and the researcher provided background information about the categories in the analyses. Independent rater also had access to audiotaped and video-recorded classroom data.

When it comes to the issue of validity, it can be argued that validity is built on the excerpts from the data since in Discourse Analysis, extracts from the texts have a different role in the research. The texts are not descriptions of the object of research; they are the object of research. Text extracts are a necessary basis for the researcher's argumentation in the research report, and they provide the linguistic evidence for the researcher's interpretations (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). As for external validity, which is concerned with the generalizability, the applicability of findings to settings and contexts different from the one in which they were obtained, the power of qualitative research resides not in its generalizability. It resides in the relevance of its findings to the researcher or the audience of the research despite its potential for the transferability and applicability of its findings to other relevant and similar contexts (Gay et. al., 2012). In this research, the interactional patterns and discourse acts are partly in line with the previous research and contribute to the enlightenment of practices in the same settings. However, it cannot be claimed that the phenomenon being investigated (power) has the same features in different classrooms, since there are very limited systematic studies.

3.6. Conclusion

In this chapter, information regarding participants, setting, and data collection procedures and data analysis have been explained. Issues related to data analysis have been clarified by referring to the Discourse Analysis Model of Sinclair and Coulthard (1975), Tsui's Taxonomy of Discourse acts (1994) and Teachers turn allocation strategies put forward by Mehan (1979).



CHAPTER IV

DATA ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

4.0. Introduction

The findings acquired from the data are documented here. In the first section, the data pertaining to the distribution of exchanges initiated by teachers and students are presented and the issue of classroom control is clarified. In the second section, the distribution of the types of discourse patterns occurred in the lessons are provided and the differences between the distribution of discourse patterns in teacher and student-initiated exchanges are determined. Findings are analysed through excerpts from the data with a view to illuminating the workings of classroom control and power.

In the third section, the distribution of types of discourse acts in initiating moves of both teachers and students and their functions are presented. The implications of these findings on power relationships in the classrooms are analysed in the light of excerpts from the classroom data.

In the last section, the distribution of teachers' turn allocation strategies and their implications on power are presented. In drawing implications about classroom power, the excerpts and descriptive statistics of the data are taken into consideration in this chapter. Yet, in Chapter IV, discussion of the statistical findings and analyses of excerpts are discussed under the light of the previous literature.

4.1. The Distribution of Exchanges Initiated by Teachers and by Students and Classroom Power

The data acquired from the transcriptions were coded, on the basis of Sinclair and Coulthard's Discourse Analysis Model (1975), in order to identify teacher and student-initiated exchanges. The emerging teacher and student-initiated exchanges were counted. The distribution of exchanges by teachers and students are presented in Table 11.

Table 11.

The Distribution of Exchanges Initiated by Teachers and by Students

	Total Exchanges	Teacher-initiated Exchanges		Student-initiated Exchanges	
	(n)	(n)	(%)	(n)	%
Class 1	194	153	78,86	41	21,13
Class 2	194	147	75,77	47	24,22
Class 3	154	136	88,31	18	11,68
Class 4	202	156	77,22	46	22,77
Class 5	249	203	81,52	46	18,47
Total	993	795	80,06	198	19,93

According to the findings gathered from data, teachers and students have initiated 993 exchanges. Among them, 795 exchanges have been initiated by teachers whereas students have initiated only 198 of them. As can clearly be seen, teachers' initiating acts have a major share, from 75,77% to 88,31% and 80,06% in total. However, total student share is 19,93%. The significance of the difference between the distribution of student-initiated and teacher-initiated exchanges were calculated by using the Log-likelihood ratio calculator. According to the results, the difference between the numbers of student and teacher-initiated exchanges is significant (Log-likelihood ratio is 384,46 and $p=.000$).

The distributions of teacher and student-initiated acts' in Table 11 reveal important findings in terms of control in the classroom discourse. Data have shown that there is a significant difference between student and teacher-initiated exchanges. This finding indicates that classroom discourse is mainly dominated by teacher-initiated exchanges. The abundance of teacher-led exchanges may be a feature of the traditional classroom and may indicate that discourse is mainly controlled. Yet, based on 19,93% of student-initiated exchanges, it is also possible to state that students attempt to contribute to the classroom interaction and negotiate classroom control by starting exchanges even if these exchanges are in limited number.

4.2. Types of Discourse Patterns Occurred in the Lessons

Both teacher and student-initiated exchanges have been analysed in order to demonstrate various patterns occurred in the lessons. Table 12 shows overall discourse patterns occurred in the lessons.

Table 12.

Types of Discourse Patterns in the Lessons

	Total Exchange	Three Part Exchange		Bound Exchange		Two Part -Exchange				Category of Other Forms	
		IRF				IR		IF			
		(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)	(n)	%	(n)	(%)
Class 1	194	62	31,95	49	25,25	47	24,22	22	11,34	14	7,21
Class 2	194	78	40,20	48	24,74	44	22,68	3	1,54	12	6,18
Class 3	154	76	49,35	45	29,22	19	12,33	3	1,94	11	7,14
Class 4	202	107	52,97	34	16,83	34	16,83	23	11,38	5	2,47
Class 5	249	131	52,61	36	14,45	51	20,48	11	4,41	20	8,03
Total	993	454	45,72	212	21,34	195	19,63	62	6,24	62	6,24

The overall discourse patterns found in the lessons show that among all the categories Initiation-Response-Feedback (IRF) structured exchanges have the highest rate which is 45,72%. Bound exchanges account for 21,34% of all exchange types while Initiation-Response (IR) structure makes up 19,63% of all the categories. Initiation-Feedback (IF) structure and category of other forms have the lowest rate at 6,24%. The findings are compatible with Sinclair and Coulthard's Discourse Analysis Model (1975) that acknowledges that IRF is the basic interaction pattern in the classroom. However, it is a necessity to distinguish between the discourse patterns in teacher and student-initiated exchanges and visit all these forms, in classroom context, through excerpts in order to unveil discourse, control and power issues, in detail.

4.2.1. The Discourse Patterns of Teacher-Initiated Exchanges

In this section, emerging categories for teacher and student-initiated exchanges are represented through descriptive statistics and excerpts from the data. The teacher-initiated exchanges are presented in Table 13:

Table 13:

The Discourse Patterns of Teacher-initiated Exchanges

	Total Exchange	IRF structure		Bound Exchange		IR		Other Forms	
		(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)
Class 1	153	62	40,52	42	27,45	37	24,18	12	7,84
Class 2	147	77	52,38	43	29,25	24	16,32	3	2,04
Class 3	136	76	55,88	43	31,61	12	8,82	5	3,67
Class 4	156	107	68,58	32	20,51	14	8,97	3	1,92
Class 5	203	131	64,53	35	17,24	35	17,24	2	0,98
Total	795	453	56,98	195	24,52	122	15,34	25	3,14

According to the findings related to teacher-initiated exchanges, IRF structure has the highest rate which is 56,98%. Bound exchanges that are the second highest structure account for 24,52% of all categories. IR structured exchanges have a rate of 15,34% while the category of other forms has the lowest rate at 3,14%. These patterns are analysed individually in the following in order to have a better understanding of classroom interaction.

4.2.1.1. IRF Structure

According to the findings, the largest classroom discourse pattern category found in teacher-initiated exchange is IRF structure. Excerpts 1, 2, 3 and 4 are examples of teacher-initiated IRF structured exchanges (see appendix 1 for transcription symbols). In these exchanges, teacher initiation moves necessitate student response moves and finally, teacher follow-up moves terminate the exchanges.

Excerpt 1

- 738 Tea2: Hmm. Ahmet 4 please? Who? (I)
 739 Stu: Who won the football World Cup in 2010? (R)
 740 Tea2: Who won? Yes thank you. (F)

Excerpt 2

- 021 Tea5: Last Friday? How was it? How did you do the test? (I)
 022 Stu: I did ten out of seven (R)
 023 Tea5: Seven out of ten. (F)

Excerpt 3:

- 288 Tea2: Yes, in the list you have never tried. Yes, Buse (I)
 289 Stu: I love raspberries and cherries, I hate duck. I have never tried crab. (R)
 290 Tea2: And Crab, thank you. (F)

Excerpt 4:

- 597 Tea5: What about the third one? (I)
 598 Stu: C (R)
 599 Tea5: C. H1 h1 (F)

In these excerpts, the follow-up moves of teachers are in the form of evaluation for students' responses. Through the analysis of excerpts, it is possible to suggest that evaluations consist of various strategies such as correction as in Excerpt 1, repetition as in Excerpt 2, repetition and thanking as in Excerpt 3, the vocal back channel support as in Excerpt 4.

4.2.1.2. Bound Exchanges

In the data, bound exchanges have the second highest proportion of teachers' exchanges. They were in the form of re-initiation (i) re-initiation (ii), repeat and listing (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975). Excerpts 5, 6, 7 exemplify each type subsequently:

Excerpt 5:

- 134 Tea4: What about you Mert? I think you love it. (I)
 135 Stu: ø (No Response)
 136 Tea4: Really, I think you love fast food. (Re-Initiation-i)
 137 Stu: I- err may be sometimes like but I don't eat any fast food. (R)
 138 Tea4: I have a very healthy classroom then. (F)

Excerpt 6:

- 684 Tea2: Oh thank you. Buse 2 please? (I)
 685 Stu: Which US state started with the letter H? (Response Incorrect)
 686 Tea2: Which US state? (F/re-initiation-ii)
 687 Stu1: Started (Response Incorrect)
 688 Tea2: Start:s start:s. (F)

Excerpt 7:

- 375 Tea2: Adana. Ok. You can tell us about Adana. (I)
 376 Stu: Err. (05)Kabaj (R)
 377 Tea2: / kæbɪdʒ / (F)
 378 Stu: Cabbage, red pepper (R)
 379 Tea2: Red pepper (F)
 380 Stu: Melon (R)
 381 Tea2: Melon (F)

Sequences for bound exchange types that were put forward by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) in their Discourse Analysis Model can be observed through the analysis of Excerpts 5, 6, 7. In Excerpt 5, “re-initiation (i)” is in the form of I R IB R F, and in Excerpt 6, “re-initiation (ii)” is in the form of I R F (IB) R F. In Excerpt 7, “listing” is in the form of I R F R F R F. On the other hand, some bound exchanges are in different patterns from bound exchange types presented in Sinclair and Coulthard’s Model (1975). They are illustrated in Excerpts 8 and 9:

Excerpt 8

- 141 Tea1: So, what can you learn from struggling musician to Hollywood star?
 Struggling? (I)
 142 ø (No Response)
 143 Tea1: Ne olabilir? (Re-Initiation-i)
 (What can it be?)
 144 ø (No Response)
 145 Tea1: Is it negative, positive? (Re-Initiation-i)
 146 Stu: Negative (R)
 147 Tea1: From struggling to Hollywood star. To Hollywood star is something very
 rising. Something very positive so, struggling should be negative should
 have negative meaning. What can a struggling musician what kind of
 musician? Well known musician? (Re-Initiation-i)
 148 Stu: Poor (R)
 149 Tea1: ((nodding)) Poor musician. (F)

Excerpt: 9

665 Tea2: Sometimes we can use without an auxiliary, you have to be careful but the
 Other questions for example when, where and of course why these
 questions or how long, they need auxiliary. They need for example did
 have, had, something like that, in questions but these ones, if they are
 asking for subjects may not be with an auxiliary ((writing on the board
 simultaneously)). This is the rule, you have to-you have to use auxiliary
 in such questions. The other part you have to use err ((looking for the part))
 yes, questions and you will write the questions. Süleyman please start.

		(I)
666	Stu2: Err when Barack Obama [did become-]	(R)
667	Tea2: [When]	(Re-Initiation-ii)
668	Stu2: Barack Obama	(R)
669	Tea2: Hmm.	(Re-Initiation-ii)
670	Stu3: Did	(R)
671	Tea2: ((Stops with hands)).	(Re-Initiation-ii)
672	Stu2: When did Barack Obama	(R)
673	Tea2: When check which part is it?	(Re-Initiation-ii)
674	Stu2: (05)	(R)
675	Tea2: Do you need auxiliary or not? You have to decide on it.	(Re-Initiation-ii)
676	Stu2: Yes.	(R)
677	Tea2: So?	(Re-Initiation-ii)
678	Stu2: When did [Err-]	(R)
679	Stu3: [When] did Barack Obama (05)	(Re-Initiation-ii)
680	Tea2: Go on please Süleyman.	(Re-Initiation-ii)
681	Stu2: When did Barack Obama (05)	(R)
682	Tea2: Relax not a problem Süleyman, Yes When did?	(Re-Initiation-ii)
683	Stu2: When did Barack Obama bego- become?	(R)
684	Tea2: Oh thank you. Buse 2 please?	(F)

In Excerpt 8, the sequence of ‘re-initiation (i)’ is in the form of I R Ib R Ib R Ib R F whereas in Excerpt 9, the sequence takes the form of I R Ib R Ib R Ib R Ib R Ib R Ib R Ib R Ib R Ib R F. As a result, it may be claimed that the teacher may make more than one ‘re-initiation (i) and “re-initiation (ii)’ before giving a feedback.

4.2.1.3. IR Structure

The data reveal that the third largest category is IR structured teacher-initiated exchanges that included two moves. In this type of sequence, teachers form initiation moves while students form response moves. Excerpt 10, 11, and 12 are examples for IR structured exchanges.

Excerpt 10

- 352 Tea3: Good go on please. (I)
 353 Erim: ((reads the text)). (R)

Excerpt 11

- 423 Tea1: Do you understand? (I)
 424 Stu: Yes. (R)

Excerpt 12

- 197 Tea2: Now we are going to do Vocabulary Bank. Let's go to this page please. You are here, you are going to match the words and pictures. Fish and Seafood, meat and fruit, vegetables. You are going to match them. You need a book ((looking at some students)). Please match them with words and pictures. Fish and seafood from here and meat vegetables. (I)
 ((5 minutes later))
 198 Tea2: Yes please, Can you tell me Fish and Seafood Muzzle muscle? (I)

Both in Excerpt 10 and 11 teachers solicit responses from students. In Excerpt 10, the student responds to the teacher’s initiation by performing the action demanded by this initiation. In Excerpt 11, student’s response move is verbal. In Excerpt 12, student’s response move is not verbal and not obvious in the exchanges but teachers’ second initiation presupposes that achievement of the action demanded has been established. Therefore, it may be claimed that response moves may be in verbal form, may contain the manifestation of the action or may not contain both of them but may be deducted from

the subsequent moves in the interaction. In this structure, the teacher's follow -up move does not exist. Therefore, student response ends the sequence.

4.2.1.4. Category of Other Forms

According to the data gathered from the transcripts, there were some exchange sequences in various forms that were counted in the category of other forms. For example, some exchanges with IRFF structure exist in the data as in Excerpt 13:

Excerpt 13

- 437 Tea4: Did you understand this passage? There was a place. Night
violence, violence? (I)
- 438 Stu: Violence, saldırı. (R)
- 439 Tea4: ((Nodding)) Siddetin fazla olduğu bölge. (F1)
(The area where there is a lot of violence)
- 440 Stu: Evet. (F2)
(Yes).

Excerpt 13 is in the form of IRFF. Follow-up move, uttered by the teacher, includes an acknowledgement gesture and an expansion of student's response. Follow-up move in Line 440, which is formed by the student, includes an acknowledgement token uttered after the teacher's follow- up move.

Excerpt 14:

- 251 Tea4: You have an exam after lunch so what should you eat at lunch? (I)
- 252 Stu: Sınavdan sonra mı? (PI)
(After the exam?)
- 253 Tea4: ((nodding and pointing at a student)) (R)/(I)
- 254 Stu: I think err low food is better than high mood food because you go
to err (05) exam (05) err you eat low food-you don't rahatsızlanmak
ne diyebilirim? Hocam orda mide rahatsızlığı?
(What can I say for becoming ill? Hocam upset stomach?) (R/P I)
- 255 Tea4: Okay. Maybe you feel bad, your stomach will be bad, you can say. (R)

There are also some exchanges started with teacher initiations and followed by the students' initiations instead of a student response as in Excerpt 14. In Excerpt 14, the sequence is in IPIR/I/RPIR. The teacher starts the interaction but student's response move includes a question that can be classified as a student- initiation for which teacher forms a response. Teacher makes a non-verbal initiation by pointing at a student. The student responds to the initiation but formulates an initiation to which teacher provides a response.

4.2.2. The Discourse Patterns of Exchanges Initiated By Students

In this part, the discourse patterns of student-initiated exchanges are represented through descriptive statistics and excerpts. The patterns of student-initiated exchanges and their proportions are illustrated in Table 14:

Table 14.

The discourse Pattern of Student-initiated Exchanges

	Total Exchange	IR		IF		Other Forms		Bound	
		(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)
Class 1	41	10	24,39	22	53,65	2	4,87	7	17,07
Class 2	47	20	42,55	3	6,38	19	40,44	5	16,63
Class 3	18	7	38,88	3	16,66	6	33,33	2	11,11
Class 4	46	20	43,47	23	50	1	2,19	2	4,34
Class 5	46	16	34,78	11	23,91	18	39,13	1	2,17
Total	198	73	36,86	62	31,31	46	23,23	17	8,58

According to the findings drawn from the data pertaining to the student-initiated exchanges, IR and IF structured exchanges have the highest proportions at 36,86% and 31,31% respectively. Category of other forms have 23,23%. On the other hand, bound exchanges have the lowest proportion of 8,58%.

4.2.2.1. IR Structure

In student-initiated exchanges, IR structured exchanges have the highest proportion (36, 86%) among all the other pattern types. In these exchanges, initiations are uttered by students and response moves are uttered by teachers. Excerpts 15 and 16 exemplify these types of exchanges:

Excerpt 15:

125 Stu: Barbunya ne hocam? (PI)

(What is barbunya hocam?)

126 Tea4: Really, Barbunya, err what is barbunya, I don't know. I think again
bean. (R)

(R)

Excerpt 16:

371 Stu: Pencereyi açabilir miyiz (P I)

(Can we open the windows?)

372 Tea2: Of course. (R)

In Excerpts 15 and 16, exchanges are initiated by students. Teachers form response moves for these initiations. In Excerpt 15, student's initiation requires a verbal answer by the teacher while in Excerpt 16 student's initiation includes permission for action and necessitates an answer in the form of acceptance or refusal from the teacher to the action demanded.

4.2.2.2. IF Structure

IF structured exchanges have the second highest proportion (31,31%) in student-initiated exchanges. In these exchanges, initiations come from students and follow-up moves come from the teachers. Excerpt 17 and Excerpt 18 display this pattern as in the following:

Excerpt 17:

154 Stu: Finish. (PI)

155 Tea1: Okay fine, wait for your friends (F)

Excerpt 18:

499 Tea2: Cut out you see (reading from board). I should completely cut out low all
high fat foods and dairy products from my diet. (I)

500 Stu: Tamamen bırakmak. (PI)
(Cut out)

501 Tea2: Yes, when you, yes you you stop you totally stop using it, when you use

cut out, that's when you are using cut down on it mean having less and less but, here cut out you finish. You stop using it. (F)

In IR structure, teachers' moves following pupil initiations are categorized as responses. Yet, in IF structure, teachers' moves following students' initiations, are categorized as follow-ups. This is because in IR sequences students ask questions, claim action from teacher, or ask for permission and as a result, the teachers respond these acts. On the other hand, in IF sequences students provide information which is evaluated by teachers. These functions are related to discourse acts, elicitations, informatives and directives. The discourse acts and their implications on classroom power are dealt with in the next section. Therefore, in this section, merely the structure of exchanges have been focused.

4.2.2.3. Category of Other Forms

In the data, apart from discourse patterns, in the same form as presented by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975), there are some student-initiated exchanges, with deviant forms that have been included in the category of other forms. One of the observed patterns pertaining to student-initiated exchanges, is IRF structure. Through the analysis of Excerpts 19 and 20, it may be claimed that student-initiated IRF exchanges exist. In Excerpt 19, IRF structure is exactly in the same form as teacher-initiated IRF exchanges. The student initiates the exchange, gets a response and he/she forms a follow-up move. In Excerpt 20, exchange is initiated by a student, the response comes from another student and follow-up move comes from the teacher.

Excerpt 19

- 556 Stu3: Hocam bunlara puan mı vereceksiniz? (P I)
 (Are you going to mark these?)
 557 Tea2: The second draft yes. Not the first draft. I do not (05) the first draft. Just
 the second draft. (R)
 558 Stu3: Ok. (F)

Excerpt 20

- 486 Stu: Who invented radium? (PI)

- 487 Stu3: Madame Curie. (R)
 488 Tea5: Who discovered radium? You know radium Madame Curie. (F)

There are also some deviant sequences occurred during various instructional stages of lessons. They emerge during certain types of classroom activities. For example, in Excerpt 21 there is a sequence from a quiz activity as shown:

Excerpt 21

- 562 Stu1: Who was Kaplumbağa Terbiyecisi painted by (P I)
 563 Stu2: Osman Hamdi Bey. (R)
 564 Stu3: Aynen Osman Hamdi Bey (R)
 (Sure Osman Hamdi Bey)
 565 Tea5: Is it true? (I)
 566 Stu1: Yes (R/ F1)
 567 Tea5: Yes, thank you. (F2)

In Excerpt 21, the student forms an initiation and after students' responses, the teacher forms an initiation that necessitates a response and at the same time a follow-up. In Line 566 Student 1 provides an utterance in return. It is a response to the teacher's initiation and a follow-up for responses coming from students in Lines 563 and 564. Therefore, there are two follow-up moves; the first one in Line 566 is an acknowledgement token that evaluates the accuracy of students' response by Student 1. The second one, uttered by teacher serves to acknowledge the whole procedure of students' actions of asking and answering.

4.2.2.4. Bound-Exchanges

According to the findings drawn from the data, bound exchanges exist in various forms. Excerpts below exemplify repeat and re-initiation (i) bound exchanges.

Excerpt 22:

- 198 Stu: Sum up eklicecek miyiz? (P I)
 (Shall we add sum up?)
 199 Tea1: Huh? (R)
 200 Stu: Sum up eklicecek miyiz? (Re-Initiation-i)

(Shall we add sum up?)

201 Tea1: It's nice. In conclusion, to sum up. (R)

202 Stu: In conclusion. (F)

Excerpt 23:

263 Stu: Started öyle- started mı olacak hocam? (P I)

(Started so –is it started hocam?)

264 Tea5: Starts. (R)

265 Stu: Hangisi başlar? (Re-Initiation-i)

(Which one starts?)

266 Tea5: Şimdi burda diyor ki hangi Amerika eyaleti H harfiyle başlar (R)

diyeceksin. Bu sefer ne istiyorsun? Özne yerine soruyorsun. O yüzden burda do'ya ihtiyacın yok ki. Başlar.

(Now here it says which American state starts with H? What do you want this time? You are asking on behalf of subject. Therefore you do not need do. Starts.)

266 Stu: Hmm, teşekkürler. (F)

(Hmm, thank you)

The sequences of bound exchanges in Excerpts 22 and 23 are in accordance with the sequences of repeat and re-initiation-(i) foreseen by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975). On the other hand, according to the data drawn from the classroom interaction, some exchanges were observed to have different sequences from bound-exchange sequences foreseen by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) as illustrated in Excerpts 24 and 25:

Excerpt 24

089 Stu: Hocam dördüncüyü açıklayabilir misiniz acaba pardon üçüncüyü? (P I)

(Could you please explain number four no sorry number three?)

090 Tea2: That comes from milk. Three kinds of food that comes from milk? (R)

091 Stu: Sütten yapılan mı yoksa sütle Birlikte kullanılan// şeyler mi

(Re-Initiation-i)

(Made from milk or the things used with milk?)

092 Tea2: No, comes from milk (R)

093 Stu: Sütten yapılan? (Re-Initiation-i)

(Comes from milk)

094 Tea2: Yes. (R)

Excerpt 25

812 Stu: Who discovered the parchment ? (PI)

813 Tea2: Ok the answer (R)

814 Stu: The Egyptian (R)

815 Tea2: The Egyptian. (F)

816 Stu6: Hocam discover mi invent mi? (PI)

(Is it discover or invent?)

817 Tea2: [Discover-] (R)

818 Stu1: [Discover] (R)

819 Tea2: Discover or [invent-] (Re-Initiation-ii)

820 Stu1: [invent-] olmaz ki
(It cannot be invent) (R)

821 Stu6: Niye kağıt var mıydı?
(Why was there paper?) (F)

822 Tea2: He is right. Ok, thank you. (F)

In Excerpt 24, the sequence takes the form of PI R (Ib) R (Ib) R. It can be seen that there are multiple re-initiations (ii) which solicit an answer from the teacher. Furthermore, it can be seen that the follow-up move is absent. In Excerpt 25, (Pupil Initiation, Teacher Response, Pupil Response, Re-initiation, Pupil Response, Pupil Follow-Up, Teacher Follow- Up) pupil initiation in Line 816 starts a student-initiated exchange. The question Student 6 asks seeks for an answer from the teacher. However, Student 1 responds and Student 6 produces a follow-up move that is validated through teacher's follow-up move. Through the analysis of Excerpts 24 and 25, it is possible to suggest that students may produce multiple re-initiations to induce an answer from the teacher and form follow-up moves.

4.2.3. Implications of Teacher and Student-initiated Exchange Patterns in terms of Power

According to the findings pertaining to teacher-initiated exchanges, the largest interactional pattern is IRF structure that is followed by bound exchanges and IR structure is in the third place. The category of other forms is the least observed category in the data. IRF structure consists of three moves; initiation- response- and follow-up. As excerpts illustrate, initiation and follow-up moves are formed by teachers whereas response moves come from the students. The high frequency of teacher-initiated IRF indicates a power asymmetry in the classroom.

When it comes to bound-initiations, it is possible to observe that there are sequences as Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) foresee. The bound exchange categories vary as illustrated through excerpts. They can be “re-initiation (i)” in the form of (I R IB R F), and “re-initiation (ii)” in the form of (I R F (IB) R F), “listing” in the form of (I R F R F R F). These bound exchanges are important as they indicate variety in the discourse structure and departure from IRF and thus from teacher controlled sequences. On the other hand, there were some bound exchanges that are in different form from Sinclair and Coulthard’s framework indicates such as of I R Ib R Ib R Ib R F (Excerpt 8) and I R Ib R Ib R Ib R Ib R Ib R Ib R Ib R Ib R F (Excerpt 9).

These forms reveal the presence of recursive “re-initiation” moves by teachers and response moves by students. The presence of multiple “re-initiation” may suggest that teachers may make more than one “re-initiation (i) and “re-initiation (ii)’ before giving feedback. By extending the interaction with recursive moves teachers attempt to allocate more turns to the students to negotiate meaning. Therefore, they try to shape the interaction according to students’ responses. On the other hand, it may be possible to suggest that although the teacher orchestrates the interaction, students’ responses may suspend the follow-up move. Therefore, it is possible to state that although teachers frame the discourse, students also contribute to the interaction and negotiate classroom power.

IR structure, the third largest category in teacher-initiated sequences, is in line with Sinclair and Coulthard’s (1975) framework. This structure naturally omits follow-up move since it demands an action from the students. On the other hand, although the category of other forms is the least occurred exchange type, it is important since it shows the departure from Sinclair and Coulthard framework and indicates variety in the patterns.

There are two discourse patterns exemplify in this category. The first one is presented through the analysis of Excerpt 13 which is in the form of (IRFPF). In this sequence, the teacher starts the interaction and receives a response from the student. In the third move, the teacher produced a follow-up move and student produced a follow-up move (PF) after the teachers' follow-up (F). In this example, student may be said to attempt to negotiate the classroom power by claiming the role of the evaluator. The second excerpt (Excerpt 14) is in the form of (IPIRPIR). The exchange is started with the teacher initiation move and followed by a student's initiation (PI) move. Teacher's nodding is accepted as an answer and the student produces an answer to the first initiation. This move also includes another initiation by the students and it necessitates a response from the teacher. Both excerpts can be stated to show the fact that students have the chance to negotiate meaning as interaction initiators and the evaluators. Furthermore, as they claim the role of the initiator and the evaluator, through these sequences it may be possible to state that students, in the same way as teachers do, claim the role of the knowledgeable in some exchanges.

On the other hand, looking at the discourse patterns of student-initiated exchanges, findings drawn from the data reveal that IR and IF structured exchanges are the largest categories followed by the category of other forms. Findings also reveal that bound exchanges are the least observed exchanges. Pertaining to student-initiated exchanges, it is possible to say that IR and IF structures are in line with Sinclair and Coulthard's framework since they suggest that these structures are the only student moves. In IR structure, as excerpts show, students' initiations necessitate responses from the teachers. Teachers' responses terminate the ends. In IF structure students provide the teachers with a piece of information and teachers produce follow-ups. In this structure, the teachers' follow-up moves terminate the end. These two categories show that students actually initiate acts, and thus they claim the status of the initiator of the exchange. However, the lack of follow-up on the part of the students, as the initiator of the exchange, indicates the relative power between teachers and students. However, in the data, there are sequences in which student claim the task of both initiating of exchanges and evaluating other people's responses. For example, in the data, there are IRF and IRFF sequences that are initiated by students in the category of other forms, students initiate exchanges. These sequences enable students to act as the initiator and the evaluator of the interaction. Yet another important finding that indicates students' attempt to negotiate classroom power is the existence of bound-exchange category in student-initiated

exchanges. In fact, Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) reserve only two-part exchanges for students (IR and IF) for students. Therefore, the significance of bound exchange category resides in its occurrence through students' initiations. This category is exemplified with the excerpts from the data. The exemplified bound exchanges were in the forms of PIRPIbRPF (Pupil Initiation, Response, Pupil Re-initiation, Response, Pupil Follow-up), exemplified in Excerpt 22, PITRPIbF (Pupil Initiation, Teacher Response, Pupil Re-initiation, Pupil Follow-Up), exemplified in Excerpt 23. Apart from the initiation and follow-up moves, what is important in these sequences are the occurrence of re-initiation moves produced by students. These moves may show that students are determined to obtain answers and understand the content. Thus, they manipulate the ongoing interaction. Another sequence form is PIRPIbRPIbR (Pupil Initiation, Response, Pupil Re-initiation, Response, Pupil Re-initiation, Response). It is exemplified in Excerpt 24. This sequence shows that re-initiation moves of students, in the same way teachers', can be recursive which means that students are not restricted in demanding more turns, and they have the chance to shape the interaction. The last example (Excerpt 25) is in the form of PIRPRIbPRPFF (Pupil Initiation, Teacher Response, Pupil Response, Re-initiation, Pupil Response, Pupil Follow-Up, and Follow-Up). The importance of this excerpt lies in pupil follow-up move that is produced to evaluate the accuracy of pupil response in the previous move. It can be stated that the role of the evaluator is claimed and obtained by the student in these sequences.

To sum up, both the descriptive and excerpt analyses of the discourse patterns of teacher and student-initiated exchanges may make it possible to state that although teachers mostly frame the discourse of the classrooms under investigation, students also use their own strategies to negotiate classroom power. Although these strategies are limited in number, they show that actually, classroom power is negotiated and students' contribution is not restricted to single response moves.

4.3. Types of Discourse Acts by Teachers and Students

For the purpose of the present study, the initiation moves of teachers and students have been analysed on the basis of Tsui's discourse act framework. Overall types of discourse acts, found in the classrooms, have been presented in Table 15 with their frequencies in order to give a broad picture of discourse acts in the classroom under investigation.

Table 15.

Overall Discourse Acts in the Classroom Interaction

	Total Number of Acts	Elicitation		Directive		Informative	
		(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)	%
Class1	310	201	68,84	61	19,68	48	15,48
Class2	259	184	71,04	67	25,87	8	3,09
Class3	260	177	68,08	72	27,69	11	4,23
Class4	274	176	64,23	71	25,91	27	9,85
Class5	318	240	75,47	70	22,01	8	2,51
Total	1421	978	68,82	341	23,99	102	7,17

In terms of the frequency of initiating acts, the categories that are mostly produced in the classrooms are elicitations with the rate of 68,82%. Directives account for 23,99% while informatives form 7,17% of classroom discourse acts. A further analysis sheds lights on the differences between the distribution of teachers' and students' discourse acts in sections 4.4.1. The differences between the types and functions of teachers' and students' discourse acts are also presented in this section. While presenting the discourse acts, each act is handled individually on the basis of form and function of initiations by both teachers and students. Table 16 presents teachers' types of discourse acts.

Table 16.

Types of Teachers' Discourse Acts in their Initiations

	Total Number of Acts	Elicitation		Directive		Informative	
		(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)	%
Class1	269	185	68,77	38	14,13	46	17,10
Class2	212	153	72,17	56	26,41	3	1,41
Class3	239	164	68,62	65	27,20	10	4,18
Class4	225	153	68	46	20,44	26	11,55
Class5	272	212	77,94	56	20,59	4	1,47
Total	1217	867	71,24	261	21,45	89	7,31

According to the data acquired from teachers' initiating acts, elicitations are the most prevalent acts with the rate of 71,24%. Directives that account for 21,45% of discourse acts follow them. Informatives are the least produced acts at 7,31%. A further analysis sheds lights on students' initiating acts in Table 17.

Table 17.

Types of Students' Discourse Acts in their Initiations

	Total Number of Acts	Elicitation		Informative		Directives	
		(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)	%
Class1	41	16	39,02	23	56,10	2	4,87
Class2	47	31	65,96	11	23,40	5	10,64
Class3	21	13	61,90	7	33,33	1	4,76
Class4	49	23	46,94	25	51,02	1	2,04
Class5	46	28	60,87	14	30,43	4	8,69
Total	204	111	54,41	80	39,21	13	6,37

According to the data acquired from students' initiating acts, elicitations are the most prevailing acts at 54,41%. They are followed by informatives at 39,21% and directives at 6,37%.

In both teacher and student-initiated exchanges elicitations are the largest category. In teacher-initiated exchanges, the second prevalent acts are directives whereas in student-initiated exchanges informatives are in the second place. Informatives are the least realized acts in teacher-initiated exchanges while in student-initiated exchanges directives are the smallest category. The discourse acts and their function in student and teacher initiations are dealt with individually according to their frequency in the next section.

4.3.1. Elicitations

Forms and functions of teachers' and students' elicitations and their implications on power are presented in this section.

4.3.1.1. Forms and Functions of Teachers' Elicitations

According to the results of the data, classroom interaction is dominated by teacher elicitation subcategory (71,24%). Teachers use this subcategory in order to get linguistic responses from the students. Elicitations are realized in various forms such as wh-questions, yes-no questions and tag questions. Excerpts 26, 27, 28 and 29 that are presented below are examples of teachers' elicitations:

Excerpt 26

357 Tea3: Tiger? Do you know the meaning of tiger? (Elicitation)
 358 Stu: Kaplan. (R)

359 Tea3: Kaplan. (Nodding) (F)

Excerpt 27

307 Tea4: And Ceyda what kind of food to eat when you feel stressed? **(Elicitation)**

308 Stu: Sometime I eat everything but sometimes I don't eat anything. (R)

309 Tea4: It depends on your mood. What about you Cevdet? (F)

Excerpt 28

465 Tea 3: Are there any parts, any statements any paragraphs in the article you don't understand?

(Elicitation)

466 Ø (R)

Excerpt 29

021 Tea5: Which singer made reggae music popular all over the world? **(Elicitation)**

022 Stu: Bob Marley (R)

023 Tea5: Bob Marley you know him. (F)

In excerpts, the exchanges are generally started by teacher elicitation, continued by verbal student responses and ended with teacher follow-up moves but there are some sequences, which include non-verbal responses as in Excerpt 28. In this excerpt, the lack of verbal response is accepted as a “no” from the students. There are also some sequences that do not have follow-up moves as also can be exemplified in Excerpt 28.

Elicitations in teachers' initiations serve to accomplish some functions. Table 18 presents the functions of teachers' elicitation:

Table 18.

The Functions of Teachers' Elicitations

	Total	Checking knowledge		Questioning/Referential questions		Confirmation requests		Asking for repetition		Clarification requests		Checking Comprehension	
	(n)	(n)	(f)	(n)	(f)	(n)	(f)	(n)	(f)	(n)	(f)	(n)	(f)
Teacher 1	185	39	21,08	32	17,30	43	23,24	30	16,22	31	16,76	10	5,40
Teacher 2	153	56	36,60	49	32,02	2	1,30	27	17,65	6	3,92	13	8,50
Teacher 3	164	39	23,78	63	38,41	28	17,07	17	10,37	12	7,31	5	3,05
Teacher 4	153	40	26,14	82	53,59	8	5,22	5	3,27	12	7,84	6	3,92
Teacher 5	212	136	64,15	51	24,06	12	5,66	9	4,24	3	1,41	1	0,47
Total	867	310	35,75	277	31,95	93	10,73	88	10,15	64	7,38	35	4,04

As can be clearly seen in the table, there are various functions in teachers' elicitations. According to the data, teachers' elicitations include the strategies of "checking students' knowledge", "questioning/referential questions", "confirmation check", "asking for repetition", "asking for clarification", and "checking comprehension". The strategy of checking knowledge has the highest rate at 35,75%. This category is followed by referential question category that accounts for 31,95%. Confirmation request category that is in the third place form 10,73% of all strategies. Asking for repetition category accounts for 10,15% of all strategies. Clarification requests which have a proportion of 7,38% and checking comprehension that accounts for 4,04% of all functions are the least produced categories.

The strategy of checking knowledge has the highest rate at 35,75%. In the data, this strategy is realized through elicitations seeking to obtain responses from students about students' general knowledge such as grammatical content or vocabulary or they can solicit answers about the previous activities. The teacher knows the answer to these questions. The strategy can be exemplified through Excerpts 30 and 31. In Excerpt 30, the teacher is checking the lexical knowledge of the student. In Excerpt 31, the teacher is asking about the content of a listening passage.

Excerpt 30

156 Tea5: Olivia is going to see if she can get another place another university, most probably she won't be able to go to Cambridge with these results, she will try another university, and if she can't go, she will retake the exam. Retake?

(Checking Knowledge)

157 Stu: Yeniden girmek
(retake)

158 Tea5: ((Nodding)) And what's Thomas' result?

Excerpt 31

105 Tea3: Do you remember what exam he took? (Checking Knowledge)

106 Stu: It's an English exam.

107 Stu: LLETS

108 Tea3: IELTS exam? He got IELTS exam.

Referential question category has the second highest rate at 31,95%. This strategy is realized through elicitations seeking to obtain verbal responses from students. Checking knowledge and referential question strategies differ from each other in that the answer to the question types in the latter are not known to the teacher. Excerpts 32 and 33 exemplify referential question strategy.

Excerpt 32

991 Tea5: It was exciting, action and it was science fiction, because of the end of the film. What about this? For example, do you make a soundtrack or you download the soundtrack of a movie? (Referential question)

992 Stu: Fight Club.

993 Tea5: Fight Club which song?

994 Stu: Where Is My Mind?

995 Tea5: Where Is My Mind. You like it?

Excerpt 33

037 Tea3: Not too important. It is not worth feeling stressed you say, and do you do something special before the exam, do you do something special? (Referential question)

- 038 Stu: Yes, before an exam I pray.
 039 Tea3: Ah, you pray? Does it work?
 040 Stu: Sometimes.

The data reveal that teacher's confirmation requests that account for 10,73% of all the data are in the third place. They are realized through questions that invite students to confirm that they have the same opinion with the teacher himself/herself.

Excerpt 34

- 646 Tea1: Who is going to organize the wedding? She?
 647 Stu: No
 648 Stu: Her mom.
 649 Tea1: Her mother. Two mothers huh? **(Confirmation requests)**
 650 Stu: Mums.
 651 Tea1: Mums ok. Mothers, moms.

The strategy of asking for repetition has a proportion of 10,15%. These strategies serve to elicit the repetition of the information already provided on the grounded that it might have not been heard as illustrated in the examples. In some sequences, this strategy is used not only to make students repeat the previous utterances but to correct its form as in the Excerpt 35:

Excerpt 35

- 706 Stu: Which books err wrote J.R.R Tolkien?
 707 Tea2: Can you please repeat your answer... **(Asking for repetition)**
 708 Stu: Ø
 709 Tea2: Which books..
 710 Stu: Wrote
 711 Tea2: Hmm?

Teachers' clarification strategies are among the least realized strategies at 7,38% in the data. These strategies expect the illumination of preceding utterances from students. They are realized through "why" and "how" questions.

Excerpt 36

- 667 Tea1: It must be hard for Rob to live in New York. Why? **(Clarification request)**

669 Stu: He is busy.

670 Tea1: He is busy.

According to findings, the strategies of checking comprehension are the least produced acts at 4,04%. These strategies serve to ensure that students understand pedagogical content. Excerpt 37 can exemplify this function:

Excerpt 37

249 Tea4: Did you understand the question? **(Checking Comprehension)**

250 Stu: Yes.

As can be seen, teachers' elicitations have various functions. In the next section, forms and functions of students' elicitations will be analysed in order to arrive at meanings about the negotiation of power between teachers and students.

4.3.1.2. Forms and Functions Students' Elicitations

Analysis of the data reveals that students' elicitations account for the 54,41% of total discourse acts. Students' elicitations aim to get linguistic responses from the teachers. Parallel to teachers' elicitations, these acts are realized through wh- questions, yes-no questions and tag questions. Excerpts 38 and 39 are examples of students' elicitations:

Excerpt 38

104 Stu: Amerikan İngilizcesi var ya nasıl okunuyor? **(Pupil Elicitation)**

(How do we read the American English one?)

105 Tea4: Zucchini. They call them different, it is not like English. (R)

Excerpt 39

282 Stu: Hocam it's urgent nedir? **(Pupil Elicitation)**

(Hocam what is it's urgent)

283 Tea3: It's urgent? Urgent? (I)

284 SS: Acelez (R)

(Urgent in Turkish)

285 SS: İvedi (R)

(The equivalent of urgent in an archaic form)

- 286 Tea3: *İvedi* right. Urgent means it must be done immediately. So please do it as soon as you can. Cemre? (F)

Excerpt 40

- 157 Stu: Hocam bu şey değil mi içinde satın alabileceğimiz içerik
(Pupil Elicitation)
(Teacher, isn't it the thing we buy in it?)
158 Tea2: Yes. Five containers that you can buy food in it.

The forms of student elicitation are not different from teachers'. However, in these acts, although the exchanges are typically started by student elicitation, follow-up moves are either absent or produced by teachers. When it comes to the function of student elicitation, data have revealed that functions realized through them can be as many as presented in Table 19:

Table 19.

The Functions of Student Elicitations

	Total	Clarification request		Display questions		Procedural		Asking about Turkish/English equivalent of a word		Confirmation request		Personal questions	
	(n)	(n)	(f)	(n)	(f)	(n)	(f)	(n)	(f)	(n)	(f)	(n)	(f)
Class1	16	5	31,25	0	0	2	12,5	2	12,5	3	18,75	4	25
Class2	31	10	32,26	5	16,13	12	38,71	1	3,22	3	9,68	0	0
Class3	13	7	53,85	0	0	2	15,38	2	15,38	2	15,38	0	0
Class4	23	8	34,78	0	0	2	8,69	6	26,09	3	13,04	4	17,39
Class 5	28	3	10,71	16	57,14	3	10,71	3	10,71	2	7,14	1	3,57
Total	111	33	29,72	21	18,92	21	18,92	14	12,61	13	11,71	9	8,11

As table 19 shows, students' elicitation demonstrate a wide variety of functions. Clarification requests account for 29,72% of all functions. The proportion of display questions and procedural questions are the same at 18,92%. Asking about Turkish/English equivalents of words form 12,61% of all the data. Asking procedural questions strategy accounts for 18,92%. Confirmation requests account for 11,71% of the data while personal questions are the least produced questions with 8,11%.

Analysis of data reveals that the clarification request category has 29,72% share of all functions. They aim to get an explanation for the previous utterances of teachers in the interaction. Clarification requests are realized through students' questions in the form of why and how. They can be about grammar, words, phrases or sentences. Excerpts 41 and 42 exemplify this function:

Excerpt 41

- 639 Stu: Yani klupta ne yapmak lazım ing gelince? **(Clarification Requests)**
 (So what should be done in the club when “ing” comes?)
 640 Tea1: Have fun, listen to music, and drink something, this action is called clubbing.

Excerpt 42

- 135 Tea5: If Clause’ın içerisinde (showing with hands) if ‘li cümlede will kullanmayız.
 (We do not use will in the If clause)
 136 Stu: Mesela? **(Clarification Requests)**
 (For example?)
 137 Tea5: Mesela if I have lots of money ya da if you have lots of money why don’t you land me some? Diyebiliriz değil mi ? Ya da if you see him örneğini vermiştik onu görürsen if you will see him demezsiniz , bütün time clauselar için bu geçerli, birazdan detaylara bakacağız zaten,
 For example we can say if I have lots of money or if you have lots of money, why don’t you land me some, can’t we? Or we gave the example if you see him you cant’ say you will see him, it is true with all time clauses. We will look at the details soon.

Category of display questions has the second highest rate at 18,92%. This function is realized through elicitations seeking to obtain verbal responses from students. The answer to this question type is supposed to be known by students who ask the question. The questions in this category were drawn from the two classrooms settings in which the quiz activities were being carried out. In this procedure, the students selected by the teachers direct questions to their classmates and check their general knowledge in various

Excerpt: 46

254 SS: I think err low friend food is better than high mood food because you go to meeting er err ... exam.. er you eat low food .. you don't rahatsızlanmak ne diyebilirim? Hocam orda mide rahatsızlığı?

(Asking for the English Equivalent)

(What can I say for becoming ill? Hocam stomach upset?)

255 Tea3: Okay, maybe you don't feel bad, your stomach is bad, you can say.

The data reveal that confirmation requests are among the least produced strategies at 11,71%. These strategies are realized through questions aim to get confirmation from the teacher as in the Excerpts 47 and 48:



Excerpt 47

236 Stu: Hocam you aren't olmaz mı? Sen emin değilsin? (**Confirmation Request**)
(Hocam isn't it you aren't? You are not sure?)

237 Tea3: Efendim
(Excuse me?)

238 Stu: You aren't olmaz mı? Sen emin değilsin?
(Isn't it you aren't? You are not sure?)

239 Tea3: Evet ne dedik Unless ile ilgili?
(Yes, what did we say about unless?)

240 Stu: Ø

241 Tea3: Unless has the meaning if not. Ayşe?

Asking personal questions has the lowest rate at 8,11% These types of questions aim to get a response to personal questions that are directed to the teachers. Excerpt 48 illustrates an example of this type of questioning:

Excerpt 48

243 Tea1: Do you know any couples who met in unusual place, unusual time, unusual time, and place.

244 Stu: I don't know.

245 Stu: Nothing.

246 Tea1: What about your parents? Where did they meet ..How?

247 Stu: Stu: err they are

248 Stu: Sizinki usual mı hocam? (**Personal Question**)
(Was yours usual hocam?)

249 Stu1: Yes, what about you?

250 Stu: O anı bize yaşatın hocam. (*Laughter*)
(Make us feel that moment hocam.)

251 Tea1: That was the first time so you cannot live for a second time.

This category emerges after teachers' questions that include a personal aspect. Although teachers' questions are related to the main theme of the lessons, at the same time, they may have some aspects that can be considered as personal such as "What type of food do you eat?" or "How many friends do you have on Facebook?" In subsequent sequences, students ask the same questions to the teachers. For example, in Excerpt 48

the teacher's referential question has a personal aspect and in the subsequent moves, questions in the same format are targeted to her/him (Lines 267 and 268).

4.3.1.3. Implications of Teachers' and Students' Elicitations in terms of Power

The largest discourse act category in both teachers' and students' initiation acts are elicitations. Both in teachers' elicitations and students' elicitations each side attempts to obtain responses from the other side. Teachers' elicitations are realised by teacher strategies of "checking knowledge", "referential questions", "asking for clarification", "confirmation requests", "asking for repetition", "clarification requests" and "checking comprehension". On the other hand, strategies in student elicitation category, "are asking for clarification", "display questions", "procedural questions", "asking for the English /Turkish equivalent of a word", "confirmation request" and personal questions. There is a parallel between the form and function of the strategies both in teacher and student elicitations in that both demand knowledge.

As for the teachers' elicitations, it is possible to state that the largest category, display questions, are restrictive in creating opportunities for students to interact. In fact, these strategies are the instruments to check students' academic knowledge. Therefore, it may be possible to state that they assign the role of the initiator, knowledgeable and the evaluator to the teachers. In other words, display questions may restrict students contribution in the interaction to one move of responding whose accuracy is subjected to the teacher evaluation. On the other hand, the second largest category, referential questions, facilitate both the negotiation of meaning and power since there is no epistemic superiority among the teacher and the students. In these strategies, students have the role of knowledgeable because the students, to whom the questions are targeted, know the answers to the questions. On the other hand, most of the teachers' elicitations can be stated to serve to check if the previous utterance has been properly understood as in "clarification request", "confirmation requests", "asking for repetition", "checking comprehension". Looking at these strategies based on their potential to facilitate further student influence and interaction it is possible to state that they may be restrictive as they centre on the function of eliciting only a response move from the students.

On the other hand, students' questions accumulate around the function of obtaining knowledge from teachers. In this sense, students' questions are important in negotiating power. They bring more turns to the students and serve to change the direction

- (Parchment paper in Turkish)
- 805 Stu4: Mısırlılar
(Egyptians)
- 806 Stu5: Hayır, Çinliler bulmuştur.
(No, Chinese invented it.)
- 807 Stu6: Sümerler
- 808 Stu7: Sümerler
(Sumerians)
- 809 Stu8: No. No
- 810 Stu6: Sümerler parayı buldu. Tarih birbirine karıştı şu an hocam. (All laugh)
(Sumerians found the money. We confuse all the history now.)
- 811 Tea2: Yes, what was the answer? They didn't know can you tell them the
answer. The correct answer.
- 812 Stu: Who discovered the parchment?
- 813 Tea2: Ok the answer
- 814 Stu: The Egyptian
- 815 Tea2: The Egyptian.
- 816 Stu6: Hocam discover mı invent mi?
(Is it discover or invent?)
- 817 Tea2: [Discover-]
- 818 Stu1: [Discover]
- 819 Tea2: Discover or [invent-]
- 820 Stu1: [invent] olmaz ki
(It cannot be invent)
- 821 Stu6: Niye kağıt var mıydı?
(Why was there paper?)
- 822 Tea2: He is right. ...Ok thank you.

In Excerpt 50 (previously Excerpt 25), a question is formulated by the student in Line 803. As in Excerpt 49, students compete with each other to answer this question in Lines 803-812. From the teacher's Line in 811, it is obvious that she/he gives the ownership of the knowledge to the student. The teacher's follow-up in Line 815 terminates the exchange. Although the teacher frames the exchange, students are also able to contribute to the interaction by responding or providing follow-ups to each other's

answer. In the remainder of the transaction, a new exchange is initiated by Student 6 in Line 816. The question that functions as a clarification request actually is challenging since it detects an incorrect expression produced by the student who has asked the question. The challenging nature of the question is understood from the response of student 6 in Line 821. It is obvious that he/she knows the answer to the question. The student 1 who has asked the question interrupts the teacher in order to provide an answer that is incorrect in Line 818. After that, in Line 819, the teacher repeats the question and he/she is interrupted by the student 1 in Line 820. Student 6 in Line 821 produces an evaluation, in the form of a display question that was acknowledged as an evaluation by the teacher as shown in Line 822. Therefore, as the analysis of this extract shows, students are able to get the floor, ask challenging questions, interrupting the teacher, evaluating another student's response in the classroom interaction.

Thus, although student's elicitations are far more limited in number when compared to the teachers' elicitations, they realize several strategies to claim classroom power. They solicit answers from teachers and other students; compete for answers and floor and challenge students and teachers with interruptions.

4.3.2. Directives

Forms and functions of teachers' and students' directives and their implications on power are presented in this section.

4.3.2.1. Forms and Functions of Teachers' Directives

The analysis of data reveal that directives, which form 21.45% of the total acts, are the second prevalent category of discourse acts. In directive category as stated by Tsui (1994) speaker aims to receive a non-verbal action from the interlocutor. In line with this, in some exchanges drawn from the data, response part is non-verbal as in Excerpts 51 and 52, and in some exchanges response parts include acknowledgement tokens produced by the students along with the fulfilment of the necessary action as in Excerpt 53:

Excerpt 51

619	Tea2: Someone 8 please.	(Directive)
620	Stu: 9?	(R)
621	Stu: 7, 7	(R)

622 Tea2: Yes, seven, seven of course seven, yes seven Pelin? (F)

Excerpt 52

003 Tea4: Can you open 12 C please?
 (Students turn to page 12) (Directive)
 004 Are you ready? (R)
 005 Stu: Yes. (R)

Excerpt 53

385 Tea3: Read the article and this time when you read the article we will put the phrases from A to H to the correct places, as you can see there are statements from A to the H. Eight statements we have to put them into the correct places... Introduction bölümünü okuyalım İnci. (Let's read introduction part, İnci). This part, please. (Directive)
 386 Stu: Hıh, tamam. (R)
 Ok. (İnci reads the introduction part)

In the data, directives have occurred in imperative, declarative and interrogative forms. Excerpts exemplify various linguistic forms of directives; including imperative (including elliptical forms as in Excerpt 51), declarative form (as in Excerpt 53) and interrogative forms (as in Excerpt 52). In the data, imperative and interrogative forms are sometimes used with the modifier “please”. Graphic 1, illustrates the distribution of the linguistic forms of directives.

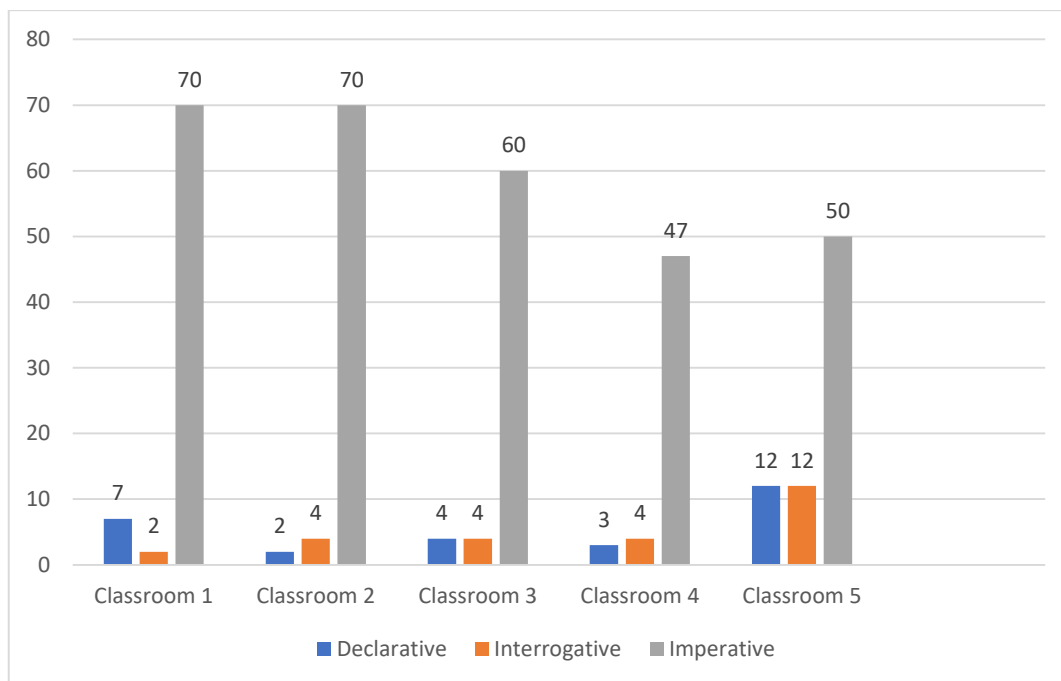


Figure 3. Linguistic forms of directives

As demonstrated in the graphic, imperative forms have the highest number at 297 in total. The number of declarative forms is 28 while the number of interrogative forms is 26. When the linguistic types found in the data have been mapped onto a scale of directness (Trosborg 1995) it can be seen that the most frequent form, imperatives, are located as the most direct category in the directness scale.

Data reveal that there is a wide range of functions in teacher-initiated acts. These functions are presented in Table 20:

Table 20:

The Functions of Teachers' Directives

	Total	Ordering		Instructing		Invitation to do the task		Advice		Warning	
	(n)	(n)	(f)	(n)	(f)	(n)	(f)	(n)	(f)	(n)	(f)
Class1	38	20	52,63	12	31,58	3	7,89	2	5,26	1	5,26
Class2	56	32	57,14	20	35,71	1	1,78	1	1,78	2	1,78
Class3	65	50	76,92	8	12,31	4	6,15	2	3,07	1	3,07
Class4	46	29	63,04	8	17,39	9	19,56	-	-	-	-
Class 5	56	30	53,57	20	35,71	6	10,71	-	-	-	-
Total	261	161	61,68	68	26,05	23	8,81	5	1,92	4	1,53

As Table 20 shows, data indicate that teachers' directives accomplish functions such as "ordering", "instructing", "invitation to do the task" at hand, "giving advice", and "warning". According to the distribution demonstrated in the table, ordering has the highest rate at 61,68%. Orders are strategies that aim to establish an action on the part of the students as in Excerpt 54:

Excerpt 54

- 617 Tea2: Yes, tell me the name please. **(Order)**
 618 Stu: Hugh Glory
 619 Tea2: Yes, thank you.

Instructing strategies account for 26,05% of the total directives. These strategies have been identified in situations where teachers clarify the procedures for classroom activities. Excerpt 55 exemplifies this function:

Excerpt 55

- 153 Tea3: Okay, we are going to read the text quickly and we have four questions just on the right side of the page, here just read the text quickly quickly, read the text. Don't worry about the unknown words don't look at the dictionary please don't use your phone. **(Instructing)**

Invitation to do the task strategies account for 8,81% of the total distribution. These acts have been realized through teachers' requests targeted to the students to perform certain actions together. That is to say, directives suggest the participation of the speaker in performing the action. 'Let + 1st person pronoun' is the form of invitation to do the task strategy as exemplified:

Excerpt 56

- 759 Tea5: Ok let's move to grammar part. In fact, we know about it. Do you know where do we use passive? **(Invitation To Do The Task)**

Advice category is one of the least utilized categories in the data. In this category, the desirable consequence of complying is highlighted. This desirable consequence can be either explicitly stated, or only implied as in Excerpt 57:

Excerpt 57

79 Teal: You have problems so you should really focus on this. **(Advice)**

The least utilized category, warning strategies, account for 1,53% of all the strategies. These strategies have been identified in cases where teachers imply the undesirable consequence of an action. Excerpt 58 and 59 exemplify warning strategies:

Excerpt 58

007 Teal: Yes, what did you do yesterday? Don't say nothing or everything or something don't use these words please. **(Warning)**

Excerpt 59

431 Teal: Konu bu yazın dedik mesela, Ne yazıcaz? Sınavda çıktı. Dedim size. Yani, manner kelimeleri öğrendik, relation kelimeleri öğrendik, olaylar bu çerçevede dönüp duruyor. Young people, old people, generation, manners gidip geliyor, teknoloji de bunların arasında. **Bu sayfadaki herşey size writing konusu olark Geri dönecek. Yani biraz, düşünmek lazım üstünde.** **(Warning)**

The topic is this, we say write about this for example, what are we going to write? Suppose it has been asked in the exam. I've told you. That is, we have learned words about manners, we learned about relations, everything is happening in this frame. Young people, old people, generation, manners are coming and going, technology is also among them. **Everything in this page will come back to you in the exam. That is, it is necessary to think about them.**

The strategies, realized in the data, reveal that teachers use a repertoire of directives to seek for an intended action on the part of the students. Besides, a further category that necessitates being referred to, is acquired from the data. However, this category is different from the categories referred in that its function is not only to get an intended action but also to maintain classroom norms in terms of student behaviour. This type of directive demands student compliance with the norms highlighted. This category is defined as norm-related directives by Oral in 2009 in her PhD Thesis. However, this category can be differentiated from the other categories by taking into consideration

whether they centre on the interaction or norms of the classroom. The excerpts exemplify the use of norm-related directives:

Excerpt 60

208 Tea1: Good morning. Where have you been? You also came in the second lesson
Mustafa Kemal.

Excerpt 61

468 Tea2: We are here. We are here. Please, don't forget to bring your book
tomorrow. The ones without the book you see. You are totally lost and
I hate such things. Especially while you are using your mobiles. I hate
such things be careful.

Excerpt 62

159 Tea2: Yes 5 containers that you can buy food in it.
160 Stu7: Domates konservesi olur barbunya konservesi olur.
(It can be canned tomatoes, can be canned beans)
161 Tea2: In English please.
162 Stu7: Tabi söylüyorum, peas, bean err sonra..
(Sure I'm telling, peas, bean err and then)..

In Excerpt 60, it is implied that being on time for the lessons is a classroom norm. In Excerpt 61 the lack of coursebook and the necessity of bringing it to the lessons as well as the forbidding the use of mobile phone are emphasized. In Excerpt 62, the necessity to talk in English is highlighted. Although these excerpts can be classified under the categories of warning, they aim to define classroom norms.

4.3.2.2. Forms and Functions of Students' Directives

Students' directives account for 6.37% of all discourse acts. They can be exemplified with excerpts taken from the data:

Excerpt 63

281 Stu: Hocam bizimle paylaşır mısınız? **(Pupil directive)**
(Could you share it with us?)
282 Tea1: No of course not. Rejected. Your question rejected.

Excerpt 64

630 Stu: Hocam lambayı kapatabilir miyiz? (Pupil directive)

(Teacher can we turn the lights off?)

631 Tea2: Of course, you can turn off the lights.

Unlike teacher directives, student directives do not show a variety in linguistic forms. They generally centre on the interrogative forms as can be seen in excerpts. There are only five student directives that are in the imperative forms. Two of them can be seen in Excerpt 65 and 66:

Excerpt 65

327 Tea5: Is it something too bad when it rains at the weekend? For you?

328 Stu: Hocam tekrar. (Pupil directive)

(Hocam again).

329 Tea5: Is it something too bad when it rains at the weekend for you?

((Teacher repeats the questions)).

Excerpt 66

422 Stu: Bunu Asiye sorsun. (Pupil directive)

(Asiye must ask this one).

423 Tea5: Ok

424 Stu: Biz pas diyoruz.

(We'll skip this).

In teachers' directives, the macro function of directives is to get an action from the students. Similarly, student directives aim to get action from the teacher. Yet, in some cases unlike, teacher directives, student directives aim to get permission to do a task as in the example:

Excerpt 67

528 Stu: Sorayım mı bir tane daha? (Permission to do the task)

(Can I ask another one?)

529 Tea5: Of course.

In the data, teacher and student directives can be differentiated through both linguistic form and functions. Linguistically teachers demand action by going on bald with direct requests while students are indirect in asking to do an action. On the other

hand, teachers' directive repertoire may be claimed to serve to explain to the student what to do during particular instructional stages and define how to behave with norm related directives while student directives aim to request for action or request to do an action.

4.3.2.3. Implications of Teachers' and Students' Directives in terms of Power

Directives are the second largest category in teacher-initiated exchanges whereas they are the least realized acts in student-initiated exchanges. In teacher data, as seen clearly, directives are realized with various forms and functions. Regarding their forms, it is possible to state that the largest category of imperative forms are the most direct form of getting students to do something. The rare cases of student directives include indirect ways of requesting. These findings reveal the existence of power asymmetry between teachers and students.

On the other hand, functional analysis of teacher directives reveals a repertoire of directives serving to express student what to do at various instructional stages, as well as functioning to define and maintain interactional and behavioural norms to be followed on the parts of the student in the class. In pupil-initiated exchanges, directives mainly function as requests demanding action from the teacher such as the request to repeat the last sentences or request to do an action.

Looking at the statistics of teacher directives versus student directives, it is possible to claim that teachers are nominated through their directives to be action demander and norm definer. However, in order for a part to exercise power over another part, the reaction of the latter is decisive. The demand for action is an empowering act, however; power is gained if the demanded action is fulfilled or if compliance is established from the interlocutors. In this vein, an analysis of power focusing on the statistics solely would take it for granted that the students obey all the directives; however, there are deviant sequences to be taken into consideration if a thorough power analysis is aimed at. Excerpts in this section show these deviant forms:

Excerpt 68

- 020 Tea2: Yes mood food, Süleyman.
- 021 Stu: Bi saniye hocam bende Oxford uygulaması var, ben size bulacağım.
(Laughter)
(One second, I have Oxford application, I will find it for you).
- 022 Tea2: I am not asking for the Turkish translation I am asking about your ideas.
Yes mood food mood food.
- 023 Stu: About our feelings.
- 024 Tea2: About our feelings.

In this excerpt, the directive in the elliptical imperative form necessitates the student to provide an answer to the question that seeks the meaning of mood food. However, students' humorous reaction in the form of another directive causes laughter that results in teachers' re-initiation of the demand. In fact, Teacher 2 frequently asks the student to speak in English. The teacher's directive of asking students to speak in English is a norm-defining directive. However, the student's answer in Turkish indicates that students do not comply with the norm-defining directive of the teacher and resist by using their first language as a means of resistance.

Excerpt 69

- 597 Tea1: Ok. Monica is speaking. Kim yapabilir? Who can do it?
(establishing eye contact with a male student)
- 598 Male Stu: Kız olması daha mantıklı.
(A girl is better).
- 599 Tea1: Yes Elif.
- 600 S: My boyfriend proposed me. (Pretending to act like Monica)

In Excerpt 69, teacher's directive aims to find a person to act out Monica, one of the characters in the coursebook. The teacher looks at the students to find a volunteer to do the job. Meanwhile, she establishes eye contact with a male student with a view to nominating him for the action. However, the student rejects the nomination through his directive in declarative form. He changes the course of the sequence indirectly.

Excerpt 70

- 622 Tea2: Yes, seven, seven of course seven, yes seven Pelin?
 623 Stu: Yapamadım hocam, daha gelmedim oraya.
 (I could not do it teacher, I have not come to that yet).
 624 Tea2: Ok. Have you found it? Yes, Merve.

In Excerpt 70, the teacher asks the student to answer question number 7. This request is responded by “I could not do it teacher, I have not come to that yet”. The student did not comply. Unlike Sinclair and Coulthard’s (1975) directive categories that exclude non-compliance to teacher directives, in the data non-compliance as a response happens as shown in the excerpts. Similarly, in excerpt 71, the student steers the direction of the interaction and employs some strategies to resist power exercised:

Excerpt 71

- 467 Tea5: Any part of the article that you don’t understand, at all.
 468 Ø
 469 SS: ((students are murmuring))
 470 Tea5: So you understood everything, in the test
 471 Stu: No.
 472 Tea5: No. What you didn’t understand?
 473 Stu: And prodigies? Proje mi (Is it project?)
 474 Tea5: Were outstanding and musical prodigies. Burda neyi anlamadın?
 ((Laughing)) (What you didn’t understand here?)
 475 Stu: Kelimeleri anlamadım
 (I didn’t understand the words).
 476 Tea5: Ha kelimeleri anlamadın, yapısal bir sorun yok yani. Peki bize sözlük muamelesi yapacaksın yani. (You didn’t understand words, there isn’t a structural problem, then. Ok, you will treat us like a dictionary)
 477 Stu: Siz de öyle dediniz, altını çiziniz anlamadığınız kelimeleri dediniz.
 (You said so. You told us to underline the words we don’t understand)
 478 Tea5: Kelimeleri demedim, ben yapı dedim. (I didn’t say words, I said structure). Peki. People student. People student. Neyi anlamadın? Geriye kalan prodigy neydi Ada?
 (What point didn’t you understand? The remaining one prodigy Ada?)

- 479 Stu: Proje?
 (Project?)
- 480 Tea 5: Öyle miydi? Öyle mi dedim ben az önce?
 (Is that so? Did I say something like that a few minutes ago?)
- 481 Stu1: Dahi
- 482 Tea5: Dahi dememiştik değil mi? Genius demiştik hatta, Baha ile
 konuşmuştuk yanılmıyorsam. Ama bizi o kadar dikkatli dinledi ki Ada.
 We said “dahi” didn’t we. We even said genius we talked with
 Baha, if I am not mistaken. But she listened to us so carefully
 that Ada?
- 483 Ada: Not almışım bakın.
 (I made notes. Have look at it).
- 484 Tea5: Peki peki, right başka. What else.
 (Ok, ok. Right what else).

In Excerpt 71, teacher’s act in Line 467 is a directive in the elliptical imperative form; serve to check students’ understanding of the previous activity. The student in Line 471 replies the question. Upon the teacher’s next question in Line 473, student clarifies that she is confused about the meaning of the word prodigy. Upon the teacher’s counter-question in Line 474, “what you didn’t understand here” student clarifies that she did not understand the meaning of words. Looking at the teacher’s response, it may be possible to state that a direct criticism is targeted at the student. In fact, the function of the “you will treat us like a dictionary” criticism in Line 476 may serve to bring a restriction to the students’ question types. Therefore, a norm about asking questions is defined by the teacher. In her /his next move in Line 478, the teacher may be said to legitimize asking questions, which are about the grammatical structures. Here in this point, through the analysis, it may be possible to claim that student as the knowledge demander is singled out by the teacher who implies the norm of asking structural questions. However, student challenges the teacher in Line 477 by contradicting him on the ground of his previous request to underline unknown words. By this contradiction, it may be said that the student legitimizes that she has the right to ask this question. Being challenged with student’s claim the teacher may be claimed to be made to provide an account for his previous utterance by directly stating that he did not mean to underline words but structures in Line 478. In Line 479, the teacher asks the meaning of “prodigy” to the same student as a

counter-question. Furthermore, it may be said that the teacher looks for witnesses in Lines 480 and 483 (the teacher directly nominates Baha) to challenge the student. In Line 482, it may be stated that the teacher criticises the student on the ground that she has not listened to him carefully. The student once more resists and challenges the teacher by showing her notes which results in teacher's acknowledgement token. As shown through this extract power is negotiated among teachers and students. Through the excerpt, it is possible to state that students may challenge, refutes and show non-compliance to teachers and force teachers to provide an explanation for their behaviour as a result of resistance to power teacher exercise over students.

4.3.3. Informatives

Forms and functions of teachers' and students' informatives and their implications on power are presented in this section.

4.3.3.1. Forms and Functions of Teachers' Informatives

Teachers' informative acts have 7,31% distribution frequency. They are the least produced acts. According to the data, these acts are realized through teachers' statements aiming to provide information. Examples from the transcribed data are illustrated in Excerpts 72 and 73:

Excerpt 72

501 Tea2: Yes, When you- yes you you stop you totally stop using it... When you use cut out that's when you are using cut down on it mean having less and less. But here cut out you finish. You stop using it. And eating out you are eating in restaurants. Can you please make me example sentences? With eat out, cut down on and cut out. Think about one phrasal verb and on your own. Yes for example for cut down on Süleyman? Can you please make an example sentence? **(Informative)**

502 Stu: As you said I am trying to cut down on smoking.

Excerpt 73

428 Tea3: Controversy is a kind of argument, disagreement, Controversy, a topic on which people cannot agree with, controversy? Determine anlamını

biliyoruz (We know the meaning of determine) belirlemek (determine) as an adjective determined. She was determining that they would, would be as successful as she was. **(Informative)**

429 Stu: Belirli.
(Specific)

430 Tea3: Yani kesin.

According to the data gathered from the recordings, teachers' informative acts can be classified into two distinct categories: expressing disciplinary content and providing personal account. The numbers and percentages of teachers' informatives are illustrated in Table 21.

Table 21.

Total Functions of Teachers' Informatives

	Total Functions of Informatives	Expressing Disciplinary content	Providing Personal Account
	(n)	(n) (f)	(n) (f)
Class1	46	42 91,30	4 8,7
Class2	3	2 66,66	1 33,34
Class3	10	9 90	1 10
Class4	26	17 65,38	9 34,62
Class 5	4	4 100	- -
Total	89	75 84,27	14 15,73

As the table illustrates functions of teachers' informatives have two categories. Expressing disciplinary content has a percentage of 84,27. Providing personal accounts have a percentage of 15,73%. Expressing disciplinary content category includes teachers' strategies such as explaining grammatical content or providing definitions of terms or Turkish/ or English equivalents of words. Excerpt 74 and 75 exemplify these strategies:

Excerpt 74

489 Tea2: Eat out, for food and diet is careful. In eat out; I eat out because I often don't have time to cook. When you are using eat out it means you are eating at restaurant... you are not at home or I am trying to cut down on together. You have to use them together. **(Expressing Disciplinary Content)**

Excerpt 75

- 103 Tea3: I heard that courgette comes from Holland. Hollanda kökenli bir
kelimeymiş courgette. O yüzden Ömer sen şey yaptın. Kabak var ya farklı
gelmesinin sebebi bu. Ben de bilmiyordum sözlükten baktım.
(It derives from Dutch. That is why Ömer you did err. This is the reason
why it sounds different. I had not known it either, but I looked it up.)

(Expressing Disciplinary content)

In teachers' informatives, providing personal account category has been identified in cases where teachers provide the students with personal information or opinion or point of views. This information is typically related to the theme of the lessons. In the data, these functions lead to students' elicitations as in Excerpt 76 or get reactions from the students as in Excerpt 77.

Excerpt 76

- 713 Tea4: We went to zoo this weekend it was perfect. Really. It is the first time
I've seen it but it was good. **(Providing Personal Account)**
- 714 Stu: Şelaleye gittiniz mi hocam?
(Have you been to the fall, Hocam?)

Excerpt 77

- 210 Tea4: I eat banana before starting sport. **(Providing Personal Account)**
- 211 Stu: Nişasta and high potassium.
- 212 Tea4: Yes, it helps you to feel more energetic as far as I know. What about the
Others? What do you eat before having an exam?

As can be seen, teachers' informatives have various functions. In the next section, forms and functions of students' informatives will be analysed in order to arrive at meanings about the negotiation of power between teachers and students.

4.3.3.2. Forms and Functions of Students' Informatives

Students' informative acts' accounts for 39, 21% of all the acts. The data reveal that students' informatives are realized through students' statements providing

information about the ongoing activity or topic, or expressing an opinion or fact. Examples from the transcribed data are illustrated in Excerpts 78:

Excerpt 78

674 Tea1: For that reason it may be hard for the British to live in New York. More crowded, people are not nice they think. It may be hard for a British man to live in New York.

675 Stu: Always say have gibi şeyler. **(Pupil Informative)**
(Always things like say, have)

676 Tea1: They always say have a nice day, having fun, fantastic, do you want to eat something? Right.

Table 22 illustrates the function of students' informatives. The functions are expressing disciplinary content and personal accounts.

Table 22.

Total Functions of Students' Informatives

	Total Functions of Informatives	Expressing Disciplinary content		Personal Account	
	(n)	(n)	(f)	(n)	(f)
Class1	23	12	52,17	11	47,83
Class2	11	6	54,54	5	45,45
Class3	7	6	85,71	1	14,29
Class4	25	18	72	7	28
Class 5	14	11	78,57	3	21,43
Total	80	53	66,25	27	33,75

As the table presents, the functions of students' informatives consist of two categories. Expressing disciplinary content has 66,25% of the share while providing personal has 33,75%. Expressing disciplinary content category includes students' strategies such as commenting on the ongoing activity or personal accounts. Excerpt 79 exemplify these strategies.

Excerpt 79

105 Tea5: Do you remember what exam he took?

106 Stu: It's an English exam.

- 107 Stu: LLETS
- 108 Tea5: IELTS exam? He got IELTS exam.
- 109 Stu: Just like TOEFL (Pupil Expressing Disciplinary Content)
- 110 Tea5: Just like TOEFL right. And he wants to learn ... Air traffic controller?

Personal accounts are the statements through which students express their opinions or comments on the ongoing topic by moving away from disciplinary content towards personal remarks. Excerpts 80 and 81 exemplify these situations.

Excerpt 80

- 080 Stu: En sevdiğimiz. (Pupil Personal Account)
(We like this most).
- 081 Tea1: Who said?
- 082 Stu: Ben söyledim.

Excerpt 81

- 465 Tea3: Here small box it says what expert say...
- 466 Stu: Hocam Canan Karatay gibi. (Pupil personal account)
- 467 Tea3: What do you think about Canan Karatay?

Both of these categories establish teacher follow-up. Yet, both categories have different interactional functions. Expressing disciplinary content aim to contribute to the ongoing sequence by adding a disciplinary dimension. In the data, this category usually established teacher acknowledgement or correction. On the other hand, expressing personal account include general opinions that may not necessarily be related to the activity. Teacher treatment for these strategies vary. Therefore follow-ups can include elicitations, correction, or evaluation. For example in Excerpt 81, teacher's follow-up includes an elicitation.

4.3.3.3. Implications of Teachers' and Students' Informatives in terms of Power

Informative category is important when talking about power as it naturally claims the role of the knowledgeable. The frequency of teachers' informatives or students' informatives do not show an important difference. In this sense, it is possible to state that both teachers and students claim the power to express themselves through these strategies.

According to the data, the function of teachers' and students' informatives are similar. Teachers' strategies of expressing disciplinary content include accounts of the activity at hand in relatively longer turns. This can be attributed to the disciplinary knowledge asymmetry. Yet, students' expressing disciplinary content category similarly shows students' contribution to the classroom knowledge. On the other hand, providing personal account category works in the same way for both teachers and students in that it indicates both students' and teachers' attempt to provide personal opinions, remarks and feelings. These strategies establish similar reactions from teachers and students. Students provide responses or elicitation to teachers' personal accounts and in the same way, teachers provide elicitation and follow-ups to student personal accounts. In this sense, students are not restricted in providing disciplinary accounts nor teachers are the only knowledge provider in the classroom.

4.4. Teachers' Turn Allocation Strategies

The data gathered from the classrooms have been analysed with a view to identifying teachers' turn allocation strategies. According to the analysis, three types of turn allocation strategies have been found in the data. These strategies correspond to the turn allocation strategies put forward by Mehan (1979). These are individual nomination, invitation to reply and invitation to bid. One additional feature of classroom data is required to note, an additional instance of turn allocation strategy has been identified. In this strategy, the teacher selects a group, assigns them the task to ask questions about food, and indicates that this group is to select students to reply. Since only a teacher uses it in six instances during a food quiz activity, it has not been included as an additional turn allocation strategy in the data, yet it is relevant to the mention here. Table 23 shows the frequencies of turn allocation strategies of teachers.

Table 23.

Turn Allocation Strategies of Teachers

	Total	Individual Nomination		Invitation to Reply		Invitation to Bid	
		(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)	%
Class1	85	79	42,70	73	39,45	33	17,84
Class2	187	140	74,86	41	21,92	6	3,21
Class3	224	145	64,73	75	33,48	4	1,78
Class4	195	80	41,02	104	53,33	11	5,64
Class5	258	65	25,19	146	56,59	47	18,21
Total	1045	507	48,51	439	42	99	9,47

According to the table, the most prevalent turn allocation strategy is individual nomination with 48, 51 percent. The second largest category is invitation to reply with 42 percent. Invitation to bid category had the lowest share with only 9,47 percent.

4.4.1. Individual Nominations

In the data, individual nominations refer to the practices where the teacher calls on or indicates an individual student through gaze or gesture as in the Excerpts 82 and 83:

Excerpt 82

782 Tea5: Namık what about third one? **(Individual Nomination)**

783 Stu: Her new novel is quite similar to her last one.

Excerpt 83

623 Tea4: Seni de gözüme kestirdim ben. **(Individual Nomination)**

(You can also do it).

624 Stu: Hello. Ersin are you okay?

In Excerpt 82, the teacher selects the student by calling out his name. In Excerpt 83 the teacher indicates the student by gaze.

4.4.2. Invitation to Reply

Invitation to reply are the strategies in which teachers' acts dictate that any student may self-select or respond voluntarily. The examples are shown in the Excerpts 84 and 85:

Excerpt 84

- 029 Tea5: How do you usually feel? Before having an exam? How is your
 mood? Are you too much excited? **(Invitation to Reply)**
- 030 SS: Stressed.

Excerpt 85

- 091 Tea1: Johnny Depp. Have you seen these movies? **(Invitation to Reply)**
- 092 Stu: Secret Window.

There are some instances of invitation to reply that are answered in chorus as in Excerpt 84 or there are some instances where one student self-select and call out an answer to teachers' elicitations as in Excerpt 85.

4.4.3. Invitation to Bid

The least utilized strategy invitation to bid, include practices where the teacher signals that students should raise their hands to get the right for reply. The examples from data are shown in Excerpts 86 and 87:

Excerpt 86

- 392 Tea2: So? Is there any one from a different city? **(Invitation to Bid)**
 ((Students raise hands, picking up one of the students.)) Where are you
 from?
- 393 Stu : Hatay.

Excerpt 87

- 287 Tea2: What about the second question? Who wants to answer? **(Invitation to Bid)**
 ((Students raise hands)). Yes, Kemal
- 288 Stu: Which United States state starts with letter h?

Unlike the other categories, these strategies include more actions from students and teachers. First, the teacher indicates the necessity, on the part of the students, to raise their hands and after that; he/she picks up the next speaker. On the other hand, students

firstly raise their hand in response to teachers' address to self-select and secondly the selected student answer the question.

4.4.4. The Implication of Turn Allocation Patterns in Terms of Power

In the data, individual nomination accounts for most (48, 51%) of the teacher's turn-allocation, followed by invitation to reply (42%) and invitation to bid (9, 47%). Looking at the findings it is possible to arrive at some meanings regarding the power issues. Firstly, from the excerpts, it may be put forward that individual nomination has asymmetrical features since the right to select the next speaker is given only to the teacher. Besides, with this practice, some students who are not ready or volunteer for the floor may be selected and it may put students in the position of losing face by being singled out to speak about what they may not be ready. In some instances, individual nominations lead to extended sequences that single out a student who could not supply the desired response as Excerpt 88:

Excerpt 88

- 356 Tea2: That's all... Pelin where are you from? **(Individual Nomination)**
 357 Stu: Mersin.
 358 Tea2: Mersin. Can you tell us about Mersin? What is common in Mersin? About these ones? You know your own hometown.
 359 Stu: Portakalı (Its oranges)
 360 Tea2: English. (Laughter in the classroom)
 361 Tea2: Pelin try to say in English. I understand you very well. Just say in English
 362 Stu: İşte olmuyor ya. (I can't you see)
 363 Tea2: No you can, you can.

On the other hand, invitations to reply which are in the second place (42%) require students' attempt to self-select. Giving space for students' self-selecting, it is not restrictive like individual nominations. Although in the data individual nominations are more prevalent than invitation to reply, the difference is not significant. This shows that teachers' turn allocation strategies partly restrictive and partly encourage self-initiatives of students.

4.5. Conclusion

This chapter presented the findings acquired from the data. The first section that was about the distribution of exchanges initiated by teachers versus by students revealed that teacher-initiated exchanges prevailed the classroom interaction. In the second section, the distribution of the types of discourse patterns occurred in the lessons were presented. According to the data, teacher-initiated exchanges were mostly IRF patterned whereas student-initiated exchanges showed various pattern types. Although statistical analysis indicated that the classrooms under investigations were teacher-fronted classrooms, when patterns were analysed through excerpts individually, it was possible to conclude that both students and teachers exercised power to get the role of initiator and knowledgeable. In the third section, the distribution of types of discourse acts in initiating acts of both teachers' and students and their functions were identified. Elicitations and directives were the largest categories produced by teachers and elicitations and informatives were the largest categories produced by students. Although elicitations and directives of teachers outnumbered students' elicitations and directives, functional analyses and excerpt analyses revealed the existence of students' strategies to negotiate power in the classroom. This section also revealed how through similar informative acts and strategies both students and teachers negotiated power. The last section revealed teachers' turn allocation strategies. Individual nomination, invitation to reply and individual bids were the main categories found in the data. It was revealed that individual nomination was a restrictive strategy since it did not give students the chance to self-select. Since it was the largest category in the data, it might be possible to state that the turn allocation methods of teachers were partly restrictive.

In drawing implications about classroom power, the excerpts and descriptive statistics were taken into consideration in this chapter. Yet, in Chapter V, discussion of the statistical findings and analyses of excerpts will be discussed under the light of the similar studies carried out in the previous literature.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

5.0. Introduction

The aim of this study was to explore the issue of power in the classroom in an English as a Foreign Language (EFL) setting of English Preparatory Program at a state university. The study was carried out to analyse teachers and students' discursive strategies in terms of power construction within the classroom interaction. The data was based on the audio and video-recorded data of five classrooms. Each classroom interaction was recorded for three lesson hours. After the transcription of the data, student and teacher, initiated exchanges were counted. The frequency of student and teacher-initiated exchanges were analysed in terms of power. Second, the structure of teacher and student-initiated exchanges were explored and their implication on power was analysed. Third, the study explored discourse acts that occurred through students' and teachers' initiation acts as well as the forms and functions of the initiation acts in Initiation-Response-Follow-up (IRF) analysis. Lastly, teachers' turn allocation methods were identified in order to further clarify the issue of power in the classroom.

5.1. Discussion

This section of the study will present the discussion of the findings outlined in Chapter 4. The order of the research questions will be used as an outline for the discussion of the study.

1) Research Question 1

How are exchange sequences distributed among teachers and students in university preparatory class contexts? What does the distribution of exchanges initiated by teachers and students imply in terms of classroom control and power?

The present study revealed that the frequency of teacher-initiated exchanges outnumbered the student-initiated exchanges. Teachers' initiating acts had a major share, from 75,77% to 88,31% and 80,06% in total whereas total student share was 19, 93%. This finding is in line with Arikdal's (2006) study which revealed that teacher-initiated

exchanges accounted for 90, 65% whereas student-initiated exchanges accounted for 9.65% of the total exchanges.

These distributions of teacher and student initiation acts' emphasized remarkable findings in terms of the control of classroom discourse. According to the distributions rate of all the classrooms, the teachers start the majority of the interactions. This finding indicates that classroom interaction is mainly dominated by teacher-led exchanges. The initiator factor is an important issue of classroom discourse. As Zhu (2018) states creating conditions for student-led exchanges is regarded to be a sign of teachers' attempt to depart from traditional pedagogy. With this understanding, it is possible to locate the classrooms under the investigation within the boundaries of teacher-fronted classrooms. It is also possible to confirm that teacher control exists extensively in the classroom discourse structure. However, when it comes to the issue of power negotiation, it is possible to state that students' attempts to position themselves in the classroom are manifested through their initiation acts which account for 19,93%.

Research Question 2

What types of exchange patterns occur in the lessons?

Overall findings of classroom data revealed that among all the categories IRF (Initiation-Response-Follow-up) is the mostly utilized pattern with 45,72% percentage. Bound exchanges, with the structures in line with Sinclair and Coulthard's framework, that come in the second place followed by IR (Initiation-Response) structure. The category of other forms that shows variety in sequences is in the fourth place and IF (Initiation-Follow-up) are the least observed pattern in lessons. This finding draws a parallel with the findings of previous research which found that IRF is the dominant form of structure in the classroom (Rashidi and Rafieerad, 2010; Nassaji and Wells (2000) Sunderland (2001).

a) What types of exchange patterns occur when exchanges are initiated by teachers ?

In teacher-initiated exchanges, IRF had the highest proportion at 56,98% in total while bound exchanges had the second highest proportion at 24,52%. IR structure and category of other forms were the least observed categories in the data related to teacher-initiated exchanges.

b) What types of exchange patterns occur when exchanges are initiated by students?

According to the findings drawn from the data pertaining to the student-initiated exchanges, IR structured exchanges had the highest proportion at 36,86%. IF structured exchanges which accounted for 31,31% were the second highest structure. Bound exchanges and category of other forms were the least produced sequences.

c) What are the implications of teachers' exchange patterns versus students' exchange patterns in terms of power?

Taking both quantitative data and excerpts into consideration, the study revealed important findings about the issue of power in the classroom. First, the data revealed that IRF cycle prevails in teacher-initiated exchanges. As excerpts illustrated, teachers form initiation and follow-up moves whereas response move comes from the students. Thoms, (2012) and Leith and Myerson (1989) suggested that IRF is a restrictive pattern while Cazden (1988) termed IRF as the “default” pattern of the classroom since it facilitates teacher control (p.39). This is because it assumes the teacher to be an expert with initiating and follow-up moves that give the teacher the chance to frame the interaction. Van Lier (1996) states that “In the IRF exchange, the students’ response is hemmed, squeezed between a demand to display knowledge and judgement on its competence”. Similarly, Lerner (1995) emphasized that the third move that comes from the teacher removes students’ chance to extend their interaction by replying teachers’ initiations further. Within this understanding, based on the descriptive statistics, the study presented that it is possible to state that the classrooms under investigation are restrictive since discourse is framed by the teachers.

According to Musumeci (1996), traditional structure, IRF prevails for four reasons: First, both teachers and students expect the classroom to be based on question and response format. This is why it is characterised in IRF format. Second, teachers wish to make students feel good since they believe feedback move has an affective side to serve to reassure students. Third, the asymmetry of power in teachers and students’ roles enable teachers to have “floor” more than students. Lastly, the concerns about using the time efficiently are alleviated by question and response format as it facilitates the progress of discourse. However, these concerns presuppose that pedagogical concerns cause the teachers to use their institutional power in framing the conversation according to their own perceptions of what is good for students. Yet, the pedagogical aims of teachers are

not in the scope of this study and power mechanism works regardless of teachers' instructional superiority. This is because even if through the IRF teachers maintain their orientations, they cannot control the content of students' discursive strategies (Candela, 1998). The multiple variations of sequence forms indicate the existence of teachers' and students' joint attempts to negotiate power in the classroom.

For example, bound exchanges that have the second highest proportion in the data, unlike IRF, show the sequences which add variety to the interaction in terms of teachers' and students' roles. There were two types of bound exchanges. First types are those that were in the form put forward by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) such as "re-initiation (i)" in the form of (I R IB R F), and "re-initiation (ii)" in the form of (I R F (IB) R F), and "listing" in the form of (I R F R F). The first types of bound exchanges were important as they break the chains of IRF. Yet the second type of exchanges which were deviant sequences different from Sinclair and Coulthard's bound exchanges were even more important since these forms showed that there are recursive "re-initiation" moves by teachers which necessitate recursive students' response moves by students. These sequences showed the moments of teachers' departure from the traditional triadic cycle in two ways. First, in these exchanges students are given chances to interact further. Second, these sequences are the chances for students to extend their turn to use more of class time.

Category of other forms also shows the moments in which discourse moves away from the traditional cycle. There were various forms such as (IRFPF) and (IPIRPRF). In these sequences, students produced follow-up moves that indicate that students have the chance to break the chains of IRF to negotiate meaning. Furthermore, these two deviant instances showed students' successful attempts to change the IRF circle as the exchange initiator and the evaluator. Based on the patterns of teacher-initiated exchanges, it is possible to state that teachers use institutional power in order to frame the discourse. There are sequences in which both teachers and students break away from IRF and various patterns enabling students to take part in the interaction in different roles.

The analyses of student-initiated exchanges also add to the illumination of classroom power. The highest two categories in student-initiated exchanges were IR and IF. The absence of follow-up moves may suggest that students do not often "evaluate" other participants' (including the teacher) responses. Considering the abundance of two-part exchanges in student-initiated exchanges and triadic sequence in teacher-initiated exchanges, it is possible to state that power asymmetry exists between teachers and

students. Yet, the existence of various sequence types indicated the different roles students and teachers took on. For example, the category of other forms in student-initiated exchanges showed the instances where students claim the task of starting exchanges and evaluating other participants' remarks. Moreover, the existence of bound-exchange category in student-initiated exchanges which revealed various forms such as PITRPIbTRPF (Pupil Initiation, Response, Pupil Re-initiation, Teacher Response, Pupil Follow-up) and PITRPIbF (Pupil Initiation, Teacher Response, Pupil Re-initiation, Pupil Follow-Up) indicated how classroom power was being negotiated. Furthermore, the occurrence of bound-exchanges with multiple re-initiations in these forms demonstrated the persistence of students' effort to solicit answers from the teachers. Recursive re-initiation moves also showed that in student-teacher interaction students also have the possibilities to shape the course of the interaction.

To sum up, based on the descriptive statistics and excerpt analyses, the present study revealed that in the classrooms under investigation classroom discourse is shaped by the teachers. That is, the interaction in these settings are mostly framed by the teachers' initiation and evaluation moves. IRF has the possibility to create a teacher-centric pattern of interaction if teachers do not make conscious moves to achieve more dialogic patterns instead of monologic talk because as Ellis (2012) suggests IRF increase the control of the discourse by teachers (Ellis, 2012, p.88). In this study, the bound exchanges and category of other forms of teachers were revealed to vary the interaction and carry the interaction towards more dialogic practises. Similarly, the existence of student-initiated exchanges, bound exchanges and category of other forms that demonstrated students' initiations and evaluation practices revealed the instances where students locate themselves as the knowledgeable. These findings are similar to Candela's findings (1998) in which he emphasized that students also can modify the interaction even in the traditional teacher fronted classrooms. Looking at the role of structure in classroom interaction Candela (1998) concluded that students could use discursive resources in order to "establish their roles as "knowledgeable and competent communicators who are able to influence social interaction (p.139)". In this sense, it is possible to state that even within the IRF dominated discourse students have the right and choice to use discursive resources to claim power in the same way the teachers do.

Research Question 3

What are the overall discourse acts found in the classroom interaction during the lessons?

In terms of frequency of initiating acts, the categories that are used mostly in the classrooms are elicitations (68, 82%), followed by directives (23,99%), informatives (7, 17%). A further analysis shed lights on the functions of teachers' and students' discourse acts in sections 2.3.

- a) What are the features of discourse acts occurred through teachers and students' initiations in terms of a) Forms and functions of discourse acts of teachers and students?**
- b) b) What are the implications of each discourse act on power negotiation between teacher and students in the classroom?**

The present study revealed that in teacher-initiated exchanges, elicitations have the highest proportion of all the head acts (initiating moves) at 71, 24%. Directives are in the second place at 21,45%. Informatives are the least produced acts at 7,31%. On the other hand, the study revealed that in student-initiated exchanges, elicitations have the highest proportion at 54,41%. Informatives have the second highest proportion at 39,21%. Directives are the least produced acts at 6,37%. For the convenience, this research question will be answered by focusing on each discourse act individually. Namely, sub-questions a and b will be focused on for each discourse act individually.

Elicitations

a) The form and Functions of Elicitations

Data gathered from the transcripts showed that elicitations are the mostly produced discourse acts both by teachers and students. In teacher-initiated exchanges, elicitations were used to get linguistic replies from the students. They were realized by wh- questions, yes- no questions and tag questions as selected excerpt in Chapter 4 showed. The data revealed that teachers' elicitations showed a variety of functions. These functions are revealed to be "checking students' knowledge", "referential questions", "confirmation requests", "asking for repetition", "asking for clarification", and "checking comprehension" (according to the frequency of rate, checking student's knowledge was the mostly used and checking comprehension was the least commonly used strategies). Data revealed that strategy of checking knowledge that had the highest rate was realized through questions seeking to obtain responses from students about their knowledge

(grammatical content or vocabulary or about the previous activity). Data revealed that questioning was the second most commonly used strategy. This strategy was realized through questions aiming to obtain verbal responses from students. Checking knowledge and referential questioning strategies differed from each other in that the answer for the latter was not known to the teacher. The data revealed that teacher's confirmation requests were realized through questions inviting the students to confirm that they had the same opinion as the student answering. The strategy of asking for the repetition was expecting the repetition of the information already provided by students. Teachers' clarification strategies that were among the least utilized included questions in which teachers expected the illumination of preceding utterances of students. The data revealed that they were realized through "why" and "how" questions. Lastly, data revealed that checking comprehension was the least utilized strategy.

When it comes to students' elicitations, as in teachers' elicitations, they aim to get linguistic response. Similar to teachers' elicitations, these acts are realized through wh-questions, yes- no questions and tag questions. However, the study demonstrated that functions of elicitations show a significant difference from teachers' elicitations. The functions of students' elicitations, from the most to the least frequently used, are "clarification requests, display questions, procedural questions, asking about Turkish/English equivalents of words, confirmation requests, personal questions". The present study revealed that clarification requests were the mostly used strategies by students. They aim to get explanations for the previous utterances in the interaction. They were realized through students' questions in the form of why, how. They were about grammar, phrases or sentences. Display questions had the second highest proportion in the data. This function was realized through elicitations seeking to obtain verbal responses from teachers. The answer to this question type had the potential to be not known by teacher and students as well. The data analysis revealed that in asking procedural questions students aimed to get a verbal response from teacher to a question that was related to the technical aspect of the activity at hand. Asking about Turkish or English equivalent of words were the questions that aim to get answers from the teacher. The data revealed that confirmation requests were realized through questions that aim to get confirmation from the teacher as in the example. Lastly, through personal questions students aimed to get answer for the questions which might have had personal aspects.

b) **The Implication of Elicitations on the Negotiation of Power**

The present study showed that elicitations were the mostly produced acts by both teachers and students. However, the number of elicitations (867 questions by teachers- 111 questions by students) indicates an asymmetry between teachers' and students' elicitations. The reason for this may be attributed to the reason Ellis (1994) states "One reason for the prevalence of questioning is undoubtedly the control which it gives the teacher over the discourse" (p.585-586). Since questions serve to start the triadic cycle they can be thought as instruments focusing on "medium- oriented goals" (Ellis, 1994, p.587). Musumeci (1996) on the other hand talks of the question- response format as a factor contributing to the discourse that can be thought of as a pedagogical justification. On the other hand, as Young (1992) claims even in IRF cycle, various functions of questions exist. Therefore, the functions of teachers' and students' elicitations should be observed in order to make claims about the classroom power. For this reason, the demonstration and exemplifications of functions realised through elicitations in the present study are illuminating in arriving at meanings about the issue of power.

The functions of teachers' elicitations revealed in this study were "checking students' knowledge, referential questions, confirmation check, asking for repetition, asking for clarification and checking comprehension". These findings indicate that question strategies mainly centres around three broad functions. First, there were questions ensuring if the previous utterance has been properly understood (confirmation check, asking for repetition, clarification requests). Second, there were those questions aiming at genuine information from the students (referential questions). Lastly, there were display questions testing the learner by asking questions whose meanings are already known (checking student's knowledge). In this sense, it can be stated that teachers' questions when located in the Long and Sato's taxonomy (1983) correspond to two categories: echoic questions and epistemic questions. Echoic questions are comprehension requests, confirmation checks, asking for repetition, clarification requests whereas epistemic questions are display questions (checking students' knowledge), and referential questions. Looking at the data, it is possible to state that the highest two elicitation types are display questions (35,75%) and referential questions (31,95%). In fact, the gap between these questions is not huge. These results are different from Long and Sato's research (1983) which detected an important difference between display (78,81%) and referential questions (21,19%). Long and Sato stated that the abundance of display questions indicate teachers' preference of accuracy over the communication.

Barnes (1983) suggests that closed questions, which restrict the options to only one answer, indicates a transmission model. Therefore, they should be shifted towards interpretative questions. Oral (2009) in her study, carried out in an elementary school, found that “reproduction questioning (what do pupils know)” and “inductive questioning (Guess What Teacher Thinks)” are two mostly produced strategies. She attributes this finding to “a high social distance between the teacher and the students” (p.159-162). She further argues that with the questioning genre teachers are positioned “as the knowledge transmitter and the students as receivers”. In the present study, the findings are in line with the Oral’s findings in that teacher questions mostly centre on “checking what students know”. However, unlike Oral’s findings, in the present study, it was revealed that referential questions which can be defined as “interpretive questions” (Barnes, 1983) exist to some extent. These questions bridge the epistemic asymmetry between the teacher and students and enable students to act as the knowledgeable as illustrated in the excerpts in Chapter IV. Lastly, the existence of this category also indicates an attempt on the part of the teacher to give students chances to negotiate meaning.

Students’ elicitations revealed in this study are “clarification requests, display questions, procedural questions, lexical questions, confirmation requests, and personal questions”. Unlike teachers’ questions, the students do not know the answers to all these categories except for display questions. The functions of students’ elicitations revealed in this study are compatible partly with a previous study which was conducted by Skilton and Meyer (1993). Based on their research conducted in ESL setting they grouped students’ questions under six categories “(1) (expressive, (2) referential (closed and open), (3) comprehension check, (4) confirmation check (5) clarification request (p.86)”. More recently, Yuksel and Yu (2008) in their research, grouped students’ questions under five types of questions “(1) lexical, (2) referential, (3) hypothesis testing, (4) procedural, and (5) challenge questions. It can be seen that some categories overlap. On the other hand, differences between the findings can be attributed to the difference between the settings or the features of participants. Skilton and Myer (1993) conducted their research with the adults while Yuksel and Yu worked with advanced level students. However, there is a consensus between the researchers about the benefits of these strategies. Yuksel and Yu (2008) emphasize the importance of referential and hypothesis testing questions since they indicate student engagement with the topic or material at hand. According to some researchers, confirmation checks, comprehension checks, and clarification requests play an important role in the negotiation of meaning (Long and Sato, 1983; Pica and

Long, 1986; Skilton and Meyer 1993). Similarly, findings of the present study showed the wishes of students to be illuminated by the teacher about lexical, grammatical content or technical side of the lessons or their wish to test their understanding of the content. All of these strategies indicate students' attempt to negotiate classroom knowledge. In this sense, display and personal questions are also important. Display questions as shown in the excerpts give the students the chance to question their classmates in a topic they are knowledgeable. This type of questioning inverts the typical roles of the student as the knowledge receiver to the knowledge provider. On the other hand, personal questions include situations where students ask personal questions. Typically, these question types emerged after teachers' various type of questions that simultaneously demand personal information from students. For example, when the teacher teaches simple past tense, a question (Tea: How did your parents meet?) can lead to a student question of personal types in the subsequent exchanges (Stu: How did you meet your husband hocam?). This type of questioning indicates students' claim of the status of questioner even if it means asking personal questions. The location of these questions (the emergence after the teachers' questions including a personal dimension) indicates that students claim the same status with the teacher. To sum up, even if the numbers and functions of student and teacher questions vary, present study indicated the trial of the students to claim power to pose a wide range of questions thereby breaking out of traditional roles.

Directives

a) The form and Functions of Directives

In teacher-initiated exchanges directives were the second prevalent discourse acts while in student-initiated exchanges they were the least produced category. The data revealed that there were three grammatical forms of directives in teacher-initiated exchanges. These were imperative forms, interrogative and declarative forms. Imperative forms had the highest proportion. On the other hand, there was not an important difference between the distribution of declarative and interrogative forms. These linguistic types correspond to the most direct forms of directives when located in the scale of directness (Trosborg 1995). On the other hand, the present study revealed that directives had various functions. Orders that aim to make students do actions are the mostly produced directives. Invitation to do the task strategies are the second frequently produced strategies. Instructing strategies in which teachers clarify the procedures for the classroom activities are in the fourth place. Advice and warning strategies are the least utilized strategies.

When it comes to student directives, the present study revealed that unlike teacher directives, student directives did not show a variety in linguistic forms. They generally centre on the interrogative forms and there were limited student directives that were in the imperative forms. In teachers' directives, the macro function of the directives was to get an action from students. Similarly, student directives aimed to get action from the teacher. Yet, in some cases, unlike teacher directives, student directives aimed to get permission to do a task in the form of requesting.

b) The Implication of Directives on the Negotiation of Power

The numbers of teachers' directives and their directness revealed in the present study indicate the asymmetry in teachers' and students' roles. Similarly, functional analysis of teacher directives has provided a repertoire of directives functioning to express student what to do at various instructional stages, as well as functioning to define and maintain interactional and behavioural norms to be followed on the parts of the student in the class. On the other hand, in student-initiated exchanges, the majority of directives function as requesting action from the teacher such as the request to repeat the last sentences or request to perform an act such as turning the lights on. These findings indicate that institutional power allocates the roles of teacher as the action demander and norm-definer. Similarly, Bernier (2008) suggest that directives are markers of teacher-student relationship while Foster (1995) talks of the "controlling nature" of directives (as cited in Kato, 2010, p.133). In the same vein, Çubukçu (2014) referred to orders, instructions, advice and warning as disempowering speech acts. Therefore, it is possible to state that teachers' disempowering speech acts exist in the data. Yet, as Giddens (1979) states, power relations "are always two-way, even if the power of one actor or party in a social relation is minimal compared to another. Power relations are relations of autonomy and dependence, but even the most autonomous agent is in some degree dependent, and the most dependent actor or party in a relationship retains some autonomy" (p.93). In this vein, moving out of quantitative data towards dynamic classroom through excerpt analysis proved fruitful in illuminating the students' reaction to teachers' directives. Excerpts, which were analysed on a turn-by-turn basis, revealed that students might challenge, refute and show non-compliance to teachers and force teachers to provide explanation for their behaviour because of resistance to power the teacher exercise over students. Therefore, although the teacher is mostly the action demander and norm definer in the classroom, this fact does not allocate all the classroom power to teachers. Rather,

it would be more appropriate to state that there is an asymmetry in the classroom. However, as Candela (1998) states this asymmetry is constantly being negotiated, manipulated or even reversed rather than solely being imposed or denied. Even in situations where teachers direct the classroom interaction, the students are not subordinated to them. Since power is discursive and negotiable, it requires making the other participants to accept one's own version. Therefore, students can gain local power when they defend their position through challenge, refutations and resistance.

Informatives

a) The Form and Functions of Informatives

According to the findings drawn from the data pertaining to the teacher-initiated exchanges, informatives were the smallest category at 7,31%. On the other hand, in student-initiated exchange informatives accounted for 39,21%. The form and function of the informatives were similar in both teachers' and students' data. They were realized through statements aiming to provide knowledge. They had two functions: expressing disciplinary content and providing personal accounts. In expressing disciplinary content both teachers and students provided disciplinary account that was about grammar, vocabulary or the ongoing activity. On the other hand, teachers and students produced personal accounts in order to express personal experience, opinion, or point of views.

b) The implication of Informatives on Negotiation of Power

Informative category includes both teachers' and students' act of providing information. Therefore, both parts in producing this act exercise power to take on the role of the knowledgeable. In this sense, it is important that the frequency of teacher informatives or student informatives do not show a significant difference in number (80 by students 89 by teachers). This shows that both teachers and students negotiated power to have a say in the interaction. Furthermore, students' informatives are significant in negotiating classroom power as Li (2013), based on Richards' research, suggests that when students provide information, they take the "discourse identities of primary knowers an identity category usually reserved for teachers" (p.73).

Functional analyses of informatives indicated that both teachers and students provided disciplinary knowledge and personal accounts. These categories are significant especially when produced by students. In providing disciplinary content, students contributed to the negotiation of meaning by providing disciplinary knowledge and thus claimed the role of knowledgeable. On the other hand, in providing personal accounts, students provide a factual account of events or state of affairs as accepted by Tsui (1994).

Mandala (2017) suggest that informatives serve to provide a person's attempt to assert a particular point of view. With these strategies, students manifest themselves as knowledgeable about academic content and they negotiate classroom power by defending their point of views. Therefore, it may be possible to state that students are not restricted to the role of the receiver on which power is exercised. Rather, students also exercise power and struggle for the role of the information provider.

4) What are teachers' turn allocation strategies? What do these strategies imply in terms of power?

The data gathered from the classrooms revealed that there were mainly three types of turn allocation strategies utilized by teachers. These were individual nomination, invitation to reply and invitation to bid. In individual nomination, teachers indicated a student as the next speaker by calling out his name or by gaze or gesture. Invitation to reply were teachers' strategies in which they indicated the necessity of a students' self-selection to response. Invitation to bid were the strategies in which the teacher indicated that students should raise their hands to get the right for response. These strategies are in line with the strategies put forward by Mehan (1979). In the data, individual nominations were the largest category at 48, 51% followed by invitation to reply which accounted for 42%. The least utilized strategies were invitations to bid.

Classroom research that was conducted during the 1970s declared that nearly 70% of the teacher turn allocation strategies were comprised of individual nominations (Shepherd, 2014). However, recent studies have declared that invitations to bid are the mostly utilized turn allocation strategies. To be more precise, according to the Shepherd's research, data from 2008 indicated that invitations to bid had the highest proportion at 70.7%, while invitations to reply had the second highest proportion at 20.1% and individual nominations were the least produced strategies at 9.2%. Shepherd (2014) states that the increase in the use of this strategy can be attributed to its advantage of reducing the risk of selecting an unprepared student. However, he argues that invitation to bid strategies springs from "teachers' use of monologic scripts" (p.79) in which most of the students remain as the passive listeners. He further argues that invitation to bid has the possibility to strengthen the dominant groups in the classroom and move away from the dialogic principles. However, there are some researchers by which this shift has been regarded as a positive change to move away from "authoritarian classroom" towards an "egalitarian" model (Cazden, 2001 as cited in Shepherd, 2014, p. 87). This is because it may be risky to nominate a student who does not bid for the next turn; for the selected

student may not be ready for the next turn (McHoul, 1978). In the present study, individual nominations and invitations to reply are the largest two categories. On the one hand, since individual nomination have a connection with the classroom control it may be possible to state that classrooms under investigations are restrictive. On the other hand, based on the proportion of invitation to reply strategies it is possible to state that students have the possibility to self-select for the next turns.

Shepherd (2014) suggests that individual nominations should not be avoided for the sake of volunteer-seeking strategies, for each student has something to contribute whether or not student recognize it. According to him, individual nominations facilitate a dialogic classroom discourse and serve to maintain equity in the distribution of turns in the interaction. Equity of turns in this understanding allow students to assert their ideas and to take part in actively in learning. That is to say, teachers are in charge with the securing smooth distribution of participation (Waring, 2015) as “some learners negotiate for more than their fair share, others for less” (Allwright, 1980, p.166). However, in this understanding, equity is established by the teachers and there is no room for self-selection by students. Furthermore, calling on a student is risky as she/he may be unprepared. Therefore, turning back to the present study, as understood from the excerpts calling on an unprepared student caused some face threatening acts. On the other hand, invitation to reply and invitation to bid strategies established a safe procedure of turn allocation system.

5.2. Conclusion

In this section, the findings of the present study were discussed in the light of the previous research. The discursive strategies of teachers and students were dealt with in terms of power construction within the classroom interaction. To be more precise, discursive strategies of teachers and students that were the frequency and the structure of teacher and student-initiated exchanges, the discourse act types, functions occurred through teacher and student initiations, and teachers' turn allocation and their implication on power were discussed. In the next sections, the study will provide the conclusions and implications of the study.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

6.0. Introduction

This chapter presents the main points of the overall findings in the light of the discussion provided in Chapter 5. The first section provides conclusions that the present study has drawn on power by analysing teachers' and students' discursive strategies. The next section presents implications the present study has yielded along with the recommendations for further study.

6.1. Conclusions

The present study indicated significant findings about the issue of power in the classroom. First, the analysis of the distribution of exchanges by teachers and students indicated the abundance of the presence of teacher control in the classroom discourse. Second, the discourse patterns of teacher and student-initiated exchanges revealed that teacher-initiated IRF is prevalent in the classrooms under investigation which put them in the boundary of teacher-fronted classrooms. However, it was worth noticing that both in teacher and student-initiated exchanges there were various discourse structure forms that enable students to break out of IRF and provide initiation and follow-up moves that allocate the role of knowledgeable to students, a place that is typically reserved for teachers.

The present study also indicated that the types of discourse acts found in both teacher and student-initiated exchanges were elicitations, informatives and directives. Teachers' elicitations outnumbered the students' elicitations and functional analysis showed that teachers' elicitations included functions such as checking knowledge, referential questions, clarification requests, comprehension check. Among them, referential questions were significant as they bridge the social distance between the teachers as the only knowledgeable and student as the empty vessel. On the other hand, students' elicitations were the tools for negotiating meaning and classroom power as they allocate the role of the questioner to the student. Furthermore, display questions that were the only type of questions whose answers are known to the students provide students in the subsequent sequences with the opportunity to evaluate and challenge other

participants' remarks. The forms and functions of teacher directives implied a high control of the classroom by the teacher. Teachers' directives were mostly in the form of imperative and they realized the functions of expressing student what to do at various instructional stages and defining interactional and behavioural norms to be followed in the classroom. However, even if directives indicate the asymmetry of power of teachers and students, they do not block students' contributions to negotiate power. As understood from the excerpt analyses, students use various tools such as challenging, contradicting, pushing teachers to account for their behaviour, defending their positions as knowledgeable. Lastly, informative acts of teachers and students indicated the negotiation of power and showed the instances where students have the status of knowledgeable.

The analysis of turn allocation patterns of teachers revealed that teacher mostly uses individual nominations and invitations to reply. Individual nominations included the process of calling out a student's name or selecting a student by a gaze or gesture. This strategy is thought to have a restrictive nature as it blocks self-selection and involves in some cases the selection of unprepared students. On the other hand, invitations to reply necessitate self-selection by students and reduce the risk of face threatening acts. Considering the frequencies these two categories, it was possible to state that teachers' turn allocation methods were partly restrictive.

To sum up, based on the overall findings, it is possible to state that there was power asymmetry which was manifested in the classroom interaction. Especially, the prevalence of IRF and the abundance of teacher elicitations and directives were the main reasons for the power asymmetry. However, the variety in the discourse structure patterns and functions of discourse acts especially student elicitations and informatives showed the instances where classroom roles attributed to students as passive receivers could be shifted to active discourse negotiator and communicator. Excerpts also showed that in the dynamic classroom discourse students could also have the role of initiator of the exchanges, knowledgeable question poser, and the evaluator of the interactants' utterances. Therefore, it is possible to state that the interactional (Thornborrow, 2013) or local (Candela, 1998) power is continuously renegotiated and reconstructed.

6.2. Implications

The findings of the present study have demonstrated how power is negotiated between teachers and students in terms of the discursive practices of both parts.

According to this, it was found out that despite the improvements which come with the bound exchanges and the category of other form, classroom is still teacher-fronted as documented by Arikdal (2006). Discourse structure was mostly framed by teachers' initiations and evaluations. Furthermore, discourse acts suggested the abundance of teacher questions versus student questions. On the other hand, a great number of teacher directives serve to facilitate control of the classroom behaviour of students by teachers. These conclusions imply that students should be promoted to take part in classroom talk more often in EFL settings. In this sense, teachers should be cognizant of the ways about how to promote students' power in the classroom. First, breaking out of IRF will open up more space for students to negotiate power and change the traditional roles of the teacher as the only knowledgeable and student as the passive listener. Second, teachers should employ more referential questions through which genuine classroom interaction can be established and thus the social distance between the teachers and students can be bridgeable. Third, teachers should be aware of the restrictive nature of directives and use them in a balanced way. Lastly, teachers should employ more invitations to bid strategies to allocate turns to the students so that students have the chance to self-select in contributing to the ongoing interaction.

Having emphasized these pedagogical implications one word of caution is warranted here. Power is a ubiquitous and pervasive entity inherent to classrooms. Therefore, even though there is pre-set institutional power reserved for the teachers, local power is exercised by all the participants in the interaction. Therefore, students also have their discursive mechanism in negotiating power. The present study showed that student-initiated exchange sequences, students' elicitations, and informatives in these sequences help them negotiate power as through these acts they adopt the role of an information provider and knowledge the evaluator. In this sense, generating opportunities for student-led interaction can shift the monolithic classroom interaction to a multi-voiced discourse in which students have more rights to influence the discourse. For example, Ernst (1994) in her study focuses on the initiator factor and proposed "the talking circle" as a communicative group activity to create chances for student-led interaction (p.293). In the talking circle, there are five phases structurally designed sequentially according to the students' interactional work. The phases are "getting ready, entry, core, teacher's agenda, and moving on" (p.299). These labels indicate the central focus of student's talk. As the procedure of the study requires students take part in classroom talk and as a classroom event the talking circle has been analysed on the basis of three classroom aspects: topic

development, social demand and communicative functions. The results of the study indicate that the features and purpose of teacher talk determine the level of students' participation. If the teacher is in the role of initiator student is in the receiver role. If there is an abundance of display questions, students' answers are minimal. This inequality in the status of students and teachers can be alleviated by the activities such as proposed by Ernst (1994) through talking circle. In the same vein, Kumaravadivelu (2003) proposes a macro strategy for teachers that is "Facilitate negotiated interaction" to encourage meaningful student-led interaction in which students are given the rights to start a topic and talk, not merely react and reply. Another way to generate student-initiated discourse is to utilize task-based approaches (Ellis, 2012) in order to provide students with communicative tools.

Teachers are at the very heart of foreign language classes. Therefore, teachers' awareness about the issue of power, the approaches and activities that can create equality in the status of teachers are emphasized in the present study. Some implications can be proposed for material designers, as well. Course materials that put students in the centre of learning should be supplied so that students can articulate and externalize their knowledge and opinions in classroom interaction. Course books covered in the classroom should accommodate student-initiated activities. Furthermore, technology brings a wide variety of sources that allocate various roles to students. For instance, some educational online websites have systems that necessitate students to be tutors. In these websites, students teach the content to the agents in the systems. They select and teach the content and prepare evaluation tools for these agents. Since these systems assign the role of the knowledgeable and decision-maker to the students, they can be included in the classrooms. Students may work in groups and have the opportunity to inform and evaluate both the agents in the system and themselves as well.

6.3. Suggestions for Further Research

The present study dealt with the operation of power relations through discursive practices of teachers and students. Since the aim was to portray the classroom in a naturalistic manner, it focused on the manifestation of the issue of power in dynamic classroom interaction. Therefore, the effects of classroom power relations on student learning were beyond the scope of the present study. In this sense, the exploration of the productivity of power in classroom interaction can be a future research direction.

Furthermore, in the present study, the issue of power explored in teacher-student interaction. Therefore, individual seatwork and group work in which one can concentrate on student-student interaction were excluded. Yet, these aspects in the future can yield insights into the documentation of power relationships in different contexts of the classroom. Furthermore, in the present study, an in-depth analysis of power has been provided based on the data coming from five English classrooms. The studies on power in classroom interaction can also give fruitful insights in classrooms, where subjects such as history or physics are taught in L1 and L2, in determining the difference between L1 and L2. The possibility of differences stems from the fact that joint construction of knowledge is different in language classrooms, for language is both “the subject matter of the lesson” and “the medium of instruction in L2 classrooms” (Sert, 2011, p.154; Willis, 1992, p.192). Since the issue of power is concerned with the knowledge, studies in L1 settings where students have the knowledge of the language may yield different findings. Therefore, further research can focus on the power in classrooms where L1 is used or where L2 is not the subject matter but merely an instrument

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Transcription Symbols

SYMBOL	DESCRIPTION
Tea	Teacher
Stu	A student
SS	Some or all students
(.)	A micropause - a pause of no significant length
(0.5)	A timed pause - long enough to indicate a time
[]	Square brackets show where speech overlaps
> <	Arrows showing that the pace of speech has quickened
< >	Arrows showing that the pace of the speech has slowed down
()	Researchers translations or identified categories
(())	An entry requiring researcher's comment
Underlining	Denotes a raise in volume or emphasis
↑	Rise in intonation
↓	Drop in intonation
CAPITALS	Louder or shouted words
(-)	A hyphen indicates an abrupt cut-off
=	Will be at the end of one sentence and the start of the next. It indicates that there was no pause between them
Ø	No response from the student

Appendix 2: Transcriptions of the Sampled Data

- 001 Tea2: I think , you have your newbooks.
- 002 SS: Yes
- 003 SS: No
- 004 Tea2: Why not?
- 005 Stu: Ben getirdim.
- 006 Tea2: Thank you Sevim, thank you thank you. Why not?We have
finished with this book. What are you going to do now you have
((pointing)), You have, you don't have anything. They have.
- 007 Stu: I don't have
- 008 Tea2: You are going to share the books for now.
You, can you please share the books please?
You share your book share and you share.Sevim,
You should share your book.
- 009 Stu: Hocam onlar da getirseydi.
- 010 Tea2: Just for 1 lesson please.
- 011 Stu: Hocam artık verselerde biz kabul etmeyiz.
- 012 Tea2: Really no.
- 013 Stu: Hocam bakın üstüne toz yapışır diye poşetini açmamış.
- 014 Tea2: Can you please open your new book?
Big in this one (07) Is it the first time in your life.?
- 015 Stu: 3 times
- 016 Tea2: Mood Food (05)Can you tell me about our new unit?
When we say mood food what comes to your mind?
- 017 Ø
- 018 Tea 2: Yes, mood food what comes? what do you say? (05)

Mood food our new unit (05) what do you say about,

What? Yes Ali what are you saying?

019 Stu: Turkish Translation?

020 Tea2: yes mood food, Süleyman.

021 Stu: Bi saniye hocam bende oxford uygulaması var, ben size bulacağım.

((One second, I have Oxford application, I will find it for you)).

((Laughter))

022 Tea 2: I am not asking for the Turkish translation I am asking about your ideas. Yes mood food mood food.

023 Stu: About our feelings.

024 Tea2: About our feelings.

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