

**THE ENGLISH 'NATIVE SPEAKER' TEACHER AS A
LANGUAGE RESOURCE: CONVERSATION
ANALYTIC EXAMINATIONS OF BACKSTAGE
INTERACTIONS IN JAPANESE HIGH SCHOOLS.**

CHRISTOPHER LEYLAND

**Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Newcastle University**

Integrated PhD in Educational and Applied Linguistics

**School of Education, Communication and Language
Sciences**

February 2014

Title

The English ‘native speaker’ teacher as a language resource: Conversation Analytic examinations of backstage interactions in Japanese High schools.

Abstract

Faced with fewer employment opportunities at home, more British and American university graduates are moving abroad to teach English as ‘native speakers’. In 2013 Japan’s JET Programme employed over 4000 ‘native speaker’ ‘Assistant Language Teachers’ (ALTs)¹. While ALT’s primary professional responsibility is widely considered to be teaching English to elementary, junior high and high school students, this study reveals they frequently provide their Japanese co-workers with English language help. After collecting around 80 hours of audio-recordings from two Japanese high school staffrooms, this study underwent a Conversation Analytic examination of English language learning encounters between ALTs and their Japanese co-worker English teachers.

There is a considerable body of Conversation Analytic research examining Second Language Acquisition processes in formal educational environments. However, with second language users engaged in formal learning constituting but a small fraction of the global L2-user community, “[w]hy, then, are the doors of classrooms still locked?” (Wagner, 2004: 615). This study considers English language learning processes occurring outside the classroom - in Japanese high school staffrooms.

Analysis reveals these language learning encounters invariably consist of three distinct actions: the English L2 user requests help, the English L1 user provides help and the sequence is closed. Within this basic structure, however, various phenomena occur. Rather than considering learning in the teachers’ “frontstage” setting of a classroom, this study examines learning occurring in the “backstage” (Sarangi & Roberts, 1999) setting of school staffrooms. Staffrooms are considered an important site for identity construction (Richards, 2007). Indeed, this analysis of language learning processes reveals complex identity negotiations. ALTs and their co-workers show themselves to be particularly resourceful communicators - utilizing different multilingual competencies, and dealing with various interactional ‘troubles’ and ‘hesitancies’.

This study adds to the body of SLA research using a ‘social’ approach - thus contributing to a redressing of an imbalance in the field (Firth & Wagner, 1997), and examines language learning in an under-researched site. Furthermore, the findings indicate that language learning is interwoven with identity work related to knowledge. This utilizes and informs Heritage’s recent influential work on ‘epistemics’ (2012a, 2012b), applying it to L2 interaction.

¹ See official JET Programme statistics for 2013
<http://jetprogramme.org/e/introduction/statistics.html>

Acknowledgements

I would not have enjoyed this journey half as much without the considerable support I have received from many. My family has been, and continues to be, my greatest source of support. In particular I want to thank my mother - who has always encouraged me in all of my endeavours and supported my decision to do this PhD self-funded. Her belief in me and interest in my work remained strong throughout. My father too - kept me laughing and was always willing to listen. My dear grandmother too - whom I love and miss very much - really kept me going. Her siblings too – Ted, Dot and Joan – thank you so much for all of your love!

Within the ECLS department at Newcastle University there are so many to thank. First, I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr. Alan Firth, for taking me on. His vision and guidance helped me shape this project without veering too far off track. His enthusiasm for research is a real inspiration for me – and has been right from the beginning of my MA. My unofficial supervisor Dr. Andy Harris too was a huge help in my apprenticeship as a researcher. It really helped my confidence as a researcher when, as I spoke, his head-shakes gradually turned to nods! More importantly, I gained a good friend and comrade. Manchester is lucky to have you. The encouragement and advice I received from my friend and colleague Dr. Adam Brandt made possible my next step. I can't thank you enough for that. I want to thank the other good friends I made at Newcastle University - Richard Gunion, Sandra Morales, Hatice Ergul, Michael Burgess, Rezan Alharbi, Olcay Sert and Cary Monreal. It has been a real pleasure to go through this with you and I wish you the very best completing your work. My closest friend at Newcastle University from day one: Alina Schartner. I really admire your positivity and energy - and if not for that, I'm sure I'd have lost heart long ago. It was fantastic to jump into teaching with you too! Dr. Peter Sercombe and Dr. Tony Young gave us both the chance to teach. Giving me this responsibility really helped my confidence and made continuing the PhD feasible. This teaching also put me into contact with countless MA students from far and wide!

My housemates too have really helped me to forget about the stresses of doing a PhD - and enjoy my time off. So thank you Grant, Huw, Claire and Muriel for keeping it fun!

This PhD project would not have been possible without the amazing help by former colleagues and friends in Japan. For all of those who helped me get this project off the ground in Japan; I wish I could express my gratitude here. However, to maintain your anonymity I can't mention your names! I will make sure to do it in person, properly. これを書くにあたって多くの日本の友人に恵まれたことに感謝しています。あなた方の親切は決して忘れません。最後に、たまえさん、タコ八の近くにある家にしばらく泊まらせてくださって本当にありがと

うございました。来年、あなたのおいしいお好み焼きを食べるのをとても楽しみにしています！

Writing this makes me remember with a smile all the lovely people who have helped me through this experience.

Finally, I'd like to thank my examiners Scott Windeatt and Bethan Benwell for agreeing to examine my thesis. I am very grateful for their close reading of my work and useful feedback.

Table of contents

Title and Abstract	i
Acknowledgements	ii
Chapter 1. Introduction		
1.1	Introduction.....	1
1.2	Setting the scene.....	1
1.3	Research Overview.....	2
1.4	Research Objectives and Relevance of this study.....	4
1.5	Thesis Organization.....	5
Chapter 2. Literature Review		
2.1	Introduction.....	6
2.2	Approaches to ‘learning’ in SLA.....	6
2.21	Background.....	6
2.22	The Cognitive Approach.....	7
2.23	The Social Approach and CA-SLA.....	9
2.3	SLA and Identity.....	13
2.31	Broadening the scope of SLA.....	13
2.32	The ‘Native Speaker’.....	14
2.33	A Conversation Analytic approach to Identity.....	17
2.34	The Interaction Order and Interactional Competence.....	18
2.35	The Normality of Second Language Interaction.....	19
2.36	The Sophistication of Second Language Interaction.....	20
2.37	Language Alternation.....	21
2.38	Code-switching in SLA.....	21
2.39	Identities in Second Language Interaction.....	22
2.4	Institutional Talk and Identity.....	23
2.5	Knowledge.....	26
2.51	Knowledge in Sociology.....	26
2.52	Epistemic Status and Epistemic Stance.....	27
2.53	The Epistemic Engine.....	30
2.54	Information Requests.....	31
2.55	Epistemic Status trumps Stance.....	34
2.6	Epistemics and CA-SLA.....	35
2.7	Chapter Summary.....	36
Chapter 3: Methodology		
3.1	Introduction.....	38
3.2	Pursuits of this Study.....	38
3.3	Introduction to Conversation Analysis.....	39
3.4	Ethnomethodology: the foundations of CA.....	40
3.5	CA’s Interactional Phenomena.....	42
3.51	<i>Sequence Organization</i>	42
3.52	<i>Turn-taking</i>	43
3.53	<i>Repair</i>	44
3.54	<i>Turn-Design</i>	45

3.6	CA: Reliability, Validity and Generalizability.....	46
3.7	CA: Criticisms and Limitations.....	48
3.8	CA for this study.....	49
3.9	Chapter Summary.....	50
Chapter 4: Research Design		
4.1	Introduction.....	51
4.2	Research Setting.....	51
4.3	Participants.....	52
4.4	Data Recording.....	53
4.5	Ethics	54
4.6	Transcription.....	54
4.7	Data Analysis procedure.....	56
Chapter 5:	Analysis. The ‘English help’ sequence and Multilingual Competencies.....	58
Chapter 6:	Analysis. ALTs’ stable K+ status.....	96
Chapter 7:	Analysis. ALTs’ orientation to progression in response to a ‘troubled’ delivery.....	119
7.1	Chapter Summary.....	145
Chapter 8: Discussion		
8.1	Audio data.....	147
8.2	Expanding SLA’s parameters.....	149
8.3	Turns requesting information.....	150
	8.31 ‘Questions’ as ‘fronting’.....	150
	8.32 Enabling information assertions.....	151
	8.33 Information requester’s prerogative.....	153
8.4	K+ status triggers.....	155
8.5	Multilingual Competencies.....	160
8.6	ALT’s stable K+ status.....	164
8.7	ALT’s orientation to progression in response to a ‘troubled’ delivery.....	167
8.8	Identities and the ‘Backstage’.....	170
Chapter 9:	Conclusion.....	174
Appendices.....		179
References.....		202

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

The first part of this chapter describes the context of this study. This is followed by a research overview - including a summary of this study, an introduction to the relevant research areas, and an introduction to the methodology used. Then the research objectives and relevance of this study will be discussed before a description of the organization of this thesis.

1.2 Setting the Scene

In an increasingly globalized² world, many ‘expanding circle’³ (Kachru, 1985) countries in Asia (e.g. Japan and South Korea) place prime importance on improving English language levels. This is due to a “common belief that English proficiency is essential for global communication in business, tourism, information technology, and other domains” (Kubota & McKay, 2009: 594). Consequently, there are many government sponsored school teaching programmes and private schools employing English ‘native speakers’ (hereon NS⁴). Jeon & Lee (2006) estimate that China hosts over 150, 000 ‘native speaker’ teachers, while ‘English fever’ (Jeong, 2004) has hit South Korea too - with ‘English Programme in Korea’ (EPIK) employing almost 3, 500 ‘native speakers’ in 2012⁵. Japan too seeks to raise the English abilities of its young generations. In April 2013, Prime Minister Shinzo Abe proposed to double the number of English NS teachers on the ‘JET Programme’ within three years⁶.

Japan’s ‘JET Programme’ began in 1987 with 848 English NS teachers and employs over 4,300 in 2013⁷. Here, Assistant Language Teachers (ALTs) are deployed to schools to ‘team-teach’ with Japanese teachers of English (JTEs). In addition to classroom responsibilities, ALTs provide the English language-related assistance the JTEs require - including teaching preparation and extra-curricular activities.

² This study adopts Gills’ (2004) ‘plural’ definition of globalization. Shifting from a solely economic consideration, Gills advocates “multiple globalization processes” - including various social, cultural, political and ideological processes.

³ For a view of Kachru’s (1985) ‘Concentric Circles’ model, see Appendix L

⁴ For readability, NS, referring to ‘native speaker’ will not be put in scare quotes each time it is used.

⁵ See *EPIK timeline* for 2012 employee numbers

<http://www.epik.go.kr/>

⁶ See *Japan Times*, April 23rd 2013:

<http://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2013/04/23/national/ldp-looks-to-double-jet-programs-ranks-in-three-years/#.UoDUzY6m020>

⁷ See official JET Programme statistics:

<http://www.jetprogramme.org/e/introduction/statistics.html>

This increasing demand for the NS is still being met. With fewer employment opportunities at home, more university graduates from ‘inner circle’ countries, such as the UK and USA, are becoming NS teachers abroad. Brandt (2006) estimates that over 10,000 people a year are taking one of several TESOL/TEFL pre-service training courses that are available in the UK.

The relationship between JET Programme ALTs and JTEs has been the focus of much research over recent years. In 2004, Mahoney carried out a government-sponsored questionnaire that found ALTs and JTEs are conflicted in their consideration of each other’s professional role(s) and identity. For example, ALTs typically consider the JTEs to be primarily ‘translators’ while JTEs consider themselves ‘explainers/mediators’. Additionally, while JTEs consider ALTs as primarily language teachers, ALTs consider themselves ‘foreign culture experts’. Mahoney concludes that such discrepancies cause frustration and a strained relationship both inside and outside the classroom. Miyazato’s interview-based study (2009) concluded that ALTs are given full autonomy in the classroom as they are English NSs. However, this results in JTEs being ‘peripheral participants’ in the classroom. This has a negative influence on their team-teaching performance and relationship outside the classroom. In 2010, Kiernan’s biographical interview-based study focused on the identity construction of ALTs and JTEs working together. Amongst Kiernan’s findings were; ALTs generally consider themselves the ‘owner’ of the English language and JTE as ‘learner’, and, in the broader educational context, JTEs consider themselves ‘insiders’ with more professional authority and the JET is an ‘outsider’ with less authority. While these studies offer interesting insights, the present study is the first micro-analytic examination of ALT-JTE communication *in situ*. As such, it can show how participants organize their communication together - and offer various new insights into the ALT-JTE relationship at work.

1.3 Research Overview

This study explores sequences in which JTEs request and obtain English language help from ALTs. The settings are two staffrooms in Japanese state high schools. The methodology for this study is conversation analysis (CA). Next, four central components of this study will be briefly introduced: *second language acquisition, epistemics, backstage, and conversation analysis*⁸.

As the sequences investigated in this study revolve around language learning, *Second language acquisition* (SLA) is a relevant component. Much research examining second language learning has been criticized for using experimental data collection methods such as interviews - which ignore the ‘natural’ social use of language. An alternative body of research considers language use and acquisition as inseparable (e.g. Brouwer, 2003) - examining ‘naturally-occurring’

⁸ These will all be fully examined later in the thesis

interactions in ‘real-world’ settings. Research on SLA using a CA methodology (known as CA-SLA - Kasper & Wagner, 2011), is stated to make up only a minority of SLA research - with ‘cognitive’ approaches dominating (see Firth & Wagner, 1997, 2007). Much CA-SLA research has been confined to classrooms (e.g. Seedhouse 2004). Although this seems an obvious setting for conducting research, there are considerable calls to expand and consider language learning outside the classroom (e.g. Wagner, 2004). While these calls have prompted some research (e.g. Jenks, 2009), there remains a myriad of unexplored settings in which language use/acquisition occur.

As this study examines knowledge requests and assertions, *epistemics* is an important component. Epistemics refers to the sociological consideration of knowledge. While sociology has used theories on knowledge since the 1940s⁹, recent years have seen an upsurge of interest and important developments. Heritage (2012a, 2012b) claims that participants in interaction constantly adjust their talk depending on presumptions of each other’s knowledge. Also, a person’s indication of a lack of knowledge prompts a sequence of talk that runs until a more knowledgeable person has redressed this knowledge imbalance. Finally, Heritage identifies a key link between knowledge and identity (ibid). These claims, however, are largely based on interactions between those who share a first language. While recent years have seen a (still relatively) small but growing body of epistemics research considering language learning in second language interactions (SLI)¹⁰, it is restricted to classroom settings.

As these encounters take place in a school staffroom and participants’ identity becomes relevant, the Goffman-inspired notion of the staffroom as a ‘backstage’ setting will be utilized. When considering identity construction in the professional world, influential sociologist Erving Goffman made a distinction between *front* and *back region* settings (1959/71). He claims that the front region is where the core professional performance takes place, while in the back region people flaunt the impression given in the front region “as a matter of course” (p.114). Goffman (1959/71) identified school staffrooms as being a clear example of a *back region* setting. Sarangi & Roberts (1999) developed this distinction, using the terms *front* and *backstage*. They refrain from imposing behavioral norms and state that frontstage encounters are often between insiders-outsiders (e.g. teacher-students) while *backstage* encounters are typically insider-insider (teacher-teacher) encounters. They claim that while there is considerable research on frontstage encounters, there is little consideration of the backstage. Subsequent research, however, has shown backstage settings, for example language school staffrooms (Richards, 2007), to be a site for “complex relational interplay and identity construction” (op.cit.: 71).

⁹ For example, Shannon & Weaver’s ‘Mathematical Theory of Communication’ (1949). This will be examined in more detail in chapter 2.

¹⁰ SLI can be defined as “interactions in which one or more of the participants use a language which is not their mother tongue” (Brandt, 2011: 12).

As this study analyses language learning in talk-in-interaction, *Conversation Analysis* (CA) will be used. Based on Garfinkel's Ethnomethodological principles (1967), CA is a methodology to analyse the interactional 'tools' and structural organization of social interaction (e.g. Schegloff & Sacks 1973). This has been applied to 'everyday' and 'institutional' settings (e.g. Drew and Heritage 1992). The present study follows a body of work using CA to examine SLI. The CA researcher investigates social interaction by repeated listenings/viewings of data recordings - supported by detailed transcriptions. Using a strictly 'emic' approach, CA researchers reject the possible relevance of social theories before examining the data, only considering that which participants make demonstrably relevant in the data and how this is interpreted by interlocutors. Furthermore, the CA researcher seeks to highlight the interactional resources¹¹ participants use to achieve various social actions. As such, the researcher asks "why that, in that way, right now?" (Seedhouse, 2004: 16) - to see how participants interpret and understand each other. This approach to analysing talk is suited to the present study as it seeks to identify the resources used by participants with differing levels of English (and Japanese) language proficiency to achieve English language learning.

1.4 Research Objectives and Relevance of this study

The main objectives of this study are to examine sequences between ALTs and JTEs in which English language learning occurs - in doing so this study will identify and explicate the interactional resources used within these sequences. As this study seeks to "discover phenomena such as patterns of second language behavior not previously described and to understand these phenomena from the perspective of the participants in the activity" (Seliger & Shohamy, 1989: 120), research questions will not be used. Following common CA protocol, this allows any arising phenomena to become the focus of investigation (see Negretti, 1999).

This study examines SLA processes occurring in naturally-occurring talk in the 'real world' setting of Japanese high school staffrooms using CA. This study adds to the body of CA-SLA research and thus contributes to redressing the stated imbalance within SLA. As stated above, while much CA-SLA research focuses on language classroom learning, a host of non-classroom settings remain under-researched. It is surprising given that L2 users engaged in formal language learning account for only a small fraction of L2-users worldwide (Wagner, 2004), a methodology considering language use and acquisition as inseparable has generated a relatively small (although growing) body of research examining non-classroom talk. This study expands CA-SLA's stock of knowledge by examining learning processes in the under-explored setting of Japanese high school

¹¹ This relates to the notion of 'interactional competencies' - which will be discussed in chapter 2.

staffrooms. As the staffroom is not a classroom setting, this study seeks to understand the complexities of language learning in this ‘perspicuous’ setting.

As the present study is concerned with sequences requesting and asserting (English language-related) information, a consideration of ‘epistemics’ is necessary. As stated above, despite the recent upsurge in epistemics research by sociologists, most of this work is focused on first language interactions (FLI). This study expands the still relatively small body of SLA research considering the potential relevance of epistemics in interactions between those not sharing a first language (SLI). By considering epistemics in SLI, this study expands the growing considerations of SLI and epistemics research domains. This will provide valuable insights for SLA and identity researchers, as well as for educational institutions.

This study also responds to Sarangi & Roberts’ (1999) call for more CA-identity-related research on ‘backstage’ settings - by revealing any identity work occurring in Japanese high school staffrooms. Finally, by considering the epistemic and identity work that arises in SLA processes ‘backstage’, this study sheds light on this language learning setting and pushes the boundaries of SLA.

1.5 Thesis Organization

Having introduced the context and components of this study, and having outlined its objectives and relevance, it is necessary to briefly describe the organization of the rest of this thesis.

Chapter 2 will review literature related to learning in SLA, identity and knowledge. This will reveal research gaps that this study will address. Chapter 3 describes the epistemological foundations, theoretical principles and core concepts of conversation analysis - the methodology used to fill the research gaps. Chapter 4, research design, gives details of this study’s data collection and analytic procedures. This chapter clarifies the processes which led to chapters 5, 6, and 7 - the analytic chapters. Chapter 5 provides a conversation analytic description of the ‘English help sequence’ and introduces the first interactional competency used in this sequence: multilingual competencies. Chapter 6 then examines the ALTs’ stable status as relative ‘language expert’ despite displays of ‘trouble’ and ‘hesitancy’. Then, chapter 7 examines the ALTs’ preference for sequence progression despite the JTEs’ ‘troubled’ delivery. Chapter 8 considers how the analytic findings of this study relate to the relevant literature reviewed in chapter 2. Finally, chapter 9 summarizes the findings of this study and outlines how they contribute to the relevant research communities.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

The present study will contribute to the large body of research involving language learning in interactions between participants who do not share a first language. It will reveal the linguistic practices used and the interactional order achieved in encounters in a non-classroom environment. The first section of this literature review will consider the various approaches to ‘learning’ in second language acquisition (SLA) research. The second section will examine various approaches to ‘identity’, and the third section will view the insights into ‘knowledge’/‘epistemics’.

In the data used for this study, interactions largely take place in English - as a first (L1) and second language (L2). However, as issues involving L2 use aren’t limited to any one language (Brandt, 2011), this literature review will include research considering various languages as L2s¹².

2.2 Approaches to ‘learning’ in SLA

The following section will consider two distinct conceptualizations of ‘learning’ that are prevalent in Second Language Acquisition (hereon SLA) literature - broadly termed ‘cognitive’ and ‘social approaches’. Choice of conceptualization is an ongoing critical tension at the heart of SLA research (see Kasper & Wagner, 2011; Ortega, 2012).

2.21 Background

As Zuengler & Miller (2006) state, cognitive approaches to learning dominate the field of SLA, with major journals¹³ publishing largely cognitively-based studies (p.36). Prominent SLA researchers predict this will continue (e.g. Guiora, 2005). Long & Doughty (2003) see the very future of SLA as depending on the utilization of cognitive science.

“For SLA to achieve the stability, stimulation, and research funding to survive as a viable field of inquiry, it needs an intellectual and institutional home that is to some degree autonomous and separate from the disciplines and departments that currently offer shelter. Cognitive science is the logical choice (p. 869).”¹⁴

¹² For example, English, Finnish and Japanese

¹³ Such as *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*, *Language Learning*, *Applied Linguistics* and *TESOL Quarterly*

¹⁴ cited in Zeungler & Miller (2006) p37.

Firth and Wagner (1997) critiqued this cognitive domination - claiming this imbalance results in “distorted descriptions of and views on discourse, communication, and interpersonal meaning - the quintessential elements of language” (p.288). They call for more emic/‘social’ perspectives examining the social *use* of language. This sparked considerable debate within SLA - that continues to this day. In 1996 Lantolf describes SLA as being “diverse, creative, often contentious, and always full of controversy” (p. 738). More recently and rather less optimistically, Larsen-Freeman describes social/cognitive feuds within SLA as resulting “in a state of turmoil” (2002: 33). This sentiment is echoed in 2009 by Firth who states that SLA is “in a state of flux” (p.128).

2.22 The Cognitive Approach

Chomsky has been a central figure in the cognitive approach to learning in SLA since the 1960s. His approach seeks to explain the individual’s language cognition “in terms of mental representations and information processing” (Ellis, 1999: 22). Chomsky called for linguists to “establish certain general properties of human intelligence” (1968: 24), stating that linguistics “is simply a sub-field of psychology that deals with these aspects of the mind” (ibid)¹⁵. In line with this, the leading scholar Corder stated that SLA should be focused on linking language acquisition to “general human cognitive systems” (1973: 24).

In particular, Chomsky’s concept of a ‘language instinct’, further developed by Pinker (1994), has a strong influence in SLA. Pinker describes ‘language instinct’ as “a distinct piece of the biological makeup of our brains” (p. 18). He then states that “some cognitive scientists have described language as a psychological faculty, a mental organ, a neural system, and a computational module” (ibid). This cognitive ‘language instinct’ functions as a ‘language acquisition device’ - enabling ‘learning’ to occur. This concept had, and still has, a monumental effect on SLA. Schwartz (1998) develops this concept - arguing that, like first language acquisition, second language acquisition processes rely on language instincts. Consequently, she claims that the L1 has a significant role in the initial stages of adult L2 acquisition. The claimed effects the L1 has on an L2 refers to the notion of ‘L1 transfer’. This remains a highly prevalent notion in cognitive-based SLA studies. For example Kim & Kim (2013) consider the effects of Korean on L2 English learners’ use of ‘passive sentences’, and Poznan & Quirk (2013) examine how Chinese and Spanish speakers’ L1 effects their production of L2 (English) questions.

¹⁵ cited in Firth & Wagner (1997) p.287

Another concept borne out of the 'language instinct' concept is Corder's 'error analysis' (EA). At its height in the 1970s, this identified language learners' 'errors' and saw them as a window to their language learning systems. In turn this led to the formulation of the concept of 'interlanguage' (Selinker, 1969, 1972). This describes the linguistic system of an L2 learner who has not yet achieved their target competence. Dickerson's (1975) longitudinal study of Japanese learners of English has particular focus on English sound systems. Dickerson states that their interlanguage is made up of a system of variable rules. This concept was developed in the 1990s by 'Computer-aided Error Analysis'. Dagneaux et al's (1998) study underwent an EA on a large corpora of data. This study still holds considerable influence - with many researchers undergoing similar EA studies using the latest computer technology (e.g. Thewissen, 2013; MacDonald et al, 2013).

This suggests much recent SLA research still considers language learning/acquisition an individual phenomenon related to human cognitive processes and systems that underpin speech production.

In their highly influential paper, Firth & Wagner (1997) call the domination of cognitive approaches to SLA "an imbalance that hinders progression within the field" (p.286). Firth & Wagner identify several dangers that some "presuppositions, methods, and fundamental (and implicitly accepted) concepts" (ibid) hold. A brief summary follows below.

Firth & Wagner claim that cognitively-based studies reduce the social identities of research participants to a simple binary distinction of 'native' and 'non-native speakers'/learners. They cite Rampton's (1987) critique of 'communication strategies', stating that this represents a common preoccupation with the 'learner'. They claim a taken-for-granted view of 'learner identity' distracts the researcher from other social identities that may become relevant - such as husband, friend, teacher etc. This focus on the 'linguistic deficiencies' and 'communicative problems' renders the 'learner' an inherently "defective communicator" (Firth & Wagner, 1997: 288). This prevents sufficient consideration of communicative 'successes' - which are also a common occurrence for those communicating in a foreign language.

Firth & Wagner critique 'input modification studies'. Work by Varonis & Gass (1985a, 1985b) and Gass & Varonis (1985a, 1985b) analyses communication between 'native-' and 'non-native' speakers (hereon 'NS' and 'NNS'), and identifies the ways in which NSs modify their talk to aid the understanding of the NNS. Firth & Wagner state that this perspective positions the NS as the relative benchmark of linguistic 'correctness' and 'appropriacy' - with the NNS placed in a subordinate position. They claim SLA views NS-NNS communication as necessarily problematic, and the very use of the terms NS/NNS suggests these are homogenous groups with clearly

distinguished characteristics and boundaries. This ignores complexities and concepts such as ‘semi-lingualism’, ‘bilingualism’, ‘multilingualism’ (see Davies, 1991).

Next, Firth & Wagner critique the prevalent notion of ‘interlanguage’ - an underdeveloped, transitional phase of the L2 learner. This marks the target as emulating NS competence - with the underlying assumption that the “NS competence is constant, fully developed, and complete” (p.292). Firth & Wagner cite Rampton (1987) and state that the ‘interlanguage’ notion is based on a preoccupation with the L2 speaker’s grammar - ignoring “the relationship between speakers and the world around them” (p.49). The ignored ‘world around them’, Firth & Wagner claim, is made up of various factors such as “social relations, identities, task, physical setting, and both global and turn-by-speaking-turn agenda,” (1997: 293). They also claim that L2 learners’ ‘deviant’ language use is not necessarily indicative of L2 incompetence. Indeed, such language could be “deployed resourcefully and strategically, to accomplish social and interactional ends” (ibid).

With these critiques in mind, Firth & Wagner propose a reconceptualization of the field of SLA - to avoid the stated dangers, offer an alternative consideration of language ‘learning’, and broaden the scope of SLA.

2.23 The Social Approach & CA-SLA

Firth & Wagner’s (1997) proposed reconceptualization revolves around the concept that meaning is “a social and negotiable product of interaction, transcending individual intentions and behaviours” (p.290). The three major changes Firth & Wagner call for are as follows. First, an increased awareness of the contextual and interactional aspects of language *use*. Second, an increased sensitivity to that which participants make relevant - an *emic* perspective. Third, a broadening of the types of data collected (p.286). These changes necessitate the collection of data from interactive encounters.

Such an approach is rooted in the rejection of Chomsky’s (1957) notion of a context-free ‘grammatical competence’, and relates to Hymes’ ‘communicative turn’ (1961). In 1974, Hymes proposed a focus on a ‘communicative competence’ rather than ‘grammatical competence’ - considering language users’ grammatical knowledge (syntax, morphology, phonology etc) *as well as* social knowledge of language use (i.e. when and how to use forms appropriately). This increased stress on communication saw Hymes launch a more social and contextual perspective on language. This was followed by a rise in studies exploring context and actual language use (e.g. Faerch & Kasper, 1983, Varonis & Gass, 1985a, 1985b). Despite this, Chomsky’s cognitive approach continued to be the dominating paradigm in SLA throughout the 1980s and mid-90s (Firth & Wagner, 2007).

Firth & Wagner's (1997) paper sparked a considerable (and almost immediate) response from cognitively-based SLA figures. Long (1997) doubts that further insights into L2 *use* will help to understand the process of L2 *acquisition*, and Kasper (1997) claims that such an approach with learning as its main focus "is a contradiction in terms" (p.310). Gass (1998) referred to Firth & Wagner's suggestions as "perplexing" (p.88), claiming that their critiques were misguided as SLA should be primarily focused "on the *language* used and not on the act of communication" (p.84).

In response, Firth & Wagner (2007) remain firm on rejecting the assumption that the 'native-speaker' holds innate linguistic superiority and maintain their view that language *use* and *acquisition* cannot be separated. Furthermore, they continue to stress the importance of addressing the imbalance in SLA. Criticisms of Firth & Wagner's paper prompted members of the SLA community with a 'social approach' to re-engage with these debates (see, for example, Jenkins, 2006; Pavlenko, 2002). This suggests the 1997 article reflected the dissatisfaction of many and that SLA is far from a unified, monolithic enterprise.

According to Wagner (2004), if learning is considered an inner, cognitive state, then studies considering only that which is produced and displayed in the 'social' *use* of language "can do nothing other than accept an inferior position" (p.614). However, there is a considerable body of empirical SLA research adopting the 'social' perspective on learning as participation. Such research refrains from making statements about the inner states of participants.

In such studies, it is claimed that participants change the nature of their participation in some practice - seemingly learning the ways in which the activities they participate in work. This sees participants undergo a process of socialization into a community of practice (see Wenger, 1998). This perspective has its roots in Lave & Wenger's (1991) influential notion of 'learning as legitimate peripheral participation in situated learning'. Here, 'learning' refers to the acquisition of knowledge by a 'novice', as well as that of an 'expert'. A helpful metaphor used is that of an apprentice and their master, and how they act as co-learners. They both acquire knowledge of how to participate in various roles with each other, anticipate what can occur during particular (often complex and changing) practices, and develop the abilities to improvise. There is a particular focus, however, on how the participation of apprentice/newcomer and how the "increasing participation of newcomers [novices] in ongoing practice shapes their gradual transformation into oldtimers" (Lave, 1993: 72). Consequently, learning is interwoven with participation. This approach has been applied to language learning by a growing amount of SLA scholars using a Conversation Analytic methodology. Such research has become known as CA-SLA (Kasper & Wagner, 2011). The remainder of this section will review such research.

Language learning in the Lave & Wengerian view adopted by CA-SLA researchers is a "continuous process of adaptation of patterns of language-use-for-action in response to locally

emergent communicative needs, and the routinisation of these patterns through repeated participation in social activities” (Doehler, 2010: 107). In other words, learning is considered to be rooted in the moment-by-moment unfolding of interactions that arise - with clear evidence of participants displaying orientations to learning. CA-SLA studies take as a starting point Schegloff’s claim that “[w]hen an utterance is addressed to prior talk, its speaker reveals some understanding of that prior talk” (1991: 168). People in talk routinely claim problematic or unproblematic understandings of prior talk - using ‘understanding-display devices’ (Schegloff et al, 1977). Martin (2009) shows that speakers routinely use these devices to indicate that they understand something in the prior turn as being ‘incorrect’ and needing to be corrected. CA-SLA studies can also provide clear evidence of participants treating a prior turn as providing ‘new’ information - using “sequence closing thirds” (Schegloff, 2007). For example, a ‘change of state token’ (for example ‘oh right’) following an assertion of information (e.g. Terasaki, 1976/2004) or repair (Heritage, 1984) is used to treat prior talk as enabling a new ‘knowing’ cognitive state (ibid). Additionally, an affiliative assessment can be used to indicate the ‘valence’ of a prior assertion (Pomerantz, 1984¹⁶; Maynard, 2003). More recently, Lee (2012) identified a set of practices used to obtain a word unknown to the current speaker. For example, speakers give descriptions of the word/person and approximations. All of these practices indicate that the speaker doesn’t know the word - yet after being informed, they treat this as new information obtained by giving ‘change of state tokens’. Using such devices participants give displays of ‘learning’ - showing ‘socially distributed cognition’ (Markee, 2008). In other words, CA allows a view of how people ‘do learning’ (Sahlstrom, 2011).

Recent years have seen an increase in CA-SLA studies (Pekarek Doehler, 2013) that see learning as a social activity. Mori & Hasegawa (2009) examined students of Japanese as a foreign language engaging in pair work. They found that students undergo ‘word searches’ - and use their bodies and nearby objects such as textbooks and notepads to indicate their (cognitive) levels of understanding. Markee & Seo (2009) examine talk between an English L2 student and an English L2 speaker-teacher. The teacher repairs the student’s ‘many time’ with ‘much time’. The student gives a change of state token indicating a change to a ‘knowing’ cognitive state and then 60 seconds later uses the repaired form ‘much time’. This study shows short-term learning as being interactionally achieved and clearly evidenced.

Other CA-SLA research considers the how participants develop their patterns of communication over long periods. Pekarek Doehler (2010) considered students’ learning of the verb for ‘to adore’ in French L2 classrooms. Students clearly demonstrated orientations to learning this

¹⁶ For example,

A: You must admit it was fun the night we we[nt out
 B: [It was great fun.
 Pomerantz (1984) (simplified form)

item - and one month later reused the verb in a different environment. By various means of non-verbal communication, a student flagged this verb as a product of the earlier interaction.

Young & Miller (2004) consider talk between a Vietnamese learner of English and an English L1 speaker at a writing conference. They track the processes by which both change their patterns of participation - so as to complement the student's learning. They conclude that language learning is a co-constructed development that occurs in/during situated practices. Cekaite (2007) examines the development of a child's language skills in a Swedish immersion classroom over a one-year period. This study states that changes in the child's interactional participation are related to different learning requirements and identities over time. Hellerman underwent a series of studies (2008, 2009, 2011) tracking the changing participation of English L2 learners when organizing task openings and closings, storytelling and repairs over periods of up to 27 months.

With language classrooms being a "major natural habitat for second language conversations" (Gardner & Wagner, 2004: 1), understanding this context is a very important. However, as Wagner (2004) points out, while studies utilizing Lave & Wenger's approach do consider language learning to be bound to participation in this context, too much of this research is restricted to formal educational environments. With L2 users engaged in formal learning in such environments only constituting a small fraction of the global L2-user community, Wagner asks "[w]hy, then, are the doors of classrooms still locked?" (p.615). Consequently, current SLA studies using this approach "do not exhaust the full potential of what a social theory of learning might make possible" (ibid). Wagner calls for the SLA community using Lave & Wenger's approach to further investigate language use/learning *outside* the classroom, "in the activities of ordinary bilingual social life" (ibid). Firth too calls for further studies to consider contexts in which L2 learning may occur yet "L2 instruction is not the order of the day" (2012: 11). Such research will describe how language learners are apprentices in the 'outside world'.

To some extent this challenge has been risen to. For example, Brouwer (2003) analyses informal interactions between 'native-' and 'nonnative-speakers' of Danish, considering how word-searches provide opportunities for language learning. Brouwer & Wagner (2004) analyse informal non-classroom talk between L2 users of Danish and German, considering how L1 speakers directly and indirectly teach aspects of the language. Brouwer & Wagner claim that L1 speakers are seeking to maintain mutual understanding and also provide learning opportunities for L2 users. Here L1 speakers orient to their own status as language teacher in relation to the student status of the L2 users - despite being outside the classroom. Firth & Wagner (2007) studied English 'lingua franca' (ELF) workplace interactions on the telephone. They show how learning can occur in covert ways as interlocutors provide each other with linguistic resources which can be used when needed. They also consider casual interactions (non-work-related) between friends - considering how the L2 user

identifies himself as an L2 learner and explicitly solicits language help from the L1 speaker ('doing L2 learning'). Jenks (2009) examined ELF interactions on 'Skypecasts' (an online voice-based tool for computer-mediated communication) - focusing on sequences in which interlocutors are 'getting acquainted'. Before its closure, this medium was used by L2 users of English from across the globe to learn and use English. Jenks found that despite having some similarities with classrooms, "what is deemed an 'appropriate' or 'normal' contribution in Skypecasts is neither fixed nor predetermined, but an organic collaborative agreement" (p.26).

While these studies offer considerable insights into the ways people use/learn languages outside of the classroom, the classroom is still the dominating research context (Wagner, 2010; Firth, 2012). There remains a myriad of 'perspicuous settings' (Garfinkel, 1967) in which L2 use/learning occurs to be researched in order to "expand our general stock of knowledge of L2 learning and L2 acquisition" (Firth, 2009: 131). The present study contributes to the L2 learning field by examining the under-explored interactional setting of Japanese high school staffrooms.

2.3 SLA and Identity

The following section will describe the further 'opening-up' of SLA to accepting various social theories. A considerable body of SLA examines the links between SLA and identity - thus broadening SLA's parameters. Following a brief description of two prevalent approaches to identity in SLA, will be an examination of the notion of 'native speaker'. This is a recurrent identity category in much SLA work and the focus of considerable discussion. This is followed by a third approach to identity in SLA, offered by Conversation Analysis, that offers valuable insights into the complexity of identity and its (co-) construction in second language interaction (SLI). This section will track the development of the Conversation Analytic approach to SLI and identity up to the present day, and will identify important areas for future research.

2.31 Broadening the scope of SLA

In 1997, Firth & Wagner's state that SLA's view of identity is too narrow. Rather than considering the "multitude of social identities" (p.292) such as friend, husband, or stranger that could be relevant, most SLA researchers only consider 'native' and 'non-native speaker' identity. In response Gass (1998) states that identity is largely irrelevant to SLA as it doesn't help answer "how are L2s acquired and what is the nature of learner systems?" (p.86). Despite this view there has been a marked increase in research considering such links - reflecting a "general uneasiness about a certain conceptual and epistemological narrowness in the [SLA] field" (Block, 2007a: 863-4). Researchers

have undergone a “systematic and extensive borrowing from contiguous social science fields of inquiry” (Block, 2007b: 2) to examine the SLA-identity link(s), thus pushing “SLA beyond its roots in linguistics and cognitive psychology” (Block, 2007a: 864). Three prominent approaches will be briefly described below.

In 1995, Norton Pierce seeks to develop a theory that “integrates the language learner and the language learning context” (1995: 12). As such, Norton Pierce adopts the feminist post-structuralist Weedon’s (1987) view of how power relations between individuals and groups do “affect the life chances of individuals at a given time and place” (Norton Pierce, 1995: 15). This is fused with Bourdieu’s notion of ‘cultural capital’ (1977) - the idea that knowledge and types of thought characterize different social groups, placing them hierarchically in relation to other groups. This has resulted in a considerable body of SLA research adopting this approach, much of it foreign-language classroom-based (see, for example, Bayley & Schechter, 2003; Kramsch, 2007; Creese, 2005).

The second approach to identity in SLA is ‘narrative inquiry’. Social scientist Bruner (1987) argues that humans construct their own ‘narrative self’ and that “a life as led is inseparable from a life told” (p.31). This approach has permeated practically every field of the social sciences - including SLA (Reissman, 2002). Typically, interviews are used to elicit learner’s accounts of the processes of becoming bilingual (see Kramsch, 2006; Pavlenko, 2001). These are analysed and conceptually framed into ‘narratives’ (Bruner, 1987) and commonly given a literary analysis, utilizing Bakhtin’s (1981) analytic framework (e.g. Kiernan, 2010; Nicholas et al, 2011). Narrative accounts show how the participant constructs various identities over time and how this relates to broader social understandings. In turn, this shows how personal agency is constrained by such understandings.

2.32 The ‘Native Speaker’

The identity-category of the ‘native speaker’ (hereon NS) and ‘non-native’ speaker (hereon NNS) is a recurrent one in a large body of SLA research. These may appear common sense categories referring to those with a special knowledge about ‘their’ own language. Indeed, the concept of the NS is highly ambiguous and has several different definitions - with differing emphases.

Davies, in his “bio-developmental definition” (1996: 156), states that a person is a NS of the language they learnt in their childhood. Consequently, “individuals cannot change their native language any more than they can change who brought them up” (Cook, 1999: 186). With this comes their ‘nondevelopmental characteristics’ (ibid) such as an innate knowledge of rules and meanings, an ability to communicate appropriately across settings, and language creativity (Stern, 1983).

Social identification with a particular language community (Johnson & Johnson, 1998), fluent speech ability, and knowledge of how their speech relates to 'standard' forms (Davies 1996) have also been key factors attributed to NSs¹⁷. Such context-free 'grammatical/linguistic competence' and nondevelopmental characteristics make up the Chomskyan notion of the 'idealized native speaker' (1986). This resulted in many within the SLA community being primarily "concerned with uncovering, revealing, describing, explaining the knowledge of the idealized native speaker" (Davies, 1991: 38). This remains a widespread research focus (Davies, 2012).

Krashen (1982) made an influential distinction between language *acquisition* and *learning*. Krashen's *acquisition* refers to a child's development of a first/'native' language, while *learning* refers to the conscious knowledge of language rules and the ability to describe them. This, in turn, led to Bialystok's influential notions of 'implicit' and 'explicit' language knowledge (1978). *Implicit* language knowledge refers to knowledge of grammar and appropriate language use - which a child develops while *acquiring* a native language (see Locke, 1996). Much research has claimed that NSs often have to develop a 'metalinguistic awareness' over time in order to explicitly describe this implicit knowledge (e.g. Karmiloff-Smith, 1997; Bialystok, 2001). A considerable body of 'cognitive' research states that bilingualism helps to develop this metalinguistic awareness (Reynolds, 1991). *Explicit* language knowledge is widely considered to be grammatical knowledge which can be described, and that which is learned in formal educational settings by L2 learners (see Krashen, 1977; Stern, 1983). Commonly, SLA researchers seek to track how NNSs strive to emulate the implicit language knowledge of the 'idealized' NS (e.g. Taylor, 2003; Morgan-Short et al, 2012).

However, there is considerable debate as to the definition of this 'idealized native speaker'. Cook (1999) states that many of its components are highly variable. He rejects that all NSs are aware of differences between their own speech and some 'standard' form. Also, speech fluency is by no means an ability all NSs are endowed with - Cook refers to people communicating with voice-generators or by sign-language, and people with social anxiety-related speech difficulties. As such, the definition of NS remains unclear. Also the 'mother tongue' concept (Bloomfield, 1933) is put in doubt when considering multilingual families (Cook, 1999). In addition, the effect peer groups have on a child's linguistic development is also an important aspect overlooked by the Chomskyan definition (Ochs, 1982).

With the core features of the NS appearing elusive, a precise definition cannot be given. Nevertheless, this concept continues to be prevalent. Escudero & Sharwood-Smith (2001) state that a clear definition is normally avoided in SLA research, yet, worryingly, the majority of researchers

¹⁷ cited in Cook (1999)

“rely on the *assumption* that there is a common understanding of what a native speaker is” (p.275, emphasis added).

Rampton (1990) suggests discarding the term ‘NS’ altogether - replacing it with three alternative concepts to add clarity and lessen discrimination against NNSs; ‘language expertise’ (levels of proficiency one has in a language), ‘affiliation’ (levels of attachment people feel to a particular language), and ‘inheritance’ (the ways in which people are born into a language tradition of a family and/or community).

Despite these alternatives provided, the terms NS and NNS still remain in common use in SLA literature (Holliday, 2006). Below follows an overview of highly influential SLA work relating to NSs.

The assumptions that NSs have a privileged understanding of ‘their’ language and therefore are better informants have come under scrutiny. Graddol links the proportional fall of the English NS in the world’s population to “changing ideas about the centrality of the native speaker to norms of usage” (1999: 165). Graddol sees the NS as a *discourse* - a product of modernity in which “identities have been constructed according to a particular model of perfection: unified, singular, well-ordered” (ibid: 166). Bhatt (2002) too considers the NS an ideological discourse.

Bhatt (2002) and Phillipson (1992) adopt post-colonial perspectives and align with Graddol’s consideration of NS as an ideological discourse to be investigated. They claim there are various processes that ensure the ‘the native speaker myth’ is an ideological reality for those learning and teaching English. While Bhatt states that the foreign language teacher is rendered a deficient communicator, struggling to emulate the NS’s linguistic competence, Phillipson claims the spread of English and the focus on the NS as a norm-bearer is a form of ‘linguistic imperialism’. This reflects a broader consideration of the NS - including cultural, political and ideological issues in addition to linguistics.

These studies suggest a change in the status of the native speaker and a move away from the blind acceptance of them as authoritative norm-bearers for the English language. With this in mind, a consideration of Graddol’s “tantalizing question” (1999) is necessary.

large numbers of people will learn English as a Foreign language in the 21st century...But will they continue to look towards the native speaker for authoritative norms of usage?” (p.166)

As around 80% of English speakers in the world are NNS (Braine, 2010), there are many researchers who doubt the English NS’ ‘ownership’ of the English language (e.g. Jenkins, 2006). Graddol states that “Native speakers may feel the language ‘belongs’ to them, but it will be those who speak English as a second or foreign language who will determine its world future” (1997: 10).

Such doubts prompted a shift in much research: from considering the linguistic authority and ownership of the English ‘native speaker’ to users of ‘English as a lingua franca’ (ELF). This is a fast-growing body of research (e.g. Seidlhofer, 2011; House, 2013; Firth, 2009) - yet a comprehensive examination of it is beyond the scope of this study.

Finally, as issues of status and definition of the English NS “are not far from the “who am I?” question...[w]hatever else they are about, native speaker questions are about identity” (Davies, 2011: 292). As clarity of NS identity has yet to be achieved, an alternative approach to identity is needed. Below follows a description of an influential and robust alternative, one that is able to shed light on the nature of identity and its construction on a discursive level.

2.33 A Conversation Analytic approach to Identity

In 1997, Firth & Wagner state that much SLA work treats the NS as a “benchmark from which judgments of appropriateness, markedness, and so forth, can be made” (p.291). Too much research on NS-NNS communication prejudices it as ‘unusual’. This places the NNS in a subordinate position as a ‘defective communicator’ (p.292) and ignores the complexities within NS/NNS groups. Finally, they state there is a preoccupation with the relevance of NS/NNS identities. These identity-categories are just some of the endless identities that could become relevant at any different moment.

To avoid this “skewed perspective” (1997: 296), Firth & Wagner suggest an alternative approach to identity with an “an increased “emic” (i.e., participant-relevant) sensitivity” (p.285). This alternative approach is based on Harvey Sacks’ notion of ‘membership categories’ (1992). Such work only considers identity-categories made relevant by participants, how these are responded to/interpreted, and how participants utilize identity-categories as an interactional resource (e.g. Antaki & Widdicombe, 1998). In this proposal, Firth & Wagner are alluding to the ethnomethodological (EM) and conversation analytic (CA) principles of ‘participant relevance’ and ‘procedural consequentiality’ (Schegloff, 1991).

EM is based on the work of Harold Garfinkel (1967) and considers social life to be “a continuous display of people’s local understandings of what is going on” (Antaki & Widdicombe, 1998: 1)¹⁸. As Kasper & Wagner (2011) state, identity is not a stable internal trait, and none of the usual “macrosocial vectors” such as social class, or NS/NNS status are considered unless arising in a particular interaction. This approach considers identity as something “produced and sustained by human agents in interaction with one another” (Hare-Mustin & Maracek, 1994: 533). Antaki &

¹⁸ A more thorough description of ethnomethodology and its background will follow in the following chapter (methodology).

Widdicombe (1998) state that EM's perspective on identity has five general principles. First, for someone to 'have' an identity, means being put into a category with all of its "*associated characteristics or features*" (p.3). Second, "such casting is *indexical and occasioned*" (ibid) - meaning identity-categories only makes sense in the context in which they are raised. Third, this "*makes relevant* the identity to the interactional business going on" (ibid). Fourth, identities 'made relevant' can be consequential to the trajectory of the interaction. Fifth, this is all visible in participants' "exploitation of the *structures of conversation*" (ibid).

Schenkein's 1978 study is an early and highly influential EM/CA study of identity. Through an examination of interactions between strangers who only know each other as "local versions of some abstract identity like "salesman" or "client"" (p.58), Schenkein states participants not only conduct their professional business according to the "official identity relations" (ibid) of salesman and client, but also negotiate personal identities. This suggests that a myriad of identities can be alluded to and used for various purposes. Antaki (1998) considers jocular/ironic ways in which people ascribe identities to others. Rather than speculating on participants' motivations or undergoing any 'cultural interpretation' prior to or during the analysis, Antaki considers the interactional environment in which this practice crops up and how it influences the trajectory of the interaction. More recently, Benwell (2012) considers British members of a book club discussing race and immigration-related fiction. Speakers frequently use reported speech to invoke a 'racist other', express 'enlightened views' and rely on an assumption of shared values. In doing so, speakers interactionally achieve 'anti-racist' identities.

Utilizing the EM approach and a CA methodology to research identity represents the third example of SLA "borrowing from contiguous social science fields of inquiry" (Block, 2007b: 2) and expanding its parameters. This approach has frequently been applied to NS-NNS encounters (e.g. Hosoda, 2006; Brouwer, 2003; Kurhila, 2001). As such research "seeks to understand interactions in which one or more of the participants use a language which is not their mother tongue" (Brandt, 2011: 12), it will be referred to as 'Second Language Interaction' (hereon SLI) research (Kurhila, 2006).

2.34 The Interaction Order and Interactional Competence

As Drew states, "[t]he aim of research in CA is to discover and explicate the practices through which interactants produce and understand conduct in interaction" (2005: 75). This interest stems from Goffman's notion of 'interaction order' (1983). Here, 'order' refers to the methods used by participants to achieve mutual understanding. EM/CA research considers the practices participants

use and how they are recognized by interlocutors. As Kasper & Wagner (2011) explain, if the violation of patterns and practices are treated as violations of moral norms, this shows how social practices are influenced by a ‘moral order’ (Garfinkel, 1967). This suggests that social practices and their breaching are accountable matters. As such, membership of social groups depends on “morally accountable participation” (Kasper & Wagner, 2011: 118).

The myriad of practices used to understand interactional conduct makes up peoples’ ‘interactional competence’. CA researchers consider interactional competencies by observing details of talk and identifying their conduct (i.e. what participants commonly *do*). L2 speakers use their available competencies to engage in language learning, and in turn, these competencies shape the conditions of participating in this language learning (Kasper & Wagner, 2011). Below follows some key ‘interaction order’ and ‘interactional competency’ findings that characterize SLI research.

2.35 The Normality of Second Language Interaction

The first important characteristic of SLI is that, to date, there has been no discovery of phenomena exclusive to first language interactions (hereon FLI) (Gardner & Wagner, 2004; Wagner, 2010) in terms of i) organization of sequences of actions, ii) turn-taking organization, iii) dealing with speaking, hearing and listening ‘problems’. Furthermore, the finding that interactive performance is mediated by all interlocutors is echoed in SLI. For example, Tarone & Liu’s 1995 study found that a Chinese boy studying English in Australia used various grammatical elements with different functions depending on whom he was talking with. With a teacher he rarely initiated turns, yet with peers he was more forthright¹⁹. This refers to ‘the normality of second language talk’ (Gardner & Wagner, 2004). This is not to claim, however, that SLI and FLI have no differences. With SLI data, Wong (2004) claims that following a turn with a ‘deviant form’²⁰ of language is often a delayed response, suggesting a relaxing of the minimization of gaps and overlap that is common in FLI (Sacks et al, 1974). This suggests the form of a language is ‘procedurally consequential’ (Schegloff, 1991). However, SLI research has consistently found that ‘language errors’ are rarely consequential to participants. Firth (1996) analysed business calls between L2 users of English, finding that participants ignore “‘abnormal’ linguistic behaviour” (p.242), and Kurhila (2001, 2006) found that in institutional talk and talk between friends, participants rarely explicitly correct language ‘mistakes’, rather they give ‘embedded corrections’.

¹⁹ cited in Gardner & Wagner, 2004: 3

²⁰ Although assessments of what is ‘deviant’ linguistic production can be accused of being subjective and ‘top-down’, the form of language in itself is not the source of analytic interest for the CA researcher. Rather, the CA researcher is concerned with how features of language are ‘procedurally consequential’ (Schegloff, 1991) - i.e. how the L2 speakers’s talk effects the interaction’s trajectory.

In line with FLI's finding of a preference for 'progressivity' over repair (Heritage, 2007; Schegloff, 2007), SLI has repeatedly identified a preference for 'progressivity' of the talk regardless of 'deviant' linguistic form. Studying L1-L2 talk in Finnish, Kurhila (2001) identifies a preference for the 'embedded correction' of 'mistakes' "so as to intrude upon the talk in progress as little as possible" (p.1108)²¹. Kasper & Kim (2007) analysed English L1-L2 talk and found that when the L2 speaker's turn was deemed to be unrelated to the L1 speaker's previous turn, the L1 speaker would 'covertly' repair this 'misunderstanding' so as to advance the interaction while avoiding any potentially face-threatening act. Similarly, Wong (2005) examined English L1-L2 telephone conversations and found that L1 speakers would commonly refrain from correcting grammar 'errors'. Instead, they would initiate repair to clarify topical things in order to achieve some interactional goal.

So, while some differences have been identified, research has suggested that SLI shares many 'normal' interactional features. The following section will show that, far from being inferior to FLI, SLI can be characterized as being very sophisticated.

2.36 The Sophistication of Second Language Interaction

Despite L2 speakers not necessarily being highly proficient, far from being "interactional dopes" (Garfinkel, 1967: 68), they repeatedly display an ability "to engage in quite exquisite activities in the interaction" (Gardner & Wagner, 2004: 15). Studying the successful clarification of words that cause interactional 'trouble' in Finnish L2-L2 talk, Mazeland & Zaman-Zadeh (2004) reveal L2 speakers' use of various conceptual, interactional and semantic resources²². Firth (2009) studies English L2-L2 talk and finds that speakers can deploy phenomena such as speech perturbations, 'smile voice', laughter, and pauses for various "instrumental ends" (p.156) - such as indicating that their upcoming talk will be clearly 'non-standard'. This demonstrates an awareness of a participant's own linguistic abilities and alerts their interlocutor to the necessity of interpretive 'work'. Carroll (2005) examined vowel-marking by Japanese L2 speakers of English (such as 'staff-u' and 'call-u') - a practice traditionally considered 'L1 transfer' or a pronunciation 'mistake'. He found that this can be deployed for the achievement of various ends, such as holding the floor. Gardner & Wagner (2004) also state that L2 speakers can be very persistent in achieving various social goals. For example, Egbert et al's (2004) study includes a repair sequence lasting for around two minutes - until one of the participants is able to pronounce a name that can be identified by the co-participants. Although several repairs were abandoned, it is repeatedly returned to until it is

²¹ For further discussion of forms of correction (i.e. 'embedded' and 'exposed') in FLI, see Jefferson, 1983

²² cited in Gardner & Wagner, 2004: 15

successfully achieved. This, along with other studies, suggests that rather than abandoning certain ‘difficult’ topics, L2 speakers persist in their endeavours to complete them. Piirainen-Marsh & Tainio (2009) study Finnish teenagers playing video games in English. By using other-repetition in English, participants interpret the games and engage with the L2. As such, while ‘gaming’ in their L2, the teenagers “display and develop their linguistic and interactional competence” (p.153).

2.37 Language Alternation

A large body of interactionally-oriented research has focused on the alternation of children’s languages in multilingual environments (e.g. Auer, 1984; Li, 1998). Such research considers language alternation as being one device used for the local construction of meaning (Auer, 1995). For example, Cromdal (2000) analysed children’s interactions during recess at a multilingual school in Sweden. He found that children used Swedish to gain entry to a ‘play’ activity, switched between English and Swedish during the activity, and that there was a general preference for same language talk. Breaking from the trend of child-related research, Gafaranga (2001) considered talk between Rwandan refugees in Belgium and saw considerable language alternation between Kinyarwanda and French. He states that by switching between languages participants constantly characterize themselves and their interlocutor so as to accomplish various identities. These participants frequently switch languages and thus create an environment in which “language alternation itself is the medium participants are using” (p. 1906). As such they are ‘doing being bilingual’. Gafaranga’s (2001) paper has had a considerable influence - with much work considering language alternation in repair sequences - for example in Ikwerre²³-Nigerian Pidgin English (Ihemere, 2007), Korean-English talk (Shin & Milroy, 2000) and Kinyarwanda–French talk (Gafaranga, 2012).

2.38 Code-switching in SLA

Some researchers from traditional approaches to SLA stigmatize the use of code-switching in classroom-based learning (Levine, 2011) and others claim it has little pedagogical value (Macaro, 2001). Such approaches viewed code-switching as “a somewhat peculiar ...act” (Luckmann 1983: 97) which is considered harmful to the foreign language development of school children (see Poon, 1998). This treatment has had considerable influence outside the academic community, with, for example, the Hong Kong Government considering code-switching a major hindrance to learners’ English ability and thus introducing measures to lessen this practice in school classrooms (see Low & Lu, 2008).

²³ This is a language used by the ‘Ikwerre’ people in Northern Nigeria.

In an influential paper in 1993, Auerbach argued that permitting L1 use in a foreign language classroom would create conditions which would enhance the process of acquisition while maintaining the students' L1 abilities. Furthermore, since the 1970s and 80s, there has been a growing empirical interest in code-switching and its interactional functions in SLI research using CA. Auer (1998) sets out the CA approach to code-switching, considering it a "resource for the construction of interactional meaning" (p.2). Indeed, studies on code-switching in language classrooms consider L1-use to be a strategic and useful resource for the development of L2 ability (e.g. Fotos, 2001; Moore, 2002; Martin-Jones, 1995). Additionally, spontaneous L1 use in an L2 classroom can be considered an indication of student's engagement in language learning activities (Hancock, 1997).

Kasper's (2004) study of German-for-learning L1-L2 talk (outside the classroom) identified a common practice of the L2 speaker code-switching to their first language (English) to give a version of some troublesome action. Although this resembles the traditional SLA notion of a 'recast' - the L2 speaker's provision of "information . . . concerning the incorrectness of an utterance" (Gass 2003: 225) - Kasper considers how this code-switching functions as a request for the L1 speaker to 'help', thus shifting the talk from casual conversation to a language learning event. Code-switching as an interactional resource continues to be the focus of a considerable body of research - e.g. for avoiding being offensive, invoking authority (Shin, 2010) and problem-solving (Lehti-Eklund, 2013).

2.39 Identities in Second Language Interaction

As Kasper & Wagner (2011) state, much SLI literature shows that L2 speakers do not treat their L2 or NNS status or cultural backgrounds as being relevant to their interactions. Indeed, L2 speakers can orient to a multitude of identities - such as doctor, lawyer, friend, lover. As such, L2/'non-native' speaker-identity is just one of many identity categories that a speaker can adopt - but one that "can be made relevant at any time, by a speaker or by recipients, as well as by different means" (Gardner & Wagner, 2004:16).

Examining casual Japanese L1-L2 talk between friends, Hosoda (2006) observes that participants only orient to identities of language 'expert' or 'novice' when L2 users invite L1 users to give language assistance - or when L2 users display 'trouble' in producing talk and achieving mutual understanding. Hosoda finds these identities are commonly invoked in a 'vocabulary check' - L2 speakers stopping their turn in progress to check its pragmatic or pronunciation accuracy. Brouwer (2003) studied casual talk between Danes and Dutch speakers of Danish - with a particular focus on word searches. Brouwer argued that a crucial factor in L1 participants offering help - thus

invoking 'expert' linguistic identity - is whether or not they are invited to do so by the L2 participant. Further, she argued that often, though not always, word searches invoke orientations to differential language expertise and identities - and provide language learning opportunities. Studies by Hosoda (2006) and Brouwer (2003) considering casual talk rather than talk-for-language-learning, indicate that linguistic identities only become relevant when they are specifically called upon, and that participants have other business to attend to which invokes other identity-categories.

In a quasi-educational setting outside the classroom, Kasper's 2004 study analysed dyadic 'conversation-for-learning-German' between L1 and L2 users. Here, participants rarely displayed an orientation to linguistic identities, instead frequently oriented to identities such as 'movie watchers' and 'female acquaintances'. Further, Kasper found that when linguistic identities were invoked, it was primarily the L2 speaker that invoked them through the use of code-switching to their L1. Dings (2012) finds that participants can frequently orient to linguistic 'expert' and 'novice' identities. However, rather than being omnirelevant, these identity categories are only used as and when needed for various activities. Cekaite & Bjork-Willen (2013) state that participants often use linguistic identities as a tool when seeking to organize social relations between peers in multilingual education settings.

2.4 Institutional Talk and Identity

When L1 and L2 speakers come together in institutional settings, unless linguistic identities are directly invoked, other identities are far more salient. For example, Kurhila (2004) examines Finnish L1-L2 talk in Finnish institutional settings. Kurhila notices that institutional identities such as secretary and client or administrator and student are frequently made relevant. On the occasions when linguistic identities *are* invoked, they are normally triggered by displays of linguistic 'trouble' by the L2 speaker which prompt L1 users' correcting.

Understanding the methods used by participants to reveal aspects of their institutional identity/identities, and how this effects the trajectory of the talk, is vital. This relates to Goffman's key sociological notion of 'institutional order' (1955, 1983). This concept is used by the CA community to consider how conversational interaction represents not only the interactional rights and obligations related to personal face and identity, but also the rights and obligations to macrosocial institutions (see Heritage, 2005). This necessitates a focus on how participants construct "shared and specific understandings of where they are" (op.cit.: 104). Drew & Heritage (1992) identified three important features of institutional talk that are highly relevant for CA researchers. First, such talk is goal oriented; second, there are constraints on what is considered an 'allowable' contribution; and third, each specific context/institution is made up of inferential

frameworks and procedures. Heritage (2005) states there are three key questions for those studying institutional talk. First, “[w]hat is ‘institutional’ about institutional talk; second, “what kind of institutional practices, actions, stances, ideologies, and identities are being enacted in the talk, and to what ends?”; third, how far do interactional practices related to issues beyond the talk? (p.109).

This approach relates to Goffman’s interest in the interactive construction of the professional world (1959/71). However, Sarangi & Roberts (1999) state that for too long, CA approaches to institutional talk have been overly concerned with ‘frontstage’ interaction, ignoring ‘backstage’ interaction. Here, they allude to Goffman’s influential sociological notions of ‘front’ and ‘back region behaviour’ (1959/71). In defining the ‘front region’ as being where the core professional performance takes place, while ‘back region’ is a place where the impression given in the front region “is knowingly contradicted as a matter of course” (1959/71: 114), Goffman argues that each setting involves different behavioural norms. As this seems to subscribe to a single set of behaviours, Sarangi & Roberts (1999) developed this distinction to ‘frontstage’ interactions in institutions - with a focus on insider-outsider encounters, and ‘backstage’ interactions - focusing on “the ways in which the institutional world and professional knowledge are constructed” (Richards, 2007: 70). This approach allows for a view of “complex relational interplay and identity construction” (op.cit.: 71).

There has been a considerable amount of highly insightful sociological CA research undertaken on frontstage encounters. For example, on consulting rooms (Heath, 1986; ten Have, 1991), courtrooms (Atkinson & Drew, 1979), and radio and TV encounters (Greatbatch, 1988)²⁴. Sarangi & Roberts (1999), however, claim that institutions are made up of more than just frontstage talk, “just as the play is more than the actors on stage” (p.21). They claim that the success of ‘frontstage’ research has resulted in a dearth of ‘backstage’ research. As a result, they call for more CA work considering the ‘backstage’ - stating that as much attention should be paid to workers’ talk *about* clients, as their talk *to* clients (p.22). Some such work has been undertaken with a focus on healthcare (Ellingson, 2003; Swinglehurst et al, 2012), theatre (Tanner & Timmons, 2000), gender studies (Coates, 2000), and police interrogations (Stokoe & Edwards, 2008). Stokoe et al (2013) consider how university students co-construct ‘academic identities’ in non-academic environments - such as in front of the television at home. In such environments, participants used irony when preparing and engaging with academic tasks. Also, they often denied or downgraded displays of academic competence - so as to avoid ‘showing off’ or ‘self-praise’. Despite the insights of such studies, those responding to Sarangi & Roberts’ call remain a relatively small group.

Richards (2007) responds to this call for change in sociology and applies the ‘backstage’ concept to an SLA domain. He argues that because many academics in the field of ‘languages for

²⁴ all cited in Richards, 2007: 71

specific purposes' (LSP) are involved in teaching languages themselves, much research focuses on teachers' 'frontstage' classroom performance - with too little attention paid to 'backstage' encounters. Richards identifies the school staffroom as a backstage site and argues that in the changing global economic climate, with increasing overseas job placements and visits making backstage encounters increasingly frequent and 'intense' (Drucker, 1993), ignoring the backstage is becoming "untenable" (Richards, 2007: 72). Furthermore, he states that more understanding of backstage complexities will force a rethinking of frontstage encounters (op.cit.: 73).

Vaughan (2007) states that the lack of consideration of 'backstage' discourse is "to the detriment of our overall view of the practices of English language teachers as a professional group" (p.173) and this accounts for "the tension between research and practice in ELT" (ibid). Vaughan analyses English as a foreign language teacher-teacher discourse 'backstage' in staff meetings. She finds teachers orient to a shared repertoire - signalling membership to a professional teacher 'community of practice' (Wenger, 1998) based on core levels of knowledge. Particularly the use of humour indicates how teachers position themselves in the school.

In 2011, Richards undergoes a Conversation Analytic study of staffroom from an English-language school in the UK. Richards considers the co-construction of 'temporary teacher' identity in this site. He finds that this identity is "played out in staffroom exchanges in ways that make relevant other possible identities, reflecting and reinforcing aspects of professional relationships" (p.204). Amongst other findings, Richards sees attempts of this temporary teacher to construct his identity as a 'teaching expert' are skilfully made problematic and irrelevant by permanent teachers who emphasize the relevance of 'experienced teacher' identity.

The above research sees the backstage as an environment in which professional knowledge and workplace identities are constructed (Richards, 2007). While the frequency and intensity of backstage encounters in the globalized world have been identified (Drucker, 1993), there is still a relative dearth of research on the backstage. The ELT profession in particular where L1 and L2 speakers come into contact on a regular basis, a tension exists between research and practice (Vaughan, 2007). With this research gap and the continuing growth of the ELT industry, 'backstage' encounters in an ELT context involving L1-L2 speakers must be examined. The current research will, therefore, examine English L1-L2 (or 'NS'/'NNS') teachers' talk in the 'backstage' environment of school staffrooms.

Considerations of 'information' and relative access to knowledge have been central to large sections of 'communications' studies (see Heritage, 2012a). Indeed, much CA work has agreed that "[i]n everyday social interaction, knowledge displays and negotiations are ubiquitous" (Stivers et al, 2011: 3). As such, a thorough examination of 'knowledge' will follow in the next section.

2.5 Knowledge

As many Conversation Analysts would agree, at *each* turn in conversation people indicate what they know and what they consider others to know (Stivers et al, 2011). ‘Knowledge’ is relative to who people interact with and is governed by various social norms (Drew, 1991). Interactants claim their own and others’ access and rights to various domains of knowledge - with different levels of certainty (ibid). As such, knowledge is a dynamic concept and knowledge-related interactions are commonly the site of considerable negotiation - rather than a static *property* of the individual.

The following section will briefly describe the background to the nature of ‘knowledge’ and various conceptualizations of it, and will introduce the notion of ‘epistemics’. Then the prominent Conversation Analytic approach to epistemics and its core concepts will be discussed - with reference to empirical research. Following this will be a consideration of the link between grammar and social relations, then a focus on question design and question-answer sequences. The necessity of applying sociological ‘epistemics’ considerations to SLI and SLA research will emerge.

2.51 Knowledge in Sociology

Shannon & Weaver’s ‘Mathematical Theory of Communication’ (1949) was a particularly influential approach to knowledge adopted in the cognitive sciences. According to this approach, information is sent from one ‘information source’ and then reaches its ‘destination’. Knowledge is considered to be information that is turned into language and sent from one brain to another. This information is then decoded and digested in its intended form. The 1980s, however, saw an increasing pressure to consider the social context of knowledge. For example, when introducing the concept of ‘situated cognition’ (1988), Lave stated that knowledge should be seen as being “stretched across mind, body, activity and setting” (p.18)²⁵. Additionally, Hutchins called for a release from the ‘captivity’ of the laboratory to outside settings for a fuller view of knowledge and cognition (1995). Nevertheless, even this proposed expansion of cognitive approaches does not indicate “the processes through which knowledge is managed socially” (Stivers et al, 2011: 5).

One sociological approach to knowledge considers it as being determined by social conditions. This ‘social deterministic’ view has its roots in Marxist thought (see McCarthy, 1996; Stark, 1958/1991) - considering knowledge as derived from life experiences and social structures, then communicated (see Schutz, 1962). Here, people and their knowledge reflect pre-existing societal structures. Garfinkel’s ethnomethodological approach (1967) represents a rejection of this, considering knowledge to be managed in and through everyday collaborative social activities. This

²⁵ cited in Stivers et al, 2011: 5

conception has been applied to interactions in a variety of professional settings - such as science labs considering how scientists produce knowledge (Mondada, 2005).

Sociologists have long been using Durkheim's notion of 'territories of knowledge' (1915) - knowledge domains that groups and/or individuals have different access and rights to. Holzner & Marx's notion of 'epistemic communities' (1979) - groups of experts in some domain of knowledge - has proven to be highly influential in sociology work, particularly that considering how these communities can influence government policy (Haas, 1992). Goffman's work on 'territorial reserves' (1959/71) has also inspired much research (e.g. Cioffi, 2000; Licoppe et al, 2008). Goffman states that individuals have their own 'information preserves' consisting of knowledge of their own personal facts, divulgence of this to others is expected to be within their primary control. However, 'territorial offenses' can occur when one's control is seemingly overridden.

Within sociology there has been considerable focus on the social construction of knowledge on a macro-societal level, yet insufficient attention has been paid to "knowledge in communication" (Stivers et al, 2011: 6). Based on Shannon & Weaver's theory of information transmission (1949) a variety of functional linguistic theories (see Chafe, 1994; Halliday & Hasan, 1976), pragmatic theories (Grice, 1975; Levinson, 2000), and semantic theories (Kamp, 1981) have emerged²⁶. As Levinson (2012) states, the majority of such theories assume a "common ground" of shared knowledge between interlocutors and consider how "specific linguistic structures encoded instructions about how to update this common ground" (p.18). Until relatively recently, the Conversation Analysis research community engaged very little in such research (Heritage, 2012a) - despite the CA notion of a 'sequence closing third' action (Schegloff, 2007) often displaying the treatment of information as being newly acquired. However, recent years have seen a growing body of research considering knowledge as being shaped by language and managed by interlocutors in interaction, using a CA approach. A review of this work and key concepts will follow below.

2.52 Epistemic Status and Epistemic Stance

Sociological approaches to knowledge serve as the basis for knowledge-related CA research. Influenced by Goffman's 'information preserves' (1959/71) concept, Labov & Fanshel (1977) made a highly influential distinction between 'A-event' and 'B-event statements'. An 'A-event statement' is a statement by participant A about something known by participant A and not participant B²⁷. 'B-event statements' are statements by participant A about something participant B has more knowledge of. Labov & Fanshel found that while participant A's 'B-event statements' are in a

²⁶ cited in Heritage, 2012a: 31

²⁷ This bears resemblance to Goffman's personal 'information preserves' (1959/71)

declarative form, they commonly prompt participant B's confirmation - making them 'declarative questions' (1977). Relatedly, Pomerantz (1980) distinguished between 'Type 1 knowables' - knowledge of things people have firsthand experience of and therefore hold primary rights and obligations to, and 'Type 2 knowables' - things known by inference. Kamio (1994) developed these ideas, stating that a speaker and listener have their own 'territories of information'. Kamio then identified final particles in Japanese that index whose 'territory' knowledge resides in²⁸.

Stivers & Rossano (2010) built on this concept and coined the phrase 'epistemic domains' - stating that people mark specific items as being in a person's domain to different degrees. People can claim absolute epistemic primacy in relation to the absolute ignorance of their interlocutor. For example, 'Jesus Christ you should see that house Emma you have no idea'. Additionally, people can design their talk to suggest equal access to information/knowledge - e.g. 'It's a beautiful day out isn't it?' (Pomerantz, 1984²⁹). Combining these concepts, Heritage (2012b) claims that interactants "occupy different positions on an epistemic gradient (more knowledgeable [K+] or less knowledgeable [K-])" (Heritage, 2012b: 4). 'K+/K-' refers to participants' 'epistemic status' in an epistemic domain (ibid).

In some epistemic domains (such as one's own friends, jobs, pets) the speaker's own relative K+ status is "for the most part a presupposed or agreed upon" (Heritage, 2012b: 6). For example, Romaniuk & Ehrlich (2013) consider how people design recollections of events in courtroom testimonies as 'type 1 knowables' - experiences in an epistemic domain that they hold K+ status in.

However, K+ status can be highly challengeable. Analysing interactions between a car dealer and customer, Mondada (2009) saw how car-related assessments given by one interlocutor could be upgraded or downgraded by the other - thus both lay claim to the primary K+ rights to assess/epistemic status primacy. Furthermore, K+ epistemic status is not always gained due to firsthand experience/access to things - indeed; other factors can enable it (Heritage, 2012b). Peräkylä (1998) finds that while a patient and doctor may simultaneously observe an X-ray, this doesn't equip the patient with the epistemic resources to challenge or concur with a doctor's diagnosis. Similarly, Gill (1998) found that patients commonly display a particular reluctance to diagnose their own medical problems to a physician. Consequently, professional qualifications can trump direct access in having K+ status. Anspach (1993) focused on different information resources between nurses and clinicians in intensive care units. Despite having more knowledge of patients in their care, nurses' judgments are repeatedly overridden by clinicians who rely on readings from

²⁸ For example, 'rasii'. Hayano (2011) claims the Japanese particle 'yo' has the same function.

²⁹ both cited in Heritage & Raymond, 2005: 17

patients' charts³⁰. Here, different jobs and access to different information resources enable K+ status and the rights to make judgments signifying K+ status.

Much work has considered epistemic status indexed in assessments. As Pomerantz (1984) stresses, assessments are intricately linked to knowledge and are given due to having knowledge of an assessed item. Those without sufficient knowledge tend not to give assessments. Heritage & Raymond (2005) develop this link between knowledge and the rights to make assessments. They state that people giving assessments in the first position (FPA) index a claim to relative K+ epistemic status. This claim can be challenged in the second position. Those giving assessments in the second position (SPA)³¹ can align with the FPA indicating - giving a joint assessment of a shared experience suggesting equal access to past events and equal epistemic rights to assess them. Alternatively then can follow the FPA with their own upgraded assessment and claim their own K+ status. This can be done by, for example, treating the FPA as previously held, by confirming then agreeing, and usurping the FPA's 'firstness'.

As Heritage (2012b) states, epistemic stance refers to the "moment-by-moment expression" (p.6) of participants' relative epistemic status. Participants design their talk so as to position themselves and the interlocutor in terms of epistemic status. In the utterance 'Are you married?', the speaker proposes to have no knowledge of the marital status of the recipient - thus displaying an 'unknowing' stance. By uttering 'You're married, aren't you?', the speaker displays an orientation to the likelihood of the recipient being married - a somewhat 'knowing' stance. And by uttering 'You're married', the speaker gives a 'best guess' (Raymond, 2010) which commonly prompts the recipient's confirmation. This displays a more 'knowing' stance (Heritage, 2012b). Typically, an 'unknowing' epistemic stance results in elaboration and an expanded sequence, while 'knowing' stances tend to trigger confirmation, resulting in a quick closure of the sequence (Heritage, 2010).

Recent years have seen a considerable body of research undertaken on 'epistemic stance markers' in English conversation. Kärkkäinen (2003) underwent a corpus-based study, focusing on the pragmatic functions of 'I think', and later 'I guess' (2007). She argues that these high frequency utterances routinely frame upcoming stanced turns and/or longer turns that express opinions in the first position, and in the second position they are used when projecting that another speaker will give an opinion. As such, they are used strategically for 'face work' purposes. The 'claim of insufficient knowledge' (Beach & Metzger, 1997) 'I don't know' was also identified as a frequently occurring marker of an 'unknowing' epistemic stance marker in response to a question (Kärkkäinen, 2003). Much research using a CA framework has focused on the expression of epistemic stance in

³⁰ cited in Heritage, 2012b: 5

³¹ Heritage & Raymond (2005) describe a 'first position assessment' as an initiating assessment, while a 'second position assessment' is "designed to be responsive" to a first position assessment (p.16).

assessments. In their seminal paper on rights to knowledge, Heritage & Raymond (2005) state that while assessments index claims to epistemic rights, the *extent* of these claimed rights can be modulated by epistemic stance markers - particularly with FPAs. A speaker can give an ‘unmarked first assessment’ - declarative evaluations with no hedging that sees the speaker “claim unmediated access to the assessable” (p.19). ‘Upgraded first assessments’ can be given, commonly by giving ‘negative interrogatives’ such as ‘isn’t she a cute little thing’ (p.21). Alternatively, a ‘downgraded first assessment’ sees one indicate a mediated access to the referent and thus downgrade the assessment - this is commonly done using tag questions and epistemic hedges and downgrades (ibid).

Ways in which epistemic claims can be downgraded have been the focus of some recent research. Weatherall (2011) found ‘I don’t know’ is commonly used as a preliminary to something that follows in a multi-unit turn. They routinely are followed by various forms of first assessments³² and alerts to impending exaggerations. As such, ‘I don’t know’ functions as a ‘prepositioned epistemic hedge’ which downgrades the epistemic veracity and displays “that the speaker is less than fully committed to what follows in their turn at talk” (p.317). Park (2012) develops this idea and claims that university students use various types of prepositioned epistemic hedges to invoke the epistemic primacy of the teacher and receive their advice.

2.53 The Epistemic Engine

Heritage (2012a) makes the radical claim that turns indicating an epistemic imbalance between participants drive interactions forward until a state of equilibrium is achieved. A brief review of literature and findings that lie behind this claim follows below.

In Goodwin’s classic 1979 article, Don delivers the news that he has given up smoking - treating the receiver as entirely unknowing. Following a lack of uptake, Don shifts his gaze to his wife and adds that he did so a week ago. This increment changes the nature of the news - a mini-anniversary. Consequently, the turn is transformed into news that none of the participants (Don’s wife included) can be expected to know about. Here, as “one should not tell one’s coparticipants what one takes it they already know” (p.100), the driving force for the initial utterance and the increment is to give news to unknowing recipients. In 1976 Terasaki considered how people routinely use ‘pre-sequences’ to distinguish ‘knowing’ from ‘unknowing’ recipients prior to making an announcement. Then, in 1984 Heritage considered how participants claim a “change of state” from K- to K+ following an ‘informing’. These studies of developing talk, initiating talk, and

³² such as complaints, criticisms, and self-deprecations

claims of digesting information display how “speakers are exquisitely sensitive to their epistemic positions relative to addressees” (Heritage, 2012a: 31).

In considering epistemics in sequence organization, Heritage (ibid) examined sequences initiated by an expression of K- status, then sequences initiated by K+ status expressions. Information requests, as a common adjacency pair first pair-part (FPP) making a second pair-part (SPP) normatively expected (Sacks, 1987), see the deliverer communicate a K- epistemic stance (Heritage, 2012a). These FPPs are type-specifying and place the receiver in a K+ status position. Heritage points out the importance of knowing “the basis on which these sequences are closed” (op.cit.: 34). Upon the delivery of the sought-after information in the SPP, the FPP deliverer is obligated to close the sequences without expansion - commonly by giving a ‘change of state token’. However, importantly, Heritage gives several examples of new questions renewing and expanding the talk. These K- expressions indicate remaining ‘gaps’ of information/knowledge, opening up more talk. They are only terminated when all remaining ‘gaps’ are filled by the sought-after assertions. Sequences initiated by K+ status expressions are largely ‘pre-sequences’ (op.cit.: 40). Heritage alludes to Terasaki’s (1976) findings on pre-sequences - stating that they commonly contain reference to the impending delivery of some ‘news’, have some indication of it being ‘good’ or ‘bad’ and recent, and prompt the receiver to request its ‘telling’. This K+ status expression is designed to prompt further talk until the information proposed is given, resulting in a state of epistemic equilibrium.

Such K- and K+ status claims that drive talk forward until epistemic status equilibrium is achieved are what Heritage refers to as ‘the epistemic engine’ (2012b). These epistemic claims are “normative warrants for talking” (op.cit.: 49) - seeing participants routinely display and monitor their relative knowledge status until epistemic equalization. Heritage’s claim that epistemics are the ever-present driving force for communication sees the CA approach align with various communication theories stemming from the work of Shannon & Weaver (1949). As such, “asserting or requesting information is a fundamental underlying feature of many classes of social action” (Heritage, 2012b: 1). Consequently, research focusing on information requests and assertions is key to our understanding of the social world. A review of research considering grammatical form and the social action of information requests and assertions to date follows below.

2.54 Information Requests

First, clarity between ‘questions’ and ‘information requests’ must be achieved. Although the communicative function of a question is commonly associated with the ‘interrogative’, various

syntactic forms ‘do questioning’³³. And, conversely, “not all interrogatives perform the communicative function of questioning” (Ehrlich & Freed, 2010: 4)³⁴. To account for utterances that are designed to obtain information, the term ‘information request’ (Schegloff, 2007) will be used. These are a “primary prototype of the first-pair part of an adjacency pair” (Heritage, 2012a: 33). Consequently, the connection between the grammatical form of requests and the responses they garner must be considered.

‘Yes/No interrogatives’ (hereon YNIs) (Raymond, 2003) are a very common form used to request information. Quirk et al (1985) state that YNIs “are usually formed by placing the verb/operator before the subject” (p. 807) - for example “can you give me a ride home?” (Raymond, 2003: 943). Depending on the polarity of the YNI³⁵, a yes, no or equivalent token is the preferred form of response. YNIs “treat the matters formulated in their initiating action as in question and thereby claim not to know the “answer” as a basis for making an answer relevant” (Raymond, 2010: 92). YNI deliverers claim not to know the ‘correctness’ of the in-question matter and call for it to be confirmed/disconfirmed by the recipient. By directing unknown matter to a party they treat as knowing it, the deliverer invokes an epistemic status asymmetry of themselves as K- and the recipient as K+.

‘Yes/No declaratives’ (YNDs) typically place the subject before the verb to assert something with positive or negative polarity and using rising or falling intonation (Quirk et al, 1985: 814³⁶). For example, “and your tail end’s okay?” (Raymond, 2010: 93). Here, deliverers assert matters and therefore, unlike YNIs, they claim some level of knowledge. However, as the knowledge requires confirmation of the ‘correctness’, deliverers orient to the recipient’s superior access and rights to knowledge of that in the declarative. Consequently, YNIs are a form of ‘B-event statement’ (Labov & Fanshel, 1977).

Raymond (2010) finds that while YNDs commonly constrain sequence expansion to only the response from the recipient, and at times a brief ‘third-position’ response following the answer, however, YNIs are commonly expanded beyond the follow-up response - often with an assessment from the deliverer, or they project further talk. Consequently, YNIs prompt more accountability than YNDs (Heritage & Sorjonen, 1994; Raymond, 2000; Park, 2012). These different forms establish different bases for responses and their forms. Raymond (2010) finds that health nurses on home visits switch between YNIs and YNDs depending on their projections of how much they and the recipients know. Namely, they use YNDs when they consider themselves to have some

³³ For example, ‘declarative questions’ (Labov & Fanshel, 1977)

³⁴ Examples of this include ‘rhetorical questions’ (see Heritage, 2012b)

³⁵ For example, positive polarity - ‘can you give me a ride home?’, negative polarity - ‘can’t you give me a ride home?’

³⁶ cited in Raymond, 2010: 93

knowledge while the recipient's is limited, and use YNIs when they consider the recipient to hold more knowledge. Park (2012) comes to the same conclusion when considering teachers' use of YNIs and YNDs with students at writing conferences.

“Wh” type interrogatives’ that start with "who," "what," "when," etc., are also very common forms of information requests. Although these can be used as ‘rhetorical questions’ that challenge a prior utterance and don't make a response relevant (Koshik, 2003), they can also be used to prompt a response about a person, place, or a time in the form of a description or explanation (Raymond, 2003: 944). In comparison to YNIs and YNDs, “wh” type interrogatives are more ‘open’ (Wang, 2006), prompting the introduction of new factual information from the ‘more knowledgeable’ recipient (Mishler, 1984) - invoking an epistemic asymmetry. Such interrogatives has been found to be commonly used by teachers giving ‘known information’ questions to students (e.g. Koshik, 2002; Lee, 2007; Macbeth, 2004), and by doctors when seeking to obtain so-far-unknown information from patients (e.g. Mishler, 1984).

‘Alternative questions’ (Quirk et al, 1985) see the deliverer will provide two or more alternatives and expect the recipient to make a choice from one or more of these alternatives (Englert, 2010: 9). While claiming some knowledge of at least one alternative being ‘correct’, by allocating the recipient the right to choose, the deliverer orients to the recipient's epistemic primacy. Empirical research has found alternative questions frequently used in NS/NNS talk as part of vocabulary checks (Hosoda, 2006) and repairs that present alternate hearings and understandings for clarification purposes and candidate corrections (Koshik, 2005).

As the above review highlights, information requests are FPPs that place various restrictions on the SPP (Sacks, 1992) and display an orientation to epistemic status relations (Raymond, 2003, 2010; Heritage & Raymond, 2005; Heritage, 2012a, 2012b). Recipients commonly adhere to these restrictions by offering conforming SPPs (Raymond, 2003; Heritage, 1998), however, Stivers & Hayashi (2010) identified ways in which they depart from these restrictions in Japanese and English conversation - using ‘transformative answers’. Here, the recipient will give a (dis)confirmation to a question different to that received. In doing so, the question recipient proposes changes to the agenda/terms of the question.

Additionally, while the information requester inherently proposes that the recipient holds the relevant information, much research has identified occasions when the recipient treats this proposal as problematic. For example, the recipient may resist this expectation of their knowledge by stating “I don't know” (Beach & Metzger, 1997) or by producing some other “no-access” response (Fox & Thompson, 2010; Heinemann et al, 2011). Conversely, the recipient may resist the claim that they don't hold the relevant knowledge themselves (Stivers, 2010). As such, various factors lead to interactants organizing rights and access to knowledge. Heritage (2012b) states that the key factor

determining that utterances function as information requests (and assertions) is not their grammatical or syntactical construction, but the epistemic status of participants (2012b). A review of this influential claim follows below.

2.55 Epistemic Status trumps Stance

Heritage (2012b) reviews several features of turn design that are commonly associated with information requests and assertions. However, he states that a participant's epistemic status is the core resource in determining whether a turn is an information request or assertion - trumping the epistemic stance seemingly displayed by a turn's composition. A brief review of these features follows.

First, when one speaker uses declarative syntax, it is taken to be an 'informing' when the information is considered to be in their epistemic domain. However, when the information is treated as being in the receivers' domain, declaratives are treated as 'declarative questions', making the receiver's confirmation relevant (Labov & Fanshel, 1977). Here, participants' epistemic status determines the turn's social action. Second, when the speaker is considered to hold K+ status, a turn with declarative syntax and rising intonation is commonly treated as 'continuing'. However, when the speaker is considered to hold K- status, this will be treated as 'questioning'. Third, if a speaker is considered to hold K+ status, when using a 'tag question' following a declarative utterance (e.g. you are a vegetarian, right?), it is normally treated as a 'continuer'. Yet, if of K- status, this is treated as a requesting confirmation of its 'correctness'. Fourth, when negative interrogative syntax is used (e.g. isn't it lovely here?), if the speaker is K+ status, it is treated as an assessment to be agreed with, yet if the speaker is considered K-, it is heard as a request for information. Fifth, while using 'straight interrogative syntax' (e.g. does he have his own apartment?) is commonly an information request indicating a speaker's K- status, it doesn't always result in this social action. For example, while 'rhetorical questions' have interrogative syntax, they are designed to be 'unanswerable' accusations, thus indicating a knowing stance. Importantly, what distinguishes these alternative actions is the epistemic status of the speaker - not the stance seemingly indicated by the morphosyntactical composition of the turns (Heritage, 2012b).

There is a small and recent body of research considering how particular utterances encode particular epistemic stances, with various functions. For example, Hayashi (2012) finds that the Japanese 'kke' is used as a resource to deal with the epistemic responsibility to assert information yet expresses a lack of knowledge. As such this 'uncertain' epistemic stance marker shifts the epistemic status from K+ to K-. This launches a new sequence of topical talk so as to equalize this new knowledge imbalance - and correlates with Heritage's (2010) claim that unknowing stance

markers commonly result in sequence expansion. This small body of research requires further expansion so as to understand the complexities of relationship between epistemic status and stance.

Three key findings emerge from this review of ‘epistemics’ literature. First, participants adjust their talk depending on presumptions made about what they know relative to each other (e.g. Labov & Fanshel, 1977; Goodwin, 1979; Heritage, 2012a, 2012b; Heritage & Raymond, 2005). Second, epistemics are an ever-present driving force for communication, with turns indicating some form of epistemic imbalances prompting sequences that don’t stop until this imbalance is redressed. Third, presumptions about the epistemic status of interlocutors are the key influence determining that an utterance functions as an information request - overriding the grammatical construction of utterances (Heritage, 2012b). With speakers constantly making knowledge displays and presumptions about their relative rights to knowledge, encounters in which participants make relevant their relative access to knowledge have been identified as an important site in which participants invoke various identities (Raymond & Heritage, 2006). This link between epistemics/knowledge and identity has long been the focus of a considerable body of sociological research (e.g. Gill, 1998; Sarangi & Roberts, 1999; Richards, 2011). CA-SLA research too has forced a continuation of SLA’s tradition of “borrowing from contiguous social science fields of inquiry” (Block, 2007b: 2) by considering epistemics in light of these findings - thus expanding its parameters yet further.

2.6 Epistemics & CA-SLA

Recent years have seen a relatively small but growing body of CA-SLA work considering the relevance of epistemics to L2 learning in multilingual classrooms. The majority of this examines epistemics in teacher-student interaction (Koole, 2010; Sert, 2011; Sert & Walsh, 2012). Sert (2013) found that students’ non-verbal behaviours such as headshakes and gaze withdrawals frequently prompted the teacher’s use of ‘epistemic status checks’ (ESCs) such as ‘no idea?’ or ‘you don’t know?’. By using these ESCs and then allocating a turn to another student, teachers are able to move the classroom activity forward. Jakonen & Morton (2013) extend the consideration of classroom epistemics by considering student-student interactions. Focusing on students’ group work using an L2, Jakonen & Morton examine occasions when students identify and seek to resolve lacks of L2 knowledge (e.g. spelling, vocabulary). They find that students use each other as potential sources of the knowledge needed to complete a task at hand. Additionally, a student complying with a K+ placement means they are usually held accountable for what they claim to know, and they frequently downplay any possible negative perceptions of having K+ status.

It is clear that understanding epistemics enables a better understanding of learning in classrooms (Seedhouse et al, 2011). However, there remains a need to understand learning, in light of epistemics findings, *outside* the classroom. Examining learning in the ‘backstage’ setting of a staffroom will allow for a fuller exploitation of what Lave & Wenger’s approach to learning can offer SLA research (Wagner, 2004) and will continue to expand the consideration of epistemics research.

2.7 Chapter Summary

The first section, ‘Approaches to learning in SLA’, cited various critiques of the ‘cognitive approach’ to learning and found an alternative in Lave & Wenger’s ‘social approach’ used by CA-SLA researchers. Most studies adopting this approach focus on formal educational environments. While they have yielded considerable insights into language learning, there have been calls to consider other ‘outside world’ settings in which L2 learning may occur. Understanding such settings will “expand our general stock of knowledge of L2 learning” (Firth, 2009: 131).

The second section, ‘SLA and Identity’, tracked SLA’s consideration of sociological approaches to ‘identity’. It then considered the ‘native speaker’ (NS) identity category and various critiques of this category and its use. To understand identity, a CA approach is necessary. This ‘emic’ approach avoids imposing hierarchical relationships between participants and rejects the notion that NS identity is omnirelevant. Research shows that NS/NNS identities are just some of a multitude of identities that can arise at any given time. While there has been a considerable amount of research focusing on ‘frontstage’ settings, there have been calls for further consideration of the ‘backstage’ so as to achieve a fuller view of identity. Some SLA researchers have heeded this call, however, despite the growth of the ELT profession bringing L1-L2 speakers of English into regular contact, little research considers such communication in the ‘backstage’ - leaving this context under-examined.

The third section, ‘Knowledge’, examined ‘epistemics’ research - highly influential in sociology. Some key findings emerged. First, participants adjust their talk depending on presumptions made about what they know relative to each other. Second, the ‘epistemic engine’ is the ever-present driving force for interaction, with turns showing forms of epistemic asymmetry prompting sequences that run until this is redressed. Third, presumptions about participants’ epistemic status are the key influence determining that an utterance functions as an information request. Also, as speakers are constantly making knowledge displays and presumptions about their relative rights to knowledge, a key link has been identified between knowledge and identity. This

review highlights the need for the CA-SLA community to further utilize these epistemic insights into non-classroom settings.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This study will employ a Conversation Analytic (CA) methodology to investigate staffroom talk between JET Programme ALTs and Japanese high school teachers of English (JTEs). CA has developed as a rigorous methodological approach to studying routine naturally-occurring activities. By analysing talk-and-other-conduct in interaction (Schegloff, 2007), CA identifies various patterns, structures and practices ('interaction order', Goffman, 1983) that constitute social life.

The process of carrying out this CA study will be described in chapter 4. As such, this chapter will present the epistemological foundations, theoretical principles and core concepts of CA. This will aid an understanding of the subsequent analysis and discussion chapters.

This chapter is organized as follows: section 3.2 will explain what this study aims to do - followed by an introduction to CA in 3.3. Section 3.4 will describe ethnomethodology - the epistemological roots of CA. Section 3.5 will introduce some of the core interactional phenomena that CA research has identified - namely, *sequence organization*, *turn-taking*, *repair*, and *turn-design*. Section 3.6 discusses issues of reliability, validity and generalizability, before considering some stated critiques and limitations of CA in section 3.7. Section 3.8 will justify why CA is a highly appropriate and useful tool for this study.

3.2 Pursuits of this Study

The literature review above identifies three areas in SLA that require further examination so as to expand its parameters.

First; an alternative to 'cognitive' approaches to (language) learning has been found in Lave & Wenger's (1991) 'social' conceptualization of learning using a CA methodology - CA-SLA. While cognitive approaches still dominate SLA (Firth & Wagner, 2007), the social approach is being increasingly utilized - especially in studying formal educational environments. However, there are calls to apply this approach to more 'outside world' settings to "expand our general stock of knowledge of L2 learning" (Firth, 2009: 131). *This study*: lessens the imbalance within SLA by using this social approach and answers this call by using this 'social'/CA approach to examine language learning processes in the (un-researched) outside world setting of Japanese high school staffrooms.

Second; SLA has incorporated a sociological/CA approach to identity - considering identity a highly social process in which various (negotiable) identities can arise at any moment. While

much work considers ‘frontstage’ settings (such as classrooms), there are calls to consider more ‘backstage’ settings - thus enabling a fuller view of identity (co-)construction. *This study*: answers this call by tracking any identity-work occurring in the backstage setting of Japanese high school staffrooms.

Third; sociology has seen a recent surge in ‘epistemics’ using CA - with “remarkable” (Drew, 2012) influences on considerations of knowledge and its relation to identity. However, these studies have been largely restricted to sociological research considering first language interaction (FLI). *This study*: continues the borrowing from sociology, considering how these epistemics claims relate to SLA/second language interaction (SLI) contexts.

By undergoing these broad pursuits using a ‘social’/CA approach, this study lessens the SLA imbalance and continues the boundary extension within SLA.

3.3 Introduction to Conversation Analysis

This study will use a CA methodology to investigate ALT-JTE talk in Japanese high school staffrooms. Consequently, this section will briefly introduce three observations key to this methodology. The following section (3.4) will consider CA and its foundations - relating it to this study.

The aim of conversation analysis is to explain the various procedures speakers rely on to produce and understand each other’s talk (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998). Before the 1960s, the general view of everyday ‘conversation’ in sociology was that it is disorderly and chaotic (ten Have, 2007). However, since a series of lectures given by Harvey Sacks in the 1960s, conversation has been the focus of serious empirical investigation - considering not how people *should* speak, but how people *do* speak³⁷.

Sacks set up a framework for the study of talk-in-interaction that is based upon three observations (Heritage, 1984). First; talk-in-interaction can be studied for what it reveals about people’s production of social order. Rather than considering the linguistic form of talk, Sacks focused on the *action(s) performed* by talk. Additionally, talk is considered part of a speech exchange system, which necessitates consideration of all other participants as highly relevant to the unfolding talk “even when only one does the talking” (Schegloff 1982: 74). As such, CA views talk as participants’ exchange of social actions. Second; Sacks claims that in talk, there is “order at all points” (1984: 22) - rejecting the notion that conversation is too chaotic to study. As “no ... detail

³⁷ CA’s consideration extends beyond ‘conversation’ and speech to communicative behaviour during ‘talk-in-interaction’. This consideration has been recently extended to ‘talk-and-other-conduct-in-interaction’ (Schegloff, 2007) - which includes inter- and intra-turn pauses and various non-verbal behaviours such as gaze and bodily movements.

can be dismissed a priori as disorderly [or] accidental" (Heritage, 1984: 241), CA considers talk and other phenomena such as laughter tokens (Jefferson, 1987), turn-restarts (Schegloff, 1987) and silence (Levinson, 1983) to see how they contribute to conversational 'order'. Third; participants create and display mutual understanding ('intersubjectivity') in talk. A view of unfolding talk will indicate the ways in which participants interpret prior turns. For example, if one participant provides an answer, it indicates that they treat the prior turn as a question. The following turn will indicate if this is treated as a problematic response or not³⁸. Here, Sacks proposes an 'emic' approach that focuses the understandings/interpretations of participants - not the analyst³⁹. These three observations necessitate recordings of naturally-occurring talk and detailed transcriptions to capture the actions and details of talk as well as participants' interpretations of each other's actions⁴⁰.

As Seedhouse (2004) states, a central influence in Sacks' framework for CA is Howard Garfinkel - "the key figure in ethnomethodology" (p.2). The following section describes how ethnomethodology comprises the philosophical underpinnings of CA.

3.4 Ethnomethodology: the foundations of CA

This section begins with the emergence of ethnomethodology (EM), followed by a description of its main principles. This section will also explain how EM principles influence empirical CA studies.

Garfinkel's founding work on EM (1967) emerged in response to the Parsonian perspective (1937) which dominated sociological research. In Parsons' view, the sociologist is able to use their specialist intellect to identify macro-social rules that explicate the behaviour of individuals. As such, members of society unthinkingly enact the sociologist's explicated social rules⁴¹. Garfinkel rejected this 'etic' notion that the analyst has superior social knowledge to the individual social actor and can, therefore, study behaviour from an *external* position. Instead he proposed an 'emic' approach - in which the object of analysis is that which arises from the social actors *within* a system (see Pike, 1967). Analytic findings should describe how people display and make sense of implicit social principles. Consequently, Garfinkel proposes to make visible that which is "seen-but-unnoticed" (Seedhouse, 2004: 5). The rest of this section describes the basic principles of EM with explanations of how this affects CA research.

³⁸ This undermining of intersubjectivity frequently prompts 'repair' - so as to rectify this 'trouble'. Repair will be further examined in section 3.53

³⁹ CA's 'emic' approach will be further discussed in section 3.4

⁴⁰ Transcripts are further discussed in section 4.6

⁴¹ Individuals as interactional 'dopes' (Garfinkel, 1967)

First, *indexicality*. Participants' knowledge of the social context of their talk is not something pre-existing - rather, it is something that is "talked into being by interactants" (op.cit.: 7) at particular times. As such, in seeking to make analytic descriptions, the CA analyst embracing this EM principle is not permitted to invoke context unless it is invoked by the participant(s). By only viewing the contextual features which are invoked by participants, the analyst's claims are grounded in specific, referential examples of participants' behaviour. Additionally, this enables the analyst to see what interactional functions participants' broader contextual invocations have on the interactional context.

Second is Garfinkel's use of Mannheim's *documentary method of interpretation* (1952). Here, interactional behaviour is treated as "the document of ...a presupposed underlying pattern" (Garfinkel, 1984: 78). This refers to participants' knowledge of interactional patterns commonly used. For example, one person utters 'good morning' and another participant responds with 'good morning'. Here, the second participant is using his/her knowledge of a previously known pattern of greetings to interpret the initial utterance as necessitating a greeting in return. Upon new patterns emerging, the bank of underlying patterns is updated. Turns-at-talk indicate not only knowledge of interactional patterns but also other forms of 'social knowledge'. For example, when one participant gives a 'change of state token' (Heritage, 1984) they interpret the prior turn as enabling a new state of cognitive awareness - and thus indicate an updating of their own knowledge schemas.

Third, Garfinkel adopts Schutz's notion of *reciprocity of perspectives* (1962). This is the assumption that people have a common-sense understanding of their shared social environment. This shared understanding is a pragmatic necessity for achieving intersubjectivity. The understanding of 'normal' social scenes is further emphasized when considering disruptions to them. Garfinkel's 'breaching experiments' enabled him to "detect some expectancies that lend commonplace scenes their familiar, life-as-usual character" (1967, 37). At the same time people treat certain behaviours as breaching these commonplace understandings - reacting with, for example, laughter (ibid). This is closely related to the CA concept of *preference organization*. Many CA studies show that while 'preferred' actions are seen but not noticed, 'dispreferred' actions are noticeable, accountable matters. This indicates "a structural bias towards affiliation and reciprocity of perspectives" (Seedhouse, 2004: 9).

Fourth, *normative accountability*. Rather than there being particular social 'rules' for interpreting behaviour, people use their understanding of behavioral norms as a template to "design their own social actions and interpret those of others" (op.cit.: 10). CA studies show how participants treat the orderly arrangement of actions as normatively expected (Kasper, 2009). While expected actions are 'seen but not noticed', not producing certain actions (e.g. answer) after a prior one (question) another, or producing an unexpected action (a question in response to a question),

may be treated as a noticeable and accountable matter. For EM/CA studies, as one action creates an expectancy framework for another action, social norms are socially shared entities (ibid).

The fifth core EM principle is *reflexivity*. While one turn at talk performs an action, it also creates a context for its interpretation and following action. This is central to the core CA concept of the adjacency pair. An example will exemplify its use. Person A utters ‘good morning’, and performs the action of a greeting and delivers the first pair part of an adjacency pair. In response person B responds with ‘good morning’ - performing the action of another greeting and an adjacency pair second pair part. Here person A’s utterance is a greeting action that is interpreted by person B as prompting another greeting. This indicates that person A’s turn creates a context in which a certain response is made relevant. Failure to produce this response may be an accountable matter.⁴²

This section has described the ethnomethodological foundations of CA. The following section will give descriptions of specific structures used to organize spoken interaction - unearthed by empirical CA research.

3.5 CA’s Interactional Phenomena

Empirical CA research has identified various interactional phenomena which participants draw upon to produce and interpret social actions in talk. Not restricted to any particular setting, these phenomena can be drawn upon to investigate the internal structures of interactions in any setting. While a full examination of all core interactional phenomena is beyond the scope of this study, the phenomena of sequence organization, turn-taking, repair and turn-design are highly relevant to the later analysis. As such, an examination of these phenomena follows below.

3.51 Sequence Organization

In my data is a frequently occurring sequence of three actions⁴³. This sequence and the interactional competencies occurring within it form the focus of the analysis. Consequently, it is vital to examine sequence organization.

Sequence organizations are considered the building blocks of social interaction. Empirical CA studies have found certain actions to be typically followed by others - enabling a view of

⁴² Seedhouse (2004)

⁴³ Namely, the English help sequence. Naturally the details of this sequence will be unearthed and examined later. However, in short, the three actions that this sequence consists of are: Action 1: the JTE requesting English language related help from the ALT. Action 2: the ALT asserting English language related information. Action 3: sequence closure.

‘action sequences’ (Schegloff, 2007). For example, the Q-A action sequence - in which a question is typically followed by an answer - not a greeting. A Q-A sequence is one example of a basic CA action sequence - an adjacency pair (AP). Schegloff & Sacks (1973) describe APs as ordered turns produced by different speakers that are type-matched (e.g. an offer and acceptance/refusal).

While some ‘minimal’⁴⁴ APs consist of two turns (greetings⁴⁵), other AP sequences can be expanded in various ways. Schegloff (2007) identified ‘pre-expansion sequences’ such as the pre-invitation (“what are you doing?”) before a ‘base’ invitation AP sequence. There are also ‘insert-expansion’ sequences. A post-first insert-expansion usually deals with difficulty hearing or understanding the AP first pair part (FPP)⁴⁶. Pre-second sequences are used to enable the FPP receiver to deliver the second pair part (SPP). Schegloff describes minimal post-expansion sequences - ‘sequence closing thirds’ that occur after the SPP. These can take the form of ‘change of state tokens’ (Heritage, 1984) following question-answer sequences, and assessments following ‘howareyou sequences’ (Schegloff, 2007: 124). Finally, Schegloff identifies ‘virtually-unilateral’ ways of closing sequences, e.g. when one party abandons an activity by disjunctively launching a new one, and ‘dedicated sequence closing sequences’ when one party proposes closure and the other collaborates.

3.52 Turn-taking

Close co-ordination of participants’ turns at talk enables the collaborative achievement of sequences. In ‘non-institutional’ settings at least, switching from one speaker to the next is organized by the participants *in* the talk (Sacks et al, 1974)⁴⁷. As such, the CA notion of turn-taking must be considered.

Turns are made up of one or various Turn Constructional Units (TCUs). TCUs are CA’s basic unit of analysis. While one TCU *can* form a turn at talk, “a single turn- at-talk can [also] be built out of several TCUs” (Sidnell, 2010: 41). This indicates that the completion of a TCU isn’t determined by its linguistic structure (e.g. the grammatical completion of a sentence), but by its completion as a social action. Consequently, a grammatically ‘incomplete’ utterance or even just a grunt (‘bfff’) can be a complete TCU. A complete TCU creates a Transition Relevance Place (TRP) - providing a space for another speaker to take the interactional floor.

⁴⁴ See Schegloff’s consideration of ‘minimal, two-turn AP sequences’ (2007: 22-27)

⁴⁵ These are commonly found to be at the beginning or end of sequences (Schegloff, 2007). For example,

1	A	good morning
2	B	morning

⁴⁶ Repair will be further examined in section 3.53

⁴⁷ In institutional settings, there may be shared understandings/institutional pressures that allocate time/space for people to speak - e.g. court-rooms.

Sacks et al (1974) make the highly influential claim that at each TRP, there are three recurring options. First, the current speaker maintains the right to continue with another TCU. Second, while producing the TCU the speaker can select the next speaker, then upon the TCU's completion he/she may stop speaking. The third option sees another speaker *self*-select and obtain the rights to the interactional floor.

Finally, much CA research has found turn-taking to be very carefully managed by participants in talk - and timed precisely so as to minimize gaps and overlap between turns. Jefferson's 1973 study is particularly influential and found that when participants simultaneously produce turns at talk, they are very quickly halted and only one person gains control of the floor. This indicates participants' orientation to minimal overlap.

3.53 Repair

As the issue of repair becomes a relevant one in the following analysis, it is very important to consider this key CA phenomenon. Repair commonly refers to responses to 'trouble' related to speaking, hearing or understanding (Schegloff, 1979) and is an important resource for participants' mutual understanding. Consequently, empirical CA work studying L1-L2 interaction has closely considered how breakdowns in communication and misunderstandings occur and how they are repaired (Seedhouse, 2004). Because 'intersubjectivity' is important for sequence progression, and repair enables this progression (e.g. Kurhila, 2001), repair practices have become a central focus of much CA research.

Repair sequences begin with some 'trouble-source' considered 'repairable' by participants - not the analyst. As participants decide what is 'repairable', "nothing is, in principle, excludable from the class 'repairable'" (Schegloff et al, 1977: 363). If the deliverer of some repairable undergoes repair on his/her own utterance, it is a 'self-initiated repair'. However, if the receiver does so, it is an 'other-initiated repair'. When the repair itself is done by the deliverer of the repairable, it is a 'self-repair' and when done by a receiver, an 'other-repair'. A common form of self-repair occurs when a speaker cuts off an utterance and restarts with a correction/alternative expression (e.g. Jefferson, 1974)⁴⁸. Another common repair happens when one speaker notices

⁴⁸ For example,

1	A	*i went to the shop- oh i mean the school
2	B	right

(researcher's own example)

some form of misunderstanding in the other speaker's response to a previous turn, and initiates repair - an other-repair in the 'third position' (Schegloff, 1992b)⁴⁹.

Schegloff et al's important study of the structure of repair (1977) highlighted that speakers have a preference for initiating repair sequences themselves over such sequences being initiated by the listener. Furthermore, speakers prefer to complete the repair themselves over it being done by another. This concept of preference is interwoven with 'turn-design' - the following section.

3.54 Turn-Design

In this study, a close analysis of participants' turns indicates their orientations to each other's identities and knowledge statuses. Consequently, some key components of turn-design must be considered.

First, *recipient design* refers to the ways participants shape their utterances to 'fit' the receiver (Sacks et al, 1974). This 'fit' is to make it understandable and appropriate - and depends on the deliverer's presupposition of the receiver's knowledge. Recipient design is also a resource used by people when deciding if they are the intended receiver of a prior turn (Boden, 1994). This is influenced by people's presuppositions of certain knowledge being attributed to them.

Another concept related to turn-design is *preference organization*. When alternative actions are made possible, one may be 'preferred' and another 'dispreferred'. These are often not symmetrical alternatives - indeed, speakers use a variety of structural methods to privilege one class of actions (preferred) over another (dispreferred) (Sacks, 1992). One example of this is turn shapes. An invitation will typically project a preference for a quick acceptance. While the next speaker's preferred action of acceptance will typically be unhesitant and without hedging or accounting, speakers commonly design rejecting turns as being 'dispreferred' to include delays and accounting(s) (Pomerantz, 1984). Another means of formulating preference is in sequence organization. Lerner (1996) states that speakers can use 'pre-sequences' as a means of avoiding a dispreferred response. For example, if the receiver of a pre-invitation sequence such as 'Are you doing anything tonight?' states that he/she *is* 'doing something tonight', the first speaker is able to avoid a dispreferred response in a 'base' invitation sequence (rejection).

⁴⁹ For example,

1	A	what is your name?
2	B	yes
3	A	no, no, I am asking your name

(researcher's own example)

Having outlined some core CA phenomena that will become relevant to the present study, this chapter now progresses to make explicit the reasons for using this methodology for the present study.

3.6 CA: Reliability, Validity and Generalizability

As Firth & Wagner argue in 1997 and 2007, SLA is dominated by ‘cognitive approaches’ and ‘social approaches’, such as those using CA, remain in the relative periphery. If CA is to live up to Sacks’ aim of it being a methodology able to produce “reproducible descriptions in the sense that any scientific description might be” (1992: 11) and shift to the forefront of SLA, it is important to consider the reliability, validity and generalizability of CA studies’ findings.

Qualitative research should be presented in such a way that brings a level of transparency to the analytic claims made (Nikander, 2008). This enables other researchers “to make their own checks and judgments” (Potter & Edwards, 2001: 108) and ensures the reliability of the analytic claims made. As CA research is usually published with transcripts yet without the recorded data, the transcript’s accuracy is vital. A transcript should provide a detailed and accessible representation of an interaction in which some phenomenon of interest occurs. However, Peräkylä (1997) states that without clear recordings that include the “impact of texts and other ‘non-conversational’ modalities of action” (p.203-4), the reliability of CA transcripts is significantly reduced. Consequently the veracity of analytic claims too is reduced. Paul ten Have (2007), however, provides a particularly in-depth ‘roadmap’ that is widely used for ensuring reliable CA transcripts - considering the technical quality of the recordings and accuracy of the transcripts⁵⁰. While many other research methodologies do not provide any kind of primary data in published articles, transcripts in CA publications at least allow the reader to see how analytic claims have been made - allowing the reader to judge their validity (Seedhouse, 2004). Furthermore, it is becoming increasingly common for CA studies to make recordings available on the internet - thus creating further transparency. Finally, in CA it is common to present work at data sessions⁵¹ and conferences (ibid). Here, original recordings and transcriptions are used and, with these resources, attendees are encouraged to scrutinize the analytic claims made by the presenter. This helps to increase reliability.

As this shows, recordings and good transcriptions enable analyses of ‘real life’ communicative events. No interactional detail is deemed irrelevant (Heritage, 1984) and an

⁵⁰ For further consideration of Jefferson’s transcription conventions, see Research Design, section 4.6 and/or Appendix A.

⁵¹ For example, I have, on several occasions, presented my data (using recordings and transcripts) at Micro Analytic Research Group (MARG) data sessions. Also, I regularly attend these data sessions to analyse the interactions of others. Attendees are PhD researchers, Masters’ degree students, Newcastle University academic staff and visiting academics.

‘unmotivated’ analysis will have no preconceptions as to what is relevant to the data - avoiding imposing social theories prior to the analysis. In CA, analytic findings are grounded in a systematic analysis of speakers’ interactional practices *in situ*. Consequently, CA is a particularly useful methodological tool “for discovering and verifying the social organization of everyday life” (Beach & Anderson, 2004: 4).

Three types of validity for qualitative research will now be discussed: internal, ecological and construct (Seedhouse, 2004⁵²). Internal validity refers to the credibility of the research findings. Refraining from imposing concepts such as power or social class prior to the analysis, the CA practitioner will restrict his/her analytic claims to that made demonstrably relevant by participants in the talk. As such internal validity in CA research is ensured by focusing only on the micro-details of the talk and documenting how participants orient to each other’s turns in talk. As stated above, the provision of transcripts in publications and at conferences, as well as the increasing availability of actual data extracts, allows the CA community to check the credibility of analytic claims made. Ecological validity refers to the extent to which analytic “findings are applicable to people’s everyday life” (op.cit.: 256). A considerable body of qualitative research collects data in laboratory settings and findings may not stretch to other (non-laboratory) settings. Consequently, such research is considered to have low levels of ecological validity. CA studies, however, tend to collect data comprising of talk in its authentic setting. In, for example, a classroom-based CA study, the researcher is able to provide detailed descriptions of classroom activities *in situ*. Such research is considered to have high levels of ecological validity. Finally, much etic social science research considers construct validity to be the strength of the analytic categories and applied to the data analysis. For CA, an emic methodology, construct validity refers to the ways in which participants organize talk and social relations *in talk*. Again, the somewhat ‘public’ nature of CA claims, transcripts and (sometimes) recordings enables the CA community to check the construct validity.

A common area for concern with ‘qualitative’ research methodologies, that often use relatively small data samples, is the level of generalizability of their findings. Generalizability can be defined as the extent to which analytic findings can be applied beyond the research that generated them. It is widely considered that ‘quantitative’ research methods (often including large samples, pre-post measures, testing and coding procedures, and inferential statistics) have a better ability to yield quantifiable, generalizable findings (Duff, 2006). Indeed, there is a body of research seeking to ‘quantify’ CA analyses to yield more ‘generalizable’ findings. For example, Zimmerman & West (1975) combine CA and quantitative methodologies to claim that men interrupt women more than women interrupting men. Schegloff, however, claims that such quantification ignores the

⁵² Seedhouse (2004) also discussed ‘external validity’ (p.256), relating this to the generalizability of CA findings. This is discussed below when considering generalizability.

consideration of the intricacies of each analysed interaction - and therefore the emic foundations of CA are undermined (1987). In deciphering ways macro-claims can be made while maintaining a focus on individual interactions, Seedhouse (2004) states an analysis of the details of individual interactions reveals participants' normative expectations of the broader social world. As such, the CA analyst can reveal the details of peoples' broad expectations and orientations in naturalistic, not laboratory, settings. The following section will consider some stated limitations and critiques of CA, and will give responses to them.

3.7 CA: Criticisms and Limitations

One critique stems from Billig's claim that (1999) because CA refrains from using social theories (related to power, gender, ethnicity etc) to interpret behaviour, it offers 'an essentially non-critical view of the social world' (1999: 552, 556). He claims CA's indifference to social theories is no less ideological than studies adopting such theories. Briggs (1997) develops this critique - stating that the denial of social inequalities and the claim that language is divorced from politics and society amounts to political conservatism. This claim, however, is rather misled. CA does indeed adopt a social theory - ethnomethodology - and never claims to be somehow 'un-ideological'. As stated above, the ideology of this emic theory stipulates that the only broader social issues that may be considered are those made demonstrably relevant by participants in the data. As such, the ideologies and social issues raised by the participants, not the analyst, are the key resource for interpreting behaviour. Also, the recently growing body of gender-related CA research (e.g. Stokoe, 2006; Benwell, 2011) indicates that CA can indeed attend to broader social issues with its micro-analytic focus.

While CA states that no small detail of communicative events should be considered irrelevant to the analysis (Heritage, 1984), there is a disproportionate amount of focus on talk. While, in reality, it is somewhat unrealistic to have an analysis of social interaction that is all-encompassing, non-verbal forms of communication (body language, gaze etc.) are under-considered (Brandt, 2011). This represents a limitation of current CA research. However, with improvements in technology making recording better quality, easier and less obtrusive, there is a small but growing body of 'multimodal' CA research (e.g. Mondada, 2008; Goodwin, 2007). While such 'multimodal' analyses are still at a somewhat 'embryonic' stage, the CA community is seemingly attending to this disproportionate focus on talk. The following section considers, in spite of the above, why CA is a suitable methodology for this study.

3.8 CA for this study

Despite the critiques and limitations above, CA remains a useful methodology to investigate social interaction. Its emic approach reduces the ideology of the analyst in the stages of analysis and explicates social processes in the micro-context of talk-in-interaction. As such all analytic claims are clearly based upon empirical evidence – making clear references to transcripts throughout. This study will add to the body of CA research in SLA and will lessen SLA's stated imbalance (Firth & Wagner, 1997). Furthermore, CA is a particularly useful methodology to be employed in this study that examines language learning, identity and knowledge.

With regards to language learning, as this study adopts Lave & Wenger's 'situated learning' concept (1991), CA is an appropriate fit. With its focus on contextual and interactional aspects of language use, CA enables a view of learning as a social practice. Indeed, CA researchers consider learning "as a conversational process that observably occurs in the intersubjective space between participants, not just in the mind/brain of individuals" (Markee & Kasper, 2004: 496). As discussed in 2.23, CA can give clear evidence of participants displaying orientations to learning. For example, participants can use 'sequence closing thirds' (Schegloff, 2007) such as the 'change of state token' (Heritage, 1984) following an assertion of information to display an orientation to new information as having been (cognitively) digested. Consequently, this study can be considered a CA-SLA study.

This study examines talk in which at least one of the participants is not using his/her first language - SLI. Using CA allows the researcher to avoid imposing deterministic identity categories that are used in much SLA research, such as NS/NNS, age, and gender (Kasper & Wagner, 2011). Despite much SLA research claiming identity is 'performed' and 'co-constructed', such research doesn't base its claims in the actual details of participants' observable talk. CA, however, bases all of its analytic claims on participants' observable behaviour, with reference to data and transcripts (e.g. Benwell & Stokoe, 2006). This CA-SLA study enables a view of how participants generate and negotiate identity categories in actual language use/learning practices. If NS/NNS (or any other) identity categories are made demonstratively relevant by participants in talk, the analyst can consider what characteristics are associated with such groups, how these are negotiated, and what their function is during some social activity.

As this study is examining sequences involving (language) information requests and assertions, the notion of 'epistemics' is highly relevant. Recent years have seen an upsurge in CA work considering epistemics (e.g. Stivers & Hayashi, 2010; Mondada, 2009) and in particular the work of Heritage (2012a, 2012b) is having a huge influence in sociology (Drew, 2012). This study continues the trend of considering epistemics using a CA methodology. CA allows the researcher to see how participants, in naturalistic/everyday events, make relevant certain domains of knowledge

and orient to each other's rights to knowledge within these domains. This allows the researcher to avoid various notions in used (non-CA) SLA studies related to NS/NNS and language knowledge.

Having justified this study's use of CA, it is relevant to progress to a summary of this chapter.

3.9 Chapter Summary

Following the literature review which highlighted the need for a conversation analytic study to be undertaken in the Japanese high school staffroom setting, this chapter has provided an overview of the methodology that is used in the data analysis. Section 3.2 clearly stated the 'gaps' the literature review requires this study to 'fill', while 3.3 and 3.4 introduces CA and its epistemological foundations (ethnomethodology). Sections 3.6 and 3.7 considered CA's reach, critiques and limitations, and finally, 3.8 justified CA's use in this study despite critiques.

The following chapter will give the details of this study and describe the processes that helped shape this study.

Chapter 4: Research Design

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapter outlined the theoretical underpinnings and methodological principles of Conversation Analysis (CA). This chapter will describe the following: the setting for this study, the process of obtaining data, and how CA was used.

The description of the research setting starts in section 4.2. Section 4.3 gives a brief description of the participants. Section 4.4 describes the data recording processes and 4.5 covers ethical considerations. Finally, section 4.6 describes the process of transcription, and 4.7 describes the data analysis procedure. These sections will clarify the processes which led to the following analytic chapters.

4.2 Research Setting

The settings for this study are teachers' staffrooms at two Japanese high schools: Ioujima High School (IHS) and Kuroshima High School (KHS)^{53,54}. IHS has around 700 students while KHS has around 450 - all aged 15-18. IHS is a 'vocational' school - with specialized English, music and art courses. KHS is an 'academic' school - with a particular focus on English, Maths and History. As the JET Programme sends ALTs to both academic and vocational high schools⁵⁵, the researcher endeavored to obtain data from both.

At Japanese schools, when teachers are not in the classroom, they are typically at their desks - socializing, marking, preparing classes, and having staff meetings and student consultations (Shimahara, 1998). Teachers of the same subject are clustered closely together in sections of the staffroom - each allocated their own desk. This enables teachers "frequently to exchange ideas and seek assistance" (op.cit.: 455). As is typical throughout Japan, ALTs at IHS and KHS have a desk amongst the other English teachers - and are expected to remain in the staffroom when not teaching from 8.30am to 4.30pm⁵⁶. As such, ALTs may be party to a variety of activities, social and professional, that occur in these staffrooms.

⁵³ So as to maintain the anonymity of the schools, their location is withheld.

⁵⁴ These school names are fictional - so as to maintain the schools' anonymity.

⁵⁵ see *JET Programme ALT handbook*, 2013.

http://www.jetprogramme.org/documents/pubs/alt_2013.pdf

⁵⁶ see *JET Programme ALT handbook*, 2013.

http://www.jetprogramme.org/documents/pubs/alt_2013.pdf

Image 1: Typical high school staffroom



4.3 Participants

Participants in my study are Japanese high school teachers of English (JTEs) and JET Programme Assistant Language teachers (ALTs).

The JTEs from IHS are Aoi (female, early 40s), Ami (female, late 30s), and Aki (male, mid-30s), Asa (male, early 30s) and Gen (male, early 50s). KHS JTEs are Aya (female, early 40s), Ai (female, mid-30s) and Ama (female, mid-30s). All of these JTEs have undergone the mandatory 4 years training to be high school English teachers - are Japanese and are first language (L1) speakers of Japanese and second language (L2) speakers of English. Aya, Aoi, Asa and Ai have all spent around 1 year studying abroad prior. As such, it can be said that these JTEs are particularly competent users of English⁵⁷.

The ALT from IHS is Ben - a male from the UK. He is an English L1 speaker and an intermediate level Japanese L2 speaker. At the time of the data collection, he is in his mid-20s and has lived in Japan for around 16 months. Upon completing a Masters' degree in the UK, he became an ALT. Prior to this he had no teaching experience or previous visits to Japan. The KHS ALT is Bev - a female from the USA. She is an English L1 speaker and Japanese L2 speaker at an upper-intermediate level. She is early 20s and before coming to Japan she completed her bachelor's degree in the USA. She had no prior teaching experience and this was her first experience of being in Japan. As the two largest nationalities of ALTs are American and British⁵⁸, Ben and Bev are representative participants⁵⁹.

⁵⁷ However, this claim will not influence the later analysis.

⁵⁸ see statistics for 2013:

<http://www.jetprogramme.org/e/introduction/statistics.html>

⁵⁹ While this demographic information may help to orient the reader, it will not influence the analysis below. Indeed, by using CA, the researcher only treats contextual information as relevant when the participants themselves demonstrably treat it as so.

4.4 Data Recording

This data for this study is made up of two collections of audio-recordings from IHS and KHS staffrooms. The IHS corpus is ten days in October and November 2011. The KHS corpus is ten days in October 2011. Upon entering the staffroom in the morning and before and after classes, the ALT switched on an audio-recording device (see Image 2) hidden on their person. The strong microphone of the recording device and the small ‘tie clip’ microphone (see Image 3) attached to the ALT’s necktie or waist ensured that all talk in the staffroom involving ALTs and those in his/her near vicinity was recorded⁶⁰. In total, around 85 hours of data was collected.

Image 2: Audio-recorder



Image 3: Tie clip microphone



The researcher met with the ALTs each morning of the recordings at a local train station and gave them the microphone and recording device - fully charged and with a full memory. At the end of each day the researcher met the ALT and took the device - transferred the recordings to a computer, removed them from the device and, when necessary, replaced the device’s batteries. Then, the researcher met the ALT the next morning of recording to give him/her the equipment. The researcher wasn’t present during any of the recordings.

As the ALTs met the researcher every day of recording and the microphone was clearly visible, participants will have had a level of awareness of being recorded. This raises the issue of ‘observer’s paradox’ - participants behaving differently to ‘normal’ when aware of being the focus of research. However, this effect is usually temporary: the initial disturbance of routine activities soon subsides when the novelty effect wears off (Duranti, 1997). Consequently, in the current study,

⁶⁰ In addition to talk between ALTs and JTEs, ALT’s talk with students, administrative staff, non-English teaching staff and visiting sales-people was also recorded. However, because talk with such people was not the focus of this study and ethical consent to analyse such talk was not sought nor obtained, it was neither transcribed nor analysed.

no data from the first day at either school were used - and at no point did any participant give any verbal indication of an awareness of the recording devices. However, even if participants did have a heightened awareness of being recorded, it is not entirely problematic. As Goodwin (1981) states, participants always behave as though they are being observed - because they organize their talk and conduct relative to their interlocutor(s).

4.5 Ethics

Around six months prior to recordings, the researcher began communicating with JTEs at IHS and KHS. A JTE at each school gave the researcher the contact details of the respective head teachers. While the researcher sought video data, the head teachers stated that, as students commonly enter the staffroom and may be recorded, permission from the parent-teacher association (PTA) would be required. Following their discussions, to prevent recording images of students, the PTAs gave permission for audio (not video) recordings to be made⁶¹. Then, as the researcher “is responsible for ensuring participant comprehension” (Mackey & Gass, 2005: 31), I prepared an information sheet about the study and consent form - in English and Japanese⁶². This described the background and aims of the study, described the data collection process and dates, and gave contact details of the researcher and relevant university contacts. This also included various promises such as: ensuring the anonymity of all participants and the school, to only use data involving ALTs and JTEs, and that the school may withdraw at any time without giving any justification. These were both signed and returned to the researcher. Then, similar information sheets and consent forms, in English and Japanese, were sent by post to the schools to be distributed to all JTEs. Information and consent forms in English were sent to the ALTs. These too were signed by all JTEs and ALTs and duly returned to the researcher. To ensure anonymity, fictional names are used for the two schools and pseudonyms used for all participants. Following the submission of these documents to the researcher’s faculty as part of ‘project approval’ application, permission was granted.

4.6 Transcription

After listening to the 85 hours of recordings using the audio software programme Audacity, the researcher transcribed selected interactions into Microsoft Word documents using the CA

⁶¹ The limitations of audio-recordings of face to face encounters will be further considered in the discussion chapter, section 8.1.

⁶² Although the researcher is a proficient speaker/writer of Japanese, this was proof-read by a Japanese L1 speaker.

transcription conventions established by Gail Jefferson⁶³. This section will describe transcriptions generally, and will relate this to the researcher's transcription process.

As this study is concerned with analysing the details of talk-in-interaction, it is important to “write down not only *what* has been said, but also *how* it has been said” (ten Have, 2007: 94). Within the CA tradition, Jefferson offers the most established transcription system - and despite critiques of it being inconsistent (O'Connell & Kowal, 1994⁶⁴) it remains a generally useful and widely used system for most CA researchers (ten Have, 2007).

Not to be confused with the ‘data’ itself, transcripts are a means of capturing interactional phenomena in written form (Psathas & Anderson, 1990). They are a useful means of representing data in publications, presentations and theses. Importantly, using transcriptions, the analyst is able to isolate particular parts and pay it particular analytic attention (ten Have, 2007). In addition to the transcript ‘product’, the transcription *process* is vital to data analysis. Through numerous viewings/listenings and efforts at transcribing, “certain phenomena ‘present themselves’ to the [analyst’s] ears, eyes, and minds” (op.cit.: 95). Indeed, for the researcher, the transcription process was a useful ‘noticing device’ (see Jefferson, 1985) for trends and gave speedy access to various interactions that enabled comparisons⁶⁵.

Jefferson (ibid) states that a CA transcript should include as much interactional detail as possible - not glossing over any detail - to enable an accurate understanding of the interaction. However, with 85 hours of data and time constraints, the researcher opted for initial ‘rough’ transcriptions of some interactions. Upon multiple hearings and presenting data and transcripts at CA data sessions, more detailed transcriptions were made of certain episodes^{66 67}.

An issue in this data is while talk is primarily conducted in English, the JTEs sometimes use Japanese. Within CA, there are various methods used to deal with this. Some provide only a translation, with originals in the appendix (e.g. Bergmann, 1992), others present the original language with a direct translation of each morpheme followed by an idiomatic translation (e.g. Sorjonen, 1996⁶⁸). Others transcribe the talk in the original language with an idiomatic translation below (e.g. ten Have, 1991). As Japanese and English are such different languages, the researcher decided a word by word translation seems redundant. As such, it was decided that, following ten

⁶³ see Appendix A

⁶⁴ cited in ten Have, P., 2007: 94

⁶⁵ This will be further discussed in section 4.7

⁶⁶ Choice of which episodes to transcribe will be further discussed in section 4.7

⁶⁷ As my data was audio-only - my transcriptions did not consider non-verbal methods of communication. For further consideration of this, see discussion.

⁶⁸ cited in ten Have, P., 2007: 110

Have (1991), a reproduction of the original language used with an idiomatic translation below (in italics) would be suitable⁶⁹.

4.7 Data Analysis procedure

All audio files were listened to - and every instance of ALT-JLT's talk was logged with broad descriptions taken. At this point, there was no particular research focus in mind - the process of 'unmotivated looking' began. This prohibits the researcher 'finding' what they are looking for and enables the researcher to discover other relevant phenomena (Sacks, 1984). Some, however, claim that this notion is an oxymoron (Psathas, 1990), and that one cannot help but be influenced by CA's considerable research - much of which focuses on settings holding particular personal or professional interest to the researcher (Brandt, 2011). The researcher, however, sought to minimize these effects as much as possible.

This 'unmotivated' looking found two recurring activities: first - the JTE giving information about 'Japanese culture' to the ALT, and second - the JTE seeking English language-related assistance from the ALT. The second activity was more frequent and had a clearer sequential structure⁷⁰. Additionally, the researcher has a general interest in language learning 'in the wild'⁷¹ and the recently resurgent notion of 'epistemics'. Consequently, the researcher decided to focus on this activity. Then, around 20 such encounters were given a more detailed transcription - enabling a view of any similarities and differences between them.

At various times these interactions were presented at micro-analytic data sessions and academic conferences - sharing and hearing various interpretations, and reducing any 'subjectivity' of the researcher. In all, 10 encounters were used for the analytic chapters of this work - 1 outlining the basic structure of the encounters and 3 for each following 3 analytic chapters. This may appear a small amount of data. However, the rich, detailed micro-analysis necessary to uncover participants' "organization and order of social action in interaction" (Seedhouse, 2004: 12) combined with the word restrictions of this work, leave space for 10 encounters to be properly analysed⁷². A close

⁶⁹ For example, Encounter 3, extract 12

37 Aki HAH: >naru hodo: naru hodo: :<=
I see I see

And Encounter 4, extract 21

69 Aya °sou: ne::° >so tatoeba: :<
yeah right for example

⁷⁰ information request, assertion, closing

⁷¹ non-classroom settings

⁷² More encounters were given a detailed CA analysis - and are likely to be used for future publications.

analysis of 10 rather than a ‘gloss’ of more was chosen - so as to uncover the underlying “machinery” (ibid) used to achieve this organization and order.

Following explanations of the setting, participants, data collection and analysis, the following three chapters will present the analytic findings.

Chapter 5: Analysis. The ‘English help’ sequence and Multilingual Competencies

In the following three chapters I analyse a total of ten encounters involving L1 and L2 speakers of English. These encounters took place in the staffrooms of two Japanese High Schools: Kuroshima High School and Ioujima High School. At Kuroshima High School participants are JTEs; Aya, Ai and Ama - all female L1 speakers of Japanese and L2 speakers of English, and Bev - a female JET Programme ALT from the USA. Bev is an L1 speaker of English and L2 upper intermediate-level speaker of Japanese. At Ioujima High School, the JTEs are Aoi, Ami (both female), and Aki, Asa and Gen (all male). They are all L1 speakers of Japanese and L2 speakers of English. Ben is a male JET Programme ALT from the UK. He is an English L1 speaker and an intermediate-level L2 speaker of Japanese⁷³⁷⁴.

Each encounter analysed below consists of a patterned sequence of actions. In essence, the sequence consists of (i) a Japanese L2 speaker of English asking for English-language-related help, (ii) an L1 speaker of English providing help, (iii) the sequence coming to a close. Such interactions will be called ‘English help’ sequences. During these sequences the participants treat the English-language as the relevant epistemic domain. This study uses CA and adopts Lave & Wenger’s (1991) approach to learning (see section 3.8). As such, this analysis will track how participants display orientations to ‘learning’ and ‘teaching’ in interaction. Each encounter analysed below is divided into various segments of transcripts - entitled ‘extracts’. Below each extract is a conversation analytic examination⁷⁵.

The structure of this chapter is as follows. First I provide an overview exemplifying the English help sequence. I then focus on the notion of multilingual competence, demonstrating how it is manifest in interaction.

⁷³ Throughout this analysis pseudonyms will be used.

⁷⁴ I am aware of the dangers of ‘essentialising’ by using value-laden categories such as ‘L1/L2 speaker’, male/female, nationalities, JTE and ALT. However, for the purpose of brevity these terms are used as shorthand. The analysis of this work will consider identity categories as being interactionally achieved.

⁷⁵ For full transcripts, see Appendix B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J, K

Encounter 1: The English help sequence⁷⁶

This section gives a broad analysis of one English help sequence, exemplifying its basic three-part action-structure. This will show how participants negotiate their relative access to knowledge within the English-language epistemic domain display an orientation to ‘learning’ and ‘teaching’.

Setting: Kuroshima High School staffroom

JTE: Aya

ALT: Bev

Summary:

Just prior to the extract below, Aya and Bev are discussing a student’s English-language diary entry. Bev explains that rather than using the ‘passive voice’ the student should have used the ‘active voice’.

Extract 1: Aya asking for help

- 1 Aya °↑uh::↓m::°
2 (0.8)
3 Aya °↓sou ↑ne:° (0.3) >so< ↑how: can you <sa:↓:y> (0.6)
yeah right
4 a:↓h:: (0.4) >i don't know how to say this in english<
5 (.) >though< (0.5) she:: passed >the test?<
6 (0.8)
7 Bev ↑uh huh?
8 (1.1)
9 Aya on (0.5) ↑ON (0.5) ↑BY (0.5) ↑IN (0.4) thirty six (0.3)
10 her ↑sco:re was thirty six [↑and] it >was ↑JUst< a=
11 Bev [a°h:-°]
12 Aya =pass ([°?°])

⁷⁶ The English help sequences are primarily conducted in English but Japanese is used occasionally. For this reason I use transcript conventions that reflect the multilinguality on display. Wherever Japanese is used, I render it in *courier italic*. In the line below, I provide an idiomatic translation of the Japanese in *Times New Roman italic*.

In line 1 Aya utters ‘°↑uh: : ↓m: : °’, an agreement token with a prior assertion made by Bev. Then Aya utters another agreement token ‘° ↓sou ↑ne: ° (yeah right)’ in line 3 - indicating her alignment with Bev’s previous point. Then Aya utters the ‘transition marker’ ‘>so<’ in line 3. This indicates Aya’s orientation to progressing from the previous topic. Aya then utters ‘↑how: can you <sa: ↓: y>’ to begin the delivery of a question-formulated utterance - an information request that is a “primary prototype of the first pair-part (hereon FPP) of an adjacency pair (Heritage, 2012b: 33).

Aya, as the information requester, places herself in an ‘unknowing’ position. By directing this request to Bev, Aya identifies Bev as the prospective producer of the second pair-part (hereon SPP). Here, Aya is orienting to Bev’s more knowledgeable (K+) status (ibid) in some epistemic domain affording Bev the right to assert information. The use of the lexical item ‘↑how:’ marks this a “wh-” type interrogative⁷⁷ (Raymond, 2003) and this added to ‘can you <sa: ↓: y>’ makes relevant Bev’s explanation of a way/ways of saying something.

After a 0.6 second pause in line 3, filled pause ‘a: ↓h: :’ and a 0.4 second pause in line 4, Aya utters ‘>i don’t know how to say this in english<’ followed by a micro-pause and ‘>though<’. This ‘claim of insufficient knowledge’ (Beach & Metzger, 1997) sees Aya claim an ‘unknowing’ stance in the English-language epistemic domain. This indicates that Aya has initiated an English-language-related sequence. Following a 0.5 second pause in line 5 Aya utters ‘she: : passed >the test?<’. Aya’s use of pauses and claim of insufficient knowledge suggest that she is ‘doing thinking’ (Houtkoop-Stenstra, 1994⁷⁸) as a means of holding the floor before uttering ‘she: : passed >the test?<’.

Aya holds the floor until the turn-ending rising intonation and the syntactic completion of the ‘she: : passed >the test?<’, as well as the following 0.8 second pause, makes relevant speaker change to Bev. Then, Bev takes the floor and utters ‘↑uh huh?’ before halting her talk. Then a 1.1 second pause ensues before Aya takes the floor again. Consequently, Bev’s ‘↑uh huh?’ and the following 1.1 second pause in line 7-8 function as a ‘continuer’ (Schegloff, 1992a) - in which Bev treats Aya’s turn as incomplete and passes the floor back to her. This indicates Bev’s orientation to the necessity of Aya providing further information.

Aya’s turn in line 11 starts with ‘on’, then following a 0.5 second pause Aya reformulates to the try-marked prepositional item ‘↑ON’ followed by a 0.5 second pause and another try-marked preposition ‘↑BY’, a 0.5 second pause and another try-marked preposition ‘↑IN’, then a 0.4 second

⁷⁷ Not all ‘wh-type interrogatives’ begin with ‘wh’. Questions beginning with ‘how’ can also be considered ‘wh-type interrogatives’ (Schegloff, 2007: 78).

⁷⁸ cited in Brouwer, 2003: 538. This refers to how one interlocutor will hold the floor by indicating to the other that they are thinking about something.

pause and ‘thirty six’. Seemingly, Aya is providing candidate prepositional items that could possibly be attached to ‘thirty six’ - and Bev doesn’t take the floor despite the numerous pauses. Indeed, after each pause in lines 9-10 Aya holds the floor and provides more information. After uttering ‘thirty six’ is a 0.3 second pause. At this point, Bev doesn’t take the floor to offer any ‘help’. Instead, Aya is encouraged to provide further contextual information: ‘her \uparrow sco:re was thirty six [\uparrow and] it >was \uparrow JUst< a=pass’. As Aya is in the process of delivering this contextual information, Bev overlaps, but doesn’t take the floor, with ‘[a $^\circ$ h:- $^\circ$]’ in line 11 before overlapping in line 13 with an assertion of information. Bev encourages Aya to continue with her explanation and only interjects when seemingly understanding the nature of the information request. Consequently, Bev’s ‘[a $^\circ$ h:- $^\circ$]’ appears to indicate that Bev now understands the nature of Aya’s information request: the ‘penny-drop moment’ (Leyland & Firth, forthcoming) that brings the information request action to a close.

Aya’s actions in lines 3-12 constitute a request for English-language-related help. This represents the first action in the English help sequence. In Extract 2, which is a continuation of Extract 1, Bev proffers a response to Aya’s request.

Extract 2: Bev giving help

13 Bev [\uparrow WE] say< \uparrow WITH a THIRty SIX (.) [I] \uparrow PA- $^\circ$ i- $^\circ$ =
14 Aya [ah]
15 Aya = \uparrow WITH=
16 Bev = \downarrow ye:ah
17 Aya \uparrow with a score of thi[rty \downarrow six]
18 Bev [i: PA]SSed the score with $^\circ$ uh: $^\circ$
19 with a \uparrow thirty \downarrow six=
20 Aya = \uparrow with (0.3) \uparrow AH (a)
21 Bev with AH: (a) (.) \uparrow thirty \downarrow si:x
22 Aya \uparrow AH:
23 (0.5)
24 Bev >and then< \uparrow AH: (a) is short for ah (a) sco:re o:f

The declarative syntax of Bev’s ‘[\uparrow WE] say< \uparrow WITH a THIRty SIX’ in line 13 indicates that Bev orients to Aya’s turn as an information request prompting her assertion. By making this

assertion, Bev adheres to her proffered relative K+ epistemic status positioning in relation to Aya's K- status, affording her the right to assert information.

The design of this TCU in line 13 "implicates the type of answer-part completion projected" (Lerner, 1995: 126) by Bev. By describing what '>↑WE] say<', Bev indexes an orientation to the relevance of a group to which Bev belongs and is in a position to describe their normative linguistic practice. This suggests Bev's orientation to belonging to a 'native-speaker of English' group.

As Bev's provided preposition ('↑WITH') is not one of Aya's provided three ('↑ON', '↑BY', '↑IN'), Bev implicitly rejects their 'correctness' in favour of 'with'. Despite rejecting Aya's alternatives, by providing a preposition and by Bev asserting information related to the normative linguistic practice of a group, Bev's assertion stays within the constraints of Aya's request. Consequently, in this TCU Bev gives a 'type-conforming response' (Raymond, 2003: 946). Also, the forthright delivery of the SPP with no qualifiers or mitigation suggests a rather confident and 'knowing' epistemic stance from Bev.

Line 15 sees Aya repeat Bev's prepositional item '↑WITH', which Bev confirms with a clear '↓ye:ah'. Then in line 17 Aya reworks Bev's SPP with '↑with a score of thi[rty ↓six]' - adding 'score of'. By reworking the SPP, Aya proposes some English-language knowledge. Also, by using it in a longer formulation Aya exemplifies her acceptance of its validity. This prompts Bev's overlapped '[i: PA]SSed the score with °uh:° with a ↑thirty ↓six' in lines 18-19. Here, Bev seemingly attempts to incorporate Aya's 'score' but following the hesitation marker '°uh:°' she repeats her earlier SPP formulation. While the hesitation marker may suggest a slightly hesitant stance, by repeating/re-asserting the earlier formulation, Bev asserts information and thus displays an orientation to her relative K+ status.

Line 20 sees Aya utter '↑with (0.3) ↑AH (a)'. This partial-repeat of Bev's preceding turn functions to 'topicalize' (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973) the indefinite article '↑AH (a)' and make it the focus of the following talk. In line 21 Bev repeats Aya's partial-repeat ('with AH: (a)') and, following a micro-pause, adds '↑thirty ↓si:x'. The raised volume of 'AH:', the following micro-pause, and the rise-fall intonation of the repeated item '↑thirty ↓si:x' suggest that Bev is confirming the 'correctness' of 'AH:'. Bev appears to treat Aya's turn as triggering her confirmation - suggesting an orientation to her own K+ status. Aya's repeat of 'AH:' indicates Aya's unproblematic treatment of Bev's confirmation - functioning to ratify Bev's K+ status.

Then in line 24, following a 0.5 second pause, Bev utters '>and then< ↑AH: (a) is short for ah (a) sco:re o:f' to assert some further information about the 'original form' of '↑AH:'.

This extract sees Bev clearly asserting English-language-related information in response to Aya's requests. Consequently, this 'teaching' represents the second action in the English help sequence. Extract 3, a continuation of Extract 2, sees Bev assert more information which Aya treats as 'informing' and sequence closure is achieved.

Extract 3: Bev giving help and Sequence Closure

25 (1.0)
 26 Aya h:↑m: with ↑AH thirty ↓six=
 27 Bev =yeah with a [thirty s-] i passed the test with a=
 28 Aya [°↑m:::↓ah::°]
 29 Bev =thirty ↓six
 30 (0.8)

Following a 1.0 second pause, Aya utters 'h:↑m:' and then repeats Bev's SPP in line 26. Then in line 27 Bev latches with 'yeah with a [thirty s-] i passed the test with a thirty ↓six'. By issuing this confirmation token and upgraded assertion, Bev performs the action of confirming the 'correctness' of 'with a thirty six'. This suggests Bev treats her superior knowledge status as allocating her the rights to confirm. Bev clearly orients to Aya's declarative utterance in line 26 as being a near equivalent of a 'B-event statement' (Labov & Fanshell, 1977)⁷⁹ - a statement about something in which the recipient holds a K+ status and therefore makes relevant the recipient's confirmation.

In line 28 Aya overlaps with '[°↑m:::↓ah::°]'. This utterance follows Bev's confirmation of Aya's repeat and is given by the producer of the 'confirmed-as-correct' turn. Additionally, it treats the confirmation as unproblematic. This clear 'change of state token' (Heritage, 1984) sees Aya confirm the unproblematic transmission of information ('learning') following an English-language informing.

This 'sequence closing third' sees Aya make relevant closure after a preferred SPP/assertion (Schegloff, 2007). This displays Aya's clear ratification of Bev's orientation to the English-language as the relevant epistemic domain and Bev's K+ status. Then follows a 0.8 second silence in line 30 - with no vocal reaction to Bev's reworking and Aya's change of state token - then unrelated talk. With Aya proposing a state of epistemic equilibrium as having been achieved, she

⁷⁹ How this orientation relates to Labov & Fanshell's concept of a 'B-event statement' will be discussed in detail in the discussion. However, for clarity, the term 'B-event statement' will continue to be used in the analysis.

proposes that the imbalance that has driven the interaction ('the epistemic engine') has gone and there are no more "normative warrants for talking" (Heritage, 2012a: 49) on this matter. This represents the third action in the English help sequence.

Overview

This brief analysis clearly exemplifies the three actions that make up the English help sequence: (i) a Japanese L2 speaker of English asking for English-language-related help, (ii) an L1 speaker of English providing help, (iii) the sequence coming to a close. These actions show epistemic positioning taking place. In (i) Aya makes relevant Bev's K+ epistemic status allocating Bev the rights to assert some information. In (ii) Bev asserts information in the English-language domain - thus adhering to Aya's proffering of Bev's K+ status. And in (iii), by treating this assertion as an 'informing', Aya ratifies Bev's K+ status in the English-language domain. Here, both Aya and Bev both orient to their relative access to knowledge in the English-language domain and demonstrate an orientation to 'teaching' and 'learning'.

Next follows the examination of three English help sequences in Japanese High School staffrooms involving JET Programme ALTs and JTEs (Encounters 2, 3 and 4). These demonstrate how multilingual competence (in L1 and L2) is manifest in interaction.

Multilingual Competencies

The following three encounters are mostly conducted in English. However, the JET Programme ALTs and JTEs involved display an orientation to Japanese also being accessible. The following analyses will describe how Japanese is used in a normative, unmarked manner - yet occurring in patterned ways to achieve various social actions.

Encounter 2 (Multilingual Competencies)

Setting: Ioujima High School Staffroom

JTE: Aoi

ALT: Ben

Summary:

Prior to the transcribed data, Aoi and Ben talk about parents' relationship with their childrens' school. Aoi describes her obligations at her daughter's elementary school. Then the transcribed talk begins. During the initial chatting/pre-sequence, Aoi halts her somewhat 'troubled' informal talk in English and issues a Japanese information request to prompt Ben's 'help' in clarifying what the Japanese item 'interview' is in English and its pronunciation. In response, Ben treats this use of multilingual resources as unproblematic – yet doesn't provide the requested information. Aoi then gives an English explanation – then 'reflects' in Japanese. Continuing her informal talk, Aoi gives another information request in Japanese. Ben struggles to clarify the trouble-source and an insert-expansion sequence ensues in which Aoi gives an English 'claim of insufficient knowledge'. Then Aoi code-mixes when indicating she is struggling to explain, before Ben clearly recognizes the item in question and makes an information assertion. Aoi then uses English to further explain the item and clarify the English pronunciation. Finally, Ben returns to the earlier informal chatting, ending the EHS. Aoi's code-mixed turn indicates her adherence to closure. In this encounter, multilinguality is utilized in an unmarked manner in service of Aoi obtaining English-language-related help. In doing so, Aoi's status in the English-language epistemic domain is negotiated as relative K- (less knowledgeable) and Be, as the asserter of information, is ok K+ status.

Extract 4: Initial Chatting

1 Aoi ↑ONce:: (.) a year:: (0.3) >we have to< talk to tha::
2 (0.4) >teachers< like a ↑interview

3 >↑interview to iu ka<
should I say interview?

4 Ben UH::[:↓m::]

5 Aoi [>like<] a:: (0.4) meeting onLY:: (0.6) ME::

6 And [[°the teacher°]]

7 Ben [[AN:d >the teacher]] about< the::

8 (0.4)

9 Aoi >about the<=

10 Ben =PROGRESS °hmm° MM

11 Aoi ya::h progress

12 (1.5)

13 Ben wo::w

14 (1.3)

15 Aoi su:>goku ooi<
lots of meetings

16 (0.7)

17 Aoi E:BENTO >mo ooi<
there are also lots of events

18 Ben °hhhuh huh°

19 (0.3)

In lines 1-2, Aoi explains to Ben an obligation that she (as a member of ‘we’) has: to talk to the teachers - which she likens to an ‘interview’. Following the sound-stretched item ‘↑ONce::’ is a micro-pause before the sound-stretched ‘year::’ and a 0.3 second pause. Aoi holds the floor and utters ‘>we have to< talk to’ then the sound-stretched ‘tha::’. Perhaps due to the syntax of ‘talk to tha::’ being syntactically incomplete, it seems that Ben treats Aoi’s TCU as not being ‘transition ready’ (Jefferson, 1986) and thus doesn’t interject. Then, Aoi continues her turn and holds the floor over a 0.4 second silence. Then Aoi utters ‘>teachers< like a ↑interview’. By placing ‘like a’ before ‘↑interview’, Aoi gives a ‘pre-positioned epistemic hedge’ (Weatherall, 2011) to indicate a downgraded treatment of the item ‘interview’ as only partially resembling the meaning of her obligation.

The repeated use of sound-stretched items and pauses suggest Aoi’s ‘trouble’ in formulating her English-language turn and serve to delay Aoi’s delivery of the downgraded item ‘interview’. I adopt Hosoda & Aline’s definition of ‘trouble’ as referring to “some indications of disruptions in the progressivity of talk” (2012: 61). ‘Trouble’ can manifest itself as self-corrections, word-searches,

and/or cut-offs, sound-stretches, pauses and non-lexical perturbations (ibid). However, such displays are “not necessarily due to linguistic problems second language speakers might have” (ibid).

In line 3, Aoi continues with a repeat of ‘interview’ and a code-switch to Japanese: ‘>↑interview to iu ka< (should I say interview?)’. The interrogative morphosyntax of ‘should I say’ sees Aoi problematize the item ‘interview’. This Japanese talk is in the format of a ‘yes/no interrogative’ (YNI) (Raymond, 2003). This represents the FPP of an adjacency pair making a yes/no or equivalent tokens a type-conforming SPP to confirm/disconfirm the ‘correctness’ ‘interview’ (Raymond, op. cit.). This FPP sees Aoi orient to Ben’s K+ status in the English-language domain.

Importantly, this code-switching in line 3 occurs after Aoi displays ‘trouble’ in formulating her English-language turn. By problematizing her usage of ‘interview’, Aoi initiates a shift in footing. She halts her English-language explanation of obligations and now focuses on an English-language item - orienting to Ben, the confirmer, as holding K+ status. And, by code-switching Aoi proposes that Ben has some understanding of the Japanese language - indicating Aoi’s orientation to both Japanese and English as being mutually accessible languages to Aoi and Ben. Here, Aoi draws on her and Ben’s multilingual resources to confirm/disconfirm the ‘correctness’ of ‘interview’ and indicate an orientation to Ben’s K+ status in the English-language domain.

In line 4 Ben utters ‘UH:: [:↓m::]’. Here, Ben does not topicalize Aoi’s problematized item ‘interview’. Indeed, this turn, with its falling intonation, appears to indicate Ben’s unproblematic treatment of Aoi’s problematized item at this point. Also, by treating Aoi’s act of code-switching and proposal of Ben’s level of Japanese understanding as unproblematic, Ben ratifies Aoi’s utilization of multilingual resources.

In lines 5-6 Aoi latches with a code-switch back to English: ‘[>like<] a:: (0.4) meeting onLY:: (0.6) ME:: And [[°the teacher°]]’. The close placement and semantic proximity ‘meeting’ has to ‘interview’ suggests Aoi is giving a replacement item herself and further explanation. As such, Ben’s ‘UH:: [:↓m::]’ functions as a prompt for this further explanation – a continuer that indicates Ben’s treatment of Aoi’s talk as as-yet-unfinished. By doing so, Aoi indicates a continuing dispreferred treatment of ‘interview’ - yet the ‘[>like<] a::’ prior to ‘meeting’ sees Aoi again use a ‘prepositioned epistemic hedge’ to treat ‘meeting’ as a near likeness but not entirely accurate word.

The sound-stretched item ‘a::’ is followed by a 0.4 second pause. The syntactic ‘incompleteness’ of the talk indicates that Aoi’s turn is incomplete and allows her to hold the floor during this pause (see Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks, 1977). Aoi continues with the sound-stretched

‘onLY: :’ and, again, the syntactic ‘incompleteness’ allows her to hold the floor during a 0.6 second pause before uttering the sound-stretched ‘ME: :’. The pauses and sound-stretches indicate that while Aoi holds the floor, she is having “some kind of trouble in speaking” (Hosoda & Aline, 2012: 65).

However, after Aoi utters ‘And’, Ben overlaps with ‘[[AN:d >the teacher]] about< the::’ in line 7. By issuing this candidate completion and providing a TRP following the grammatically incomplete utterance, Ben orients to himself as ‘assister’ and prompts Aoi’s continuation of the talk in English herself. While Ben claims relative K+ status in the English-language domain, he effectively encourages Aoi to further utilize her English-language ability.

In line 9 Aoi utters ‘>about the<’ yet Ben latches with ‘PROGRESS °hmm° MM’ in line 10 - providing a word and completing the TCU. This is accepted by Aoi’s acknowledgement token and repeat ‘ya: :h progress’ in line 11. After a pause of 1.5 seconds in which Aoi offers no further contributions thus indicating to Ben that Aoi’s explanation is complete, Ben utters the exclamation ‘wo: :w’ in line 13. In doing so, Ben seemingly reflects on Aoi’s explanation of meetings as being somehow surprising/impressive.

Following another pause, Aoi utters the Japanese ‘su:>goku ooi< (*lots of meetings*)’ in line 15 and, following a 0.7 second pause, ‘E:BENTO >mo ooi< (*there are also lots of events*)’ in line 17. Here, following the mutually achieved production of English-language talk related to meetings between Aoi and ‘the teacher’ about ‘progress’, Aoi switches to Japanese to cite the large volume of meetings and ‘events’ - again proffering that Ben has some knowledge of the Japanese language. As the first of these two Japanese utterances refers to ‘meetings’, it is ‘on-topic’ - indicating that Aoi is continuing her ‘obligations’ talk using Japanese.

The following extract sees Aoi utilize Japanese to perform the action of requesting English-language help from Ben.

Extract 5: Aoi asking for help

- 19 (0.3)
- 20 Aoi hhuh .hhh (.) BA↑ZAA: :- >bazaa ↑nan to iu no?< (0.5)
what do you say?
- 21 BAzaa: : °da↓tta°
it was
- 22 (0.3)
- 23 Ben [[°b↑obm-°]]

24 Aoi [[>bazaa tte]] nan to iu no?< >huh i d.hhh.on't kn↑ow<
what do you say for bazaar?

In line 20 Aoi continues with 'BA↑ZAA: : -'⁸⁰ and following a cut-off then repeats quickly in Japanese: '>bazaa'. This halts the progression of her talk - and isolates '>bazaa'. Here, Aoi treats it as problematic - "making of it an interactional business in its own right; i.e. exposing it" (Jefferson, 1987: 97).

Following '>bazaa' Aoi utters the Japanese '↑nan to iu no?< (*what do you say?*)'. The interrogative morphosyntax and turn-ending rising intonation mark this as 'question-formulated' - indicating that this is an adjacency pair FPP. The '↑nan (*what*)' marks this a 'wh-' type interrogative (Raymond, 2003) that makes relevant a provision of an appropriate word for 'bazaa' as a SPP. This sees Aoi orient to some unspecified language as the relevant epistemic domain and place Ben in a K+ position within it. Also, as this turn is delivered in the Japanese language, it sees Aoi propose that Ben has some knowledge of the Japanese language. Here, Aoi's Japanese language turn shifts the focus of the talk from delivering information about her school obligations to focusing on a single lexical item. This Japanese-language turn performs an information request action - and renders the previous sequence a pre-sequence to it.

However, after recognizable completion of this question-formulated utterance and the provision of a TRP for Ben to respond, is a 0.5 second period with no verbal uptake. Aoi then utters 'BAzaa: : °da↓tta° (*it was*)' in line 21. This repeat and past-tense marker in Japanese further expose this item and emphasise dealing as the focus of the talk. However, adding another turn following a question-formulated response appears to have shifted the focus.

After a 0.3 second pause in line 23, Ben utters '°b↑obm-°'. In addition to this not being a recognizable word in English (or indeed Japanese), the rising intonation, low volume and cut-off of Ben's turn in line 23 render this a rather uncertain response. Ben appears to be struggling to identify Aoi's trouble-source. Indeed Aoi treats this as necessitating further interactive work - and in line 24 takes the floor to repeat the trouble-source and add further emphasis to it by uttering the Japanese suffix 'tte'. Then Aoi, again, repeats '>bazaa tte]] nan to iu no?< (*what do you say for bazaar?*)' in Japanese. This slightly upgraded repeated 'wh-type' interrogative' is immediately followed (without a TRP) by 'huh >i d.hhh.on't kn↑ow<'. Here, Aoi code-switches to English and gives a 'claim of insufficient knowledge' (Beach & Metzger, 1997) related to 'bazaa'.

⁸⁰ It should be noted that 'bazaa' is a Japanese language appropriation of the English word 'bazaar'
<http://eow.alc.co.jp/search?q=バザア>

Aoi's pre-positioned and inserted laughter indicate a humorous treatment of this claim, suggesting a sensitivity to making this confession.

Aoi's 'wh-type' interrogative' makes relevant Ben's provision of an appropriate word for 'bazaa' and sees Aoi orient to a knowledge asymmetry in some unspecified language domain. That this interrogative is immediately followed by a code-switch to English and a 'claim of insufficient knowledge' suggests Aoi is using a new tack in her attempts to mobilize a preferred response from Ben. By giving this claim, Aoi uses English to reference her lack of knowledge as a resource for calling Ben to action after the initial 'wh-type' interrogative' failed to generate this.

Here, Aoi is using her own multilingual resources and proffering Ben's Japanese language knowledge to perform the action of an information request - and performing the first action in the English help sequence. In the following extract, Ben appears not to recognize the item 'bazaa'. He, therefore, necessitates further interactional 'work' to clarify this item to enable his delivery of information and perform the second action in the English help sequence.

Extract 6: Clearing up confusion

25 Ben b↑or- uh- °wha-?°
 26 (0.8)
 27 Aoi E:::h >↑i don't ↓kno::w< (0.5) ↑It's a.hah.h (0.6)
 28 ↑NAni [wo]
something
 29 Ben [°bazaa:]::°
 30 (0.8)
 31 Aoi .HHH:[:]
 32 Ben [ba]°zaa:°
 33 Aoi BAzaa:: (.) we ↑usually have ah:: (0.6) ele↑mentary
 34 >school toka< ↑kindergarten has ah::=
etc
 35 Ben =↑OO::h ba↑zaar (.) u:::hm (.) >th↑is one?<

In line 25 Ben appears to identify the possible trouble-source yet the cut-offs and '°wha-?°' suggest that Ben struggles to repeat it. As this follows Aoi's FPP and problematizes an aspect of it thus halting the delivery of the SPP, this initiates a 'pre-second insert expansion' (Schegloff, 2007: 106). Ben proposes work is needed to "establish the resources necessary to implement the second

pair part which is pending” (ibid) - and the turn-ending rising intonation of ‘°wh_a-?’ makes relevant speaker change to Aoi to help Ben identify the trouble-source.

The 0.8 second pause in line 26 before Aoi begins talking represents a rather delayed uptake. In line 27 Aoi then utters the delay marker ‘E : : h’ and the claim of insufficient knowledge ‘>↑i don’t ↓kno : : w<’. Then follows a 0.5 second pause. At this point the floor appears open - and as Ben doesn’t interject with any talk, Aoi is given the opportunity to carry on. Aoi duly takes the floor with ‘↑It’ s a .hah .h’ - to propose the delivery of a declarative statement. Aoi’s inserted laughter suggests a somehow humorous/problematic treatment of this proposal. A 0.6 second pause follows, but as the turn is syntactically incomplete and the proposed declarative isn’t yet given, Aoi is able to hold the floor. Then Aoi switches to Japanese with ‘↑NAni [wo] (something)’⁸¹ in line 28 to indicate that she doesn’t know what ‘it is’.

In line 29 Ben overlaps with ‘[°b_az_{aa} :] : : °’. Here, as Ben is repeating Aoi’s item from line 20, he has seemingly identified the trouble-source. However, as no assertion immediately follows, it suggests that more work must be undertaken in order to clarify its meaning. In line 31 Ben overlaps a loud inhalation by Aoi to take the floor with ‘[b_a] °z_{aa} : °’ - indicating Ben’s continuing struggle to identify its meaning. In line 33 Aoi repeats ‘B_Az_{aa} : :’ thus ratifying the ‘correctness’ of Ben’s word-identification. Then Aoi code-switches back to English and describes what the sites ‘ele[↑]mentary >school’ and ‘↑kindergarten’ ‘has’ in lines 33-34. The uttering of these sites in English is divided by Aoi’s ‘insertional code-switching’ (Muysken, 2000) in Japanese with ‘toka< (etc)’. A indicates that she is giving a list. Here, Aoi uses her multilingual resources and proffers Ben’s multilinguality to aid her in the task of explaining.

Before Aoi indicates what these sites have, Ben latches with ‘↑OO : : h ba↑z_{aa}r’ in line 35. Here, Ben halts Aoi’s multilingual explanation and proposes that he recongizes Aoi’s referent. As Ben follows this with an information assertion, examined below, Ben’s ‘↑OO : : h ba↑z_{aa}r’ is a ‘penny-drop moment’ seeing Ben claim understanding of the referent and proffering the completion of the insert expansion. Additionally, Ben treats Aoi’s use of multilingual resources and proffering of Ben’s multilinguality in the service of requesting English-language-related information as unproblematic. He does not take issue with, topicalize, repair, or translate Aoi’s use of Japanese (in addition to English).

⁸¹ ‘wo’ is a Japanese particle that marks the direct object of the following verb

Extract 7: Ben's help and Aoi's explanation

35 Ben =↑00::h ba↑zaar (.) u:::hm (.) >th↑is one?<
36 (1.2)
37 Aoi ya::h (.) tha- >they sell< some↑thing and they a:re
38 (1.0)
39 Aoi earn[ing mon]ey:?
40 Ben [°ah ↑that's right°]
41 (0.4)
42 Aoi is:: for:[fo-]
43 Ben [for charity:?] °>or<°=
44 Aoi =yeah charity:=
45 Ben =↑Hmm=
46 Aoi =>YEAH ↑CHARITY ↓baza<
47 (0.5)
48 Ben .hhh °↑that's ↓right°
49 Aoi BAZA::?
50 Ben ba↓zaa::r
51 Aoi ba↓zaa:r
52 Ben °ba↓zaa::r° (0.4) UH:m: >we ↑have< <°th↑at ↓too:°>

Following the change of state token, Ben utters ‘ba↑zaar’ in line 35 - providing a word that accounts for ‘bazaa’. In doing so Ben provides an action-type-conforming (information assertion) and form-conforming (word provision) SPP. As Ben provides an English-language item, Ben adheres to his own K+ status and indexes the English-language as the relevant epistemic domain. Ben immediately follows with a micro-pause and ‘u:::hm (.) >th↑is one?<’ - referring to some unseen (to the analyst) thing, give a question-formulated utterance and initiate a ‘confirmation check’ (Pica et al., 1987). By seeking Aoi’s verification of ‘correctness’, Ben downgrades the veracity of his previous assertion.

After a 1.2 second pause Aoi utters ‘ya::h (.)’ in line 37. Here, Aoi confirms ‘this one’ as ‘correct’, treats Ben’s SPP as ‘preferred’ (Schegloff, 2007) and ratifies Ben’s K+ rights to make this assertion in the English-language domain. Aoi continues with ‘tha- >they sell< some↑thing and they a:re’. Then after a 1.0 second pause, Aoi continues with

'earn[ing mon]ey:?''. This declarative turn indicates that Aoi is explaining what typically occurs at a 'bazaar'.

In line 40, Ben orients to this as a prompt for confirmation: '°ah ↑that's right°'. This indicates a treatment of it as a 'B-event statement' in the form of a yes/no declarative (hereon YND) that prompts Ben's confirmation of its 'correctness' (Raymond, 2010). This indicates Ben's orientation to his K+ status. However, the following 0.4 second pause and Aoi's apparent continuation of her talk from lines 37 and 39 to line 42 leaves Ben's K+ claim tentative.

Aoi's sound-stretching of 'is::' and 'for:[:]', and immediate restart and cut-off ('fo-') in line 42 is treated by Ben as a prompt for his provision of a candidate item '[for charity:?] °>or<°' in line 43 to try and clarify Aoi's talk. Aoi latches with 'yeah charity:' in line 44 - clearly treating Ben's candidate item as 'correct'. Ben utters the acknowledgement token '↑Hm' in line 45 to confirm the 'correctness' of his candidate item. Aoi then follows this with the latched '>YEAH ↑CHARITY ↓baza<' in line 46. Here, Aoi delivers a clear upshot of Ben's assertion of the 'correctness' of 'bazaar' and 'charity'. Ben's response in line 48, '.hhh °↑that's ↓right°' confirms the correctness of Aoi's upshot - indicating a treatment of this being another 'B-event statement'/YND necessitating his confirmation (Raymond, 2010). Again, Ben orients to his K+ status in the English-language domain.

In line 49, Aoi utters 'BAZA:::?' to give a 'query-intoned' (Kuroshima, 2010) turn with an emphasis on 'BA'. In line 50, Ben responds to this with 'ba ↓zaa:::r' - emphasising '↓zaa:::r' with falling intonation and stress. Here, Ben indicates a treatment of Aoi's turn as 'candidate' - making relevant Ben's assertion of 'correct' pronunciation. Aoi then utters 'ba ↓zaa:::r' in line 51 - adjusting her pronunciation to a near equivalent of Ben's uttered item. Ben repeats this item thus confirming the 'correct' pronunciation of the item in question. This sees Aoi and Ben both orient to Ben's relative K+ status as to English-language pronunciation.

This extract clearly demonstrates Ben asserting English-language-related information - upon it being requested by Aoi. This assertion, confirmation check, confirmation of Aoi's explanation, clarification check, confirmation and pronunciation assertion all represent Ben's English-language 'teaching' - the second action in the English help sequence. Extract 8 sees Ben initiate closure of the English help sequence and a return to the earlier chatting.

Extract 8: Closing

52 Ben °ba ↓zaa:::r° (0.4) UH:m: >we ↑have< <°th↑at ↓too:°>
53 (1.4)

54 Ben ↑THAT'S [quite ↓good]

55 Aoi [>taihen data] ↑LA:ST [wee:k datta<]
it was tough *it was*

56 Ben [°bu-°]

57 (0.4)

58 Ben AH:: >you had to go:??< (0.3) >↑hmm<

In line 52 Ben continues his turn, stating that his group also has charity bazaars. By topicalizing 'bazaar', Ben indicates he isn't concerned with its meaning or pronunciation - rather he orients to continuing the earlier informal talk. This represents Ben's 'disjunctive topic/sequence shift' (Schegloff, 2007: 183): beginning a new sequence so as to exit the previous one. Here, Ben orients to no more informings related to 'bazaar' as being necessary.

Following a 1.4 second pause in which Aoi doesn't take the floor, Ben continues in line 54 with '↑THAT'S [quite ↓good]' to which Aoi overlaps with '[>taihen datta] (*it was tough*) ↑LA:ST [wee:k datta< (*it was*)]' in line 55. Here, Aoi code-mixes English and Japanese to express how tough last week. In doing so, she uses her multilingual resources and orients to Ben's multilinguality. Although not aligned to Ben's topicalization, by referring to 'last week' Aoi indicates an adherence to returning to the earlier talk - thus indicating a mutual orientation to sequence closure. Ben's 'AH:: >you had to go:??< (0.3) >↑hmm<' in line 58 confirms this return and indicates Ben's unproblematic treatment of Aoi's code-mixing - showing that it doesn't avert the action of the talk from chatting. Here both Aoi and Ben treat the earlier asymmetries relating to 'bazaar' as equalized. Therefore, with no asymmetry remaining, the epistemic engine has 'run its course' (Heritage, 2012a) and the sequence dealing with it is finished. Both parties return to the earlier informal talk. This closure represents the third action of the English help sequence.

This particular English help sequence emerges when Aoi breaks from the activity of chatting and switches from English to Japanese to request help. Upon help being given, Aoi then code-mixes to return to the earlier activity of chatting - rendering this help request sequence an interlude in the larger activity of chatting. The help request below from Ioujima High School, however, sees Aki's initial code-switching come as a means of treating Ben's talk as 'informing'.

Encounter 3 (Multilingual Competencies)

Setting: Ioujima High School

JTE: Aki

ALT: Ben

Summary:

Prior to the transcribed data, Aki asks Ben how to pronounce the word ‘twentieth’ and a lengthy explanation begins. The talk then turns to chatting about Aki’s experience of studying Korean. Then the transcribed data begins. Aki asks Ben if the well-known slogan ‘impossible is nothing’ is ‘possible’ in English – thus Aki orients to his own relative less-knowledgeable (K-) status. Ben takes the ‘asserter’ (K+ status) role yet when appearing to struggle to provide the information, Aki gives a different formulation. Following Ben’s explanation, Aki code-switches from English to Japanese to give a ‘change of state token’ and treat Ben’s previous turn as ‘informing’. Further, this sees Aki propose that Ben has some understanding of Japanese. Without treating this code-switching as accountable, problematic or averting the course of action, Ben progresses his explanation in English. As Ben continues, Aki switches to English, giving an upshot. Upon completion of Ben’s English explanation, Aki uses Japanese to give two emphatic change of state tokens – treating Ben’s talk as ‘informing’. Back to English, Aki gives an upshot of Ben’s explanation – confirmed as correct, in English, by Ben. Ben then gives his own English-language upshot – with Aki using Japanese to deliver another change of state token – and later English to initiate closing. Aki’s use of Japanese here makes minimal responses from Ben relevant. In this encounter, while Aki uses English to request information, he switches to Japanese to indicate a treatment of Ben’s information assertions as ‘informings’.

Extract 9: Opening

- 1 Aki °ah:° >↑one more question<=
- 2 Ben =>↑H↓m<
(bell rings)
- 3 (0.6)
- 4 Aki ADIDAS (.) adidas (0.5) catch copy h↑hhuh
slogan/catch-phrase
- 5 Ben ↑H:↓m

6 (1.0)
 7 Aki <IM↑POSSIBL:E>?
 8 Ben is ↑no↓thing
 9 Aki h↑hah=
 10 Ben =hah ha[h .hhh]
 11 Aki [YE]S
 12 (0.8)

Aki's '°ah:° >↑one more question<' in line 1 announces the upcoming delivery of a question - proposing some form of knowledge asymmetry. Ben's latched '>↑H↓m<' represents a 'go-ahead response' (Schegloff, 2007: 30) promoting progression to Aki's proposed question.

In line 4 Aki introduces the new topic/referent of 'ADIDAS' and its 'catch-copy'/slogan⁸². After uttering 'ADIDAS' is a micro-pause and a repeat of 'adidas' in a lower volume. As Aki's turn is syntactically and pragmatically incomplete, he is able to hold the floor over a 0.5 second pause before uttering 'catch copy' and laughing. In line 5, Ben utters the continuer '↑H: ↓m' - displaying an orientation to Aki's turn being as-yet-incomplete by providing a TRP for Aki's continuation.

Following a 1.0 second inter-turn silence in line 6, Aki slowly utters the try-marked '<IM↑POSSIBL:E>?' in line 7. By uttering this item, Aki appears to have moved from raising the topic of adidas and its 'catch-copy' to something else. Therefore, Aki has indeed oriented to Ben's turn in line 5 as a continuer and is thus a conversationally competent interlocutor (Wong, 2000). The 1.0 second silence in line 6 represents his 'delayed agency' and a rather loose fitting of sequential parts (Schegloff, 2007). Following this item in line 7, without a clear TRP being provided, Ben takes the floor with 'is ↑no↓thing' in line 8. Here, Ben treats Aki's turn as being incomplete and treats it as a compound TCU (Lerner, 1991) to which he will provide the final component. Ben is thus "producing a version of what had been projected as a part of the prior speaker's turn" (Lerner, 2004: 225) as a candidate completion.

Here, Ben proposes a shared understanding of Adidas' 'catch copy'. This "affiliating utterance" indicates Ben acts to "maintain the progressivity of the talk (or at least display an orientation to maintaining progressivity) across a change in speakers" (op.cit.: 226). Aki's laughter in line 9 shows that he treats Ben's completion as humorous - and Ben's latched laughter in line 10 indicates a shared orientation to this humour. Then Aki's '[YE]S' in line 11 sees Aki treat

⁸² 'catch copy' is a Japanese loan-word from English meaning 'slogan'. See <http://eow.alc.co.jp/search?q=キャッチコピー>

Ben's candidate completion as acceptable and appears to suggest Aki's orientation to returning to the matter at hand.

Extract 10: Aki asking for help

13 Aki is ↑IT (0.3) hhha[h]
14 Ben [ha] haha
15 Aki is ↑it (0.5) is ↑it ah:: (.) POSSIBLE:? hhah
16 Ben hah ↑HAH hah .hhh
17 (0.3)
18 Aki <↑is ↑no:↓thing>

The interrogative morphosyntax of Aki's turn in line 13 suggests he is beginning the delivery of a question, yet the 0.3 second pause and following laughter - which Ben echoes in line 14 - suggests the humorous treatment of this formulation remains. Then, in line 15 Aki appears to try again. The interrogative morphosyntax ('is ↑it') and rising intonation of 'POSSIBLE:?' sees Aki give a syntactically complete question-formulated utterance in line 15. However, following the uttering of 'is ↑it' is a 0.5 second pause. The syntactic incompleteness of the turn so far allows Aki to hold the floor over the 0.5 second pause before repeating 'is ↑it'. Then following the filled pause 'ah::' and micro-pause Aki utters the try-marked item 'POSSIBLE:?' and laughs. The repeat and pauses serve to delay the delivery of 'possible' and the turn-ending laughter suggests Aki treats this question-formulated utterance as being strange/humorous. The apparent consciousness of this turn as being strange/humorous⁸³ suggests a somewhat 'knowing' stance in the English-language domain. Ben responds with laughter in line 16 - suggesting a joint treatment of this turn as humorous.

Aki's turn in line 15, though, represents the FPP of an information request sequence making the assertion of information a relevant SPP. By posing this to Ben, Aki orients to Ben's K+ status in some domain. As this concerns an English-language formulation, it appears that the English-language is the epistemic domain in question. As the operator/verb of Aki's turn in line 15 is followed by the subject, this is designed as a 'yes/no type interrogative' (hereon YNI), making a yes/no or equivalent token a type-conforming response to provide confirmation/disconfirmation (Raymond, 2003).

Speakers using YNIs "treat the matters formulated in their initiating action as in question and thereby claim not to know the "answer" as a basis for making an answer relevant" (Raymond,

⁸³ asking if 'impossible is nothing' is possible

2010: 92). Hence the polarity preference is equal for confirmation or disconfirmation. While Aki's turn treats 'impossible is nothing' as 'in question', the delays and post-positioned laughter clearly indicate a sensitivity to the 'strange' nature of the interrogative. Consequently, Aki appears to project a 'no' response to disconfirm the 'correctness' of 'impossible is nothing'.

Following Ben's echoed laughter is a 0.3 second pause in line 17, then Aki slowly utters '<↑is ↑no:↓thing>' to get back 'on-topic' (Jefferson, 1993) in line 18. As Ben's following turn is beginning to deliver information, it indicates the end of the delivery of the first action (Aki requesting English-language-related information) in the English help sequence. The following extract sees Ben begin with the second action in the English help sequence.

Extract 11: Ben gives help

19 Ben the ↑GRAMMAR is a >bit< (0.4) °s:>trange<° (.) °>↑let me
 20 think (.) im↑possible is no[thing]<°
 21 Aki [N]O↑THING is
 22 im↓POSSible
 23 (0.7)
 24 Ben >↑N>O<thi[ng is< impossible] is (.) is the::=
 25 Aki [>↑nothing in y↓our ↑life]
 26 Ben =>it's like an< <o:ld phrase?>=
 27 Aki =↑uh↓m
 28 Ben so the:y >try< ↓to:: (0.4) uh:: (.) >↑make it< fresh:
 29 Aki AH::↑::: ↓ho:: ↓ho::=

As the turn-initial 'the ↑GRAMMAR is a >bit< (0.4) °s:>trange<°' of Ben's turn in line 19-20 is of declarative syntax, it appears that Ben is beginning his explanation - the second action in the English help sequence. However, this is in response to Aki's YNI which makes relevant a yes/no or equivalent token to confirm/disconfirm the 'possibility' of 'impossible is nothing'. As such, it departs from the constraints of Aki's request and is thus a 'non-conforming' SPP in terms of action-type and form (Lerner, 1996) - slightly displacing Aki's course of action.

However, by explaining, Ben unproblematically adheres to this K+ status placement. By referring to the 'grammar' of 'impossible is nothing', Ben covertly ratifies the English-language as the relevant epistemic domain. Ben's 'a >bit<' downgrades the assertion, and the 0.4 second pause in which Ben holds the floor prior to the quietly and quickly uttered '°s:>trange<°' suggests a somewhat hesitant treatment of this item. Then by following a micro-pause with

‘°>↑let me think (.) im↑possible is no[thing]<°’ Ben proffers another assertion to follow, pleads for more time, and treats his previous assertion as dispreferred.

Aki overlaps with ‘[N]O↑THING is im↓POSSible’ in lines 21-22. This sees Aki provide another similar formulation and thus treat Ben’s turn as not equalizing the earlier stated epistemic asymmetry. This reformulation sees Aki provide different interactional opportunities that may result in a preferred SPP/information assertion from Ben. This is followed by a 0.7 second pause in line 23.

In line 24 Ben treats Aki’s previous turn as complete by repeating Aki’s formulation as Aki overlaps. Despite Aki’s overlapping, Ben holds the floor to utter ‘is (.) is the::’. The declarative syntax sees Ben propose the impending delivery of an assertion related to Aki’s formulation from line 22. Then in line 26 Ben continues with the assertion ‘>it’s like an< <old phrase?>’. The turn-ending rising-intonation prompts Aki’s ‘↑uh↓m’ in line 27. Ben orients to this as a continuer by re-taking the floor to utter ‘the:y >try< ↓to:: (0.4) uh:: (.) >↑make it< fresh:’ in line 28. The syntactic incompleteness of the turn as Ben utters ‘try to’ suggests that more is to follow - thus allowing Ben to maintain the floor during the 0.4 second pause. This 0.4 second pause, the sound-stretched item ‘↓to::’, the filled pause ‘uh::’, and micro-pause all serve to indicate that Ben is ‘doing thinking’ while holding the floor until uttering ‘>↑make it< fresh:’. Here, while Ben clearly orients to his own K+ status as ‘asserter’, his delivery indicates a rather hesitant epistemic stance.

Despite Ben’s somewhat slowed delivery, Aki immediately takes the floor with ‘AH::↑::: ↓ho::: ↓ho:::’ in line 29 - giving a clearly and emphatically delivered ‘change of state token’. Here, Aki gives a receipt that treats Ben’s assertion as an ‘informing’. The following extract sees Ben orient to the necessity of further explanation.

Extract 12: Ben gives more help

30 Ben =im↑possible is ↑n>O<thing (.) like a[h::]
 31 Aki [°↑ah] hah°
 32 (0.5)
 33 Ben >↑it’s saying< ah:- im↑possi↓ble: (0.5) >the idea of<
 34 imposs- >well it’s< paTHETic it’[s ↑n>O<thing]
 35 Aki [↑h:↓m::]
 36 (1.3)
 37 Aki HAH: >naru hodo: naru hodo::<=

I see I see

38 Ben =°hm↓m: : °
39 Aki ↑hoh: : hoh: ↓hoh: h[a-]

By uttering ‘im↑possible is ↑n>O<thing’ in line 30, Ben shifts attention back to the original formulation. Then by following this with ‘>↑it’s saying<’, Ben proposes to deliver an assertion. Then in lines 33-34, Ben refers to the ‘idea’ of ‘impossible’, stating it is ‘paTHETic’ and ‘↑n>O<thing’. However, this turn is rather marked by hedging (‘ah:-’, ‘well’), a 0.5 second pause then reformulating of ‘im↑possible:’ to ‘>the idea of< imposs-’, and a cut-off of ‘imposs-’. Then Ben’s delivery becomes less marked as he utters ‘>well its< paTHETic it[s ↑n>O<thing]’.

In line 35 Aki responds with an overlapped ‘↑h: ↓m: : ’ - indicating an unproblematic treatment of Ben’s assertion. Then follows a 1.3 second pause. As Ben offers no further contribution at this point, Aki takes the floor with ‘HAH: >naru hodo: naru hodo: :< (*I see I see*)’ in line 37 to treat Ben’s ‘informing’ turn as complete. Here, Aki code-switches to Japanese and delivers a rather emphatic ‘change of state token’. This third position turn indicates Aki’s treatment of Ben’s turn as an unproblematic ‘informing’. This also sees Aki propose that Ben has some level of Japanese language understanding. Ben’s ‘°hm↓m: : °’ in line 38 indicates a ratification of Aki’s ‘digestion’ of Ben’s assertion. Moreover, Ben treats Aki’s use of Japanese and proposal of his understanding as unproblematic and not averting the course of the ‘informing’ action.

This is followed by Aki’s ‘↑hoh: : hoh: ↓hoh: h[a-]’ which sees Aki again treat the assertion as informing. Here, Aki’s use of multilingual resources to progress the sequence is ratified by Ben. The following extract sees Ben deliver yet-more information about the nuance of the Adidas slogan - treating some knowledge asymmetry as remaining.

Extract 13: Ben gives more help again

30 Ben =im↑possible is ↑n>O<thing (.) like a[h: :]
31 Aki [°↑ah] hah°
32 (0.5)
33 Ben >↑it’s saying< ah:- im↑possible: (0.5) >the idea of<
34 imposs- >well its< paTHETic it’ [s ↑n>O<thing]
35 Aki [↑h: ↓m: :]

36 (1.3)

37 Aki HAH: >naru hodo: naru hodo::<=
I see I see

38 Ben =°hm↓m::°

39 Aki ↑hoh:: hoh: ↓hoh: h[a-]

40 Ben [↑n>ō<]thing is im>↑poss<ible is
41 mo:re: (.) >HUM<ble:? maybe?

42 Aki M::↓::

43 Ben like ah::=

44 Aki =very (0.4) ↑COmmon
45 (0.7)

46 Aki ↑COmmon ex↓pre↑ssio[n] y.hhh.eah

47 Ben [\$that's right\$]
48 (0.6)

49 Aki [[h:↑ai hai hai]]
yes yes yes

50 Ben [[°impossible]] is nothing-°>↑MAYbe like< an
51 arrogance:

52 Aki [[<HA::↑I:> hai hai]]
yes yes yes

53 Ben [[°yeah uhm°]]

Following Aki's change of state tokens, Ben takes the floor in line 40-41 to refer back to 'nothing is impossible'. By uttering 'is mo:re:' Ben indicates that he is giving a comparison. However, the try-marked intonation of '>HUM<ble:?' suggests uncertainty. Then the turn-ending mitigating item 'maybe?' downplays the veracity of the assertion and the turn-ending rising intonation makes relevant Aki's confirmation of its 'correctness'. By seeming to make relevant Aki's confirmation, the epistemic veracity of Ben's assertion is lessened.

In response, Aki utters 'M: : ↓ : : ' in line 42. The terminal falling intonation appears to indicate Aki's acceptance of the 'correctness' of Ben's previous assertion. Then Aki gives the 'upshot' (Heritage & Watson, 1979) that 'nothing is impossible' is a 'very common expression' in lines 44-46. While Aki delivers this turn, Ben overlaps (but doesn't hold the floor) with '\$that's right\$' in a 'smile-voice' in line 47. By confirming Aki's upshot, Ben treats it as a 'B-event

statement’ - talk about something the receiver holds more knowledge of, prompting his/her confirmation (Labov & Fanshel, 1977). Thus Ben orients to his K+ status as ‘confirmer’.

Then following a 0.6 second pause in which Aki offers no further upshot and Ben doesn’t add more to his confirmation, Aki takes the floor with ‘*h:↑ai hai hai (yes yes yes)*’ in line 49. This third-position turn sees Aki code-switch to Japanese and treat Ben’s previous talk as an unproblematic ‘informing’, to confirm Ben’s relative K+ status and, by using Japanese, proffer that Ben has some knowledge of Japanese.

In line 50 Ben overlaps Aki’s turn with ‘[[°impossible]] is nothing-° >↑MAYbe like< an arrogance:’. Here Ben orients to the necessity of further explanation (a remaining epistemic asymmetry) and thus places himself in the K+ status position of ‘asserter’. However, pre-positioned epistemic hedging ‘>↑MAYbe like<’ downgrades this assertion and suggests Ben’s display of an ‘unsure’ epistemic stance. In response, Aki takes the floor to utter ‘<HA::↑I:> hai hai (yes yes yes)’ in line 52. These three acceptance tokens - the first particularly emphatic - suggest Aki’s clear acceptance of Ben’s assertion - despite Ben’s ‘unsure’ stance. Therefore, this turn functions as a ‘change of state token’. Here, Aki continues to utilize Japanese to treat Ben’s talk as an unproblematic ‘informing’. Following Ben’s informing, Aki, below, gives his own upshot of it.

Extract 14: Aki’s upshot

55 Aki th↑EN ah- adidas (0.4) ↑tried ↓to: (.) ↑tried ↓to: (.)
 56 make: (.) >ma- some< NE::w (0.4) [new] impression=
 57 Ben [UH::↓m]
 58 Aki =[o::f]
 59 Ben [th↑at’s] ↓ri:ght (.) °th↑at’s ↓ri:ght°=
 60 Aki =ah °effe-° (0.4) <effect:>=
 61 Ben =th↑at’s ↓ri:ght=
 62 Aki =°↑ah:: hah ha°
 63 (0.6)

Aki’s turn in lines 55-58 sees a code-switch to English and give an upshot following Ben’s informing. However, the delivery of turn is highly marked: the cut-off hesitation marker ‘ah-’ and restart with ‘adidas’ is followed by a 0.4 second pause before Aki utters and after a micro-pause repeats ‘↑tried ↓to:’. Then, after a micro-pause Aki utters ‘make:’ then comes another micro-pause and the cut-off ‘>ma-’ and ‘some< NE::w’. Then following a 0.4 second pause, Aki

repeats 'new' then 'impression [o::f]'. The pauses, restarts and cut-offs indicate a highly marked delivery of this English-language upshot.

Whilst Aki is delivering this upshot, Ben overlaps to to give a clear indication of his unproblematic treatment and apparent understanding of this turn in line 57 'UH: :↓m', '[th↑at's] ↓ri:ght (.) °th↑at's ↓ri:ght°' in line 59 and 'th↑at's ↓ri:ght' in line 61. This indicates Ben's orientation to progressing the sequence rather than treating this marked delivery as accountable. This also indicates Ben's unproblematic treatment of Aki's code-switching back to English and use of multilingual resources in the unfolding talk. Ben's affirming utterances in lines 57, 59 and 61 see Ben's treatment of Aki's 'upshot' as 'correct'. Then, with Aki uttering '°↑ah: : hah ha°' in line 62, Aki clearly indicates his ratification of Ben's treatment. The following extract sees Ben give his own upshot of the talk.

Extract 15: Ben's upshot

64 Ben what ↑IS ↓the:: (0.4) NIKE? (.) ah:: (.) is >still-<
 65 (0.4) ↑just >↓do it< (0.3) °uh°=
 66 Aki =↑an just >↓do it< (.) >na- nike<
 67 (0.5)
 68 Ben and same
 69 (1.0)
 70 Ben >↑sometimes< they ↑change °↓it°
 71 Aki U:↑mm:: (0.5) °>naru ho↑do naru ho↓do<°
 I see I see
 72 Ben °uh↓m°
 73 (1.5)
 74 Aki >↑o↓kay< the:- th↑en:: (0.5) >th↑is is< (0.5) ↑NOT (0.4)
 75 ah:: grammatically [>impossible<] hhuh hh=
 76 Ben [↑ah::]
 77 Ben =IT's: (0.4) °impossible is ↑nothing° (0.3) >it's a- it
 78 would be< spoken spoken (0.5) ↑IT makes sense
 79 °but (?)° uh:↓m

Line 64-66 sees Ben identify the well-known slogan of ‘nike’, seemingly recognized by Aki, and conclude that such companies have a tendency to occasionally change their slogans - thus Ben offers his own upshot. In response, Aki’s turn-initial ‘U: ↑mm: :’ appears not to treat any aspect of Ben’s upshot as problematic. Following a 0.5 second pause in which Ben doesn’t take the floor to talk more on this upshot, Aki takes the floor in line 71 with a code-switch to Japanese: ‘°>naru ho↑do naru ho↓do<° (I see I see)’. Here, Aki uses Japanese to indicate his treatment of Ben’s upshot as an unproblematic ‘informing’. Consequently, Aki’s turn here is a clear ‘change of state token’ designed to indicate a change of cognitive state to a more ‘knowing’ one. This also sees Aki proffer that Ben has some knowledge of Japanese language understanding.

Lines 74-75 see Aki progress to his own upshot and switch back to English. Ben then uses English to assert that the register of ‘impossible is nothing’ is somewhat informal in lines 77-78: ‘>it’s a- it would be< spoken spoken (0.5) ↑IT makes sense’. By performing the act of asserting information following Aki’s declaratively-formed upshot, Ben orients to it as a ‘B-event statement’ - making it relevant for Ben to utilize his K+ access to the epistemic domain of the English-language to provide an ‘explanation’. Further, Ben clearly doesn’t problematize Aki’s switch back to English to give this upshot - thus legitimizing this use of multilingual resources.

As the following turn sees Aki initiate closure of the sequence, this renders Ben’s assertion of information (the second action in the English help sequence) complete.

Extract 16: Closing

80 Aki o↓kay: hahaha=
 81 Ben =thank ↓you
 82 (12.0)

In response to Ben’s assertion, Aki utters ‘o↓kay: hahaha’ in line 80. Here Aki’s response does not problematize Ben’s explanation but indicates a humorous treatment of it. However, by doing so, Aki treats Ben’s turn as ‘informing’ - an English-language ‘change of state token’. This indicates Aki’s ratification of Ben’s claims of K+ status in the English-language domain and proposes epistemic equilibrium on the understanding of Ben’s prior explanation. In line 81, Ben latches onto Aki’s turn to utter ‘thank ↓you’. This functions to ratify Aki’s claim of understanding. Further, as this is followed by a 12 second pause and a new interaction involving different participants and a different topic, Ben utilizes ‘thank ↓you’ to progress to closure (Aston, 1995).

K+ or K- status contributions engender sequences aiming to equalize such epistemic asymmetries. However, with no more such contributions given, there are no more “normative warrants for talking” (Heritage, 2012a⁸⁴: 49). Consequently, with the epistemic ‘drive’ gone, both Aki and Ben orient to sequence closure. This represents the third and final turn in the English help sequence. While in this interaction Aki initially utilizes code-switching to treat Ben’s talk as ‘informing’, the English help sequence examined below sees a JTE from Kuroshima High School, Aya, code-switch in an attempt to prompt Bev’s delivery of a ‘preferred’ informing.

⁸⁴ The Epistemic Engine

Encounter 4 (Multilingual Competencies)

Setting: Kuroshima High School

JTE: Aya

ALT: Bev

Summary:

Just prior to the transcribed data, Aya and Bev are chatting and then Aya asks Bev about translating a Japanese phrase into English. Bev states that it is difficult to directly translate the Japanese phrase and maintain the same nuance. Then the transcribed data begins. Aya asks Bev, in English, about the ‘correctness’ of ‘quality people’ – orienting to her less knowledgeable (K-) status in relation to Bev’s more knowledgeable (K+) status in the English-language domain. Following Bev’s apparent struggle to produce an assertion, Aya undergoes considerable clarification work. As Bev appears to struggle, Aya uses Japanese to propose the delivery of an example – proffering that Bev has some level of Japanese knowledge. Then, Aya switches to English and gives a formulation marked by pauses and sound-stretching before switching to Japanese to utter ‘how should I say it?’. With no response from Bev forthcoming, Aya gives an English-language reformulation. Consequently, Aya utilizes Japanese to end one English formulation and start another. Then, Aya asks ‘does that make sense?’. In delivering this information request, Aya utilizes her multilingual competencies and proffers that Bev too has multilingual competencies. Instead of treating Aya’s code-switching as problematic or accountable, Bev provides confirmation, adheres to the K+ placement that Aya proposes, and progresses the sequence. Aya then switches to English, requesting further information, and Bev gives an English explanation. Aya then switches to Japanese to clearly indicate her alignment with and acceptance of Bev’s explanation. Aya then code-mixes to propose the delivery of an example as an upshot. Bev aligns with this proposed move to an example as upshot – before Aya duly delivers and English-language upshot. This is confirmed as ‘correct’ by Bev and closure is achieved.

Extract 17: Aya asking for help and explanation

1 Bev >it would be< R::EALLY (.) ° i- it's like° (0.2)=
2 Aya =° .hhh >huh<° (.)=
3 Bev =° >you [have to take<°]
4 Aya [do: ↑you say] (.) q↑uality peo↓ple
5 (1.0)

6 Bev °↑th-° THEY are a QUALITY of- quality
7 [per:↑son (.) °yeah°]
8 Aya [so >that MEAN]S<
9 (1.0)
10 Aya PER:son or PEO:ople who::: >are very n↑ice<=
11 Bev ↑uh huh=
12 Aya =>And<
13 (1.5)
14 Aya >you want to k↑eeep in touch ↓with<
15 (1.5)
16 Bev YE::AH=
17 Aya =(?)=
18 Bev =uh- UH::M
19 (1.4)

In line 1 Bev delivers an assessment from a previous sequence - during which Aya overlaps in line 4 and takes the floor with ‘[do: ↑you say] (.) q↑uality peo↓ple’. As this utterance does not attend to Bev’s prior talk, and is a ‘question-formulated’ utterance initiating a new sequence, Aya issues a ‘disjunctive topic shift’ (Schegloff, 2007: 182) as a means of exiting the previous sequence.

The grammatical formulation of Aya’s ‘[do: ↑you say] (.) q↑uality peo↓ple’ in line 1, with the operator/verb then subject (Quirk et al, 1985: 801), and its turn-ending rising intonation marks it as being a YNI (Raymond, 2003). This represents the FPP of an adjacency pair sequence - making normatively expected confirmation/disconfirmation as a SPP action in the form of a ‘yes’, ‘no’ or equivalent token (ibid). Here, Aya treats the English-language formulation ‘q↑uality peo↓ple’ as being in question and consequently claims not to know if it is ‘correct’ or not. Additionally, by addressing this seeming YNI to Bev, Aya targets a recipient whom she treats as ‘knowing’ about the matter in question and who therefore has primary rights to confirm/disconfirm. Therefore, Aya invokes an epistemic asymmetry between herself as K- and Bev as K+. As this relates to an English formulation and its use, it appears the English-language is the epistemic domain in question.

Then follows a 1.0 second pause before Bev takes the floor in line 6 - indicating an orientation to Aya’s request as being complete. However, the syntactic completion of Aya’s turn in line 1 and its terminal falling intonation (‘q↑uality peo↓ple’) would indicate that Aya’s turn

is complete and Bev's response is made relevant. Therefore, it seems that the 1.0 second pause before Bev takes the floor renders Bev's response somewhat delayed. Then Bev's turn is rather marked by a quietly delivered cut-off and restart: '°↑th-° THEY'. Then, Bev clearly identifies Aya's item in question - yet issues another cut-off and restart 'QUALITY of- quality [per:↑son'. As preferred responses typically deliver the sought after content at the turn-initial position with no delay markers (Pomerantz, 1984), Bev's cut-offs and restarts delay the delivery of a preferred response. Therefore, Bev's turn is marked as dispreferred.

Aya then overlaps with the declaratively-formed '[so >that MEAN]S<' in line 8. Here, Aya clearly orients to Bev's response as prompting her to end Bev's turn and propose some form of clarification 'work' to be undertaken. Then Bev utters '°yeah°' - seemingly indicating her unproblematic treatment of Aya's halting Bev's turn and proposal. Aya halts her turn in line 8 while it is syntactically incomplete and then a 1.0 second silence ensues. While this silence suggests that Aya has successfully halted Bev's dispreferred turn, as Bev doesn't take the floor in line 9, Aya's declarative turn in line 8 doesn't prompt Bev's immediate clarification work. Then Aya takes the floor in line 10 with 'PER:son or PEO:ople who::: >are very n↑ice<'. This description indicates that, following Bev's lack of uptake in line 9, Aya nominates herself to begin the clarification work.

Following this, Bev latches with a 'continuer' '↑uh huh' in line 11 - indicating an orientation to the turn as unfinished and proposing an understanding of it. Aya then latches with '>And<', proposing further talk. Aya 1.5 second pause follows during which Bev's lack of interjection indicates her orientation to Aya continuing the explanation herself. Then Aya continues with '>you want to k↑eeep in touch ↓with<' in line 14. The syntactic completion of this TCU and its terminal falling intonation appears to indicate that Aya's explanation is complete. Aya explains that a 'quality person' is very nice and maintaining contact is desirable then the turn-ending falling intonation provides a TRP.

Following a 1.5 second pause in which Aya contributes no further thus suggesting her explanation is complete, Bev takes the floor to utter a clear and emphatic acknowledgement token 'YE: :AH' in line 16. Here, Bev displays an unproblematic treatment of Aya's explanation. However, following an undecipherable utterance from Aya in line 17, Bev latches with 'uh- UH: :M' in line 18. Bev's cut-off 'uh-' and immediate restart with the filled pause 'UH: :M' is followed by a 1.4 second pause. Here, while Bev takes and holds the floor following Aya's explanation, the 1.4 second pause suggests Bev is struggling to provide a clear indication of understanding or an assertion.

Extract 18: Aya's example and asking for help again

- 20 Aya *tatoeba:=*
for example
- 21 Bev =° .hhh°=
- 22 Aya =for exam-
- 23 (1.0)
- 24 Aya i- >it was< (0.3) n- n::nice m::eeting:↓::
- 25 (1.6)
- 26 Aya °>nan to iu kana? <°
how should I say it?
- 27 (1.0)
- 28 Aya °hmm↓::° (.) >it was n↑i:ce< to::
- 29 (1.4)
- 30 Aya h- have (.) me°t::°
- 31 (1.5)
- 32 Aya a >quality< person like ↓you:
- 33 Bev UH [HUH?]
- 34 Aya [is this] (.) is that (.) makes sense? DOES that make
- 35 sens[e?]

In response to Bev's seeming struggle to understand what Aya is referring to and the pause in line 19, Aya takes the floor in line 20. Here, Aya code-switches to Japanese and utters '*tatoeba:* (*for example*)'. Aya utilizes Japanese to propose the impending delivery of an example - thus initiating a new course of action in search of achieving clarity. By using Japanese, Aya indicates an orientation to Bev as having some level of Japanese language understanding. Following Bev's inhalation in line 21, Aya latches with the cut-off '*for exam-*' thus code-switching back to English and reissuing her proposal of an impending example - thus treating her Japanese '*tatoeba:* (*for example*)' as somehow dispreferred.

Then follows a 1.0 second pause in line 23. As it is Aya who proposes an example, the pause appears to 'belong' to Aya and therefore her following talk in line 24 is rather delayed (see Wong, 2004). Aya then continues with 'i- >it was< (0.3) n- n::nice m::eeting:↓::' in line 24. The cut-off 'i-' and immediate self-initiated self-repair '>it was<' see Aya propose a forthcoming declarative formulation before a 0.3 second pause, cut-off and immediate self-initiated self-repair and considerably sound-stretched items 'n- n::nice m::eeting:↓::'. The 1.0

second pause, cut-off, restart, pause, cut-off and restart with considerable sound-stretching appear to indicate that Aya is ‘doing thinking’ while holding the floor to deliver this English-language turn.

Before the recognizable syntactic completion of this TCU is a 1.6 second pause in line 25. As Bev doesn’t interject at this point, she treats it as not yet ‘transition ready’ and orients to Aya’s own continuation. Then Aya code-switches to Japanese, uttering ‘[◦]>n_{an} to iu kana?<[◦] (*how should I say it?*)’ in line 26. Here, Aya uses Japanese to clearly index her difficulty in finding an appropriate word. As Bev doesn’t interject during the 1.0 second silence in line 27, this indicates Bev’s orientation to Aya continuing her talk - despite the interrogative format. Furthermore, as Bev doesn’t treat Aya’s code-switching as an accountable matter, it appears to show Bev’s ratification of Aya’s use of multilingual resources in seeking to achieve clarity.

In line 28, Aya continues with ‘[◦]hmm↓:::◦ (.) >it was n↑i:ce< to::.’. Then following a 1.4 second pause Aya utters ‘h- have (.) me◦t:::◦’ in line 30, and after a 1.5 second pause utters ‘a >quality< person like ↓you:’ in line 32. From lines 28-32 Aya switches to English and holds the floor over lengthy pauses to eventually complete her English-language formulation and provide a TRP. The numerous pauses and sound-stretches in this English-language formulation appear to indicate that Aya is holding the floor while ‘doing thinking’.

In addition, it appears that the first formulation in line 24 (‘i- >it was< (0.3) n- n::nice m::eeting:↓::’) has been abandoned and following Aya’s Japanese ‘[◦]>n_{an} to iu kana?<[◦] (*how should I say it?*)’ was re-formulated. As such, Aya switches to Japanese to end one problematic English delivery and start another.

In response to Aya’s English-language formulation in lines 28-32, Bev utters the ‘continuer’ ‘UH [HUH?]’ in line 33. Here, Bev displays her attentiveness, an unproblematic treatment of Aya’s turn, and an orientation to Aya’s turn as being incomplete. This is followed by Aya overlapping to continue with ‘[is this] (.) is that (.) makes sense? DOES that make sens[e?]’ in lines 34-35. Aya too treats Bev’s previous turn as a ‘continuer’ and shifts from delivering the English formulation to delivering a question to decipher the ‘correctness’ of the formulation. This represents a slight shift in Aya’s focus - from wanting to know if ‘quality people’ is something that ‘you say’ (line 4) to wanting to know if a formulation containing ‘quality person’ ‘makes sense’. Aya moves from *normative use* to *correctness*.

The format of the interrogative in line 35 ‘DOES that make sens[e?]’ marks it a YNI. By using this format, Aya treats her formulation as being ‘in question’ - and claims that she doesn’t know whether it ‘makes sense’ or not. This makes confirmation a type-conforming SPP using a ‘yes’, ‘no’ or an equivalent token.

Here, Aya uses her multilingual competencies to enable her to deliver a clear information request to Bev and enable the assertion below. By claiming that she does not know the ‘answer’ and by directing this question to Bev, Aya orients to Bev as having K+ status in the domain of the English-language. Aya’s requesting English-language-related information from Bev represents the first action in the English help sequence. The following extract sees Bev provide help and then Aya asks a follow up question.

Extract 19: Bev’s help and Aya’s follow-up question

36 Bev [Y↑] EAH
 37 (0.5)
 38 Bev °you like the mu- uh°
 39 (0.5)
 40 Aya >↑AND [it’s a compliment<] °no?°
 41 Bev [°>quality person like ↑you<°]
 42 Bev =Y.hhh.EAH Y.hhh.EAH y.hhh.eah .hhh °y.hhh.eah°

Bev’s responds with an overlapped ‘[Y↑] EAH’ in line 36 to clearly confirm the ‘correctness’ of Aya’s formulation and give an action- and type-conforming SPP. By delivering this confirmation, Bev displays an unproblematic treatment of being placed in the K+ position of ‘confirmer’ by Aya in the domain of the English-language. Then follows a 0.5 second pause in line 38 in which Bev gives no further elaboration and Aya offers no uptake. Then Bev utters ‘°you like the mu- uh°’ followed by a 0.5 second pause. Then in line 40 Aya utters ‘>↑AND [it’s a compliment<] °no?°’ to seemingly give a clarification request as to the nature of the ‘quality person’ as a speech act. Bev responds to this in line 42 with repeated confirmation tokens and inserted laughter indicating a humourous treatment of Aya’s request - perhaps orienting to the answer as being rather obvious/commonsensical.

In this extract, by confirming the ‘correctness’ of Aya’s YNI, i.e. that Aya’s English-language formulation does make sense, and then confirming that the formulation is a compliment, Bev displays an adherence to Aya’s orientation to her K+ status as allocating her the rights to do so. These confirmations represent the second action in the English help sequence. The following extract sees Aya request further information and Bev assert information as requested.

Extract 20: Aya asking for help and Bev's help

- 43 Aya >QU↑ALITY:< pe:o↓ple (0.4) ho::w? should describe (.)
44 ho::w? do you des↓cribe=
45 Bev =°>i descri[b-°< .hhh >IT can be-<]
46 Aya [(?)] a PERson who is
47 (0.8)
48 Bev ↑I:T can be a >LOT of things< (.) >but i think< it
49 usually has >to do with< ATTitude
50 (0.7)
51 Aya ↑UH:::[:::↓m::]
52 Bev [>they have a good< atti]tude=
53 Aya =↑UH:: m: ↓m: ↓m: =
54 Bev =>that when you're< arou:nd them YOU feel °goo:d
55 s[[o they're (.) they're a quality per:↑son°]]
56 Aya [[↑Uh::↓m desu ne:]]
that's right
57 (1.0)
58 Aya °hm:↓:°=
59 Bev =°ah°
60 (2.6)
61 Aya is it P↑OSSIBLE to sa::y
62 (0.8)
63 Aya °that° you are q↑uality ↓person (0.3) or: (.) >it was<
64 n↑ice to:?? (0.6) hm- meet a family:?? (0.4) (°>uh hoh na-
65 ha<°?) QUALity people like (0.5) >YOU<=
66 Bev =.hhh >YE:AH< (.) it's a <li↑ttle SL↓ANGY> though
67 Aya ↑H::m↓::m
68 (2.6)

In her turn in lines 43-44, Aya indexes the plural '>QU↑ALITY:< pe:o↓ple' before uttering 'ho::w? should describe', issuing a micro-pause and reformulating to 'ho::w? do you

describe'. Aya gives a “wh-” type interrogative⁸⁵ (Raymond, 2003) - seemingly making relevant Bev's description of 'quality people'. In requesting this, Aya places Bev in the relative K+ status position and displays an orientation to a remaining epistemic asymmetry to be equalized (see Heritage, 2012a).

As Bev begins to talk in line 45, Aya quickly overlaps with something inaudible and then takes the floor with 'a PERSON who is' in line 46. Before the pragmatic completion of this TCU, Aya halts her talk and a 0.8 second pause ensues. By taking the floor in line 48, Bev indicates her orientation to Aya's turn as complete. Bev utters '↑I:T can be a >LOT of things< (.) >but i think< it usually has >to do with< ATTITUDE'.

Bev's turn-initial '↑I:T' suggests that she is referring to '>QU↑ALITY:< pe:ople'. Then by stating that 'it' 'can be a >LOT of things<', it appears that Bev is giving an explanation related to the 'meaning' of 'quality people'. Then by uttering '>but i think< it usually' Bev proposes further assertion. However, by uttering 'i think' before the assertion, Bev gives a pre-positioned epistemic hedge (Weatherall, 2011) that functions as a slight epistemic downgrading of the assertion to a subjective utterance (see Benveniste, 1971). However, by giving this (albeit slightly downgraded) explanation Bev indicates an adherence to the K+ status Aya proposed. In doing so, Bev delivers a somewhat preferred assertion in response to Aya's “wh-” type interrogative'.

Following the syntactic completion of Bev's TCU is a 0.7 second pause - in which it appears Bev's turn is complete. Then in line 51 Aya utters '↑UH::: [: : ↓m: :]'. In this third position utterance, Aya treats Bev's assertion as unproblematic. This emphatically delivered 'change of state token' (Heritage, 1984) sees Aya display a change to a more 'knowing' state as to the typical trait of a 'quality person'. Bev then upgrades with '>they have a good< atti]tude' in line 52 - the clear delivery of this assertion indicating a rather confident epistemic stance. Aya latches onto this assertion to give another emphatically delivered 'change of state token' '↑UH::: m: ↓m: ↓m:.' in line 53 treating that assertion too as an unproblematic 'informing'.

Despite the seeming acceptance of Bev's talk as 'informings', in line 54 Bev orients to the necessity of more information to be delivered - and adds that being around a 'quality person' makes you feel good. This further upgrades Bev's assertion and thus further fulfills the requirements that Aya's first action in the English help sequence made relevant. As Bev delivers this, Aya simultaneously utters in Japanese '↑Uh::: ↓m desu ne: (*that's right*)' in line 56 - giving a receipt token in the third position treating Bev's turn as 'informing'. Here, in the third position, Aya

⁸⁵ Not all 'wh-type interrogatives' begin with 'wh'. Questions beginning with 'how' can also be considered 'wh-type interrogatives' (Schegloff, 2007: 78).

code-switches to Japanese to clearly indicate her acceptance of Bev's explanation. In doing so, Aya again proffers that Bev has some knowledge of Japanese.

This is followed by a 1.0 second pause before Aya utters '°hm:↓:°' in line 58, giving a 'post-completion musing' form of a 'minimal post-expansion' (Schegloff, 2007). Following a 2.6 second pause in line 60, Aya code-switches back to English to indicate an orientation to further epistemic asymmetry, uttering 'is it POSSIBLE to sa::y', before giving an English-language formulation. Bev gives the confirmation token '>YE:AH<' before stating 'it's a <li↑ttle SL↓ANGY> though' in line 66. Aya treats this as an unproblematic informing with an immediate '↑H::m↓::m' in line 67. This is followed by a 2.6 second pause in line 68 in which the absence of interjection from Aya and Bev appears to indicate the end of this assertion segment.

An examination of this extract suggests Bev responds to Aya's request for a description in lines 43-44 by giving a type and form-conforming explanation. Hence, Bev displays an orientation to her status as 'English-language informer' and delivers the second action in the English help sequence. The following extract sees Aya initiate closure of the sequence - the third action in the English help sequence - by giving an 'upshot'.

Extract 21: Closing

69 Aya °sou: ne::° >so tatoeba::<
 yeah right for example
 70 (2.4)
 71 Aya >a PERSON< (0.3) who was just li- ↑ONCE (0.5) and
 72 t↑alked for: [two minutes]
 73 Bev [↑OH YEAH] yeah they can be °quality:°
 74 Aya >quality<=
 75 Bev =↑UH:M (0.3) °↑hm°
 76 (10.0)

Aya code-switches to Japanese and quietly utter the agreement token '°sou: ne::° (yeah right)' in line 69 to display an alignment to, and unproblematic treatment of the previous informing. This is immediately followed by '>so tatoeba::< (for example)'. Here, Aya code-mixes: the English transition marker '>so' and the Japanese 'tatoeba::< (for example)'. This sees Aya utilize her multilingual resources and proffer Bev's multilingual understanding to progress to an impending example.

As Aya's turn is syntactically incomplete, she is able to hold the floor over a 2.4 second pause before code-switching back to English and giving an description about meeting someone once, briefly in lines 71-72. It appears that following an extended sequence related to 'quality person', Aya's somewhat somewhat aphoristic formulation is an 'upshot' of the meaning of a 'quality person'. This represents the first turn in a 'dedicated sequence-closing sequence' (Schegloff, 2007: 186).

Before a TRP is created, Bev overlaps with '[↑OH YEAH] yeah they can be °quality:°' in line 73. The confirmation tokens 'YEAH] yeah' and declaration that Aya's description is accurate, suggest Bev is confirming the 'correctness' of Aya's description of 'quality people'. By confirming Aya's upshot as 'correct', Bev indicates an orientation to Aya's turn as being a 'B-event statement' - a statement pertaining to a matter about which the recipient holds more knowledge (Labov & Fanshel, 1977). This takes the form of a YND that makes relevant the recipient's confirmation (Raymond, 2010) and indicates Bev's orientation to her K+ status in the domain of the English-language. By confirming the 'correctness' of Aya's upshot, and progressing the sequence, Bev delivers the second turn in the 'dedicated sequence-closing sequence'.

By uttering '>quality<' in line 74, Aya repeats the final lexical item of Bev's second turn. This ratifies the veracity of it. Bev responds to this third turn by latching with '↑UH:M (0.3) °↑hm°' in line 75 which doesn't initiate any further related sequence - and is thus a 'minimal post-expansion' serving to display Bev's orientation to ending the sequence. This is followed by a 10 second pause - representing the successful achievement of sequence completion. With the epistemic asymmetry having been equalized, the 'epistemic engine' (Heritage, 2012b) has run its course and there are no more warrants for further talk. This closure represents the final action in the English help sequence.

Chapter 6: Analysis. ALTs' stable K+ status

This analytic chapter examines how Japanese High school teachers of English treat Ben and Bev's K+ epistemic status in the English-language epistemic domain as stable despite some displays of interactional 'trouble' and epistemic hesitancy.

Encounter 5 (ALTs' stable K+ status)

Setting: Kuroshima High School

JTE: Aya

ALT: Bev

Summary:

Prior to this sequence, Aya begins reading the English-language diary of 'Keisuke' (a student) and checking parts of it with Bev. In the sequence below, after finishing one query, Aya moves on to another query from the student's diary. Aya relays Keisuke's English-language formulation – problematizes part of it and reformulates to prompt Bev's other-repair. Here, Aya orients to an English-language epistemic hierarchy – with Keisuke – 'originator' (bottom), Aya – 'reformulator' (middle), and Bev – the relative 'knower' (top). Bev's response is treated by Aya as a failure to perform the repair, yet Aya gives a reformulation in an attempt to prompt Bev's 'help'. Then Bev takes the floor but displays considerable interactional 'trouble'. Despite this Aya provides Bev another opportunity to provide 'help' – indicating Aya's strong orientation to Bev's K+ status. With Bev then issuing confirmation, then confirming Aya's second issue and providing reiteration, she too displays an orientation to her own K+ status before closing. This indicates an unwavering joint orientation to Bev's K+ status in the English-language domain – despite the initial 'trouble'.

Extract 22: Aya asking for help

- 1 Aya =<twē:nty se:ven> my allergies don't have any pro:ble:ms?
- 2 Bev uh h.hhh.m
- 3 Aya >but my cold< (0.3) REA↑lly ↑Goe:s ↓on (0.5)
- 4 ↑Keisuke's diary (0.4) °so° (0.4) will go: o:n?
- 5 (1.6)
- 6 Bev AH[::]
- 7 Aya [will] CON↑TInue i ↓THINK
- 8 (1.0)
- 9 Bev >just in genera:l< it's O::- ↑AH ↑MY

10 (fou-[bla-?]
 11 Aya [↑SO] ↑won't ↑go awa::y?

As Aya's 'my allergies don't have any pro:ble:ms?' in line 1 follows '<twe:nty se:ven>', it appears that Aya is progressing through a list of issues for Bev's attention. Instead of treating the syntactic completion of the formulation and the turn-ending rising intonation of Aya's turn, Bev orients to line 1 as a prompt for her 'continuer' 'uh h.hhh.m' in line 2. Here, Bev displays attentiveness and treats Aya's talk as part of an unfinished multi-unit turn. The inserted laughter in this continuer indicates Bev's humorous treatment of Aya's previous utterance (perhaps as 'allergies' appears to be used as the subject not topic of this sentence).

Aya continues in line 3 with '>but my cold< (0.3) REA↑lly ↑Goe:s ↓on (0.5)'. The falling intonation of '↓on' and the following 0.5 second pause suggests 'but my cold really goes on' is a complete (although somewhat 'disfluent') TCU. However, Bev doesn't take the floor at this point and Aya continues in line 4 with, '↑Keisuke's diary (0.4) °so° (0.4) will go: o:n?'. By uttering '↑Keisuke's diary', Aya appears to be identifying the original source of the formulation⁸⁶. Then follows another 0.4 second pause in which Bev doesn't take the floor. Then Aya quietly utters the 'transition marker' '°so°' - proposing further talk thus allowing her to hold the floor over another 0.4 second pause before 'will go: o:n?'. Here, Aya reformulates the verb used in Keisuke's diary and by using try-marked intonation, Aya clearly marks 'will go: o:n?' as a potential 'trouble-source' (Schegloff, 1992a). By halting her talk following this try-marked utterance Aya seemingly completes this TCU and makes relevant speaker change.

By producing this formulation as something "that may be taken as a problem" (Hosoda, 2000) and making relevant speaker change to Bev, Aya appears to be self-initiating an 'other-repair sequence' (Schegloff et al, 1977). By posing this to Bev, Aya displays an orientation to Bev's superior knowledge enabling her to perform the repair. As such, Aya orients to her (relative to B) inferior knowledge (K- status). As the matter in question is an English formulation, Aya treats the English-language as the epistemic domain in which this knowledge asymmetry lies. Additionally, by isolating Keisuke's formulation, reformulating part of it, then self-initiating an other-repair sequence, Aya's turn serves to "focus attention on the trouble as trouble, but also call into question the competence of the party who produced such an object" (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1987: 208). Consequently, Aya orients to an English-language epistemic hierarchy - with Keisuke - the 'originator' bottom, Aya - the 'reformulator' middle, and Bev - the relative 'knower' top.

⁸⁶ Keisuke is a common Japanese male name

Despite the syntactic completion of Aya's turn in line 4 and the try-marked intonation providing a TRP, Bev doesn't immediately take the floor - and a 1.6 second pause ensues in line 5. Bev appears to be orienting to the possibility of Aya adding further information. However, with no further contribution from Aya forthcoming, Bev takes the floor in line 6 with 'AH[: :]'. As Bev's following turn from line 9 begins the assertion of information, 'AH[: :]' appears to be a 'penny-drop moment' in which Bev treats Aya's request as complete, seeks to take the floor from Aya, and propose an understanding of what she is being asked to do.

In response, however, Aya overlaps to take the floor with '[will] CON↑TInue i ↓THINK' in line 7. The declarative syntax of this utterance indicates that Aya is making an assertion. And the semantic proximity and close placement that '[will] CON↑TInue' has to 'will go on', suggests that Aya is reformulating Keisuke's verb and thus providing a replacement. In taking the floor and seemingly performing the repair herself, Aya orients to Bev as struggling to perform the repair - despite the apparent 'penny-drop moment'. In doing so, Aya claims some English-language knowledge - yet the suppositional 'i ↓THINK' indicates a mild epistemic downgrade. Here, Aya claims a slightly restricted access to the English-language epistemic domain. However, by reformulating Keisuke's verb, Aya claims her access is superior to Keisuke's.

Following the syntactic completion of Aya's turn is a 1.0 second pause in line 8. Bev seemingly orients to the possibility of further talk from Aya, despite the syntactic completion of Aya's TCU in line 7. However, following a 1.0 second pause, Bev treats Aya's turn as complete and takes the floor with '>just in genera:l< it's O:: - ↑AH ↑MY (fou-[bla- ?)]' in lines 9-10. By uttering '>just in genera:l< it's', Bev announces that a declarative assertion or assessment relating to something 'in general' is forthcoming. By proposing some form of assertion or assessment 'in general', Bev appears to problematize Aya's repair and/or Keisuke's formulation. In doing so, Bev displays an orientation to her own K+ status in the English language as allocating her the right to do so.

However, the delivery of Bev's turn in lines 9-10 following her proposal includes a sound-stretch and cut-off 'O: :-', then restart before uttering the filler '↑AH' and '↑MY (fou-' before Aya overlaps to take the floor in line 11 - leaving Bev's proposed assertion/assessment undelivered. Consequently, while orienting to her own K+ status, Bev gives a clear display of interactional 'trouble' delivering this turn.

By overlapping with '[↑SO] ↑won't go awa::y?' in line 11, Aya cuts short Bev's talk. The semantic similarity between 'won't go away' and 'will continue' suggests Aya is providing an alternative verb-phrase. Here, Aya claims some English-language knowledge and indicates an orientation to Bev's turn in lines 9-10 as rejecting the 'correctness' of 'will continue'.

By treating Bev's turn in lines 9-10 as an informing, Aya displays an orientation to Bev's relative K+ status. The try-marked intonation of '↑won't ↑go awa: :y?' marks it as 'candidate' and makes relevant speaker change for Bev's 'attending' to it. This sees Aya give Bev another opportunity to provide English-language help - despite the interactional 'trouble' displayed in lines 9-10.

As Aya's turn in line 11 is a declarative that makes relevant speaker change. As such it is designed as a 'B-event statement' (a statement pertaining to a matter the deliverer holds some knowledge of but the receiver holds more) in the form of a YND. This makes relevant Bev's confirmation of the 'correctness' of '↑won't ↑go awa: :y?'. The 'positive polarity' (Raymond, 2003) of this declarative indicates Aya's expectation of it being confirmed as correct. This turn in line 11 represents another attempt by Aya to trigger Bev's English-language 'help' 'correcting' 'Keisuke's diary'.

This extract indicates that despite Aya's orientation to Bev as not performing the repair (in lines 6-7) and Bev's interactional 'trouble' displayed (lines 9-10), both Aya and Bev display an unwavering orientation to Aya's K- and Bev's K+ status in the English-language domain.

Further, extract 22 represents the first action of the English help sequence - requesting English-language-related help. Below sees Bev begin the process of asserting English-language-related information.

Extract 23: Bev's help

12 (0.6)
 13 Bev ↑YEAH won't ↑go a↓way
 14 (0.9)
 15 Bev YEAH °or:° YEah ↑WON'T get better won't go away
 16 (1.1)
 17 Bev °ye:ah°=

Following this apparent YND is a 0.6 second pause before Bev takes the floor in line 13 and orients to Aya's turn in line 11 as complete. Bev's response '↑YEAH won't ↑go a↓way' is a clearly delivered confirmation token '↑YEAH' followed by a repeat of Aya's just-delivered verb-phrase to confirm its 'correctness'. Bev displays an orientation to Aya's turn as a YND and gives an action- and type-conforming SPP (Raymond, 2010). Consequently, while Bev acknowledges Aya's claim to some knowledge, Bev claims to hold more knowledge. In doing so, Bev displays an orientation

to her relative K+ status in the English-language domain and the clear delivery displays a rather emphatic stance.

However, following this confirmation is a 0.9 second pause in line 14 - with Aya offering no verbal ‘change of state token’ to ratify Bev’s K+ status claim. In response to this lack of verbal uptake Bev takes the floor in line 15. Bev gives another confirmation token ‘YEAH’ then proposes an alternative to follow (with ‘°or:°’), repeats the confirmation token and provides the alternative verb-phrase ‘↑WON’T get better’. Then, without providing a TRP, Bev immediately utters the previous verb-phrase ‘won’t go away’. Here, Bev treats the two verb-phrases as symmetrical alternatives which are both acceptable. Then follows a 1.1 second pause in line 16 in which Aya, again, doesn’t verbally treat Bev’s talk as ‘informing’. Then Bev utters ‘°ye:ah°’ - indicating a treatment of her own informing as ‘preferred’. This confirmation, upgrading and preferred treatment shows Bev’s confident epistemic stance and orientation to her own K+ status as English-language ‘informer’. This represents the second action in the English help sequence. The following talk sees Aya ask another question and orient to a remaining knowledge asymmetry.

Extract 24: Aya’s next request and Bev’s help

18 Aya =>and ↑how about< ↑long period (0.3) ↑won’t go
 19 awa:y .hhh IF I SA:Y ↑won’t go wa:y=
 20 Bev =I--
 21 Aya =>I don’t ↑have to SAY< [long period]
 22 Bev [>you don’t have to say<]
 23 long period
 24 (0.6)
 25 Bev >just won’t go aw:ay<
 26 (1.2)
 27 Bev °yeah°=

In line 29 by uttering ‘>and ↑how about< ↑long period’ Aya delivers an ‘and-prefaced question’ (Heritage & Sorjonen, 1994). This ‘and’ is used to indicate a tie between the previous question (the YND related to ‘won’t go away’) and this one (dealing with ‘↑long period’). This indicates “a forward movement within the trajectory of a larger activity” (op.cit.: 6) of seeking to ‘correct’ Keisuke’s English-language diary. By moving on to this next query, Aya displays a

treatment of Bev's previous confirmation and provision of an alternative as unproblematic and sufficient 'informings' (ibid).

The morphosyntax of Aya's '↑how about', marks '↑long period' as being 'in question', makes relevant Bev's attending to it somehow, and displays Aya's orientation to a remaining knowledge asymmetry. Then follows a brief pause, repeat of her earlier formulation and inhalation '↑won't go awa:y .hhh' in lines 18-19. Then by uttering 'IF I SA:Y', Aya initiates a new trajectory - withholding Bev's opportunity to attend to 'long period'. Here, Aya gives the first component of a 'compound TCU' and proffers that another component will follow.

In line 21 Aya quickly latches onto Bev's 'I-' with '>I don't ↑have to SAY< [long period' - delivering the second component of the compound TCU using negative declarative syntax. Aya asserts that if you say 'won't go away' then 'long period' is unnecessary. Here Aya claims some knowledge - indicating a fairly 'knowing' epistemic stance. Aya's talk in lines 18-21 indicates an important shift in the focus of the interaction. Rather than being concerned with obtaining an 'acceptable' phrase for Keisuke's diary, Aya is now concerned with the phrase's *use* and *nuance*. It appears that Aya treats Bev's confirmed-as-correct 'won't go away' as 'correct'.

In lines 22-23, despite Aya not providing any turn allocational component (TAC), Bev overlaps with '[>you don't have to say<] long period'. Bev repeats Aya's previous turn-ending sentence with a change in pronoun from 'I' to 'you'. This repeat represents Bev's unproblematic treatment and confirmation of the correctness of Aya's negative declaration. Here, Bev shows an orientation to Aya's previous turn as a YND prompting her confirmation. Bev, though, does not issue 'yes', 'no' or an equivalent token - instead issues a near repeat of the declaration. Therefore Bev slightly departs from the constraints of a YND. However, this may be a strategy to avoid confusion that may be caused by confirming a negative declaration.

Following this confirmation is no verbal uptake from Aya to indicate her treatment of Bev's confirmation. Then Bev self-selects and utters '>just won't go aw:ay<' in line 25 - a clear declarative assertion that 'won't go away' is sufficient. This functions as a reiteration of the 'correctness' of 'won't go away'. These K+ acts represent a significant upgrading enhanced by a clear delivery indicating a confident epistemic stance. Then a 1.2 second pause follows in which this upgrade is not verbally responded to. Bev then utters the confirmation token '°yeah°' further indicating a confident epistemic stance. Here, in response to Aya's request, Bev confirms, asserts and confirms again - thus indicating her K+ status as English-language 'informer'. This represents the second action of a English help sequence. The extract below sees Aya initiate sequence closure.

Extract 25: Closing

28 Aya =<↑tha: :nk ° ↓you: °>
29 Bev °no pro:blem°
30 (2.0)
31 Aya sorry i want to get your ↑cup

In line 28 Aya utters the latched ‘<↑tha: :nk ° ↓you: °>’. This slow and clearly delivered expression of gratitude following Bev’s informing displays an unproblematic treatment and ratification of its veracity. Further, it confirms Bev’s relative K+ status in the English-language epistemic domain.

This turn also functions as the first part of an adjacency pair as Bev immediately utters ‘°no pro:blem°’ as a SPP which indexes Bev alignment. This is followed by a 2.0 second pause in which no further requests for information are made. Aya then takes the floor to utter ‘sorry i want to get your ↑cup’ and initiates a new, unrelated sequence. Here, Aya starts a new topic and thus curtails the previous topic: a ‘disjunctive topic shift’ (Schegloff, 2007). Therefore Aya is treating the epistemic asymmetry that drove the larger sequence forward as equalized and consequently the matter as closed. With no expression of an epistemic asymmetry indicated, Aya now claims to have obtained the sought after information. With the ‘epistemic engine’ having ‘run its course’, closure is achieved (Heritage, 2012a). This represents the completion of the third action in the English help sequence.

In this encounter, despite Bev not performing the repair Aya made relevant and by displaying interactional ‘trouble’, Aya’s orientation to Bev’s K+ epistemic status in the English-language domain remains intact and stable. Then, Bev clearly issues confirmation of Aya’s formulation, issues the second component of Aya’s compound TCU to issue another confirmation, and reiterates in a rather emphatic manner. These indicate Bev’s orientation to her own K+ status despite the initial ‘trouble’ - suggesting a joint-orientation to this epistemic status differential.

The following interaction is from Ioujima High School and sees Ami display an unwavering orientation to Ben’s K+ status despite ‘trouble’.

Encounter 6 (ALTs' stable K+ status)

Setting: Ioujima High School

JTEs: Asa, Ami, Gen

ALT: Ben

Summary:

Initially the JTEs are discussing, in Japanese, a question set in a forthcoming English test. Here, students are asked to find a synonym for 'equivalent' and Asa suggests 'parallel'. Then the transcribed data begins. Following Japanese talk in which Ami suggests posing this issue to Ben, Asa delivers two similar English-language formulations with different items emphasized to Ben. Ben then delivers an explanation of the meaning of both emphasized words and gives an 'upshot'. By treating Asa's prior talk as a request for English-language 'help', Ben indicates an orientation to his K+ status as allocating him the rights to assert information. However, Ben's delivery is rather slow and downgraded. Asa then seeks to confirm whether or not the problematized items (equivalent and parallel) are the same or different. Ben holds the floor and indicates he is 'doing thinking' about 'parallel' – and appears to struggle to provide confirmation. Then Ben gives a comparison but still appears to struggle to assert information about 'parallel'. Rather than treating Ben's struggle as an accountable matter, Asa shifts the focus from 'equivalent' and 'parallel' to 'the sentence'. This generates Ben's declaration and example sentence which includes 'parallel'. While Ben orients to his K+ rights to assert information, his delivery is marked by interactional 'trouble', downgrading and mitigation. Despite this, Asa treats this as an unproblematic informing before closing the encounter. Therefore, Asa and Ben both orient to Ben's K+ status as stable despite Ben's 'trouble'.

Extract 26: Japanese talk and call for Ben's attention (pre-sequence)

- 1 Asa atto:↓: (.) >netowa:rku to doutou ga< our new model
and network and equivalent
2 is equivalent to >nan desu kedo< ko- parallel to:
but
3 wha-
4 (0.6)
5 Ami .hhh ↑H↓M::: ↑imi ga (.) Ben sensei ni >kiite

it's better to ask Ben teacher

- 6 ↑ATTE ireba ii n ↑ja↓nai<
the meaning isn't it?
- 7 Gen ↑H↓m:
- 8 Asa °↑ah (.) >↑can you<°
- 9 Ben ↑u↓hm=

In lines 1-3 Asa's Japanese talk includes the English 'our new model is equivalent to' and 'parallel to:'. Then Ami, using Japanese, suggests asking Ben about the 'meaning' - orienting to Ben as having superior knowledge (K+ status) enabling him to solve a problem related to 'meaning'. Gen's agreement token '↑H↓m:' in line 7 ratifies Ami's suggestion.

Then, Asa code-switches to English with '°↑ah (.) >↑can you<°' in line 8. This is immediately followed by Ben's '↑u↓hm' - a 'go-ahead' response indicating an attentiveness and willingness to progress (Schegloff, 2007: 30). Here, Asa's turn successfully garners Ben's attention, mobilizes Ben's verbal entry to the unfolding talk, and proposes further talk.

Extract 27: Asa asking for help

- 10 Asa =our new ↑MO↓DEL (.) ↑IS (.) <E↑QUIVA↓LENT> TO a
11 ↑netWORK (0.3) composed of (0.4) >°↑one hundred<
12 comPUTERS
- 13 Ben ↑U↓HM
- 14 Asa >↑AND< (.) our new ↑MO↓DEL ↑IS (.) <↑PARA↓LLEL>
15 (0.6) T↑O: (.) ↑AH (.) ↑net (.) work=
- 16 Ben =↑AH↓:::
- 17 ? (°↑h↓m:°?)
- 18 (1.2)
- 19 Ben <E↑QUIVALEN(.)°t° mea:::ns> it ha- >is the same or

In line 10 Asa immediately latches on to Ben's 'go-ahead' response with the delivery of an English-language formulation. As some of this formulation was uttered by Asa in lines 1-2 ('our new model is equivalent to') it seems that Asa is putting the earlier 'in-question' matter to Ben - following C's suggestion. In lines 10-12 Asa delivers the formulation - using a volume-rise and rise-fall intonation to mark out '↑MO↓DEL (.) ↑IS (.) <E↑QUIVA↓LENT> TO' for

particular attention. The seeming syntactic completion of the formulation in lines 10-12 and halting of talking provides a TRP for Ben to take the floor with ‘↑U↓HM’ in line 13. This continuer sees Ben display his attentiveness and unproblematic treatment of Asa’s talk. In response, Asa gives another English-language formulation in lines 14-15 with the same grammatical structure as the first part of the previous formulation but replaces ‘<E↑QUIVA↓LENT>’ with (the similarly emphasized) ‘<↑PARA↓LLEL>’. Asa separates these two formulations using the item ‘>↑AND<’ as she treats Ben’s ‘↑U↓HM’ as a continuer.

Following Asa’s uttering of ‘<↑PARA↓LLEL>’ is a 0.6 second pause before Asa continues with ‘T↑O: (.) ↑AH (.) ↑net (.) work’. Ben doesn’t take the floor to offer any ‘help’ during this 0.6 second pause. Instead, Asa continues his delivery of the formulation with repeated micro-pauses that suggest Asa is ‘doing thinking’ (Houtkoop-Stenstra, 1994) to hold the floor during this English-language delivery. Upon Asa uttering ‘↑net (.) work’, Ben overlaps with ‘↑AH↓ : : :’ in line 16. Here, Ben takes the floor before syntactical completion of the TCU and without a TRP being provided. As his following turn in line 19 is the assertion of information, Ben treats the turn as being ‘recognizably complete’ as a request for help (Jefferson, 1983). As such, Ben allows Asa to continue with her talk until his ‘penny-drop moment’ in line 16 in which Ben indicates recognition of what Asa’s turn makes relevant.

Following the 1.2 second pause in line 18 in which Asa doesn’t elaborate further or provide syntactical completion of her interrupted turn (lines 14-15), Ben utters ‘<E↑QUIVALEN(.) °t° mea::ns>’ - proposing the action of an *explanation*. This clearly indicates Ben’s orientation to Asa’s prior talk as being an *information request* and by proposing the assertion of what ‘equivalent means’, Ben proposes a shift in activity from Asa’s delivery of the English-language-related query to Ben’s assertion of English-language-related information. This represents the completion of the first action in the English help sequence and the beginning of the second action. This sees Ben stake a claim to his own relative K+ status as ‘explainer’ in the English-language epistemic domain. However, the analysis below will show Ben’s ‘trouble’ when explaining.

Extract 28: Ben’s ‘troubled’ help

18 (1.2)
 19 Ben <E↑QUIVALEN(.) °t° mea::ns> it ha- >is the s↑ame or
 20 has the same< E↑<fffect> (.) but parallel <mea::ns>
 21 (0.8)
 22 Ben >it’s like< <next t- ↓to:::>

23 Asa °↑ah:°=
 24 Ben =so you wouldn't (.) really say °<parall↑el>
 25 [for th↑at°]
 26 Asa [°↑ah:°] sss: so it's ↑NOT the completely SAME?=
 27 Ben =↑hmm↓::: (0.4) >↑HANG on (.) uhh (.) our new
 28 network is<=
 29 Asa =↑DIFFE↓rent=
 30 Ben =<°pa:rallel ↓to::°>
 31 (1.0)
 32 Ben ↑CERTAINLY:: ↓you:d say >equivalen°t:°< (0.3) is
 33 ↑much more:: ↑like°ly:°
 34 (0.7)
 35 Ben is <°pa:rallel to°>
 36 (2.0)

In line 19 Ben utters, ‘<E↑QUIVALEN(.)°t° mea::ns>’ - the slowed delivery of these items and in particular the raised intonation and volume of ‘equivalent’ shows Ben clearly index the item emphasized by Asa in line 10. The declarative syntax (‘mea::ns’) sees Ben propose a forthcoming explanation. As ‘explainer’, Ben clearly treats Asa’s prior turn as prompting his K+ contribution. This is despite Asa not directly requesting this ‘help’ by using, for example, interrogative morphosyntax - rather Asa merely presents two similar English-language formulations with different items emphasized. This clearly indicates Ben’s orientation to his K+ status.

Ben’s turn continues his turn in line 19 with a cut-off ‘it ha-’ and restart with ‘>is the s↑ame’ to offer one assertion. Then Ben immediately produces alternative assertion - ‘or has the same< E↑<ffect>’. Here, Ben offers two explanations of ‘parallel’ - separated by ‘or’. The second explanation, ‘has the same effect’, appears to show Ben upgrading the first by providing more detail. Following the cut-off and restart, Ben’s assertion is somewhat clearly delivered. Then in lines 20-22, Ben utters ‘but parallel <mea::ns> (0.8) >it’s like< <next t- ↓to:::>’. Here Ben progresses to the item Asa emphasized in the second formulation in line 14. By uttering ‘<mea::ns>’, Ben proposes delivery of an assertion related to ‘meaning’. However, the sound-stretching and slowed delivery of this item sees Ben slow the pace of delivery. Then comes a 0.8 second pause - with no interjection from Asa. Here, Asa is seemingly orienting to the syntactic and pragmatic incompleteness of Ben’s TCU (i.e. Ben hasn’t yet stated what ‘parallel means’) as indicating that Ben will continue himself. Indeed, Ben continues with ‘>it’s like<

<next t- ↓to::>'. As '>it's like<' precedes the focus of Ben's assertion and downgrades the accuracy of the explanation to a 'likeness', it functions as a 'pre-positioned epistemic hedge' (Weatherall, 2011). Here, while Ben orients to his K+ status as allocating him the right to explain, this hedging suggests a somewhat 'unsure' epistemic stance. Ben marks the explanation by delivering it in a rather slowed manner and with a sound-stretch of '↓to::'. The terminal falling intonation sees Ben create a TRP for Asa to take the floor - thus indicating the end of this TCU.

In line 23 Asa takes the floor with '°↑ah:°'. Following this indication of attentiveness, Ben latches with 'so you wouldn't (.) really say °<parall↑el> [for th↑at°]' in lines 24-25. Following the transition marker 'so', Ben asserts that parallel is not appropriate in 'that' context given by Asa in lines 14-15. This informing indicates Ben's progression from *explaining* the meaning of 'equivalent' then 'parallel' to giving an *upshot* of it - that 'parallel' is 'incorrect'/'inappropriate' in this context. This indicates that Ben treats Asa's turn in lines 10-15 as necessitating his explanation of meaning and clarification if 'parallel' is appropriate or not in the sentence given. This, again, sees Ben orient to his own K+ status as giving him the right to deliver such informings. However, the inserted item 'really' sees Ben slightly downgrade the veracity of 'you wouldn't'.

Following Ben's explanation and clarification, Asa overlaps with '[°↑ah:°] sss: so it's ↑NOT the completely SAME?' in line 26. This turn is made up of declarative syntax with turn-ending rising intonation - making relevant speaker change - suggesting it is a 'candidate understanding' which would make relevant Ben's confirmation/disconfirmation of its 'correctness'. The negative polarity appears to indicate an expectation of Ben's disconfirmation to follow.

Ben latches with '↑hmm↓:::' then following a 0.4 second pause, Ben continues with '↑HANG on (.) uhh (.) our new network is<...<°pa:rallel ↓to::°>' in lines 27-30. By uttering 'hang on' and seemingly issuing a near repeat of Asa's turn in lines 14-15, Ben appears to propose further 'work' to be undertaken following this seeming partial-repeat. This functions to delay the confirmation seemingly made relevant by Asa's turn in line 26.

As Ben delivers this turn, Asa overlaps, but doesn't take the floor, with '↑DIFFE↓rent' in line 29. Asa appears to orient to Ben's delay of confirmation as prompting a change from the negative polarity 'not the completely same' to uttering the item 'different' - with positive polarity.

By uttering '<°pa:rallel ↓to::°>', Asa appears to indicate that it is this formulation that accounts for the delaying of the confirmation and the focus of the necessary 'work'. Furthermore, the slow delivery, lowered volume and sound-stretching of '<°pa:rallel

↓to: : °>' suggests Ben is 'doing thinking' about 'parallel to' so as to hold the floor. This allows Ben to hold the floor during a 1.0 second pause in line 31 before continuing with '↑CERTAINLY: : ↓you:d say >equivalen°t: °< (0.3) is ↑much more: : ↑like°ly: °' in lines 32-33. This declaratively-formed utterance shifts the focus from 'parallel to' to 'equivalent' and by stating that 'equivalent' is 'much more likely', it appears that Ben is comparing the two items. By seemingly comparing, Ben displays an orientation to his own K+ status as English-language 'informer'. However, referring to 'equivalent' marks a delay at dealing with 'parallel to'.

The sound-stretch of '↑CERTAINLY: :', 0.3 second pause and sound-stretch of 'more: : ' see Ben mark the progression to the focus of the comparison ('↑like°ly: °') as rather slow. Following the seeming syntactic completion of this TCU is a 0.7 second pause in line 34. At this point, Asa does not give any verbal uptake before Ben slowly and quietly utters 'is <°pa:rallēl to°>' in line 35. This marks a return to the second formulation - and indicates Ben's orientation to ending the informing related to 'equivalent'. Upon indexing this second formulation, a 2.0 second silence ensues. However, Ben offers no further elaboration on 'is <°pa:rallēl to°>' and a 2.0 second silence ensues in line 36. This lengthy silence rather than assertion of information indicates that while Ben orients to his K+ status as allocating him the right to explain, he struggles to provide an English-language informing here.

Extract 29: Ben's troubled explanation

37 Asa >↑sō< S↑ENTENCE ITSELF ↑IS-

38 (0.7)

39 Ben it's GRA↑MMATICALLY ↓RIGHT but it's a little:(.) >WE

40 wouldn't< say tha:t (0.6) ↑MAYBE you'd say< our (.)

41 our (.) ne- my net↑WORK runs PARAllel to YOUR

42 net↑work

43 Asa ↑AH: : >huh huh<

44 Ben >it means they run< at the <same t↑i:me may↑be> (.)

45 BUt (0.3) NOT (0.3) >necessarily< eQUIValent: :

In response to Ben's attempts to assert information, in line 37 Asa utters '>↑sō< S↑ENTENCE ITSELF ↑IS-'. Here, instead of treating Ben's seeming struggle as an accountable matter, Asa shifts the focus from 'equivalent' and 'parallel to' to the 'sentence'. Before recognizable syntactic completion of this TCU, Asa issues a cut-off ('↑IS-') and then halts his talk - thus creating a TRP

for Ben to take the floor. This turn successfully generates much talk from Ben in line 39 following a 0.7 second pause.

Ben starts this turn in line 39 by uttering ‘it’ s’ - referring to Asa’s topicalized ‘sentence’. Here, Ben uses declarative syntax to state that the sentence is ‘GRA↑MMATICALLY ↓RIGHT’ - the volume increase and rise-fall intonation suggest, at this point, a clear delivery and confident epistemic stance. Here, Ben orients to Asa’s previous turn as a prompt for a declaration. Therefore, Ben displays an orientation to his own K+ status allocating him the rights to assert information.

Ben proposes the delivery of some form of assertion by uttering ‘but it’s a little:’ in line 39. However, following a micro-pause, Ben utters ‘>WE wouldn’t< say tha:t’ - suggesting that Ben has abandoned the delivery of the just-proffered assertion and reformulated. This represents a slightly deferred delivery of assertion. Then follows a 0.6 second silence in which the floor appears to be open - yet as Asa offers interjection Ben continues with ‘↑MAYBE you’d say< our (.) our (.) ne- my net↑WORK runs PARAllel to YOUR net↑work’ in lines 40-42. This TCU is made up of declarative syntax - and gives an example sentence using ‘parallel’. This indicates Ben’s orientation to a remaining epistemic asymmetry to be equalized by giving an example sentence which includes the problematized item ‘parallel’. Ben, again, orients to his K+ status giving him the right to assert English-language-related information. However, the TCU-initial ‘↑MAYBE’ which comes before this declaration functions as a ‘pre-positioned epistemic hedge’ (Weatherall, 2011) in which Ben downplays the veracity of the declaration.

The following micro-pause and restart with different emphasis of ‘our (.) our’, micro-pause, cut-off and restart of ‘ne- my net↑WORK’ all slow the delivery of this declaration and appear to display Ben’s interactional ‘trouble’. This indicates that while Ben orients to his K+ status as ‘answerer’, he displays ‘trouble’ and a downgraded epistemic stance.

In response, Asa utters ‘↑AH: : >huh huh<’ in line 43. This third-positioned turn treats Ben’s informing as unproblematic and functions as a receipt to register that information has been conveyed (Heritage, 2012a). Therefore this is a ‘change of state token’ in which Ben proffers a change in cognitive state from ‘not knowing’ to ‘knowing’ thanks to Ben’s declarative turn. Here, Asa indicates an acceptance of Ben’s K+ status in the English-language epistemic domain. This sees Asa treat Ben’s ‘trouble’ and downgrading as not being an accountable matter.

Ben follows this with ‘>it means they run< at the <same t↑i:me may↑be> (.) BUT (0.3) NOT (0.3) >necessarily< eQUIValent::’ in lines 44-45. Here Ben uses declarative syntax to seemingly explain the meaning of ‘parallel’ from Ben’s previous formulation. Here, Ben is placing himself in a K+ position as ‘informer’ by upgrading his previous declaration. However, this declaration is downgraded by the mitigation ‘may↑be’. Then following

this is a micro-pause, ‘BUt’, a 0.3 second pause, ‘NOT’, 0.3 second pause, then a turn-ending sound-stretch ‘>necessarily< eQUIVAlent: :’. These pauses mark the delivery of this declaration as somewhat slow. Further, by placing the mitigation ‘NOT

(0.3) >necessarily<’ prior to ‘eQUIVAlent: :’ Ben gives a ‘pre-positioned epistemic hedge’ that downplays the veracity of the assertion. This declaration’s delivery displays a somewhat ‘hesitant’ epistemic stance.

Despite the ‘trouble’ and stance displayed, Ben engages in English-language ‘informing’ and thus performs the second action in the English help sequence. Below sees the achievement of the third action: closing.

Extract 30: Closing

46		(5.5)
47	Asa	↑ <u>O</u> ↓KAY
48	Ben	>↑ <u>h</u> ↓m<
49		(11.5)

Following Ben’s assertion is a 5.5 second pause - a particularly delayed uptake - before Asa utters ‘↑O↓KAY’ in line 47. Here, Asa doesn’t verbally problematize any aspect of Ben’s previous turn nor treat it as an accountable matter – however, the lengthy pause suggests a dispreferred treatment of Ben’s prior turn. This turn triggers Ben’s minimal response of ‘>↑h↓m<’. This suggests that Ben is aligning with Asa’s unproblematic treatment of the informings. With neither participant indicating any form of epistemic asymmetry as remaining, both orient to the epistemic asymmetry that opened up this encounter as being no longer in need of being equalized. Consequently, with epistemic engine having ‘run its course’ and closure is made relevant (Heritage, 2012a). Then follows a lengthy pause in line 49 then a different topic is raised with different participants - representing the completion of the third action in the English help sequence and end of this sequence.

The following encounter is from Kuroshima High School and sees Bev display some interactional ‘trouble’ while delivering English-language-related information - yet both Ai and Bev treat Bev’s relative K+ status as stable. In addition to her K+ status in the English-language domain, Bev also orients to her identity of ‘culturally-informed helper’ while giving English-language help.

Encounter 7 (ALTs' stable K+ status)

Setting: Kuroshima High School

JTE: Ai

ALT: Bev

Summary:

Prior to the transcribed talk below, Ai and Bev are talking about Bev's 'yosakoi'⁸⁷ team and their disappointing performance at a recent contest. Then the transcribed talk begins. Ai relays a question from another source (Hayashi sensei) to Bev and provides an English formulation. Here, Ai orients to Bev's K+ status as enabling her to provide the necessary information. Bev then implicitly rejects the 'correctness' of Ai's formulation – thus ratifying Ai's proposal of her K+ status. However, Bev's assertion is downgraded and she displays some interactional 'trouble'. However, despite the downgrading and 'trouble' in Bev's assertion, Ai accepts it and treats Bev's K+ status as stable. Bev confirms and reiterates her assertion. Then Bev helps Ai to complete a sentence using an appropriation of the formulation Bev earlier provided, and Bev helps Ai with the spelling of 'anniversary' – which Ai accepts. These suggest Ai and Bev's orientation to Bev's K+ status. Then Bev uses her cultural knowledge of her linguistic group and Kuroshima High School, to treat her assertion as the most appropriate yet not entirely satisfactory – orienting to an identity of 'culturally-informed helper'. While Bev displays some interactional 'trouble' when delivering this help, Ai treats this as unproblematic and indeed seeks to obtain further 'help' from Bev. This suggests Bev's K+ status overrides the demonstration of interactional 'trouble'. Following Bev's help Ai initiates closure of the encounter.

Extract 31: Ai asking for help

- 1 Ai .hhh °sou ka::° (0.4) >↑so< (0.4) by the wa:y? (.)
I see
- 2 h[ayashi] >sensei is< a:sking (0.5) ↑WOULD you=
teacher
- 3 Bev [ah huh?]
- 4 Ai =sa:y (0.6) in °english:??°

⁸⁷ Yosakoi is a form of dance that combines traditional Japanese summer dance with 'cheer-leader' style dance. See: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yosakoi>

5 (1.2)
6 Ai °eh:: ↑to° (0.4) sou::ritsu (0.5) s- congra>tulations<
erm foundation
7 on: the (0.6) seven:(.)↑teenth year of the foundation
8 (.) OF school >or something<=
9 Bev =ah: [s-]
10 Ai [>li]ke a< ph↓ra:se
11 (1.0)

In line 1, following Ai's 'post-completion musing' (Schegloff, 2007: 142) '°sou ka::°' from the yosakoi discussion, is a 0.4 second pause, then Ai utters the transition marker '>↑so<'. Then after a 0.4 second pause Ai utters 'by the wa:y?' to announce that a new topic is forthcoming. Shortly following this Bev overlaps with '[ah huh?]' in line 3. This 'continuer' comes before the recognizable completion of Ai's TCU and has rising intonation that Ai orients to as passing the floor back to her to continue her turn.

Ai holds the floor in line 2 with 'h[ayashi] >sensei (teacher) is< a:sking'. Here, it appears that Ai is initiating a transition from the yosakoi discussion to seemingly relaying the query of another teacher to Bev. By relaying this topic that originates from another source/teacher, Ai proposes that Hayashi Sensei is in an unaware (K-) state in regards to an as-yet-unstated referent and is searching for information. Ai then holds the floor over a 0.5 second pause then utters '↑WOULD you sa:y' in line 4. Ai uses interrogative syntax to indicate that she is delivering an interrogative to Bev. By placing the operator/verb before the subject (see Quirk et al, 1985: 801) ('would you') indicates that Ai is delivering a YNI (Raymond, 2003). This form of interrogative includes some kind of formulation and makes a yes/no or equivalent token a normatively expected and type-conforming response/SPP from the recipient functioning to perform the action of confirmation/disconfirmation (ibid). Following a 0.6 second pause, Ai utters 'in °english:?' to clearly treat the English-language as the relevant epistemic domain.

Here, Ai proposes the delivery of some form of English-language formulation that Hayashi sensei doesn't know is correct or not. By delivering this YNI, Ai implicitly claims that she too doesn't know and that she is of K- status. And by posing this to Bev, Ai displays an orientation to Bev's K+ status. This proposal with turn-ending raised intonation yet withholding of the delivery of the formulation allows Ai to hold the floor over a 1.2 second pause. Then Ai continues in line 6 with the filled pause '°eh:: ↑to°' and 0.4 second pause before uttering the Japanese item 'sou::ritsu (foundation)'. As Ai still hasn't yet delivered the announced English-language

formulation, she is able to hold the floor during a 0.5 second pause. Then in lines 6-8, Ai delivers an English-language formulation. As such it appears that the pauses and ‘sou::ritsu (*foundation*)’ in line 6 are used as devices to hold the floor. However, this somewhat slows the progression to the proposed English formulation - and suggests that Ai is ‘doing thinking’.

In lines 6-8 Ai utters ‘s- congra>tulations< on: the (0.6) seven:(.)↑teenth year of the foundation (.) OF school >or something<’. By switching to English and uttering ‘s- congra>tulations< on: the’, it appears that Ai is delivering the announced English-language formulation. The apparent syntactical incompleteness of the formulation suggests the formulation is incomplete - allowing Ai to hold the floor over a 0.6 second pause. Then Ai continues with ‘seven:(.)↑teenth year of the foundation (.) OF school’. Here, Ai gives an English-language phrase to congratulate the school on its achievement. The close meaning ‘foundation’ holds to the Japanese ‘sou::ritsu’ suggests that a key issue in this request is the translation of this Japanese item to English. Ai’s ‘>or something<’ in line 8 suggests her announced formulation is syntactically complete and functions as a form of post-positioned epistemic hedging that sees Bev downgrade the just-delivered formulation to being ‘tentative’.

As Ai’s English-language formulation is seemingly complete, Bev latches with ‘ah: [s-]’ in line 9. Then Ai overlaps with ‘[>li]ke a< ph↓ra:se’ in line 10. This suggests that Ai seeks to obtain a ‘phrase’ capturing the meaning of ‘sou::ritsu’ in ‘correct’ English to congratulate the school on its seventeenth year. This is followed by a 1.0 second pause in which Ai doesn’t offer any further information as to her request. Then Bev utters ‘AH:m we w- >probably just sa:y<’ in line 12. It appears that, as Bev is in the process of delivering information, Bev treats Ai’s request for help as complete. As such, Bev’s ‘ah: [s-]’ appears to be a ‘penny-drop moment’ in which she indicates an understanding of Ai’s YNI help request and draws the first action in the English help sequence to a close. The following extract sees Bev begin her delivery of information - as requested by Ai.

Extract 32: Bev’s help and Ai’s response

12 Bev AH:m we w- >probably just sa:y< °eh-° seventeenth (.)
 13 a:nniversary:
 14 (0.8)
 15 Ai just [seven]>teenth< anni[versary]
 16 Bev [Ah-] [yeah: ye]ah: >WE ah:<

17 just use a:nniver↑sary °for ↑that°
 18 (1.3)
 19 Ai <twenTY::> >thIRD?<
 20 (0.6)
 21 Bev A:NNIver°sary°
 22 (4.9)
 23 Bev °e[h:°]
 24 Ai [DO]uble en: ((n))?
 25 Bev a- >↑DOUBLE ↓EN< ((n))
 26 (3.4)
 27 Bev Y:EAH yeah
 28 Ai °>o↑kay<°
 29 (1.1)
 30 Ai °↑ye:ah°
 31 (0.4)

In line 12, Bev utters ‘AH:m we w- >probably just sa:y< °eh-° seventeenth (.) a:nniversary:’. Here, Bev uses declarative syntax and delivers the formulation ‘seventeenth anniversary’. Bev’s use of ‘just’ sees her index the brevity and/or simplicity of ‘seventeenth anniversary’. By providing a formulation different to Ai’s, Bev implicitly disconfirms the ‘correctness’ of Ai’s formulation. However, by disconfirming through providing an alternative, Bev performs one of the alternative actions made relevant by Ai’s YNI in the form made relevant by Ai’s ‘[>li]ke a< ph↓ra:se’. By disconfirming, Bev orients to her own K+ status - ratifying Ai’s projected epistemic asymmetry in the domain of the English-language.

In line 12, the filled pause ‘AH:m’, the restart and cut off ‘we w-’, and the hesitation marker ‘°eh-°’ all indicate a slightly ‘troubled’ delivery. Yet, the pronoun ‘we’ and the verb ‘sa:y’ indicate Bev’s orientation to belonging to a particular group and her being in a position to tell of this group’s normative linguistic practice. However, the ‘>probably’ before the provision of the phrase (‘seventeenth anniversary’) functions as a ‘prepositioned epistemic hedge’ (Weatherall, 2011). This downgrading indicates that Bev is not totally committed to her following assertion. Consequently, while Bev does orient to her relative K+ epistemic status, she shows a lack of certainty and displays a downgraded epistemic access to the English-language domain.

The syntactic completion and 0.8 second silence in line 14 suggests that Bev’s assertion is complete and creates a TRP for Ai’s ‘just [seven]>teenth< anni[versary]’ in line

15. Here, after uttering ‘just’, Ai repeats Bev’s alternative ‘phrase’. The ‘just’ sees Ai too draw attention to the brevity and/or simplicity of ‘seventeenth anniversary’. Bev’s response in lines 16-17 is ‘[yeah: ye]ah: >WE ah:< just use a:nniver↑sary °for ↑that°’. Following two confirmation tokens, Bev again indicates an orientation to her belonging to the group ‘we’ and reiterates the correctness of her formulation in the given context. Consequently, Ai’s turn in line 15 functions as a YNI that requests confirmation of her hearing or understanding of Bev’s turn in lines 12-13. This prompts Bev’s rather emphatic confirmation and reiteration in lines 16-17 - which displays an assured epistemic stance from Bev. In response to Bev’s downgraded assertion that displays some ‘trouble’ from Bev, by giving a confirmation request, Ai proposes a gap in *her own* knowledge to be closed by Bev’s confirmation. This indicates that Ai doesn’t treat Bev’s interactional ‘trouble’ or proposed downgraded access to the English-language domain as accountable matters. By seeking Bev’s confirmation, Ai displays an unwavering orientation to Bev’s K+ status and her own K- status. Bev adheres to and ratifies this by confirming - thus indicating a joint orientation to this epistemic status differential.

Following this is a 1.3 second silence in line 18 in which Bev offers no further informings and Ai gives no change of state token or indication of further gaps in her knowledge on this point. However, in line 19, Ai self-selects and utters, ‘<twenTY: :> >thIRD?<’. The turn-ending rising-intonation and following 0.6 second pause in line 20 suggest this turn is complete and creates a TRP for Bev’s ‘A:NNIver°sary°’ in line 21. Here, Bev seemingly orients to Ai’s previous turn as raising issue with how to suitably conjugate numbers to attach to ‘anniversary’ - presumably beyond only ‘seventeenth’. This progression suggests Ai treats Bev’s previous confirmation and reiteration as unproblematic. By producing this item in line 21, Bev treats Ai’s turn in line 19 as the first component of a ‘compound TCU’ to which she provides the second. In doing so, Bev unproblematically places herself in the K+ epistemic status position of English-language ‘helper’. Despite Ai giving no verbal response to this informing, such as a ‘change of state token’, the following 4.9 second pause suggests Ai treats it as unproblematic and may be writing something.

In line 23 Bev takes the floor ‘°e[h:°]’ but is quickly overlapped by Ai’s ‘[DO]uble en: ((n))?’ in line 24. Here, Ai appears to be ‘topicalizing’ the spelling of ‘anniversary’. By moving to this issue, it appears that Bev’s previous assertion is considered acceptable by Ai. By providing this declaratively formed TCU, Ai claims some knowledge of English-language spelling. However, this the turn-ending rising intonation creates a TRP and makes relevant speaker change to Bev - rendering the provided spelling a ‘template’ for Bev to respond to. Consequently, Ai appears to orient to her K- status and provides a platform for Bev to take the K+ status mantle.

In response, Bev repeats Ai's uttering with rise-fall intonation in line 25: 'a- >↑DOUBLE ↓EN< ((n))'. This functions to confirm 'double n' as 'correct'. Thus, Bev clearly orients to Ai's turn as a 'B-event statement' (Labov & Fanshel, 1977) in the form of a YND (Raymond, 2010). While the YND deliverer claims some level of knowledge, by directing it to a 'more knowledgeable' recipient it makes relevant their confirmation. By confirming, Bev indicates an orientation to her own K+ status in the English-language domain. The relatively clear delivery suggests a somewhat confident epistemic stance displayed.

This confirmation generates no vocal uptake for 3.4 seconds in 26, after which Bev self-selects in line 27 and utters 'Y:EAH yeah' - indicating a positive stance on her own assertion. This generates an immediate response - with Ai's 'change of state token' '°>o↑kay<°' in line 28, and following another delay of 1.1 seconds in line 29 comes the acceptance token '°↑ye:ah°'. Here, Ai treats Bev's confirmation as enabling the learning of spelling. Ai's writing the spelling could account for the delays. Despite Ai not giving any further indication of needing more help, Bev initiates further 'on-topic' talk below.

Extract 33: Bev's further explanation

32 Bev °i think that's: (0.3) that's the best ↑way° (0.4) YEah
 33 >coz WE D↑ON'T HA:VE< school foundation day >or
 34 anything<
 35 Ai hu:h=
 36 Bev =>so ↑WE don't really have a w-< (0.6) °way: of say-
 37 >↑just the< seventeenth a:nniversary of kuroshima high
 38 ↑school?°
 39 (1.5)
 40 Ai EH: (.) anniversary (0.4) ↑OH VU: ((of))?
 41 (0.6)
 42 Ai ↑OF [[kuroshima high school?]]
 43 Bev [[↑Uh::↓m]]

As Bev's the turn-initial '°i think that's: (0.3) that's the best ↑way°' in line 32 occurs after the apparent 'learning' in the prior sequence, this apparent 'post-completion musing' (Schegloff, 2007: 142) sees Bev reflect on her assertion as 'preferred'. However, Bev's turn-initial '°i think that's:' sees Bev propose a somewhat downgraded assertion to follow. Bev then

follows a 0.3 second pause with a restart and upgraded assertion ‘that’s the best ↑way°’. Giving this clear treatment of her previous informing as ‘best’ sees Bev claim a more direct access to the English-language epistemic domain. Bev then follows a 0.4 second pause with ‘YEah >coz WE D↑ON’T HA:VE< school foundation day >or anything<’ in lines 32-34. By uttering ‘coz’ Bev appears to be ‘explaining’. By uttering ‘school foundation day’, a close approximation of a part of Ai’s help request, Bev appears to be focusing on her informing in lines 12-13. While she claims it is ‘the best way’, this explanation sees Bev claim ‘seventeenth anniversary’ is not entirely satisfactory as ‘we’ don’t have a direct equivalent event.

In line 35 Ai utters ‘hu:h’ yet in line 36 Bev latches with ‘>so ↑WE don’t really have a w-< (0.6) °way: of say- >↑just the< seventeenth a:nniversary of kuroshima high ↑school?°’. By uttering ‘>so’ Bev appears to progress to a conclusion of what ‘we’ say. By making this assertion, using her ‘cultural knowledge’ of what ‘we’ have and what Ai can use in this context, Bev places herself in a K+ status position of ‘culturally-informed helper’.

However, Bev’s delivery in lines 36-38 includes a cut-off (w-) and a 0.6 second pause - indicating a rather ‘troubled’ progression. Then the quietly delivered restart is cut-off (‘°way: of say-’) and abandoned incomplete as Bev repeats the original assertion and adds the name of the school. Despite orienting to her K+ status as asserter, this problematic delivery clearly indicates interactional ‘trouble’.

Following a 1.5 second pause in line 39, Ai takes the floor and utters ‘EH: (.) anniversary (0.4) ↑OH VU: ((of))?’ The raised volume and rising intonation as well as the pre-positioned 0.4 second pause of ‘↑OH VU:’ see Ai expose ‘of’. Here, Ai appears to be topicalizing the prepositional item from Bev’s prior assertion (seventeenth anniversary of Kuroshima High School). Despite creating a possible TRP with a 0.6 second pause in line 41, Ai continues with ‘↑OF [[kuroshima high school?]]’. The repeat of ‘of’ followed by and the turn-ending raised intonation see Ai make relevant speaker change to somehow attend to this prepositional item. By topicalizing ‘of’, Ai doesn’t treat Bev’s display of ‘trouble’ when giving an ‘account’ as being a sanctionable matter. Consequently, Bev’s K+ status claim is unchallenged and covertly ratified by Ai. Indeed, Ai appears to be seeking to utilize Bev’s K+ status again by prompting Bev’s ‘help’ with the topicalized ‘of’.

As Ai delivers this turn, Bev simultaneously utters ‘↑Uh: : ↓m’ in line 43. Here, Bev gives a ‘confirmation token’ to confirm the correctness of Ai’s previous turn - that ‘of’ is indeed ‘correct’. Bev treats Ai’s declarative as a ‘B-event statement’ taking the form of a YND that makes relevant the confirmation of the more knowledgeable participant. This sees Bev stake a claim to her K+

status in the English-language epistemic domain. After a 1.5 second pause in line 44 Ai quietly utters ‘ $^{\circ}\uparrow\circ\downarrow\text{kay}^{\circ}$ ’ with rise-fall intonation in line 45 - treating Bev’s confirmation and K+ claim as unproblematic, thus confirming its veracity. From line 12 to 43 Bev asserts (lines 12-13), confirms and reiterates (16-17), asserts (21), confirms (25), explains (32-38), and confirms (43). This represents English-language ‘teaching’ and constitutes the second action in the English help sequence - Bev’s English-language-related help as requested by Ai. The extract below sees Ai initiate closure of the English help sequence - the third action.

Extract 34: Closing

44 (1.5)
 45 Ai $^{\circ}\uparrow\circ\downarrow\text{kay}^{\circ}$ (0.4) $^{\circ}\uparrow\text{thank}^{\circ}$ $\downarrow\text{you}$
 46 (0.8)
 47 Bev $\text{n}\uparrow\circ$ $\downarrow\text{pro:blem}$
 48 (30)

Following a 1.5 second silence in line 45, Ai utters ‘ $^{\circ}\uparrow\circ\downarrow\text{kay}^{\circ}$ ’ in line 46. This suggests Ai’s orientation to Bev’s informing in line 43 as complete and indicates Ai’s unproblematic treatment of Bev’s informing and Bev’s K+ status giving her the right to confirm. By following a 0.4 second pause with a display/claim of gratitude with ‘ $^{\circ}\uparrow\text{thank}^{\circ}$ $\downarrow\text{you}$ ’ Ai indicates her orientation to a satisfactory transmission of information - and thus a claim of epistemic equilibrium as having been achieved. This is followed by a 0.8 second pause in line 46. Here Ai halts her talk and offers no more indication of further help being needed. Then Bev utters ‘ $\text{n}\uparrow\circ$ $\downarrow\text{pro:blem}$ ’ in line 47 - acknowledging Ai’s gratitude and confirming a joint orientation to Bev’s K+ status. This is followed by a 30 second pause in line 48 and then unrelated talk with different participants. This indicates a mutual alignment to no further English-language-related knowledge issues to be attended to.

Consequently, line 45 sees Ai propose a shift in the conversational activity - a transitional turn that proposes epistemic asymmetry as having been equalized. With the ‘epistemic engine’ (Heritage, 2012b) having run its course, closure is achieved. This represents the third action of the English help sequence. In this encounter, Ai orients to Bev as holding K+ status in the English-language domain enabling her to assert the sought after information. Despite Bev indicating a problematic stance, Ai and Bev both show an unwavering orientation to Bev’s K+ status in the English-language domain.

Chapter 7: Analysis. ALTs' orientation to progression in response to a 'troubled' delivery

An examination of Encounters 8, 9 and 10 finds the following: Despite the JTEs' 'troubled' delivery of their information request turns, Ben and Bev's interjection is minimal. Indeed, Ben and Bev encourage the JTE to deliver more talk themselves, further utilizing their access to the English-language epistemic domain, until Bev and Ben are able to assert English-language-related information. This indicates that rather than attending to the 'troubled' delivery of the EHS' first action, Ben and Bev display a preference for its progression.

Encounter 8 (ALTs' orientation to progression in response to a 'troubled' delivery)

Setting: Ioujima High School

JTE: Aoi

ALT: Ben

Summary:

Prior to the transcribed talk, Aoi and Ben are discussing the construction of a speech for a prefectural high school debate contest – at which a group of their students will soon participate. Then the transcribed talk begins. Whilst relaying information/advice from a colleague named Nishimura, Aoi seemingly struggles to indicate his/her location in English. Ben prompts Aoi to continue relaying the advice – indicating his orientation to Aoi progressing her talk. Aoi then continues – in English – stating three 'elements' are commonly referred to when discussing capital punishment. Despite some 'ungrammatical' parts of Aoi's relayin and the delays making space available for Ben to 'help', Ben doesn't interject. Ben effectibely provides Aoi the opportunities to reformulate her English-language talk twice, and continue her relaying of Nishimura's advice. Upon getting to the first of the 'three elements', Aoi's delivery becomes increasingly delayed. Then Aoi halts relaying the advice and shifts focus to obtaining Ben's 'help' in *enabling its delivery*. Despite Aoi twice uttering 'how can I say?', Ben does not provide any 'answer' or seek clarification from Aoi. Instead, Ben remains silent – thus encouraging Aoi to continue. Aoi issues a downgraded item 'revenge' then gives a question-formulated utterance in Japanese. Again, Ben gives a 'continuer' and prompts Aoi's further description in English – thus utilizing Aoi's access to the English-language epistemic domain. This description continues until Ben claims an understanding of it and is able to provide a suitable word to allow Aoi to continue with her relaying of Nishimura's advice. Then Ben asserts that 'punishment' is 'correct' – soon changed to 'retribution'. This is accepted by Aoi as she moves on to the 'second element' – thus ending the EHS in this encounter.

Extract 35: Opening talk

1 Aoi AH::: >nishimura ↑*sen*↓*sei*< (.) pro↑*fessor* nishi-
teacher

2 [>nishimuras<]
 3 Ben [↑uh↓m]
 4 (0.5)
 5 Aoi AH::: in tha:: >nan ke< daigaku?
 what is it? university?
 6 Ben ↑Uh:↓m
 7 Aoi AH::: hhh told U::s that (.) in if yu- (0.3) if we- (0.6)
 8 if we >talk abouduh< CAPital punishMENT: (0.4) we
 9 ↑usually: (0.5) AH:: have TH↑REE: THRee ele↑ments:
 10 Ben Uh:↓m
 11 Aoi and (.) ↑o:ne I::S (0.3) THE:: (0.4) °↑how can I s↓ay°

In line 1 Aoi gives a Japanese surname followed by the title ‘*sensei (teacher)*’⁸⁸ and then, following a micro-pause, Aoi self-initiates a self-repair changing ‘sensei’ to ‘pro↑fessor’ and placing the same surname after this English-language title. Aoi then cuts-off ‘nishi-’ and self-repairs again whilst seemingly uttering the name in line 2: ‘>nishimuras<’. Whilst delivering this name, Ben overlaps with ‘↑uh↓m’ in line 3. By uttering this ‘continuer’ Ben displays an unproblematic treatment Aoi’s talk - despite Aoi’s delivery being slightly delayed by the self-repair. This passes the floor back to Aoi, allowing her to continue with her talk. Ben treats Aoi’s trouble delivering the name as unproblematic.

After a 0.5 second pause in line 4, Aoi utters ‘AH::: in tha:::’ in line 5. Here, Aoi appears to be seeking to locate ‘nishimura sensei’. However, the filled pause of ‘AH:::’ and the sound-stretched ‘tha:::’ delay the delivery of the next item due (the location). Then Aoi utters the Japanese ‘>nan ke< (*what is it?*)’. While this appears to be formatted as an interrogative - which would normatively make relevant the recipient’s explanation - Aoi does not provide any space for Ben’s interjection. As such Aoi’s ‘>nan ke< (*what is it?*)’ appears to be a self-addressed question for recollection (see Hayashi, 2010). By indicating this ‘trouble’ in producing the next item due, with a filled pause, sound-stretched item and self-addressed question for recollection, Aoi appears to be undergoing a word search (see Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977: 367). Then, Aoi produces the item ‘*daigaku? (university?)*’. As this is prefaced by Aoi’s ‘>nan ke< (*what is it?*)’, this self-addressed question functions as a ‘prepositioned epistemic hedge’ (Weatherall, 2011), in which Aoi treats the ‘correctness’ of ‘university’ as tentative.

⁸⁸ In Japanese, such honorific titles are placed prior to the surname - as suffixes.
 See: <http://www.nationmaster.com/encyclopedia/Japanese-titles>

Aoi's '*daigaku?* (*university?*)' is try-marked. Here, Aoi marks this Japanese item with a 'try' to pass the floor back to Ben in a bid to achieve recognition of this referential item (see Schegloff, 2007: 237-239). Following a word search that indicates Aoi's trouble in producing the location, while Aoi does produce a location in Japanese, she makes relevant Ben's indication of recognition. As Aoi switches from English to Japanese to utter the location, it may indicate that she is having 'trouble' producing an English-language item. This could potentially prompt Ben's provision of an English-language item in place of '*daigaku*'. In either case, if Aoi is seeking Ben's indication of recognition or Ben's provision of an English word, Aoi is involving Ben in the production of her talk.

In response, Ben utters the minimal ' \uparrow U \underline{h} : \downarrow m' in line 6. Here, Ben does not provide an English-language replacement for '*daigaku*'. This sees Ben tacitly ratify Aoi's use of multilingual resources. Furthermore, Ben's response is brief and immediately allocates a space for Aoi to re-take the floor and continue her talk in line 7 - thus Ben's ' \uparrow U \underline{h} : \downarrow m' functions as a 'continuer'. This indicates Ben's orientation to Aoi progressing with the delivery of her multilingual talk.

In line 7, Aoi utters 'AH::: hhh told U::s that (.)'. By indicating that she will relay to Ben what Nishimura has said to 'us', Aoi is evidently continuing/progressing her talk following Ben's continuer in line 6. She has abandoned focusing on the problematized location ('*daigaku?* *university?*') and progresses to relaying advice. In lines 8-9, Aoi utters 'if we >talk abouduh< CAPital punishMENT: we \uparrow usually: (0.5)' to indicate this information relaying is about normative behaviour which is related to 'capital punishment'. In line 9 Aoi then utters 'AH::: have TH \uparrow REE: THRee ele \uparrow ments:'. Here, Aoi appears to state that Nishimura sensei suggested 'three elements' of capital punishment are normally referred to.

This turn in lines 7-9, in which Aoi relays information, begins with the filled pause 'AH:::' and the audible exhalation 'hhh' which enables Aoi to hold the floor yet delays the delivery of the subsequent talk. Following 'told U::s that' and a micro-pause, Aoi utters 'in if yu-'. This cut-off is followed by a 0.3 second pause. At this point, Ben does not react to the 'ungrammatical' format of this utterance or its cut-off and subsequent silence with any interjection. Then Aoi continues with a self-initiated self-repair with 'if we-'. By reformulating, Aoi treats her just-uttered 'in if yu-' as problematic. However, 'if we-' too is cut-off and a 0.6 second pause follows. Despite the considerable delay in the relaying of Nishimura's information/advice, during this 0.6 second pause in line 7, Ben doesn't interject with any talk.

Following this pause, Aoi reformulates with 'if we >talk abouduh< CAPital punishMENT:' in line 8. This segment is delivered in a much clearer manner - with no delays or cut-offs. The apparent syntactic and pragmatic incompleteness of this turn indicates that Aoi's turn is

unfinished - thus allowing Aoi to hold the floor during a 0.4 second pause. Then Aoi continues with ‘we ↑usually:’. As the turn is syntactically and pragmatically seemingly incomplete, Aoi is able to hold the floor during the subsequent 0.5 second pause and the filled-pause ‘AH: :’ before uttering ‘have TH↑REE: THRee ele↑ments:’. The rising intonation of ‘ele↑ments:’ and halting of the talk sees Aoi prompt a response from Ben. This sees Aoi treat this segment of her talk as complete.

As Ben doesn’t interject in the 0.3 and 0.6 second pauses following cut-offs in Aoi’s turn in lines 7-9, Aoi continues with two reformulations and then a relatively clear delivery of ‘if we >talk abouduh< CAPital punishment:’. As such, Ben passes up opportunities to give direct ‘help’ in delivering the talk, and effectively provides Aoi the opportunities to continue/progress the talk herself until the seeming syntactic completion of the segment.

In line 10, Ben responds with ‘Uh: ↓m’. This ‘continuer’ sees Ben indicate his unproblematic treatment of Aoi’s talk, propose his comprehension of it as being part of a multiunit turn at talk, and pass the floor back to Aoi to continue her talk.

Extract 36: Aoi asking for help

11 Aoi and (.) ↑o:ne I::S (0.3) THE:: (0.4) °↑how can I s↓ay°
 12 (1.5)
 13 Aoi ↑HOW CAN I S↓AY (0.4) like a revenge (.) reVENGE
 14 >to iu ka<
do you say?
 15 Ben ↑Uh↓m
 16 Aoi if W↑E::: do:: >something< BA::↓D >we should be<
 17 PUNISHed=
 18 Ben =for THA(.)t
 19 Aoi for [that]
 20 Ben [oh::] ↑AH:::m
 21 Aoi o:r f↑o:r (.) THA::
 22 Ben ↑would >say< punishment=

In line 11 Aoi utters ‘and (.) ↑o:ne I::S (0.3) THE:: (0.4) °↑how can I s↓ay°’. By uttering ‘and (.) ↑o:ne I::S’, Aoi indicates that she is progressing to the delivery of the first of the ‘three elements’. However, the micro-pause prior to ‘↑o:ne’ delays its

delivery, then the sound-stretch ‘I: : S’ and the following 0.3 second pause delays the delivery the sound-stretched ‘THE: :’. The declarative design of Aoi’s talk so far proposes the delivery of some form of assertion related to ‘element one’. However, this is followed by a 0.4 second pause. Then, instead of providing pragmatic completion of the assertion, Aoi utters ‘^o↑how can I s↓ay^o’. The pauses and question-formulated ‘^o↑how can I s↓ay^o’ serve to delay the completion of this seemingly proposed assertion. These mark the talk as “non-normative in terms of progressivity” (Weatherall, 2011: 319).

Aoi’s ‘^o↑how can I s↓ay^o’ has the format of a ‘wh-type interrogative’, which would normatively make relevant an explanation from the treated-as-more-knowledgeable recipient. However, as this utterance comes before Aoi has provided any further information about ‘element one’ (other than indicating she doesn’t know how to say it) that would enable Ben’s ‘help’, coupled with the quiet delivery of this utterance, suggest this a self-addressed question for recollection. This would indicate that Aoi is undergoing a word-search. This clearly indicates that Aoi is having trouble finding a suitable word to describe ‘element one’. This marks an important shift: Aoi clearly halts the *relaying* of Nishimura’s advice and shifts the focus to dealing with her *difficulty in the delivery* of relaying ‘element one’.

Then follows a 1.5 second pause in line 12. As Ben doesn’t interject at this point, he does not appear to register this as an ‘appeal’ for his ‘other-repair’ (Faerch & Kasper 1983), nor does he prompt Aoi’s clarification. With no verbal contribution from Ben forthcoming, Aoi re-takes the floor in line 13 with the repeat ‘↑HOW CAN I S↓AY’. The increased volume sees Aoi upgrade this seeming self-addressed question for recollection - suggesting Aoi is still struggling to provide a description of ‘element one’. Following this is a 0.4 second pause - however, Ben does not take the floor at this point to prompt Aoi’s clarification or to treat the prolonging of the word-search as an accountable matter. Instead, following this 0.4 second pause, Aoi continues with ‘like a revenge (.) reVENGE >to iu ka< (do you say?)’ in lines 13-14. Here, Aoi orients to Ben’s lack of uptake as a prompt to provide the English-language item ‘revenge’.

Despite Aoi’s delays in providing this item, Ben doesn’t interject. Therefore, Aoi continues to deliver the talk/relaying of information herself. As such, Ben encourages Aoi to continue herself - and tap into her access to the English language epistemic domain.

As Aoi utters the item ‘revenge’ for ‘element one’, it suggests a claim to some English-language knowledge. However, the pre-positioned ‘like a’ downgrades the epistemic veracity of ‘revenge’. Aoi treats it as a near but not exact equivalent. Following this, Aoi utters ‘reVENGE >to iu ka< (do you say?)’. This has the format of a YNI - making relevant Ben’s confirmation of the ‘correctness’ of ‘revenge’. By prompting Ben’s confirmation, Aoi further

downgrades the veracity of ‘revenge’ - and treating her access to the English-language domain as somewhat mitigated. Consequently, while Aoi claims some English-language knowledge, she displays an ‘unsure’ stance and ultimately cedes epistemic primacy to Ben.

In line 15, Ben utters ‘↑Uh↓m’ which is followed by further talk from Aoi. Therefore, Ben’s turn functions as a ‘continuer’. Here, Ben proffers apparent comprehension of Aoi’s talk as being incomplete and Aoi continues talking. This indicates Aoi and Ben’s joint orientation to the necessity of further explanation from Aoi.

In line 16-17 Aoi continues with ‘if W↑E::: do::: >something< BA:::↓D >we should be< PUNISHed’. In this compound TCU, Aoi describes a situation in which the sought after item would occur. The sound-stretches of ‘W↑E::: do:::’ and ‘BA:::↓D’ mark the delivery of this description as somewhat slow - suggesting Aoi is ‘doing thinking’ as a means of holding the floor. This description suggests Aoi treats ‘revenge’ as ‘incorrect’. In response to Aoi uttering ‘>we should be< PUNISHed’, Ben latches with ‘for THA(.)t’ in line 18. By doing so, Ben proposes an understanding of Aoi’s description, proposes intersubjectivity as achieved, and provides pragmatic completion of Aoi’s explanation. This is immediately ratified by Aoi’s repeat ‘for [that]’ in line 19.

In line 20, Ben overlaps with ‘[oh:::] ↑AH:::m’. This is followed by ‘↑would >say< punishment’ in line 22, which indicates that Ben is concerned with asserting information. Consequently, Ben’s ‘[oh:::] ↑AH:::m’ is a ‘penny-drop moment’ in which Ben proffers a recognition of Aoi’s talk as an information request and what it makes relevant - thus enabling him to assert information. As such, this penny-drop moment renders Aoi’s information request/the first action of the English help sequence as complete. Below is Ben’s English-language help - the second action of the English help sequence.

Extract 37: Ben’s help

Ben orients to Aoi’s explanation following ‘revenge’ as indicating Aoi’s request for another word to account for her explanation that is a better word than her near-equivalent item ‘revenge’.

22 Ben ↑would >say< punishment=
 23 Aoi =PUNISHm[ent] punishment .hh and ↑second second (.)=
 24 Ben [yeah]
 25 Aoi =AH::: (.) element i:::s (0.3) AH:M=

Although Ben's turn in line 22, '↑would >say< punishment', neglects to give a possessive pronoun (indicating *who* would say punishment) its declarative syntax, and the semantic proximity between 'punishment' and 'revenge' suggests that Ben is asserting information. Indeed, Ben treats Aoi's downgraded provision of 'revenge' and subsequent explanation as making relevant Ben's provision of an alternative English-language item. In providing this item Ben clearly orients to his own K+ status as allocating him the right to do so in the English-language epistemic domain. The unmarked delivery of this word-provision suggests Ben's confident, 'knowing' epistemic stance in which Ben proffers direct and unproblematic access to the English-language epistemic domain (Heritage & Raymond, 2005).

In response, Aoi twice repeats Ben's provided item in line 23 'PUNISHm[ent] punishment'. The latched placement and increased volume of this repeat indicates that this is Aoi's clear and emphatic 'acceptance signal' (Hosoda, 2000). Here, Aoi treats 'punishment' as being 'correct' and also treats Ben's indexing of the English-language as the relevant domain in which he holds K+ status as acceptable. Ben's overlapped 'yeah' in line 23 further indicates their joint orientation to this.

Following this acceptance signal in line 23, Aoi inhales and progresses to the 'second element' in lines 23-25. This 'disjunctive topic shift' (Schegloff, 2007) sees Aoi attempt to end the 'first element' sequence by progressing to the next 'element'. Now, Aoi treats the talk dealing with the problematic delivery of the first element as complete, and returns to the earlier business of relaying Nishimura's advice. Thus it would appear that for Aoi, Ben has satisfactorily provided the necessary information to equalize this epistemic imbalance. Here "the epistemic engine runs its course" (Heritage, 2012a: 34) and the sequence dealing with 'trouble' in the English-language epistemic domain is proffered as complete by Aoi. While this appears to end the delivery of English-language help from Ben, the second action in the English help sequence, the following extract shows Ben orients to further help as necessary.

Extract 38: Ben's trouble and Closing

25 Aoi =AH:: (.) element i::s (0.3) AH:M=
 26 Ben =>↑AH retribution sorry< retribution
 27 Aoi retributio[n] oh retriBU:[Tion]=
 28 Ben [↑uh↓m] [↑uh↓m hm]
 29 Aoi =>ah< retribution da[tta]

it was

30 Ben [↑YES] °↑h↓m°

31 Aoi retribu::tion *TO:* (0.3) ↑SECond *WA:* (0.5) *eh:: to:*
and is let me think

32 (0.3) ↑USUally (.) if ↑WE: *do::* (0.5) >°*nan ke°*< (0.4)
what is it?

33 for example if WE: a- WE have capital punish[ment]=
34 Ben [u:↓hm]

35 Aoi =S↑O: (0.5) AH:↓:: (0.5) WE::↓:
36 (1.0)

37 Aoi WE::: (0.4) should no- WE:: t↑ry not to:: kill others

38 Ben ↑UH:↓: m uh↓m

As Aoi progresses to the second element, Ben latches with, '>↑AH retribution sorry< retribution' in line 26. Here, Ben treats his own assertion in line 22 as dispreferred and in need of replacing - and thus delays the closure of the English help sequence. Aoi repeats this twice in line 27 - and Ben overlaps with the agreement tokens '↑uh↓m' and '↑uh↓m hm' in line 28. In line 29, Aoi utters '>ah<' before repeating the referent with a stretched vowel 'retribu::tion' and '*da[tta]*' which marks this noun as past tense ('*it was*'). This repeat and '*it was*' render '>ah<' a 'change of state token' in which Aoi treats Ben's replacement item as an unproblematic 'informing' and offers a 'receipt' of it (Heritage, 1984). Here, Aoi displays a sensitivity to their relative epistemic positions - of Aoi's K- status relative to Ben's K+ status in the English-language domain.

Ben overlaps to confirm Aoi's acceptance of informing with '[↑YES] °↑h↓m°' in line 30. Following this, Aoi utters 'retribu::tion *TO:* (*and*) (0.3) ↑SECond *WA:* (*is*)'. Here, Aoi proposes another completion of the 'first element' by initiating talk about the 'second element' - a 'disjunctive topic shift' as a means of exiting the previous topic. This progression is unimpeded by Ben and therefore the closure of the 'first element' talk is achieved. Therefore, both Aoi and Ben display an orientation to epistemic equilibrium on this point as having been achieved. Thus the third action in the English help sequence is complete.

The following encounter sees Ben request Ami's relaying of some unresolved English-language-related issue. Ben encourages Ami to use her English-language knowledge - with minimal interjection from Ben.

Encounter 9 (ALTs' orientation to progression in response to a 'troubled' delivery)

Setting: Ioujima High School

JTEs: Asa, Dai, Ami

ALT: Ben

Summary:

This staffroom encounter initially involves Asa, Dai and Ami. They are discussing which grammatical point to teach to their students. As this issue remains unresolved, Ben enters the talk and asks for a description of the unresolved 'question'. Ami begins the explanation of this question – yet halts her talk. With Ben not interjecting, Ami clarifies her talk and then as she halts her talk again, Ben, again, doesn't interject. Ami then progresses with her explanation of the question. Ben later gives a brief indication of his understanding and prompts Ami to continue – despite her rather slow delivery. Here, Ben effectively encourages Ami to utilize her English-language knowledge, unimpeded, in the service of explaining the unresolved question. Then, following a slow uptake, Ben attempts to trigger Ami's continuation of the explanation. As Ami doesn't do so, Ben gives his own 'candidate completion' of Ami's description in an attempt to achieve clarity. However, Ami rejects the 'correctness' of this and then slowly delivers one English-language formulation – 'they couldn't buy a ticket'. Ben gives a continuer – indicating again his orientation to Ami continuing her description with little interjection from himself – before Ami gives a formulation of what 'they said'. At this point, the penny appears to drop for Ben who draws the explanation to a close. As Ben seeks to clarify something, Ami treats this as an informing – which Ben ratifies. Consequently, while Ben encourages Ami to utilize her English-language knowledge, Ami and Ben indicate a joint orientation to Ben's K+ status as giving him the rights to assert English-language-related information. Then Ben orients to the necessity of further informing – yet a long pause follows. Ami doesn't interject at this point, and the silence continues until Ben begins his explanation. Ami appears to orient to Ben's K+ rights to assert English-language-related information unimpeded by her. Ben then continues to assert information – unimpeded by Ami – seeking and obtaining assurances of Ami's comprehension as he does so. Then Ami offers an upshot of Ben's explanation – initiating the progression to the closure of this encounter.

Extract 39: Japanese talk and Ben's entry

- 1 Asa >itsumo kore ni naru yo< ne:
it always ends up like this
- 2 (0.3)
- 3 Gen kake tte >ittara< (.) katei tte ittara (.) sou desu ne
should I tell them to write the subjunctive mood? hmm
- 4 (0.9)
- 5 Ami genmitsu ni wa >chotto< chigatte iru n:: desu ga ne:
but strictly speaking, that isn't really right

6 Gen (?)=
 7 Ben =what's the question?
 8 (1.0)

Lines 1-6 see Ami, Asa and Gen talk together in Japanese. Then in line 7 Ben utters 'what's the question?' in an attempt to enter the talk. By giving this 'wh-type interrogative', a description of the question is made relevant. By using English, Ben orients to the receiver as having some English-language knowledge. And, by using the definite article 'the' before 'question?' Ben proposes to recognize the prior Japanese talk as being an unresolved question - suggesting a somewhat 'knowing' epistemic stance in the Japanese language domain. However, by requesting a description in English, it suggests that Ben doesn't have a full grasp of the details.

Extract 40: Ami's explanation/call for help

9 Ami i:: (.) °u-° tur:ned (.) japanese transla:tion
 10 (0.8)
 11 Ami in↓to <japa>↓nese (0.4) although:
 12 (0.8)
 13 Ami i ↑wish: i ↑could have bou:ght a ↑TICKet
 14 (1.0)
 15 Ben uh::↓m
 16 (2.1)
 17 Ami [[°↑but°]]
 18 Ben [[↑but]]
 19 (0.9)
 20 Ben they said (.) i (0.5) ↑could have ↑bough (0.3) °<t::>°
 21 Ami °↑u:↓u↑uhn°
no
 22 (0.7)
 23 Ami ↑NAN °to ↓uttara ↓ii: no°
what should I say
 24 (2.2)
 25 Ami in: ↑the (0.6) japane:se
 26 (1.0)

27 Ami the:y (0.3) ca↑nno- (0.5) they COULDN't (.) bu:y a
 28 ticke[t]
 29 Ben [↑UH:]↓m: (0.4) >↑yeah<
 30 (0.7)
 31 Ami ↑de↓mo: (0.5) they said (0.3) they ↓DID↑N'T buy a
but
 32 ↓ticket
 33 Ben AH::↓::
 34 (2.6)
 35 Ben it's a ↑bit (.) diffe↑ren°t:[::°]

In line 9, A utters 'i:: (.) °u-° tur:ned (.) japanese transla:tion'. As Ami engages with Ben in line 9, it marks Ben's interjection in line 7 as a successful attempt at entering the talk. Ami's use of the English language indicates Ami's willingness to involve Ben using the same code. The turn-initial sound-stretched 'i::' followed by a micro-pause and quietly uttered cut-off filled-pause '°u-°' somewhat slow the progression to 'tur:ned'. This is then followed by a micro-pause before 'japanese transla:tion'. Then follows a 0.8 second pause in line 10. While the floor is seemingly open at this point, Ben does not interject with, for example, any indication of understanding or request for clarification. Then Ami retakes the floor with 'in↓to <japa>↓nese' in line 11. Here, Ami appears to orient to Ben's lack of verbal uptake as necessitating the giving of more information - clarifying that the Japanese translation is 'into Japanese'.

Then follows a 0.4 second pause. Again Ben offers no verbal contribution. Then Ami continues with 'although:' in line 11 - thus orienting to Ben's silence as prompting her further talk. Here, Ami orients to the 0.4 second pause, in which Ben doesn't interject, as enabling and necessitating her progression from stating what she did (change something into Japanese) to giving this conjunction ('although') and claiming there is some problem within this process. In giving this conjunction, Ami is seemingly making public that her turn is unfinished and proposing further talk to follow. This enables Ami to hold the floor over a 0.8 second pause in line 12.

Then Ami utters 'i ↑wish: i ↑could have bou:ght a ↑TICKet' in line 13. After this longer English-language formulation, Ami halts her talk and a 1.0 second pause follows in line 14. Ben orients to this lengthy pause as suggesting that Ami is not going to contribute any further at this point - thus creating a TRP for his 'uh: : ↓m' in line 15. This utterance sees Ben proffer his attentiveness and indicate an unproblematic treatment of Ami's previous talk. Ben does not treat any aspect of Ami's delivery, with its numerous pauses and potentially unclear parts, as

accountable. As Ben's turn is followed by a 2.1 second pause in line 16, it appears that Ben will contribute no further and makes relevant speaker change to Ami to continue. Consequently, this turn appears to be designed as a 'continuer'. This indicates Ben's orientation to Ami continuing her delivery of talk herself.

Ami orients to Ben not interjecting in the 0.8 second pause in line 10 by clarifying her previous talk, and following Ben not interjecting during the 0.4 second pause in line 11 Ami progresses from stating what she 'did' to beginning to explain what the problem is. Then, when it becomes clear that Ami's TCU is complete in line 13, Ben utters a continuer in line 15 - prompting Ami to continue herself. This sees Ben effectively encouraging Ami to utilize her access to the epistemic domain of the English language to deliver 'the question' that Ben asked for in line 7 - with little talk from Ben.

Following Ben's continuer is a 2.1 second pause in line 16 - before Ami and Ben simultaneously utter 'but' in lines 17-18. Despite seemingly making relevant Ami's continuation of her explanation, Ben appears to orient to Ami's lack of immediate uptake as prompting his own further contribution/progression of the explanation. As Ami too utters 'but', both participants appear to be progressing the explanation.

This is followed by a 0.9 second pause in line 19 in which the floor appears to be open. Then in line 20, Ben attempts to initiate a new course of action by uttering 'they said (.) i' followed by a 0.5 second pause. This pause before syntactic completion of the utterance, while it is observably incomplete, appears to create a TRP and provide Ami with an opportunity to complete the formulation herself. This, again, appears to indicate Ben's orientation to Ami continuing her own explanation. However, as Ami does not take the floor at this point Ben continues with '↑could have ↑bough (0.3) °<t::>°'. In all, Ben's turn in line 20, therefore, is 'they said (.) i (0.5) ↑could have ↑bough (0.3) °<t::>°'. This turn is of declarative syntax yet the raised intonation of the turn-ending item '↑bough (0.3) °<t::>°' indicates that Ben is giving a try-marked declarative statement. As such, it appears that Ben is giving a 'candidate completion' of this part of Ami's description - making relevant Ami's confirmation/disconfirmation of its 'correctness' - in an attempt to achieve clarity of the explanation. Furthermore, by uttering 'they said', Ben orients to what another group said (in relation to what Ami 'turned into Japanese') as being potentially relevant to this unresolved question.

In response, Ami utters the Japanese '°↑u:↓u↑uhn° (no)' in line 21 - disconfirming the 'correctness' of Ben's candidate completion. Then follows a 0.7 second in line 22 - with no further attempt from Ben to seek clarity. Then in line 23, Ami utters in Japanese '↑NAN °to ↓uttara

↓ii: no° (*what should I say*)'. This clearly indicates Ami's orientation to the relevance of providing some kind of formulation - yet its provision is delayed.

Despite the interrogative morphosyntax of this turn, it is followed by a 2.2 second pause in line 24 - no verbal uptake whatsoever is generated from Ben. This raises the likelihood that Ami's '↑NAN °to ↓uttara ↓ii: no° (*what should I say*)' is designed as a 'self-addressed question for recollection'. If so, Ami is undergoing a word-search to enable the delivery of the description of the unresolved question. In line 25, Ami takes the floor and code-switches back to English with 'in: ↑the (0.6) japane:se'. As Ami's turn following 'in: ↑the' is pragmatically incomplete and offers no cues to enable Ben's 'help', Ami holds the floor over the 0.6 second pause before uttering 'japane:se'. Following this, as Ami's talk is still observably incomplete and proposes the delivery of further talk for elaboration, Ami is able to hold the floor over the following 1.0 second pause in line 26. These pauses while holding the floor suggests she is 'doing thinking' - and not making relevant speaker change to Ben.

Ami then continues with 'the:y (0.3) ca↑nno- (0.5) they COULDN't (.) bu:y a ticke[t]' in lines 27-28. The cut-off of 'ca↑nno-' is followed by a 0.5 second pause. Ben withholds from talking here, and then Ami gives a self-initiated self-repair of her talk with 'they COULDN't'. Then after a micro-pause, Ami continues with 'bu:y a ticke[t]'. The pauses, cut-off and self-repair all mark the formulation 'they couldn't buy a ticket' as rather slowly delivered. Then Ben overlaps with '[↑UH:] ↓m: (0.4) >↑yeah<' in line 29. Ben's '[↑UH:] ↓m:', which sees Ben refrain from treating Ami's prior turn as accountable. Then follows a 0.4 second pause. As Ami doesn't talk at this point, she appears not to problematize Ben's treatment of her prior turn. Then Ben continues with the 'acknowledgment token' (Jefferson, 1984) '>↑yeah<'. In line 29, Ben indicates an unproblematic treatment of Ami's rather delayed description - then passes the floor back to Ami to continue. Here, Ben displays his orientation to Ami progressing with her description herself with minimal interjection from him.

In line 30 is a 0.7 second pause - representing Ben's continued orientation to Ami continuing her explanation. Then Ami duly takes the floor in line 31 with '↑de↓mo: (*but*) (0.5) they said (0.3) they ↓DID↑N'T buy a ↓ticket'. As Ami continues with her talk, Ben's turn in line 29 functions as a continuer. Ami starts her turn in line 30 with the Japanese conjunction '*but*' to mark the end of the previous clause by announcing the impending delivery of another. Also, by uttering the Japanese conjunction 'but', Ami appears to be progressing from the delivery of the prior English formulation. This seeming proposal of progression allows Ami to hold the floor over a 0.5 second pause before switching back to English with 'they said'. This suggests that the following talk will be reported speech. Then following a 0.3 second pause, Ami

utters ‘they ↓DID↑N’T buy a ↓ticket’. The syntactic completion of this formulation provides a TRP for Ben to take the floor in line 33 - thus rendering the formulation seemingly complete. This second formulation bears resemblance to the formulation Ami delivered in lines 27-28 (‘they couldn’t buy a ticket’) yet instead of ‘couldn’t’ is ‘didn’t’. Indeed, by raising the volume of ‘↓DID↑N’T’, A draws particular attention to it.

In response, Ben overlaps with ‘AH: : ↓ : : ’ in line 33. This is followed by a 2.6 second pause in line 34 - in which Ami offers no further contribution to the explanation of the unresolved question. Then in line 35 Ben utters ‘it’s a ↑bit (.) diffe↑ren^ot: [: : °]’. As such it appears Ben too is shifting focus from Ami’s *delivery* of the question to *dealing with* the question. Consequently, Ben’s ‘AH: : ↓ : : ’ in line 33 is a ‘penny-drop moment’ in which Ben indexes an apparent recognition of the nature of Ami’s unresolved question.

As Ami’s given formulations are both in English, the ‘unresolved question’ clearly falls within the English-language epistemic domain. With Ami providing two alternative formulations and neglecting to choose one as ‘correct’ before Ben begins the task of dealing with them, it appears that this choice between the formulations (‘couldn’t’ and ‘didn’t’) is the focus of the unresolved question. Therefore, this unresolved question is an ‘alternative question’ (Quirk et al, 1985) in which the “speaker expects the recipient to make a choice between two offered alternatives and respond by repeating one or more of the alternatives mentioned in the question.” (Englert, 2010: 9). However, rather than delivering a FPP question and nominating Ben to choose from the alternatives, Ami is merely performing the SSP/explanation of the unresolved question as made relevant by Ben’s FPP “‘wh-type’ interrogative’. As Ami’s explanation is done largely in English it takes the form made relevant by Ben. Consequently, it is a SPP conforming to the restrictions imposed upon it by Ben’s FPP. This resulted in Ben’s ‘penny-drop moment’ in which Ben claims an understanding of the nature of the unresolved question. The below examination of subsequent talk sees Ben provide English-language help. This reveals that Ben orients to Ami’s description of the unresolved question above as being the first action in the English help sequence - Ami requesting English-language-related help.

Extract 41: Ben’s help

35 Ben it’s a ↑bit (.) diffe↑ren^ot: [: : °]
 36 Ami [° > ah < °] ↑CHI↓GAU
different
 37 Ben ↑uh: ↓m:
 38 (1.8)

39 Ben i w::↑ish: i could have bought a ticket? ↓mea::ns
40 (3.0)
41 Ben ah:[::] i would >have:< (.) i wanted to:?=
42 Ami [°i-°]
43 Ami =°uh ↑hm°
44 Ben >↑but<
45 (1.2)
46 Ben i ↑could↓n (0.6) °t:::° becau:::se: (0.5)it's >out< of my
47 <power?>
48 Ami °>↑uh ↓hm< hm:°
49 Ben >↑but< i ↑did↓n't (0.3) buy a ↑ti↓cket
50 (1.6)
51 Ben >↑it< DOESn't tell you why:?
52 Ami ↑UH::↓m::
53 Ben wh°a-° (.) whoa- (.) >we don't know< why: they
54 didn['t?]
55 Ami [°↑h:↓m::°] (.) >it's ↑like<

In line 35, Ben self-selects and takes the floor with 'its a ↑bit (.)
diffe↑ren°t:[::°]'. Ben's use of 'its' indicates this turn is of declarative morphosyntax and that Ben is referring to something previously mentioned. The rising intonation of the turn-ending item 'diffe↑ren°t:[::°]' marks this turn as 'try-marked' and makes relevant a response from Ami. Here it appears that Ben is seeking to clarify if one of her uttered formulations is different from another.

Ami overlaps with '[°>ah<°] ↑CHI↓GAU (*different*)' in line 36. By code-switching to Japanese and delivering a Japanese repeat of Ben's English item with rise-falling intonation, Ami appears to treat Ben's previous turn as an *informing*. Ami appears now to claim to have been 'taught' by Ben that some of her uttered English-language formulations are somehow 'different'. This sees Ami orient to Ben's K+ status in the English-language epistemic domain as allocating him the right to inform.

Ben then utters '↑uh:↓m:.' in line 37 - issuing confirmation of the 'correctness' of his assertion, and ratifying Ami's treatment of line 35 as an informing. This indexes a joint orientation to Ben's K+ epistemic status as 'informer' in the English-language domain. Importantly, once Ben receives Ami's explanation of the unresolved question that he prompted, his seeming clarification check in line 35 is treated as an informing - which Ben adheres to and ratifies. This represents a

major identity shift for Ben from ‘information requester’ to ‘information asserter’ in the English-language domain - despite this assertion not being explicitly requested.

Line 38 sees a 1.8 second pause in which Ami offers no indication of further ‘teaching’ being required. However, in line 39 Ben takes the floor with ‘i w::↑ish: i could have bought a ticket? ↓mea::ns’. Here, Ben repeats Ami’s formulation from line 13 followed by ‘↓mea::ns’ - proposing the delivery of an informing related to meaning - before halting his talk. Ben treats the declaration that the formulations are somehow ‘different’ as insufficient - and orients to the necessity of further explanation.

The syntactic incompleteness of this utterance sees Ben propose further talk to follow - yet is followed by a 3.0 second pause in line 40. Ami doesn’t interject at this point, and the silence continues until Ben utters ‘ah: [::] i would >have:< (.) i wanted to:?’ in line 41. Here, Ami appears to orient to Ben’s K+ status as allocating him the rights to assert English-language-related information - the second action in the English help sequence - unimpeded by her.

In line 41, Ben appears to be giving an explanation of what ‘i wish i could have bought a ticket means’. Although Ben appears to be progressing with an informing (indicating an orientation to his K+ status in the English-language domain), the filled pause ‘ah: [::]’ followed by ‘i would >have:<’, a micro-pause and reformulation to ‘i wanted to:?’ indicates a somewhat delayed delivery. The turn-ending rising intonation of Ben’s talk in line 41 creates a TRP for Ami to utter ‘°uh ↑hm°’ in line 43 - a proffering of understanding and continuer. This displays Ami’s continued ratification of Ben’s rights to assert English-language-related information.

Then in line 44, Ben continues his explanation with ‘>↑but<’. As this conjunction suggests the explanation is syntactically and pragmatically incomplete, Ben is able to hold the floor over a 1.2 second pause in line 45 before uttering ‘i ↑could↓n (0.6) °t:::° becau:::se: (0.5) it’s >out< of my <power?>’ in lines 46-47. While Ben continues his explanation, indicating an orientation to his K+ status, the talk is slowed by the 1.2 second pause in line 45, the 0.6 second pause in the midst of uttering ‘couldn’t’ as well as the sound-stretching of its final consonant ‘°t:::°’ and ‘becau:::se:’ and following 0.5 second pause. The 0.5 second pause following ‘becau:::se:’ could be considered a possible TRP for Ami to interject with an assertion of why ‘i couldn’t’. However, Ami doesn’t and Ben continues. This suggests that while Ben’s explanation is somewhat marked by pauses, Ami encourages Ben to utilize his K+ status and privileged access to the English-language epistemic domain - and perform the second action in the English help sequence - unimpeded.

The turn-ending rising intonation of ‘<power?>’ in line 47 sees Ben make relevant a response from Ami. Then, in line 48 Ami utters ‘°>↑uh ↓hm< hm:°’. This ‘continuer’ sees Ami

proffer an understanding and attentiveness, without problematizing any aspect of Ben's assertion. Further, this functions to pass the floor back to Ben to continue his talk. Then Ben continues in line 49 with '>↑but< i ↑did↓n't (0.3) buy a ↑ti↓cket' - indicating a progression to another formulation and ending the explanation of the previous. Consequently, Ben's explanation in lines 39-47 can be summarized as 'i wish i could have bought a ticket' means 'i wanted to' but 'couldn't because its out of my power'.

The topicalizing of 'i didn't buy a ticket' is followed by a 1.6 second pause in line 50. Ami declines to interject at this point and then in line 51 Ben continues with '>↑it< DOESn't tell you why: ?'. Here, Ami gives a negative declarative statement highlighting the lack of a reason. Again, Ben ends this assertive TCU with raised intonation to create a TRP for Ami to take the floor - which she does with the 'continuer' '↑UH: : ↓m: : ' in line 52. This indicates Ami's attentiveness, an unproblematic treatment of Ben's assertion and K+ rights to do so, and an orientation to it as being unfinished. Ben then continues with 'wh°a-° (.) whoa- (.) >we don't know< why: they didn['t?]' in line 53-4. One cut-off and micro-pause is followed by another - thus delaying Ben's clearer delivery of his explanation that 'i didn't buy a ticket' doesn't tell us why 'they didn't'. The turn-ending rising intonation again creates a TRP, making relevant speaker change.

Ben's talk in lines 35-54 sees him offer English-language teaching - thus representing the second action in the English help sequence. Below Ami offers an upshot of Ben's teaching and initiates closure - the third action in the English help sequence.

Extract 42: Closing

- 55 Ami [°↑h:↓m::°] (.) >it's ↑like<
 56 (0.9)
 57 Ami >↑chotto< ↑CHI↓GAU
a little different
 58 Ben a little °bit° (0.4) °diffe↓rent hm::°
 59 (1.3)
 60 Ami *B sensei mo chigau to iware[te iru]*
B teacher is also saying its different
 (voice becomes more distant)
 61 Ben [h::↓m:] a li↓ttle
 62 (3.0)

The overlapped ‘[°↑h: ↓m: : °]’ in line 55 enables Ami to take the floor before uttering ‘>it’ s ↑like<’ to propose the impending delivery of more talk. Then following a 0.9 second pause Ami code-switches to Japanese, uttering ‘>↑chotto< ↑CHI↓GAU (*a little different*)’ in line 57. Here, Ami appears to deliver a Japanese *upshot* of Ben’s explanation.

This seeming upshot indicates Ami’s orientation to progressing the sequence to the conclusion that the two formulations are slightly different. This represents Ami’s effort “to propose the possible closing of the sequence or topic-in-progress” (Schegloff, 2007: 186) and is the first turn in a ‘dedicated sequence-closing sequence’ (ibid). In response, Ben gives a slightly downgraded English-language repeat followed by a confirmation token: ‘a little °bit° (0.4) °differe↓rent hm: : °’ in line 58. This functions to confirm the ‘correctness’ of Ami’s upshot. This collaboration with Ami’s proposal for closure sees Ben give the second turn in the closing sequence.

Following a 1.3 second pause in line 59, Ami reports the confirmed upshot to another party - suggesting Ami treats the epistemic asymmetry as equalized. In response to this, Ben overlaps with a confirmation token and ‘a little’ in line 61 to slightly downgrade the upshot. After a 3 second pause in line 62 a different topic is raised - indicating a conclusion to this interaction. Ami treats Ben’s English-language-related help (that was not explicitly requested) as being acceptable and sufficient to close the epistemic gap that had previously existed. This closure represents the third action in the English help sequence.

The following encounter sees Bev encourage Ama to deliver her information request despite repeated pauses and delays, and only interjecting when directly prompted by Ama’s use of syntactical and intonational resources.

Encounter 10 (ALTs' orientation to progression in response to a 'troubled' delivery)

Setting: Kuroshima High School

JTE: Ama

ALT: Bev

Summary:

Prior to the transcribed talk, Ama and Bev are chatting about a mutual friend's leisure activities. Then, following laughter, Ama opens with the transcribed data with the announcement of an impending question. By proposing this to Bev, Ama positions Bev as having relative K+ status in some domain. Following some delays, Ama delivers an English-language formulation – with a lengthy pause in the middle. Bev, though, doesn't interject until Ama clearly halts her talk and calls for Bev's response. Bev gives her confirmation of the 'correctness' of Ama's talk so far, thus orienting to her K+ status, and prompts Ama to continue her delivery of a different English-language formulation. Despite the somewhat delayed delivery of Ama's second formulation, Bev doesn't interject. Ama continues her delivery until she clearly uses syntactical and intonational resources to deliver an 'alternative question' and directly call for Bev's 'help'. At this point Bev interjects and chooses a 'correct' item from alternatives provided by Ama. Here Bev ratifies Ama's proposal of her K+ status – and Ama treats this as a clear 'informing'. Ama then continues to deliver this second formulation, with pauses and sound-stretches, until clearly calling for a response from Bev using rising intonation and halting her talk. Bev responds with confirmation of its 'correctness' and then prompts Ama to continue. Indeed, Ama continues until giving a query-intoned uttering of 'power?' and directly calling into action Bev's help. Here, while Bev clearly indexes her K+ right to confirm, she encourages Ama's continuation of the first action in the English help sequence – with her minimal interjection. In response, Bev chooses one item 'power' as 'better', confirms this as correct and upgrades it to 'competitive power' before issuing confirmation. This represents Bev's provision of English-language-related 'help' – and sees Bev deliver the second action in the English help sequence. Finally by changing the subject and initiating unrelated talk, Ama helps achieve closure of the encounter.

Extract 43: Opening

- 1 Ama AH:: (.) >i have a ↑ques:↓tion<
2 Bev ↑yes
3 (1.8)
4 Ama °dokoro ↑da ↓kke:::°
where is it?

5 (0.8)
 6 Ama °↑uh (.) >ah ↑chi↓gau<°
wrong
 7 (1.3)
 8 Ama .hhh some people are ↑wo:↓°rrie::d°

In line 1 Ama announces that she has a question, without actually asking it. This suggests this turn is designed to be understood as *pre* to a projected sequence - a 'pre-question sequence' (Schegloff, 1980). Here, Ama projects that upon its completion, a question will follow as a base FPP. By projecting a question, Ama proposes that she will initiate an information request sequence. Such actions function as a resource for the deliverer to communicate a K- epistemic stance - making relevant the interlocutors' epistemic status of K+ for the recipient and K- for the requester (Heritage, 2012a).

Before any such base question sequence may occur, however, Ama's turn in line 1 is itself a FPP making Bev's SPP relevant. Indeed, Bev's immediate '↑yes' in line 2 is a recognizable SPP: a 'go ahead' response (Schegloff, 1990: 61). This suggests Bev's unproblematic treatment of Ama's announcement, indicates Bev's attention has been mobilized, and indicates Bev's orientation to the progression to the projected question.

Following this 'go-ahead' response is a 1.8 second pause in line 3 before Ama takes the floor with '°dokoro ↑da ↓kke:::° (*where is it?*) in line 4'. After a 0.8 second pause, Ama utters '°↑uh (.) >ah ↑chi↓gau<° (*wrong*)' followed by a 1.3 second pause. Here, Ama appears to be undergoing some form of preparation to enable the delivery of '.hhh some people are ↑wo:↓°rrie::d°' in line 8. As this utterance in line 8 is not related to the projection of a question sequence to follow, nor is it related to Ama's seeming preparation, it appears to be the beginning of Ama's base FPP of a projected question - which is examined below.

Extract 44: Ama asking for help

8 Ama .hhh some people are ↑wo:↓°rrie::d°
 9 (0.7)
 10 Ama that (.) if this:: trend con↑tinues >to ad↑VANCE<
 11 economy will become ↑less com(.)petitive?
 12 (0.4)
 13 Bev UH huh?
 14 (0.7)

15 Ama ↑*TO*:
and
16 (0.5)
17 ((sound of a page turning))
18 Bev ((cough))
19 (1.0)
20 Ama °>↑*all: ri:ght*<°
21 (1.6)
22 Ama some people are WO:>rried ↓*tha:t*< (0.4) ↑*the: (.)*
23 *c*↑*om:: (.)* *petitive* ↑POwers (.) or power:?
24 Bev >*i think*< POwer >*is better*:<
25 Ama ↑po↓wer
26 (0.6)
27 Ama <↑*I:n* japa(.)*ne:se* economy: (0.3) ↑*will* (0.4) *dro::p?*>
28 (0.5)
29 Bev >UH *huh will dro:p?*<
30 (1.0)
31 Ama °↑*o*↓*kay:*° >↑*IF this trend continues?*<
32 Bev ↑UH↓M
33 Ama ↑*Its* (0.3) >↑POwer?<

In line 8 Ama following Ama's uttering of '.hhh some people are ↑wo:↓°*rrie::d*°' is a 0.7 second pause in line 9. Despite Ama halting her talk and creating a possible TRP, Bev does not interject - thus orienting to Ama's continuation of her talk. Then in lines 10-11, Ama indeed continues with 'that (.) if this:: trend con↑tinues >to ad↑VANCE< economy will become ↑less com(.)petitive?'. As Ama's previously uttered '↑wo:↓°*rrie::d*°' appears to link pragmatically with 'that (.) if this::', it seems that Ama is continuing her formulation from line 8 in lines 10-11. Consequently, as Bev doesn't interrupt Ama's delivery of this formulation, she effectively enables Ama to hold the floor during the 0.7 second pause in line 9. The turn-ending rising of 'com(.)petitive?' and the seeming syntactical completion of the formulation see Ama create a possible TRP for some response from Bev.

Following a 0.4 second pause in line 12, which Bev orients to as indicating the end of Ama's turn, Bev takes the floor with 'UH huh?' in line 13. Here, Bev appears to indicate her attentiveness and apparent unproblematic treatment of Ama's prior talk. The raised intonation and following 0.7

second pause in line 14 makes relevant speaker change to Ama and suggests that this is designed as a ‘continuer’. Consequently, Bev orients to Ama’s prior talk as being an unproblematic and as-yet-unfinished multi-unit turn. Here, Bev indexes her K+ rights to confirm the ‘correctness’ of Ama’s turn-in-progress and prompts Ama to carry on with her delivery of the first action of the English help sequence - interjecting when clearly called upon to do so.

Then follows a 0.7 second pause in line 14 before Ama takes the floor and utters ‘↑*TO*: (*and*)’ in line 15. Here Ama uses Japanese to propose further talk - and to indicate the completion of the English-language formulation in lines 10-11. However, this also sees a ratification of Bev’s orientation to the ‘incompleteness’ of Ama’s turn-as-a-whole. By proposing further talk, Ama is able to hold the floor during a 0.5 second pause in line 16 - and the sound of a page turning in line 17 (suggesting the formulation could be being read aloud). Then Bev’s cough is followed by a 1 second pause then Ama’s ‘°>↑*all*: *ri*:*ght*<°’ in line 20 and a 1.6 second pause in line 21. As Ama begins another formulation in line 22-23, it appears that in lines 16-21 Ama has undergone the necessary preparation to enable the delivery of the next formulation.

In lines 22-23 Ama utters ‘some people are WO:>rried ↓tha:t< (0.4) ↑the: (.) c↑om:: (.) petitive ↑POwers (.) or power:?’ The turn-initial ‘some people are WO:>rried ↓tha:t<’ contains the same lexical items as the first part of the earlier formulation (see lines 8-10). However, this formulation in lines 22-23 progresses differently - indicating that Ama is delivering a second formulation in English. This clearly indicates that Ama’s ‘↑*TO*: (*and*)’ in line 15 separates these two English-language formulations.

The falling intonation of ‘↓tha:t<’ and the following 0.4 second pause in line 22 could create a possible TRP for Bev to interject. However, Bev does not and Ama continues, using rising intonation in the items ‘↑the:’, ‘c↑om:: (.) petitive’ and ‘↑POwers’ in lines 22-23. The syntactic and pragmatic link between ‘that’ and ‘competitive powers’ indicates that Ama is continuing her turn and holding the floor over a 0.4 second pause. Ama then progresses to the conclusion of the turn in a somewhat delayed manner following three micro-pauses and sound-stretching of ‘↑the:’ and ‘c↑om:: (.) petitive’.

By following ‘c↑om:: (.) petitive ↑POwers’ with ‘or power:?’ in line 23 and halting her talk, Ama appears to be creating a TRP for Bev’s response. As such, Ama appears to design her turn as an ‘alternative question’ (Quirk et al, 1985). Here, Ama seemingly makes it relevant for Bev to choose one of the alternative English-language items offered as ‘correct’. As this relates to vocabulary items, it is used for Ama’s ‘vocabulary check’ (Hosoda, 2006). By providing an alternative, Ama treat the ‘correctness’ of ‘↑POwers’ as tentative - and thus Ama proposes

some English-language knowledge. However, by necessitating Bev's act of choosing, Ama clearly calls for Bev's 'help' and thus orients to Bev's relative K+ status in the English-language domain.

In line 24, Bev responds with '>i think< POWer >is better:<'. By choosing the singular 'POWer' as 'better', Bev performs an action type-conforming and form preference fulfilling SPP (Raymond, 2003) following Ama's 'alternative question'. Bev supplies the information of the type Ama requested in line 23. While Bev earlier neglected to interject during pauses in Ama's delivery, here, Bev treats Ama's use of turn-ending rising intonation and 'alternative question' syntactical structure ('↑POwers (.) or power:?') as prompting her interjection/choosing. Here, Bev ratifies Ama's proffering of her K+ status as allocating her the right to choose the 'correct' alternative - albeit slightly downgraded by the turn-initial '>i think<'. This displays a slightly mitigated epistemic stance and rather downgraded access to the English-language domain.

In line 25 Ama immediately utters '↑po↓wer' - repeating Bev's chosen item in the third position and treating Bev's response as having confirmed the sought-after information. This apparent 'change of state token' (Heritage, 1984) sees Ama orient obtaining new knowledge as to the 'correct' item - despite Bev's downgrading. This confirms Ama's earlier proposed epistemic asymmetry of Ama as K- and Bev as K+ in the English-language epistemic domain.

This is followed by a 0.6 second pause in line 26. At this point the floor appears to be open - yet in line 27 Ama takes the floor with '<↑I:n japa(.)ne:se economy:: (0.3) ↑will (0.4) dro::p>?'. As 'competitive power' from lines 22-23 appears to pragmatically link with '<↑I:n japa(.)ne:se economy::' it seems that Ama is continuing her second formulation. This turn is delivered in a rather slowed manner and includes a sound-stretched item '↑I:n', followed by a micro-pause and sound-stretched 'japa(.)ne:se', then sound-stretching in 'economy::'. Then follows a 0.3 second pause. At this point Bev doesn't interject - treating Ama's talk as being unfinished. Then Ama continues with '↑will' and a 0.4 second pause follows. Again, Bev withholds from interjecting - allowing Ama to hold the floor over this pause. Then Ama utters 'dro::p>?' with rising intonation and a 0.5 second pause follows in line 28. The rising intonation and halting of talk appear to indicate that Ama is prompting Bev's response.

With no more contributions forthcoming from Ama at this point and seeming syntactic completion of Ama's TCU, Bev treats the prior turn as complete and utters '>UH huh will dro:p?<' in line 29. The turn-initial '>UH huh' suggests Bev orients to the turn-ending rising intonation of Ama's previous turn as a call for her confirmation. Bev duly confirms the formulation as 'correct' and displays an unproblematic treatment of Ama's prior turn. By confirming, Bev displays an orientation to her own K+ status as giving her the right to do so. Then Bev utters 'will

dro:p?'. The raised intonation of this partial-repeat of Ama's utterance in line 27 suggests that Bev designs this as a 'continuer' that passes the floor back to Ama to continue her multi-unit turn. Here, Bev does not interject during the 0.3 and 0.4 second pauses in lines 27 and waits until the syntactic completion of the TCU and rising intonation indicates the provision of a TRP and a clear call for her contribution. Then Bev immediately confirms her attentiveness and the 'correctness' of the prior turn, then passes the floor back to Ama to continue. Consequently, while Bev clearly indexes her K+ right to confirm, she encourages Ama's continuation/progression of her turn and delivery of the first action in the English help sequence - with little interjection from her.

After a 1 second pause in line 30 which indicates Bev will offer no more than confirmation and a continuer at this point, Ama's '°↑o↓kay:°' in line 31 sees her treat Bev's prior turn as acceptable - a 'change of state token' ratifying Bev's K+ rights to confirm. Then, by following '°↑o↓kay:°' with '>↑IF this trend continues?<', Ama appears to be continuing the second formulation delivery. The rising intonation of 'continues?' and halting of Ama's talk is oriented to by Bev as making relevant his confirmation token '↑UH↓M' in line 32. Here, Bev indicates her unproblematic treatment of Ama's talk as 'correct'. As Ama then continues her turn, Bev's '↑UH↓M' also functions as a 'continuer'. Here, Ama and Bev orient to Ama's continuation of her talk with Bev's minimal interjection in the form of confirmation and a continuer.

Then Ama utilizes declarative syntax to utter '↑Its (0.3) >↑POWER?<' in line 33. The pre-positioned 0.3 second pause and raised volume and speed all see Ama mark '>↑POWER?<' out for particular attention. By uttering 'power', Ama refers back to the item earlier confirmed as 'correct' by Bev in line 24. As such, it appears that Ama is no longer concerned with the delivery of the second formulation. The try-marked intonation sees Ama mark this turn as 'query-intoned' - treating the 'correctness' of 'power' as being tentative and providing a TRP prompting speaker change to Bev. The positive polarity of the declarative verb 'its' sees Ama orient to the tentative yet likely 'correctness' of 'power' - thus Ama claims some English-language knowledge. However, by initiating speaker change to Bev, Ama appears to allocate Bev the rights to confirm/disconfirm the correctness of this declarative turn using a yes, no or equivalent token. Consequently, Ama's turn is designed as a YND (Raymond, 2010) that indexes Ama's orientation to Bev's relative K+ status.

This English-language-related help request (YND) represents the first action in the English help sequence. Below is an examination of Bev's help - the second action in the English help sequence.

Extract 45: Bev's help

34 Bev >i think< °power is better (.) ↑yeah°

35 Ama °heh[↑::°]
 36 Bev [°com]↑petitive ↑power°
 37 Ama >kore okashikunai? <
 this isn't strange?
 38 Bev ↑UH↓M NO: >no ↓no<
 39 (0.4)
 40 Ama iSSHO?
 the same?
 41 Bev >↑it's ↑o↓kay<

By uttering '>i think< °power is better (.) ↑yeah°' in line 34, Bev clearly orients to Ama's '↑Its (0.3) >↑POWER?<' in line 33 as triggering her assertion of information. Bev's use of the adjective 'better' indicates that she is comparing items - and chooses 'power' as being more preferable. This suggests that Bev is treating Ama's turn as an 'alternative question'. Then, the turn-ending confirmation token '↑yeah' sees Bev perform the action of *confirming* 'power' as being 'correct'.

By confirming, Bev orients to Ama's previous turn as being a 'B-event statement' in the form of a YND. While Ama claims some knowledge related to 'power', Bev holds more knowledge - and this prompts her confirmation of Ama's declaratively-formed turn (see Raymond, 2010) in line 33. This indicates Bev's orientation to his own K+ status. As this pertains to an English-language lexical item, it indexes the English-language as the relevant domain. By confirming with a 'yeah' token, Bev provides an action-type and form-confirming response to Ama's YND. Further, it conforms to Ama's expectation of 'power' as being 'correct' - as indexed in the positive polarity of Ama's turn in line 33.

While Bev orients to her own K+ status, Bev's assertion ('power') is prefaced by a quickly uttered '>i think<'. This sees Bev design her assertion in a slightly slightly downgraded manner - a 'pre-positioned epistemic hedge' (Weatherall, 2011). In response, Ama utters '°heh[↑::°]' in line 35. As this turn does not problematize any aspect of Bev's assertion or invite any further information, Ama treats it as 'preferred'. This 'change of state token' sees Ama claim new information as having been unproblematically received. Here, Ama clearly doesn't treat Bev's downgrading as an accountable matter. Then Bev overlaps with '[°com]↑petitive ↑power°' in line 36 - upgrading from 'power' to include a lexical item uttered by Ama in her earlier formulation. This represents a more clear assertion.

Lines 37 sees Ama switch to Japanese and utter ‘>*kore okashikunai?* < (*this isn't strange?*)’. Here Ama issues a confirmation request to Bev - thus orienting to a remaining epistemic asymmetry seemingly about the nuance of the formulation. By doing so, Ama orients to Bev’s K+ status - to which Bev responds with an immediate ‘↑UH↓M NO: >no ↓no<’ in line 38 - thus suggesting an understanding of the Japanese utterance and an adherence to her K+ status placement. Then in line 40 Ama orients to yet more epistemic asymmetry to be equalized by uttering ‘*iSSHO?* (*the same?*)’. This YNI sees Ama ask if something is ‘the same’ - without directly indexing what the referent is. In response Bev immediately utters ‘>↑it’s ↑o↓kay<’ in line 41 to confirm the ‘correctness’ of Ama’s statement. By issuing these confirmation requests, and by confirming, Ama and Bev both orient to Bev’s K+ status in the English-language domain.

Bev’s comparison and confirmation in line 34, upgraded assertion in line 36, and confirmations in lines 38 and 41, represent Bev’s provision of English language help - the second action in the English help sequence. Below is an examination of the third action - closing.

Extract 46: Closing

- 42 (2.8)
 43 Ama *kore na:ni:?*
what is this?
 44 Bev ah: sakai kun ah *ichi nen sei*
that first grade boy Sakai

Following Bev’s confirmation is a 2.8 second period in line 42 without any indication of remaining epistemic asymmetry. Then Ama self-selects and takes the floor with ‘*kore na:ni:?* (*what is this?*)’ in line 43. Here, Ama appears to be finishing the previous topic and initiating a new one with a ‘wh-type interrogative’. This ‘disjunctive topic shift’ sees Ama propose the ending of the sequence related to ‘power’ and treat the knowledge asymmetry that drove the sequence as equalized.

In response, Bev refers to a student and engages with Ama in this newly introduced topic. This represents Bev’s adherence to Ama’s proposed closure of the previous topic - and a ratification of epistemic equilibrium as having been achieved. Here “the epistemic engine runs its course” (Heritage, 2012a: 34) and the sequence related to ‘power’ is complete. This is the third action in the English help sequence: closure.

As the micro-analysis of EHSs is now complete, a brief summary of the key analytic findings is below.

7.1 Chapter Summary

Chapter 5: The ‘English help’ sequence and Multilingual Competencies

The English Help Sequence is made up of three distinct actions: JTE’s English language-related information request, ALT’s English-language-related information assertion, sequence closure.

JTEs and ALTs routinely use multilingual competencies (English and Japanese)

JTEs use English and Japanese when ‘doing L2 learning’

In using Japanese, JTEs orient to the likelihood of ALTs having some grasp of Japanese

JTEs often use Japanese when dealing with problems in their ongoing production of English language talk

JTEs often use Japanese to trigger an English Help sequence and when treating ALT’s turns as ‘informings’

ALTs do not problematize the JTE’s use of Japanese, yet speak English only

Chapter 6: ALTs’ stable K+ status

ALTs and JTEs invariably orient to the ALT’s K+ status in English language-related epistemic domains

JTEs do this by requesting information from ALTs, and ALTs do this by asserting information

ALTs frequently display interactional ‘trouble’ and hesitant epistemic stances when asserting information

Despite ALTs ‘trouble’ and epistemic hesitancy, JTEs treat their assertions as unproblematic informings

Chapter 7: ALTs' orientation to progression in response to a 'troubled' delivery

JTEs often display what from an external viewpoint suggest interactional 'trouble' while requesting English language-related information

However, ALTs do not treat this 'trouble' as an accountable matter

ALTs frequently give 'continuers' following the JTE's 'trouble'

As such, ALTs orient to the JTE progressing with the EHS first action - and a quick progression to the ALT's assertion

Below follows the discussion chapter in which key analytic findings are discussed in light of the literature reviewed in chapter 2.

Chapter 8: Discussion

8.1 Audio data

At first, it is necessary to draw attention to the type of data collected in this study. I used audio-recordings of face-to-face interactions without any visual recordings.

While I sought to collect audio-visual data, there were some practical reasons that made this difficult. First; permissions. In Japanese high schools it is common for students to regularly enter the staffroom⁸⁹. Therefore, if video cameras were used, students too would be recorded. This requires the permission of the parent-teacher association - however, only permission for audio recordings was granted. Second; time restrictions. While further time spent discussing my project may have resulted in permission for audio-visual recordings, financial reasons, family obligations, study and work commitments meant I had to collect the data in Japan without delay. As such, I analysed talk from face to face encounters without a view of participants' nonverbal communication.

CA began with the analysis of talk from telephone encounters, where participants had no visual resources (e.g. Sacks, 1992). However, as CA developed, video recording equipment also developed. As such, CA has used video recordings to consider the relationship between talk and bodily conduct in face to face interaction (Heath, 1997) - and has frequently demonstrated that nonverbal behaviour, as well as talk, is also very important in social organization (Arnold, 2012). Early research by Charles Goodwin (1979, 1981) identified how utterances are closely coordinated with the recipient's gaze - particularly when achieving participants' engagement. Other research considered how participants' bodily conduct influences the sequential organization of the speaker's actions (e.g. Mondada, 2007). This indicates that "all aspects of observable behaviour can play a role in communication" (Kendon, 1990: 29). As such, most CA research is now "concerned with the visual as well as vocal aspects of human conduct" (Heath, 1997: 196). Such research appears to understand "the ultimate behavioral materials" of face to face encounters, including the 'small behaviors' such as "glances, gestures, positionings" (Goffman, 1967: 1), and the "manipulation of various kinds of objects" (ten Have, 2001: 9).

By analysing only talk from face to face encounters, my analysis is rather restricted - unable to see the impact of such 'small' (nonverbal) behaviours and use of 'objects'. In Encounter 6, following Ben's explanation of the meaning of 'parallel' is a 5.5 second silence before Asa utters '↑Q↓KAY' and initiates sequence closure⁹⁰. With only access to talk, my analytic observations are

⁸⁹ albeit after requesting a teacher's permission while standing at the door

⁹⁰ Encounter 6, Extracts 29-30

limited to stating that the 5.5 second silence represents a much delayed uptake before Asa's unproblematizing treatment of Ben's informing. A view of nonverbal behaviours during those 5.5 seconds would have given vital resources to enable a fuller analytic interpretation of Asa's '↑O↓KAY'. In Encounter 2, following Aoi's explanation is Ben's assertion, then '>th↑is one?<'. Aoi confirms with 'ya::h' before continuing her talk⁹¹. While Ben alludes to some physical object, what this object is and how he uses it unseen. As such, the details of Ben's manipulation of objects are missed - restricting my analytic description. Audio-visual data would have enabled a fuller view of the resources used to accomplish various activities.

As stated above, various practical reasons accounted for my inability to obtain audio-visual data. There will inevitably be other occasions when researchers encounter difficulty in obtaining audio-visual data of face to face encounters. However, I argue that while analyses of face to face encounters using audio-only data are indeed inherently restricted, the findings such studies yield can provide a platform that enables future projects using audio-visual data. For example, using this thesis and its findings, I persuaded the *Japan Society for the Promotion of Science* (JSPS) to employ me to undergo a similar (post-doctoral) research project. For this project, I analyse interactions between JET Programme ALTs and Japanese Elementary school teachers - and insisted upon using audio-visual data. As such, findings from audio-only data can be of significant value. Consequently, it is important to discuss how findings from my analysis of audio-recordings relate to the relevant CA literature. The following five sections discuss various themes emerging from the analysis and the final section discusses how this project relates to SLA research more generally.

44 Ben >it means they run< at the <same t↑i:me may↑be> (.)
 45 BUt (0.3) NOT (0.3) >necessarily< eQUIValent::
 46 (5.5)
 47 Asa ↑O↓KAY
 48 Ben >↑h↓m<
 49 (11.5)

⁹¹ Encounter 2, Extract 6-7

33 Aoi BAzaa:: (.) we ↑usually have ah:: (0.6) elementary
 34 >school toka< ↑kindergarten has ah::=
 etc
 35 Ben =↑00::h ba↑zaar (.) u:::hm (.) >th↑is one?<
 37 Aoi ya::h (.) tha- >they sell< some↑thing and they a:re
 38 (1.0)
 39 Aoi earn[ing mon]ey:?
 40 Ben ['ah ↑that's right°]

8.2 Expanding SLA's parameters

Before discussing that which emerged from the above analysis, I will discuss how the nature of this study relates to the field of SLA generally.

This is an SLA study using a Conversation Analytic methodology - a CA-SLA study. Consequently, I continue the flow of work following Firth & Wagner's (1997) call to 'reconceptualize' SLA and redress an imbalance by including more 'emic' approaches. Central to Firth & Wagner's 'reconceptualized' SLA is to provide an alternative to the 'cognitive' approaches to language learning and utilize Lave & Wenger's 'social' approach (1991). Lave & Wenger state that 'learning' refers to ways in which a 'novice' will acquire knowledge of an 'expert'. Although Firth & Wagner's call to adopt this approach was heeded by many, the vast majority of this research has been classroom-based. Wagner made a call to the SLA community to examine more non-classroom settings in 2004 to enable a fuller exploitation of how "participants are socialized into practices" (2004: 614) that occur in everyday activities in the 'outside world'. Although this yielded some research, there remains a host of 'perspicuous settings' (Garfinkel, 1967) in which L2 learning occurs that have yet to be considered (Firth, 2012). As language learning events are a very common occurrence in my corpus, and because language learning in this setting is under-researched, Japanese high school staffrooms are such a 'perspicuous setting'. This heeds Wagner's call, and enables the SLA community to "expand our general stock of knowledge of L2 learning and L2 acquisition" (Firth, 2009: 131). Furthermore, with the growth of the ELT profession in Asia (see Jeon & Lee, 2006), and the considerable time English 'native speaker' teachers spend in school staffrooms (see Roloff-Rothman, 2012), language learning here must be a widespread occurrence. Consequently, understanding language learning in this setting is vital to understanding the conditions of the ever-changing globalized world. My study serves as a first step in achieving this understanding.

By using CA, I continue SLA's "borrowing from contiguous social science fields of inquiry" (Block, 2007b: 2) and contribute to the growing body of work that expands SLA's parameters. Additionally, I avoid reducing participants' identities to 'native' and 'non-native speaker'/language learners. As such I can view the communicative strategies used by all participants⁹² without rendering any participant a 'defective communicator' (Firth & Wagner, 1997: 288). And, only identity-categories arising in this study are directly indexed by participants in the talk-in-interaction.

Furthermore, this study responds to Sarangi & Roberts' (1999) claim that although 'backstage' settings see considerable identity work occurring, they have long been overlooked in

⁹² These strategies, as identified in the analysis, will be discussed further below.

favour of ‘frontstage’ settings in sociological research. Richards (2007) states that this imbalance is also present in SLA. Vaughan (2007) states that this is “to the detriment of our overall view of the practices of English language teachers as a professional group” (p.173). Therefore, by examining ‘backstage’ encounters, this study contributes to the redressing of this imbalance in SLA. The discussions below of what and how identity work occurs in language learning events in the ‘perspicuous setting’ of Japanese high school staffrooms will uncover further links between SLA and identity.

In the above emic analysis, the notion of ‘epistemics’ became relevant. The recent findings of Heritage (2012a, 2012b) and Heritage & Raymond (2005) have had a “remarkable” (Drew, 2012) effect on emic considerations of knowledge and its relation to identity. However, these findings have largely been restricted to sociological research. This study considering SLA processes applies these sociological claims to consider SLI/L1-L2 talk. However, rather than merely accepting the validity of these sociological claims and treating them as ‘gospel’, this study puts them to the test - to see if they hold true for SLI⁹³. As such, this study not only stretches the parameters of SLA, but also has the potential to inform sociological thought. This indicates a mutually beneficial relationship between sociology and SLA.

To conclude, this study continues SLA’s ‘borrowings’ from sociology - further expanding the boundaries of SLA. The growing links between SLA and sociology open up considerable promise for future research that would benefit both domains. The following sections consider the interactional phenomena which occurred in the CA analysis above.

8.3 Turns requesting information

8.31 ‘Questions’ as ‘fronting’

While the JTEs frequently use interrogatively-formed utterances in the initial part of the EHS’s first action, these utterances *alone* rarely function as information requests. Rather they indicate the beginning of the (often lengthy) *process* of requesting information.

Encounter 4 sees Aya end a prior discussion and initiate a new sequence by giving a YNI ‘[do: ↑you say] (.) q↑uality peo↓ple’⁹⁴. In Encounter 1, Aya breaks off from a previous discussion and utters ‘>so< ↑how: can you <sa:↓:y>’⁹⁵ - with the syntactic construction of a “‘wh”-type interrogative’. Encounter 2 sees Aoi shift from delivering her

⁹³ The rigour of these claims will be discussed in the proceeding chapters.

⁹⁴ see Extract 17, line 4

⁹⁵ see Extract 1, line 3

talk about school obligations to utter in Japanese ‘>bazaa ↑nan to iu no?< (*what do you say?*)’⁹⁶. In Encounter 8, Aoi breaks off from her relaying of advice and utters ‘and (.) ↑o:ne I::S (0.3) THE:: (0.4) °↑how can I s↓ay° (1.5) ↑HOW CAN I S↓AY (0.4) like a revenge (.) reVENGE >to iu ka< (*do you say?*)’⁹⁷. Here, Aoi gives two English-language “wh” type interrogatives’, an approximation (‘like a revenge’), and a repeat followed by a Japanese YNI (‘*do you say?*’).

While these utterances all have interrogative morphosyntax, none of them *alone* function as information requests that trigger English-language-related information assertions. Indeed, the above utterances perform various actions - correlating with Heritage’s (2012b) claim that even when an utterance is made up of interrogative morphosyntax, the social action it performs isn’t necessarily an information request.

Placing such utterances at the beginning of information requests reveals the JTE’s use of ‘fronting’ (Wilkinson et al, 2003). Fronting is commonly used in story-telling sequences to indicate a link between the previous talk and the ‘fronted’ element (Jefferson, 1978). Also, ‘fronting’ is used to initiate new topics and despite it being rather unconventional in terms of recipient design, it is a common practice of aphasia sufferers that prompts considerable work so as to understand the nature of the turn (Beeke et al, 2003). In the four examples given above, rather than telling stories, Aya and Aoi are using ‘fronting’ as a means of ending prior activities and alerting the receiver that they are beginning the process of requesting information, and claiming an epistemic status asymmetry in some domain. This practice of using ‘fronting’ questions in the initial part of the first action in the EHS/information request hasn’t yet been identified in epistemics literature, and as such, this finding adds depth to epistemics research. The following section shows how JTEs’ ‘fronting’ questions frequently trigger further talk. In this talk the JTE provides more information to enable the ALT to decipher specifically what information is being requested.

8.32 Enabling information assertions

While aligning with Raymond’s (2003) claim that information requests are ‘type specifying’, the grammatical construction of EHSs first actions in my corpus specify the preferences for the action and form of the following turn. However, similar to Beeke et al’s (2003) findings, following the ‘fronting’, considerable interactional ‘work’ is required to indicate preferences that *enable* information assertions.

⁹⁶ see Extract 5, line 20

⁹⁷ see Extract 36, lines 11-14

For example, in Encounter 4, following Aya's YNI is a pause of 1 second before Bev takes the floor. While Bev appears to identify the referent ('quality person'), her talk is marked. Aya treats this as a trigger for an explanation to clarify what this referent 'means'. When it appears Bev still isn't clear, Aya gives an example sentence in which this referent would be used. Upon Bev's seeming comprehension of this sentence, Aya poses this YNI to her 'DOES that make sens [e?]'⁹⁸. After this explanation, example sentence, confirmation of Bev's comprehension of it, and YNI, Bev is able to assert the sought-after information (confirming), and draw the first action of the EHS to a close.

Frequently, this 'work' to clarify what information is sought continues until Ben/Bev clearly index their recognition just prior to their assertion(s). I term this indexing the 'penny-drop moment' - and two examples follow. In Encounter 1, following Aya's footing '>so< ↑how: can you <sa: ↓: y>'⁹⁹ there are several pauses in which Bev doesn't take the floor. Then follows Aya's 'claim of insufficient knowledge' (hereon CIK), then a try-marked formulation. Following Bev's continuer, Aya retakes the floor and utters several prepositional phrases before an English formulation. As Aya is delivering this formulation, Bev overlaps with 'a °h: - °'¹⁰⁰ before taking the floor with an assertion of information. As such ' [a °h: - °]' indicates that Bev now understands what Aya's information request makes relevant - the 'penny-drop moment'. Bev is now able to assert information, the second action of the EHS, and bring the first action to a close. In Encounter 2, following Aoi's footing '>bazaa ↑nan to iu no?< (what do you say?)'¹⁰¹ is a pause and exposure/emphasis of the referent. While Ben appears able to identify the item in question, he seems unable to understand it. Aoi work to help Ben understand includes an upgraded Japanese "'wh" type interrogative', English CIKs, and finally an explanation. Following these efforts, Ben has a 'penny-drop moment', uttering '↑○○: :h'¹⁰² before asserting information. Until now, this phenomenon hasn't been identified. As such, considerations of the work required to enable information assertions and the indexing that the work has been successful adds depth to epistemics research focusing on SLI.

As utterances with interrogative morphosyntax are frequently used as 'fronting' devices - only making up the first part of a series of turns that make up an information request - it is clear that one 'question' alone often fails to result in the recipient's immediate assertion of information and is often unable to put the 'epistemic engine' into gear. This indicates a limitation to Raymond's (2010) consideration of the social relations that are embedded in the 'grammar' of a question and its

⁹⁸ see Extract 18, lines 34-35

⁹⁹ see Extract 1, line 3

¹⁰⁰ see Extract 1, line 11

¹⁰¹ see Extract 5, line 20

¹⁰² see Extract 7, line 35

corresponding answer. We must consider *all* of the turns that make up an ‘information request’ (Schegloff, 2007). This fuller view allows for a broader sight of how the requester provides additional information as to what is required from the recipient. For example, in Encounter 7¹⁰³, Ai gives a YNI - indicating a preference for a yes/no or equivalent token response. However, this is followed by ‘[>li]ke a< ph↓ra:se’¹⁰⁴. This turn, while still part of the information request action, suggests that Ai is seeking to obtain a ‘phrase’ to account for ‘souritsu’ (foundation). This transforms the previous utterance from being a YNI to being Ai’s own (downgraded) attempt at incorporating the translated item into a sentence. Thus the importance of analysing not just a question-formulated utterance but all of the talk within a set of turns making up an information request is highlighted. This suggests a limitation in the semantic theories’ consideration of linguistic structures: while they play a part in the move towards updating the common ground of knowledge, considering them alone is insufficient.

8.33 Information requester’s prerogative

Following assertions of information, it is normally the deliverer of the information request that has the power to initiate closure - the third action - or continue the talk by prompting more assertions. In Encounter 8 following Ben’s assertion that ‘punishment’ is a suitable word¹⁰⁵, Aoi repeats this item twice and then returns to a different activity. Here, Aoi gives a ‘disjunctive topic shift’ (Schegloff, 2007) and orients to having satisfactorily received the sought after information - thus closing the sequence. This is consistent with Heritage’s (2012a) claim that turns indicating epistemic imbalances trigger the ‘epistemic engine’ and encourage more talk in service of equalizing them, only achieving closure when all imbalances are deemed to have been equalized. Further, my findings support Heritage’s claim that the speaker who indicates the initial imbalance frequently displays some indication that information is provided by, for example, giving a ‘change of state token’ or a ‘disjunctive topic shift’. However, the practice of making further information requests after having obtained information following a first request is far more common in my corpus than closing after the first assertion.

In Encounter 7, Ai requests a ‘phrase’¹⁰⁶. Following Bev’s assertion, Ai seeks to confirm the spelling ‘[DO]uble en: ((n))?’¹⁰⁷ and the use of a particular word ‘EH: (.)

¹⁰³ see Extract 31, lines 2-8

¹⁰⁴ see Extract 31, line 10

¹⁰⁵ see Extract 37, line 22

¹⁰⁶ to capture ‘congratulations on: the (0.6) seven:(.)↑teenth year of the foundation (.) OF school’ extract 31, lines 6-8

¹⁰⁷ see Extract 32, line 24

anniversary (0.4) ↑OH VU: ((of))?’¹⁰⁸. Once Ai has obtained the sought-after information, she builds on it and indicates further epistemic asymmetries, only stopping when all relevant epistemic asymmetries are equalized. Here, the deliverer of the first action has the power to continue or close the talk until a state of epistemic equilibrium is achieved. This practice is common in my corpus.

This common shift from one information request to another related request refers to the process of “boundaried movement” (Jefferson, 1984). Here, a speaker will use an “initiating device” (Button & Casey, 1985) to move from one and open up another. In my corpus, though, rather than shifting from one separate topic to another, these English L2 speakers move from one aspect of epistemic asymmetry that has been equalized to another related one. Requesting related information and claiming remaining epistemic asymmetries function as forms of “initiating devices”. This lends credence to Heritage’s (2012a) claim that the ‘epistemic ticker’ is an ever-present driving force in interaction, and shows the strength the ‘epistemic engine’ has on topic organization and the flow of talk.

As one information request is often followed by another until the ‘epistemic engine’ is no longer running, this suggests that, often, one information request (and its corresponding assertion) is just one part of the journey towards epistemic equilibrium. Therefore, an examination of all information requests that occur before the requester orients to a state of epistemic equilibrium as having been achieved would give a fuller view of “the regulation of knowledge” (Raymond, 2010: 104).

My analysis reveals further complexities in the process of achieving this epistemic equilibrium in an SLI context. It identifies a common practice of these second language users (‘footing’) in which they inform the L1 speaker that they are beginning the process of requesting information. This triggers considerable interactional work until the receiver achieves clarity as to what information is required. In the process of clarifying, various methods are utilized by the JTEs. This lends credence to the claim that, far from being “interactional dopes” (Garfinkel, 1967: 68), in seeking to enable the achievement of epistemic equilibrium, these L2 users routinely “engage in quite exquisite activities” (Gardner & Wagner, 2004: 15). This persistence of the English L2 users in my data is similar to that identified by Gardner & Wagner (2004) and Egbert et al (2004) in achieving clarity and, ultimately, epistemic equilibrium. Furthermore, the influence expressions of epistemic asymmetries have on topic organization has been identified, and the need to go beyond the consideration of one ‘question’ alone by considering the entirety of turns making up information requests and their multiple use before epistemic equilibrium is achieved. Considering SLI and its dynamics in this manner enables more depth of knowledge on epistemics.

¹⁰⁸ see Extract 33, line 40

8.4 K+ status triggers

As has been seen, several methods are used in the turns that make up information request actions. Often within these actions are grammatical structures that clearly claim epistemic asymmetries. These commonly prompt action- and type-conforming assertions from its recipient and ratify claimed epistemic status asymmetries.

Ways in which utterances impose various constraints on the recipient's subsequent contributions have been an established focus of interest in CA literature for many years (e.g. Schegloff, 1968; Sacks, 1992; Pomerantz, 1984) and, in particular, in research on forms of information requests (e.g. Raymond, 2003; Koshik, 2003; Stivers & Hayashi, 2010) and epistemics (e.g. Heritage, 2012a, 2012b). My data supports the claim that grammatical structures can impose restrictions on subsequent contributions and proffer epistemic statuses that are aligned to by recipients.

While Ben and Bev frequently conform to information requests which include direct grammatical 'cues'¹⁰⁹ to prompt their assertion of information and index their epistemic primacy, they also commonly assert information in response to talk without interrogative morphosyntax.

There are several examples that indicate once an asymmetrical epistemic status relationship in the English-language domain¹¹⁰ is organized using interrogative morphosyntax and an 'informing' response, Ben and Bev interpret later turns with declarative (not 'question') syntax as being YNDs that prompt their confirmation. In Encounter 2, following Aoi's "'wh" type interrogative'¹¹¹, Ben gives an English language informing¹¹² - which is accepted by Aoi - thus ensuring Ben's K+ status in the English language domain. Then, Aoi gives a description of this word¹¹³. Ben responds to this turn with declarative syntax and rising intonation as a prompt for his confirmation - a YND. Similarly in Encounter 4 following Aya's YNI¹¹⁴, Bev utters '[Y↑] EAH'¹¹⁵ which is accepted by Aya - thus Bev's K+ status in the English language domain is confirmed. Then, later in the encounter, Aya gives an example of a 'quality person' as an upshot¹¹⁶. Bev responds to this turn using declarative syntax with '[↑OH YEAH] yeah they can be °quality:°'¹¹⁷. By

¹⁰⁹ frequently interrogative morphosyntax

¹¹⁰ JTEs (K-) and Ben/Bev (K+)

¹¹¹ see Extract 5, line 20

¹¹² see Extract 6, line 35

¹¹³ 'tha- >they sell< some↑thing and they a:re (1.0) earn[ing mon]ey:?'
see extract 7, lines 37-39

¹¹⁴ see Extract 18, lines 34-35

¹¹⁵ see Extract 19, line 36

¹¹⁶ see Extract 21, lines 71-72

¹¹⁷ see Extract 21, line 73

confirming Aya's turn, she orients to it as a YND form of information request. These examples show that, once Ben and Bev's K+ epistemic status in the English language domain is established in the talk using interrogative morphosyntax, they frequently interpret turns with declarative syntax as being information requests.

This appears congruent with Heritage's (2012b) claim that the participants' "real world epistemic status" (p.12) will determine if a turn with declarative syntax function performs the action of an information assertion or request. In the two examples above, the "real world epistemic statuses" of the participants in the English language domain have been earlier triggered via the use of interrogative morphosyntax and type- and action-conforming responses. Following this, JTEs' declaratives are treated as YNDs - triggering the confirmation of the 'more knowledgeable' participant. This orientation to declaratives as triggering their confirmation constitutes a rather 'safe' claim by Ben and Bev to their epistemic primacy: they are merely continuing to utilize the K+ status that was made relevant by the JTE.

There are, however, several other examples in my data in which Ben and Bev orient to their K+ status in the English language domain without it being established in the prior talk.

Intonational resources function to prompt information assertions. In Encounter 5, Aya's '[↑SO] ↑wɒn't ↑gɒ əwɑ: :y?'¹¹⁸ generates Bev's type-conforming assertion '↑YEAH wɒn't ↑gɒ ə↓wəy'¹¹⁹, which Aya treats as an 'informing'. Heritage (2012b) claims that epistemic status is a stronger determinate than the form of intonation used in determining if a declarative is 'continuing' or requesting information (p.12). Indeed, following each declarative, rather than giving 'continuers', Bev treats them as information requests. By confirming, Bev is clearly treating Aya's declaratives as pertaining to a matter in which she holds more knowledge. This clearly tallies with Raymond's concept of a B-event statement in the form of a YND (2010): while the YND deliverer claims some knowledge, as it relates to something about which the recipient holds more knowledge, it prompts their confirmation.

The provision of alternative formulations also prompts K+ contributions. In Encounter 6, without using interrogative morphosyntax, Asa delivers two English-language formulations, emphasizing two broadly similar words¹²⁰. Ben, treats this as a prompt for explanation of what each emphasized word 'means', then he chooses one as 'incorrect'. As Asa's turn includes no grammatical 'cues' for Ben's information assertion yet prompts his assertion, this clearly supports Heritage's (2012b) claim that the epistemic status of participants overrides grammatical structure in determining a turn as being an information request. This supports the view that due to this strength

¹¹⁸ see Extract 22

¹¹⁹ see Extract 23, line 13

¹²⁰ see Extract 27, lines 10-15

of orientations to epistemic status, in order to properly understand how utterances are to be interpreted, participants must be constantly aware of each others' assumptions of "*the real-world distribution of knowledge and of rights to knowledge*"¹²¹ (op.cit.: 24). My research identifies another interactional context (the provision of alternatives) in which participants display their orientations to epistemic status differentials and rights to assert information.

In addition to epistemic status assumptions overriding grammatical structures used, there is one example in my corpus of such an assumption transforming the action of a prompted turn into an information request. In Encounter 9, Ben asks Ami to explain to him an unresolved language-related issue. Upon completion of the explanation, Ben gives a try-marked turn that is treated by Ami as an informing. Ben aligns with this treatment and offers further information assertions - thus indicating a joint orientation to his K+ status in the English language domain. This joint orientation transforms Ami's talk from being an explanation to being a 'help' request. Consequently, this identifies a further overriding strength that assumptions of the "*real-world distribution of knowledge*" (ibid) and rights to it have in determining talk as a prompt for information assertions.

Such assumptions even frequently determine orientations to which epistemic domain should be tapped into. There are, of course, occasions when the English language is directly indexed¹²². However, there are several examples in my corpus showing that even without being directly indexed, the English language is treated as the domain in which Ben and Bev hold epistemic primacy. For example, in Encounter 2, without mentioning the English language, Aoi gives two "'wh' type interrogatives' (placing Ben in a K+ status position), then a CIK (K- status self-placement). Following her explanation of the referent ('baza'), Ben treats the English language as the epistemic domain in which his K+ status enables him to assert information. In treating this as an informing, Aoi confirms this as acceptable. In Encounter 3, Aki requests confirmation of the 'possibility' of the phrase 'impossible is nothing' - with no direct mentioning of English. Ben responds to this broad request with an assertion related to its 'strange' grammar - an informing pertaining to the English language epistemic domain. Aki treats this as an informing and thus ratifies Ben's orientation to the English language as being the relevant epistemic domain. This indicates the strength of joint assumptions of/orientations to the 'real world' distribution of knowledge in the English language domain.

These findings indicate that participants clearly orient to a stable distribution of knowledge and rights to it in the English language epistemic domain. This epistemic hierarchy in the English language domain is so strongly oriented to that it often doesn't require to be directly indexed or alluded to. This orientation frequently transcends the grammatical structures of utterances,

¹²¹ italics in original

¹²² Encounter 1, extract 1, line 4

intonational resources used, and can even transform the action a previous turn performs. This suggests the semantic theories that only consider how particular linguistic structures prompt the updating of a common ground of knowledge to achieve an equal ground (see Groenendijk, 1998; can Van Eijck & Visser, 2010¹²³) have too narrow a consideration.

This suggests that the English language is one of the domains in which the participants' relative status is "for the most part presupposed or agreed upon" (Heritage, 2012b: 6), unlike other domains which can prompt considerable negotiation - for example, 'cars' (Mondada, 2009). Influenced by Labov & Fanshel's (1977) notion of a 'B-event statement', Heritage (2011) claims that in certain domains, someone's direct first-hand 'experience' of an event, ensures their K+ status and rights to make assessments and evaluations. Other work suggests access to particular information resources (Anspach, 1993) and particular qualifications (Gill, 1998) can ensure a 'presupposed' K+ status.

The English language domain isn't, however, pertaining to an event experienced by Ben/Bev, nor is it related to any specific qualification¹²⁴ or access to physical resources. Nevertheless, Ben/Bev's K+ status is treated as a 'given' by themselves and their Japanese interlocutors. Here, participants orient to *who* Ben and Bev are as determining what they are able to *do*. The activity of asserting information reflects a joint view of Ben/Bev's access to some corpus of knowledge, and this knowledge appears to be something 'owned'. This orientation relates closely to a trend identified in sociological work - in which knowledge is treated as "owned" by a person due to them being a member of a collective group (see Sharrock, 1974). Such groups and associated stable K+ epistemic status and rights have included religious, technical or professional groups (see Heritage, 2011). In my data, however, as the group Ben and Bev are associated with is related to English language, it appears the group oriented to is 'English native speakers'. Participants orient to English language expertise not obtained by professional qualifications, access to particular physical resources, or first-hand experience. Despite this, the 'native speaker's' K+ status is treated as stable by both participants. As orientations to it transcend grammar, intonational resources and more, I refer to this as 'the transcendental knowledge of the English native speaker'.

As participants treat this 'transcendental knowledge' as being a pre-allocated possession, it appears to be given the same treatment as Goffman's 'information preserves' (1959/71): the knowledge people have of their own personal facts/information that is routinely oriented to as being within their primary control. This suggests there is still a treatment of the 'native speaker' that closely resembles the "bio-developmental definition" (Davies, 1996) in which they all share certain

¹²³ cited in Levinson (2012: 18)

¹²⁴ Indeed, the often limited qualifications, expertise and experience of 'native speaker' teachers of English compared to that of 'non-native speaker' teachers is the focus of much research. See, for example, Phillipson's (1992) notion of 'the native speaker fallacy'.

“non-developmental characteristics” (Cook, 1999: 186). Important, though, are the specific types of knowledge that are made relevant by participants in interaction.

In Encounters 2 and 8, Aoi requests that Ben provides an English language word that sums up her Japanese appropriation and following explanation, while Encounter 4 revolves around the ‘correctness’ of an English language formulation. In Encounter 7, Ai appears to request, and is given, a ‘phrase’ capturing the meaning of the Japanese ‘souritsu’ (anniversary) in English to commemorate the school’s seventeenth year. Encounters 1, 6 and 10 see the JTEs prompt Ben/Bev to assert which of the alternative English language items is ‘correct’. Encounter 5 sees Aya ask Bev if a student’s language use is ‘correct’, while Encounter 3 sees Aki check the ‘correctness’ of language use in the public domain. Encounter 9 revolves around requesting and asserting information regarding the ‘meaning’ of two English language formulations. These all see the JTEs request information related to notions of the ‘correctness’ and ‘meanings’ of English language *usage* and *nuance*. Here, JTEs seek to tap into the ‘implicit language knowledge’ of the English ‘native speaker’. The orientation to the ‘native speaker’s’ implicit language knowledge aligns with the notion used in much traditional SLA work that seeks to track the ways in which ‘non-native speakers’ attempt to emulate implicit language knowledge of the ‘idealized native speaker’ (Taylor, 2003; Morgan-Short et al, 2012).

This orientation appears to remain strong despite the core features of the ‘native speaker’ and the components of his/her knowledge remaining unclear in much academic literature (see Cook, 1999; Rampton, 1990; Escudero & Sharwood-Smith, 2001). Nevertheless, as Holliday (2006) states, despite this definitional ambiguity, considerations of the ‘native speaker’ remain pertinent in academic and pedagogical domains. In this teaching environment too, it remains. As such, I return to a key issue in the consideration of the ‘native speaker’. With the increasing body of ELF-related research that casts doubt as to the linguistic authority of the English NS (e.g. Jenkins, 2006), it is necessary to refer to Graddol’s (1999) question: will the English language learner continue to “look towards the native speaker for authoritative norms of usage?” (p.166). In my data, in terms of implicit language knowledge, the ‘native speakers’ are indeed treated as relative arbiters of the norms of English language nuance and use. This, however, is limited to implicit knowledge and does not extend to ‘explicit language knowledge’. This could be down to the years of formal English language education that the JTEs would have undertaken at school and higher education settings - as well as the experience of having taught English language grammar professionally. Consequently, it is important to narrow the considerations of the relevant epistemic domain from the broad English language domain, to the specific aspect of the English language that is made relevant in the interaction.

8.5 Multilingual Competencies

The analysis of English Help Sequences in Chapter 5 reveals that participants routinely use multilingual competencies (in English and Japanese). In Encounters 2 and 4, the JTEs use English and Japanese when requesting English language-related information.

Encounter 2 sees Aoi use Japanese to break from the activity of chatting to a language learning event related to the Japanese loan-word ‘bazaā’ (>*bazaā* ↑*nan to iu no?*< (*what do you say?*)¹²⁵). Here, Aoi’s question-formulated turn correlates with Firth & Wagner’s claim that L2 users routinely identify themselves as language learners and clearly solicit language ‘help’ from the L1 user - ‘doing L2 learning’ (2007). In doing this Aoi displays her orientation to an epistemic status asymmetry (Aoi as K- and Ben as K+) and linguistic identities of ‘novice’ and ‘expert’ in the English language epistemic domain.

Upon examining casual L1-L2 talk, Hosoda (2006) and Brouwer (2003) found that the crucial factor in L1 participants giving language ‘help’¹²⁶ is whether or not the L2 participant invites them to do so upon encountering ‘difficulty’ in speech production or mutual understanding and stopping their action in progress. This appears to be what is happening in Encounter 2: the English L2 user seeks help from the L1 speaker following ‘difficulty’. However, importantly, the request sequence is initiated in Aoi’s L1 and Ben’s L2 (Japanese). As such, the ‘difficulty’ displayed that is to be ‘dealt with’ is not with the ongoing production of target language/L2 talk or mutual understanding (as with Hosoda and Brouwer), but being unaware of the English equivalent of the Japanese (loan) word ‘bazaā’. Consequently, Aoi indicates her orientation to the linguistic identities of English language ‘novice’ and ‘expert’ by using her L1 to request English language knowledge and treat Ben as being able to provide this knowledge.

As this utterance makes an assertion relevant, Aoi displays her Japanese knowledge and orients to the likelihood of Ben having sufficient access to the Japanese language epistemic domain to understand her question and assert the relevant information. As such, Aoi orients to her identity as Japanese *user* and Ben as, at least, Japanese *understander*. Aoi’s assumptions of Ben’s multilingualism and Japanese understander identity is used as a resource to obtain her sought-after information. Aoi uses her L1 to display an orientation to different identities in two different domains to trigger a second language learning event and engage in ‘doing L2 learning’ (Firth & Wagner, 2007). Consequently, while Auerbach (1993) argued that the use of L1 can create conditions to enhance L2 learning, this use of L1 actually *triggers* an L2 learning event and orients to various identities in doing so.

¹²⁵ see Extract 5, line 20

¹²⁶ thus invoking their linguistic ‘expert’ identity/K+ status

In response, Ben doesn't problematize this use of Japanese or the initiation of an information request sequence. Therefore, Ben legitimizes the act of requesting information in Japanese - ratifying Aoi's assumptions of his Japanese *understander* identity and, as he later gives an English language informing, he ratifies this proffered 'expert' identity. However, as he initially struggles to identify the Japanese language referent, and is unable to assert the English language-related information, Aoi undergoes considerable clarification 'work'. During this, importantly, Aoi alternates between and mixes Japanese and English in an unmarked manner¹²⁷. This eventually leads to Ben's 'penny-drop moment' and information assertion. Here, following her orienting to Ben's multilinguality and Ben's apparent struggles, Aoi utilizes her own multilingual resources and identity as a multilingual user so as to enable Ben's English language assertion.

In Encounter 4, the JTE Aya too utilizes her own multilinguality as a resource to produce the first action of the EHS. As with Encounter 2, this occurs following L2 production 'trouble'. Following a discussion in English, Aya asks an unrelated question - 'do you say quality people?'¹²⁸. After Bev's initial response, Aya orients to the necessity of further explanation - about what this phrase 'means'. Bev seems to struggle with providing an assertion - or even an indication of her understanding. Then Aya switches from English and utters the Japanese '*tatoeba*: (*for example*)', however, Aya soon switches again and seemingly utters the English language equivalent '*for exam-*'¹²⁹. This suggests Aya's somewhat reluctant use of her L1 and a preference for English. Then, following a pause and a problematic, incomplete English language formulation, she utters the Japanese '*>nan to iu kana? <* (*how should I say it?*)'. Then after a pause, Aoi utters the pragmatically complete English sentence 'it was nice to have met a quality person like you'¹³⁰ - albeit with several pauses and sound stretches. Then, following Bev's continuer, Aya utters 'does that make sense?'¹³¹ and completes the information request.

While this suggests Aya's preference for L2 use, she does use English when encountering her own 'trouble' in her own production of English language talk - displaying her own multilingual competencies. Aya's use of L1 upon encountering difficulty in speech production, seemingly relates to Hosoda (2006), Brouwer (2003) and Kasper's (2004) claim that L2 users will revert to L1 when encountering such L2 'difficulty'. However, unlike these studies, rather than code-switching to seek assistance with L2 talk, Aya's switching to Japanese functions to end her first problematic English delivery of and restart with another English formulation. As such, Aya uses her multilingual

¹²⁷ Repetition of referent (Japanese), interrogative (Japanese), claim of insufficient knowledge (English), another claim of insufficient knowledge (English), explanation (both), repetition of referent (Japanese), explanation (both)

¹²⁸ Extract 17, line 4

¹²⁹ Extract 18, lines 20-22

¹³⁰ Extract 18, lines 23-32

¹³¹ Extract 18, lines 34-35

competencies to assist with *her own* seeming English language ‘trouble’ and help her deliver the first action in the EHS and thus enable the delivery of the second. This also shows a different functional use of multilinguality to that exemplified in Encounter 2. In Encounter 4 the actual invocation of English language ‘novice’ and ‘expert’ identities is done via English language grammatical means that enables Bev to assert the sought-after information. Her use of Japanese assists her in the construction of this EHS first action. This echoes Fotos’ (2001) finding that, in classroom-based SLI, code-switching to L1 can indicate that the current speaker will repair his/her own ongoing L2 talk - and is thus a useful resource.

In the first actions of Encounters 2 and 4, the JTEs show their orientation to the acceptability of their use of multilingual resources. However, they use their ‘multilinguality’ to achieve different ends. In Encounter 2, while the first action is initiated in Japanese, Aoi uses Japanese and English to help achieve clarity in Aoi’s information request thus enabling Ben’s assertion. In Encounter 4, however, while the first action is initiated in English, Japanese is used to help Aya in her production of an English language information request. In Encounter 2, Aoi’s use of multilingual resources indicates an embedded orientation towards Ben’s Japanese language understanding and Aya’s use of multilingual resources in Encounter 4 doesn’t. As such, Aoi and Aya’s use of English and Japanese indicates that they themselves are ‘doing being bilingual’, as with participants in Gafaranga’s study (2001), and at times they orient to the recipient’s multilinguality. However, although Ben and Bev do not problematize Aoi and Aya’s multilinguality, their own corresponding talk is invariably done in English only. Ben and Bev do not demonstrate their multilingual language *use*. With only one participant demonstrating multilingual usage, this breaks from Gafaranga’s finding that in the process of ‘doing being bilingual’ “language alternation itself is the medium participants are using” (2001: 1906). Here, Aya and Aoi’s multilingual use is used as a resource to trigger Ben and Bev’s assertions in English. This use of multilinguality demonstrates the resourcefulness of L2 speakers in achieving their social goals that has been identified (e.g. Gardner & Wagner, 2004; Firth, 1996; Egbert et al, 2004).

Another use of multilingual resources is exemplified in Encounters 3 and 4 following assertions of information. In Encounter 3, Aki uses English to request information. In response, Ben uses English to assert information. Then, however, Aki switches to Japanese and utters ‘HAH: >naru hodo: naru hodo:.< (*I see I see*)’ to treat Ben’s prior turn as an ‘informing’. Ben responds with ‘°hm↓m: : °’¹³² - acknowledging Aki’s treatment of Ben’s turn as ‘informing’. This pattern of Aki’s request in English, Ben’s assertion in English, Aki’s Japanese change of state token and Ben’s ratification occurs another three times in this encounter. So too

¹³² Extract 12, line 37-38

does it occur in Encounter 4. Aya requests English-language-related information using English, Bev asserts information in English, then following a series of non-lexical change of state tokens Aya utters the Japanese ‘↑Uh:::↓m *desu ne:* (*that’s right*)’¹³³. Then, following some pauses, Aya uses English to begin another information request sequence to which Bev responds with an assertion in English followed by Aya’s ‘° *sou: ne::°* (*yeah right*)’¹³⁴. Despite the multilinguality on display, these sequences consistently share the same structural properties as those identified by Heritage when considering first language interactions (2012a). This further highlights ‘the normality of second language talk’ (Gardner & Wagner, 2004). However, the achievement of this structural ‘normality’ requires Ben and Bev’s ratification of Aki and Aya’s proffering of their Japanese knowledge. Consequently, Aki and Aya rely on Ben and Bev’s Japanese epistemic claim as a resource for obtaining their sought-after information. This reliance adds to the forms of resourcefulness of the second language speaker identified in much literature (e.g. Firth, 1996; Egbert et al, 2004).

While these encounters primarily take place in English, Aki and Aya’s use of Japanese sees them treating the environment as a multilingual one. However, they routinely use the different languages to perform distinct actions. These actions indicate their orientation to the extent of the environment’s multilinguality. Namely, while Aki and Aya use English to request information, which results in Ben and Bev’s assertions in English, they use Japanese to treat it as an informing, which generates Ben and Bev’s minimal responses. Here, the English language turns prompt rather lengthy responses from Ben and Bev, whereas the Japanese turns reflect on the prior turn as an informing that prompts only a minimal response. Hence, although Aki and Aya both orient to the likelihood of Ben and Bev having some Japanese language *understanding*, they don’t make relevant a demonstration of Ben and Bev’s Japanese language *use*. This makes their claims of Ben and Bev’s Japanese knowledge fairly ‘low stakes’. Consequently, while all participants demonstrate ‘doing being bilingual’ (Gafaranga, 2001), Aki and Aya demonstrate the identities of ‘doing being bilingual *users* and *understanders*’, whereas Ben and Bev demonstrate identities of ‘doing being bilingual *understanders*’. As only the JTEs alternate, this multilingualism breaks from Gafaranga’s finding that “language alternation itself is the medium participants are using” (p.1906). This suggests the Japanese and American/British participants orient to not having an equal epistemic access to each other’s first language. However, the JTEs still use their interlocutor’s treated-as-restricted access to Japanese as a resource in obtaining their sought-after information. Any multilinguality and orientations to relative access to second language epistemic domains in

¹³³ Extract 20, line 56

¹³⁴ Extract 21, line 69

encounters in which participants do not share a first language is an important area that requires further examination in future research.

8.6 ALT's stable K+ status

Analyses of encounters in chapter 6 reveals that, despite the ALTs (Ben and Bev) taking the K+ status mantle delivering information, in this process they frequently display interactional 'trouble' and somewhat hesitant epistemic stances. Despite this, participants' orientation to Ben and Bev's K+ status and rights to assert information remains intact.

In Encounter 5 Aya seeks to prompt Bev's other-repair, and while Bev takes the floor, she gives a delayed and unclear response. Aya then performs the repair herself, which Bev treats as a prompt for her explanation/assessment. While this indicates Bev's orientation to her own K+ status, her response again displays interactional 'trouble' and is overlapped by Aya's reformulation. Bev then treats this as a YND and confirms its 'correctness' - which is treated as an unproblematic 'informing' by Aya. In Encounter 6 Asa utters two English formulations, triggering Ben's explanation of their meaning. As this is done so without any 'question grammar', it indicates Ben's strong orientation to his K+ status. However, this turn is rather slowly delivered, with a cut-off, restart, several pauses, a 'pre-positioned epistemic hedge' (Weatherall, 2011)¹³⁵, and various downgrades¹³⁶ before Ben leaves the explanation unfinished. Then, upon Asa prompting Ben to conclude the explanation, Ben's turn is again has several pauses, a restart, downgrading and another pre-positioned epistemic hedge. Despite this, Asa treats this as an unproblematic informing¹³⁷. In Encounter 7 Ai uses question grammar and provides an English language phrase - making relevant Bev's provision of a phrase and embedded rejection of Ai's phrase. Despite taking this K+ status mantle by doing so, this is delayed¹³⁸, includes a cut-off and restart, and several fillers¹³⁹. Following the confirmation of usage and spelling of her provided phrase, Bev treats her phrase as the nearest equivalent - thus orienting to her K+ status/rights to assert. However, this includes a downgrading '°i think'¹⁴⁰, several pauses, and a cut-off and restart¹⁴¹. Despite this delivery and epistemic hesitancy and 'troubled' delivery, Ai treats this as an unproblematic informing.

¹³⁵ '>it's like< <next t- ↓to:::>' Extract 28, line 22

¹³⁶ 'so you wouldn't (.) really say °<parall↑el> [for th↑at°]' Extract 28, lines 24-25

¹³⁷ Extract 29.

¹³⁸ Extract 31, line 11

¹³⁹ Extract 32, lines 12-13

¹⁴⁰ Extract 33, line 32

¹⁴¹ Extract 33, lines 32-38

In my analysis, correlating with Heritage's (2012b) claim, upon asserting information Ben and Bev invoke their K+ status/rights. Then, as Heritage & Raymond (2005) state while participants may invoke K+ rights, they commonly deploy epistemic stance markers to modulate the *extent* of these rights. Similarly, while orienting to their K+ status/rights, Ben and Bev frequently use epistemic stance markers to indicate their orientation to the extent of their K+ rights. For example, Ben and Bev use 'pre-positioned epistemic hedges' (Weatherall, 2011) prior to several assertions. Here, while invoking this primacy, these epistemically downgraded assertions display that they are "less than fully committed to what follows in their turn at talk" (p.317). Hedging and mitigating devices that have been identified by Kärkkäinen (2003), such as '>it's like<',¹⁴² '↑MAYBE'¹⁴³, and '>probably'¹⁴⁴, are also used whilst Ben and Bev invoke their relative epistemic primacy and indicate a somewhat 'unsure' epistemic stance by downgrading. And, the recurrent interactional 'trouble' (see Hosoda & Aline, 2012) such as delays, cut-offs, restarts and non-lexical perturbations mark the information assertion and function to delay its delivery/completion - suggesting a somewhat 'troubled' epistemic stance. So, despite clearly orienting to their relative epistemic primacy, the stances shown recurrently appear to display a somewhat restricted epistemic access. Despite this, these turns are invariably treated as unproblematic informings by their Japanese interlocutors - leaving Ben and Bev's K+ status in tact.

Heritage (2012b) claims that orientations to participants' "real world epistemic status" (p.12) is the key factor in determining whether a turn functions as an information request or assertion, overriding the epistemic stance displayed. My data appears congruent with this claim. In Encounter 5, following Bev's delayed response to Aya's seeming 'other-repair initiator', Aya performs the repair herself - using declarative syntax with rising intonation. Despite Aya showing a somewhat 'knowing' stance, Bev issues confirmation. Here, Bev treats the prior turn in which a somewhat 'knowing' stance was displayed, as a confirmation request (rather than a prompt for a continuer (ibid)) - and thus orients to her relative K+ rights overriding the stance displayed in the prior turn. Also, Ben and Bev's assertions frequently display unsure and/or troubled stances, as described above. However, as these are still treated as unproblematic informings/assertions by the recipient, this shows clearly that participant's orientations to their 'real world status' overrides the stance displayed. While this is consistent with Heritage's (2012b) claim, it counters another claim. In 2010, Heritage states that 'unknowing stance' displays normally result in sequence expansion. This claim was developed, and somewhat countered, by Hayashi (2012) who stated that when participants give an indication of an 'uncertain' epistemic status, their status shifts from K+ to K-. A sequence

¹⁴² Extract 28, line 22

¹⁴³ Extract 29, line 40

¹⁴⁴ Extract 32, line 12

expansion develops as participants seek to equalize this epistemic balance - with the 'epistemic engine' (Heritage, 2012a) in gear. In my data, however, despite frequent displays of an unsure/troubled stances, rather than prompting sequences in which their epistemic statuses shift to K-, Ben and Bev maintain their K+ status. With participants in Hayashi's (2012) study losing their K+ status due to uncertain stances displayed, yet participants in my study maintaining their K+ status despite such stances, it seems that rather than a universal rule, the strength of K+ status is relative to the epistemic domain(s) in each interaction¹⁴⁵.

As previously stated, the relevant epistemic domain here is not the (entire) English language - but English language usage and nuance. In these domains, Ben and Bev's K+ status is very strong as it transcends a clear/unmarked demonstration of knowledge. This suggests participants orient to knowledge within these domains as being somehow pre-allocated - going beyond the individual. This orientation to Ben/Bev's pre-allocated privileged access to information seems to tally with Heritage's claim that epistemic status is "for the most part a presupposed or agreed upon" (2012b: 6). This closely relates to the 'social deterministic' view of knowledge - in which people and their knowledge are considered to reflect pre-existing societal structures that transcend the individual (see Schutz, 1962). This view sees the individual as part of a larger collective - and, as members, they are vectors of this knowledge with the ability to communicate it. Garfinkel's ethnomethodological approach (1967) rejects this deterministic view in favour of a more bottom-up approach, seeing how participants manage knowledge in and through interaction. However, the very use of Garfinkel's approach in my research reveals participant's strong orientation to the social deterministic view *in the talk*. This pre-supposed and strong K+ status in the English language usage and nuance domains that transcends marked stances adds to the components of the 'transcendental knowledge of the English native speaker'.

Despite this, the following question remains: What accounts for Ben/Bev's K+ status but marked stances? This appears to be closely tied to the epistemic domain in question. As previously stated, the information requested and asserted lies in the domains of English language usage and nuance. This suggests participants in my data rely on Bialystok's (1978) claim that 'native speakers' have superior implicit language knowledge to 'non-native speakers'. However, as a considerable body of research states that this implicit knowledge is, by its very nature, difficult to explicitly describe, a high level of metalinguistic awareness is required (Bialystok, 2001). As such, the marked stances on display in Ben and Bev's assertions may reflect the inherent difficulty in explicitly describing implicit language knowledge, and may suggest a lack of 'metalinguistic awareness' (Karmiloff-Smith, 1997). As much work argues that bilinguals tend to have high levels of metalinguistic awareness (see Reynolds, 1991), and because the JTEs orient to the 'native

¹⁴⁵ Although further research would shed more light on this issue.

speaker' as a relative expert in English language usage and nuance domains, it would seem that English 'native speaker' JET Programme participants with Japanese language ability would be ideal for helping with such information requests. As Japanese language courses in the USA, the country making up the largest proportion of JETs¹⁴⁶ have dramatically fallen in recent years¹⁴⁷, importing English 'native speaker' teachers with Japanese language ability may prove difficult. Perhaps easier would be the employing of English 'native speaker' teachers who have resided in Japan for several years and have developed high levels of Japanese language ability. Alternatively, employing ALTs with bilingual abilities in other languages may also be beneficial as they are more likely to have higher levels of metalinguistic awareness and thus may be more able to clearly make explicit implicit L1 knowledge.

8.7 ALT's orientation to progression in response to a 'troubled' delivery

The previous section showed that while ALTs (Ben and Bev) frequently display interactional 'trouble' and a rather hesitant epistemic stance, their K+ rights remain in-tact. Analyses of encounters in chapter 7 reveal that although the JTEs often display what from an external viewpoint suggest interactional 'trouble' while requesting English language-related information, this is not treated as an accountable matter by Ben and Bev. Instead, Ben and Bev's interjection is minimal: they prompt the JTEs to continue their information request, giving more information that will enable their information assertion. This indicates Ben and Bev's orientation to the progression of the EHS, overriding attending the 'trouble' displayed. Below are brief descriptions of types of trouble displayed and how it affected the trajectory of the EHS first action in Encounters 8, 9 and 10. These will be related to the relevant literature.

In Encounter 9, lines 9-11¹⁴⁸, Ami delivers a turn that can be characterized (from an external perspective) as using somewhat 'disfluent' English. Following a 1 second pause, Ben gives a continuer - displaying an orientation to Ami's own continuation - despite her "'abnormal' linguistic behaviour" (Firth, 1996: 242). However, following her delayed uptake Ben takes the floor with a candidate completion¹⁴⁹, so as to achieve clarity. As this candidate completion comes after Ben's continuer, it indicates Ben's preference is for Ami to continue herself and that a candidate completion is a secondary choice of actions. Furthermore, while seeking to achieve clarity, it

¹⁴⁶ 54%, while the UK is second with 9%. See JET Programme official statistics (2013)

<http://www.jetprogramme.org/e/introduction/statistics.html>

¹⁴⁷ Japan Foundation survey, 2006

http://web.archive.org/web/20080214180348/http://www.jpj.go.jp/j/japan_j/oversea/kunibetsu/2006/usa.html

¹⁴⁸ 'i:: (.) °u-° tur:ned (.) japa:nese transla:tion (0.8) in↓to <japa>↓nese (0.4) although: (0.8) i ↑wish: i ↑could have bou:ght a ↑TICKet'

¹⁴⁹ '[↑but]]' (0.9) they said (.) i (0.5) ↑could have ↑bough (0.3) °<t::>°'

doesn't problematize the form of Ami's prior turns and progresses the talk from what 'i turned' to what 'they said'. This indicates Ben's orientation to sequence progression and minimizing its delay.

Much SLI research has identified the L1 user's strong orientation to the progression of some 'main' sequence despite the L2 user's 'disfluent' language. Kurhila (2001) found that following L2 user's grammar 'mistakes', L1 users would typically perform an 'embedded', rather than 'exposed' correction - "so as to intrude upon the talk in progress as little as possible" (p.1108). Similarly, Wong (2005) found that, rather than correcting grammatical errors of the L2 user, L1 users would initiate repair to clarify topical matters in order to achieve some interactional goal. In Encounter 9, following Ami's disfluent L2 use during the EHS first action, Ben seeks to minimize his intrusion in Ami's talk. However, instead of repairing, he prompts Ami's own continuation, then seeks clarity on a matter not yet mentioned. This represents a difference from L1 users in Kurhila's (2001) study - who, despite seeking to minimize the interruption, issue repair and thus invoke their linguistic K+ status. With Ben orienting to the progressivity of the talk rather than attending to this disfluency in any way, he refrains from invoking any language-related K+ status, such as 'repairer' or 'language teacher'. This relates closely to L1 users seeking topical clarity in Wong's (2005) study.

Hosoda (2006) and Kurhila (2004) found that when the L2 user displays trouble producing talk and achieving mutual understanding, L1 users orient to their linguistic K+ status and give 'help' by repairing/correcting. This L2 trouble takes the form of delays, non-lexical perturbations, sound-stretches, and repeats. Similar to L1 users in Wong (2005), Kurhila (2001) and Kasper & Kim (2007), these L1 users give 'help' in a way that minimizes the interruption of some main (non-language teaching) activity. Thus, they invoke their linguistic K+ status - albeit in a way "which avoids being overly pedagogic" (Kurhila, 2004: 73). In my data too, while producing the EHS first action, the JTEs often display such 'trouble' in the form of repeated delays and pauses¹⁵⁰, and non-lexical perturbations in the form of sound-stretches, repeats and cut-offs¹⁵¹. However, in response to this L2 user trouble, unlike L1 users in the above studies, Ben and Bev refrain from repairing or linguistic 'help-giving'. Instead, they wait until the pragmatic completion of the utterance before prompting the JTEs to continue with the delivery of the EHS first action. These continuers follow repeated pauses/delays¹⁵² and other non-lexical perturbations¹⁵³. So, here, rather than giving quick and subtle linguistic 'help' before returning to the 'main' activity (as in the above studies), Ben and Bev display an orientation for the continuation of the EHS first action delivery without invoking any linguistic K+ status at all (at this point).

¹⁵⁰ e.g. Encounter 9, lines 25-28 and Encounter 10, lines 27-28

¹⁵¹ e.g. Encounter 8, lines 7-9

¹⁵² Encounter 9, line 29 and Encounter 10, line 29

¹⁵³ Encounter 8, line 10

Other research, however, has found that upon encountering difficulty in speech production, the L2 user often stops their activity and directly calls for language ‘help’. In addition to non-lexical perturbations such as cut-offs, sound-stretches, ‘uh’, ‘uhm’, Brouwer (2003) found that L2 users’ often use formulations such as ‘how does one say it?’ - directly calling for help with a word-search and creating a language-learning opportunity. Similarly, Hosoda (2006) found that L2 speakers will commonly stop a TCU in progress and check a vocabulary item’s ‘correctness’ using formulations such as ‘what do you say?’. This is frequently surrounded by non-lexical perturbations, sound-stretches and cut-offs. Such declarations and displays of interactional ‘trouble’ often prompt L1 users’ ‘help’ in vocabulary check sequences. In Encounter 8 too, the JTE Aoi twice halts her ‘troubled’ talk and issues pleas for Ben’s language help¹⁵⁴. However, Ben responds with two continuers¹⁵⁵ - prompting Aoi to continue her EHS first action in English rather than providing ‘help’. By not giving an action-conforming SPP/information assertion (Raymond, 2003), Ben indicates his strong orientation to Aoi’s own continuation of her action-in-progress - while not invoking any linguistic K+ status. This orientation overrides the constraints imposed upon him by the grammatical structure of Aoi’s prior turn.

In sum, this demonstrates Ben and Bev’s clear orientation to the JTEs’ continuation of their EHS first action delivery. Despite displays of various types of trouble, Ben and Bev minimize their intrusion and don’t treat the ‘trouble’ as accountable - utilizing the ‘let it pass procedure’ (Jefferson, 1988). By avoiding issuing language help, they withhold from invoking any linguistic K+ status. This represents a break from other work that, while minimized, does see the L1 user give language help and invoke this status. Indeed, by prompting the JTEs to continue delivering their talk despite displays of trouble, Ben and Bev treat them as competent users of English - a finding too of Wong (2005).

The JTEs’ talk continues until ‘penny-drop moments’ followed by assertions in Encounters 8¹⁵⁶ and 9¹⁵⁷, and an assertion in Encounter 10¹⁵⁸. As ‘asserters of information’, Ben and Bev do eventually take the opportunity to claim their own linguistic K+ status. Here, it appears the continuers frequently given prior to their own assertions were to prompt the JTEs’ further talk that would equip them with the necessary information so as to enable their assertions of information. For Ben and Bev, obtaining the JTEs’ information overrides the importance of dealing with displays of trouble. This reveals two important findings. The first relates to epistemics. Heritage (2012b) claims that participants in talk are constantly monitoring each others’ turns for displays of their knowledge

¹⁵⁴ e.g. Encounter 8, line 5 and 11-14

¹⁵⁵ Encounter 8, lines 6 and 15

¹⁵⁶ Extract 36, line 20

¹⁵⁷ Extract 40, line 33

¹⁵⁸ Extract 45, line 34

status and stance, and displays of an ‘unknowing’ status and/or stance trigger sequences that end when a state of epistemic equilibrium is achieved. In my data, when it is clear to the participants that they are in the process of dealing with an epistemic asymmetry, equalizing this asymmetry does indeed become a strong driving force of the interaction. However, as Ben and Bev await completion of the ‘main’ EHS first action and aren’t side-tracked by ‘dealing with’ all displays of trouble that occur, it appears that they are selective in the epistemic asymmetries they attend to. Dealing with the ‘main’ asymmetry and orienting to a quick progression to epistemic equilibrium overrides dealing other displays of epistemic asymmetry. Consequently, when Heritage’s ‘epistemic engine’ (ibid) is in gear, it triggers a strong orientation to progressivity that overrides dealing with ‘trouble’ displays. As for the second important finding; the invocation of Ben and Bev’s linguistic K+ status is contingent upon the JTEs giving them the necessary information to assert English language-related information. As such, it shows that enabling Ben and Bev’s linguistic K+ status and the JTEs’ K- status is a joint-venture. As such, it is necessary to return to Graddol’s influential ‘tantalizing question’ - considering whether or not the NNS/L2 user will “continue to look towards the native speaker for authoritative norms of usage” (1999: 166). Here, it is clear that, at the time of data collection, the ‘native speaker’ is indeed considered an authority on the norms of (English) language usage - by him/herself and the JTE. Their status remains a stable resource for all interlocutors.

8.8 Identities and the ‘Backstage’

The above analytic chapters indicate that these school staffrooms, considered ‘backstage’ (by Goffman, 1959/71; Richards, 2007, 2011; Vaughan, 2007; Drucker, 1993), are indeed sites of “complex relational interplay and identity construction” (Richards, 2007: 71). Overviews of Encounters 2 and 8 will exemplify this. Encounter 2 begins with Aoi using English to tell Ben about the various obligations she has at her daughter’s school (many meetings and events). Here, Aoi appears to orient to the identities of mother and, as it is in the Japanese context, ‘Japanese cultural informer’. Ben orients to Aoi’s talk about her obligations and ‘cultural informing’ as ‘news’ – proffering new information as having been obtained. As such, Aoi and Ben orient to identities of Japanese culture (from a mother’s perspective) expert (K+ status) and novice (K-). However, upon encountering seeming ‘trouble’ in (English) L2 production, Aoi breaks off from relaying this information and initiates an English language information request which Ben responds to by asserting English language information. In doing so, Aoi and Ben orient to the English language identities of expert (K+ status) and novice (K-). Interestingly, this is done using Japanese and the encounter sees a mixture of Japanese and English used – showing participants orient to multilingual

identities (as discussed in the analysis of the encounter and in section 8.5). When this English language learning event is complete, Aoi and Ben return to their earlier discussion of Aoi's school obligations as a mother. In this encounter multiple identities are oriented to. Encounter 8 too shows various identities arising during different activities. This encounter begins with Aoi and Ben discussing how to compose a speech for an upcoming high school debate contest (with a 'capital punishment' theme). Aoi states that another teacher/professor advised her that when discussing this topic, 'three elements' should be mentioned. At this point, Aoi's information appears to be an 'A-event statement' (Labov & Fanshel, 1977). This is a statement pertaining to a matter Aoi holds epistemic primacy in relative to Ben - as she was told by another person. As Ben treats this relaying as an 'informing', it sees the co-construction of a relative epistemic status hierarchy in the 'debate contest' domain: Nishimura sensei (original advisor) top, Aoi (relayer) middle, and Ben (receiver) bottom. Despite Aoi appearing to struggle with her L2 delivery of the 'first element', Ben prompts Aoi to continue herself. Here, Ben withholds invoking any linguistic expert identity/K+ status - orienting to Aoi's identity as a competent L2 user and debate contest advice relayer. This continues until Aoi halts relaying the advice and directly requests Ben's language 'help'. Rather than providing language help, Ben prompts Aoi's explanation of the problematic word - then he provides the word 'punishment'. Aoi then accepts this word - and thus Aoi orient to English language expert (K+)/novice (K-) identities. Aoi then returns to her advice relaying by moving on to the 'second element'. However, Ben then retracts 'punishment' and provides another which he treats as preferable - 'retribution'. Then Aoi continues with the 'second element' and shifts the activity from a language learning event to the continuation of her advice relaying.

Encounters 2 and 8 show that talk can shift from chatting or relaying advice to an English language learning event, and then smoothly back to the previous activity of chatting/advice relaying. Aoi, the English L2 user, and Ben, the L1 user, invoke linguistic expert (K+)/novice (K-) identities as a means of enabling (largely) L2 production of talk - in which different activities make relevant markedly different identities. While section 8.6 states that Ben and Bev's K+/English language expert identity is a stable resource despite their displays of 'trouble' and hesitancy, it is clear that linguistic identities are not omnirelevant. They come into play when directly made relevant via the L2 user's requests for 'help'. This finding tallies with Hosoda (2006), Brouwer (2003) and more recently Dings (2012). These studies show that, when called upon, language expert and novice identities do become relevant. However, when not engaged in language information request/assertion sequences, a myriad of other identities become relevant as interactions unfold - such as 'movie watchers' and 'female acquaintances'. The findings of the current study indicate this same phenomenon - language expert/novice identities being utilized when needed but just being one of several identities arising. As participants in Encounters 2 and 8 return to the earlier activity

once the EHS is complete, it suggests that these EHSs are often incidental – an issue to resolve so as to enable some other activity which invokes other identities. This highlights the fluidity of movement between different identities – and just how easily one activity can turn into a language learning event in which participants orient to expert and novice identities.

As discussed above, this Ethnomethodological study reveals that participants, during EHSs, orient to language expert (K+) and novice (K-) identities through giving displays of language teaching (by ALTs) and learning (by JTEs). In doing so, participants orient to teacher and student identities in the English language epistemic domain. However, as discussed, EHSs can arise during other activities such as chatting and giving advice. This indicates a fluid movement between teacher-student identities and informal ‘co-chatter’ and ‘advice giver-receiver’ identities. As all of this occurs in settings considered ‘backstage’ (high school staffrooms), discussion about the usefulness of the ‘front’/‘backstage’ distinction is necessary.

In seeking to gain further understanding of the full complexities of workplace settings, Sarangi & Roberts (1999) developed Goffman’s (1959/71) sociological notions of ‘front’ and ‘back region’ behaviour. Goffman claimed that some core professional performance occurs in the front region while impressions given during this front region performance are openly flaunted in the back region. Goffman (1959/71) claimed that school staffrooms are a clear example of a back region setting for teachers. Sarangi & Roberts (1999) argued that Goffman’s view on front/back region behaviour is rather prescriptive – and therefore use the terms ‘front’ and ‘backstage’. While stating that front/backstage environments are not necessarily entirely distinct from each other, Sarangi & Roberts (1999) claim that frontstage encounters are frequently between insiders-outsiders (e.g. teacher-student(s)) while backstage encounters are insider-insider (teacher-teacher) encounters. Furthermore, they claim that to gain a fuller understanding of workplaces, it is critical to understand “the different interaction orders of front and back stage and the relationship between them” (p.20). As the literature review above shows, while much frontstage research was undertaken (e.g. Greatbatch, 1988; ten Have, 1991), a smaller yet growing body of backstage research has also emerged (e.g. Coates, 2000; Tanner & Timmons, 2000). Relating this to an SLA context, Richards (2007) argued that frontstage classroom-based studies have useful pedagogical implications. However, backstage settings such as (language) school staffrooms can be a site of “complex relational interplay and identity construction” (p.71) and can thus contribute to a fuller view of these organizations.

However, in recent years research focused on settings (stereo-) typically considered backstage and frontstage have shown the front/backstage boundaries to be particularly blurred – leading to doubts over the usefulness of the terms. Stokoe et al (2013) examine the co-construction of university students’ ‘academic identities’ in seemingly ‘non-academic’ environments - such as at home in

front of a television. Upon engaging with academic tasks participants used irony and frequently denied and downgraded displays of academic ability - to avoid 'showing off' or 'self-praise'. Here, participants are engaging in typically frontstage activities, and invoking associated typical identities. However, this is occurring in a typically backstage environment with typically backstage identities being invoked. In an environment commonly considered frontstage, a second language classroom, Jakonen & Morton (2013) focus on students during group work. Upon encountering vocabulary and spelling difficulties, students undergo the relevant interactional epistemic 'work' to decipher who has the relevant knowledge needed to overcome these difficulties. The students with relative K+ epistemic status are usually held accountable for that which they claim to know and tend downplay potential negative perceptions of their K+ status. This student-student interaction sees considerable social positioning in terms of knowledge so as to help prepare for and perform a pedagogical task. These two studies show that back and frontstage distinctions are rather problematic. With regards to the current study, as the analysis developed, it became increasingly clear that participants (ALTs and JTEs) switch between the commonly considered frontstage activity of teaching and learning as well as typical backstage behaviours such as chatting in a backstage environment. This further blurs the distinction between front and backstage.

This Ethnomethodological study and other such studies by Stokoe et al (2013) and Jakonen & Morton (2013) show that through talk and other conduct in interaction, a 'backstage' environment can immediately become a 'frontstage' environment and vice versa – depending on the nature of the activity undertaken and the interlocutors involved. This indicates that rather than identities and appropriate behaviours being pre-allocated entities associated with a particular environment, they are interactional achievements. A myriad of identities can be invoked for various activities that can occur in environments considered to be front and backstage.

Consequently, there appears to be no clear dividing line between the front and backstage. The suggestion that certain environments incur particular identities and behavioral norms is at odds with the epistemological foundations of the methodology employed by a large number of scholars using the terms 'front' and 'backstage'. Consequently, while the Sarangi & Roberts' (1999) claim that the scope of interaction-based studies on organizations needs to be expanded may be a valid one, imposing behavioral norms and identities on particular parts of organizations prior to analyzing the data must be avoided. To stay in line with the Ethnomethodological principles of Conversation Analysis, the analyst must focus on the interactional phenomena and orientations of the participants in talk, not their own view(s) on the environment prior to analysis. As the terms front and backstage can restrict the analytic focus and are incompatible with the Ethnomethodological underpinnings of CA (as described in section 3.4), these terms should not be considered by the CA researcher.

Upon having discussed how the analytic findings relate to the relevant literature, the following section will bring the study to a conclusion.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

This final chapter will first consider how the nature of this study relates to the broader context of SLA, second will consider the extent to which this study's aims have been achieved, and third will outline the contributions it makes. It will make reference to section 1.4 ('Research objectives and Relevance of this study').

This study follows claims of an 'imbalance' in SLA - first highlighted in 1997 by Firth & Wagner - with cognitive, 'etic' approaches dominating SLA - and somewhat remain in in 2007 (Firth & Wagner). By adopting a 'social' approach (Lave & Wenger, 1991) and using an 'emic' conversation analytic methodology to examine language learning, this study contributes to redressing this imbalance.

This study follows claims that too many 'social' SLA studies are confined to the language classroom, and that it is important to understand language learning processes in various non-classroom settings (e.g. Firth, 2012). As Lave & Wenger-inspired CA-SLA researchers consider learning to be context-bound, it is important to examine language learning in contexts where "L2 instruction is not the order of the day" (Firth, 2012: 11). This study identified Japanese high school staffrooms as being a site of considerable English language learning between JTEs and ALTs. Then, as this study sheds light on the structure and micro-details of these encounters, it will "expand our general stock of knowledge of L2 learning and L2 acquisition" (Firth, 2009: 131)¹⁵⁹. With the continuing growth of the JET Programme, this study provides some recognition and understanding of this setting as a site for frequent English language learning for JTEs and English language teaching for ALTs.

This study continues SLA's trend of 'borrowing' from sociological fields of enquiry - to enable further understanding of the complexities of language learning processes (Block 2007b). First, by applying 'emic' sociological insights on identity to an SLA context, this study avoids reducing participants' identities to the value-laden categories of 'native' and 'non-native speaker'. Instead, it only considers identity-categories arising in participants' interaction and how these influence the unfolding language learning processes. Furthermore, this study examines 'backstage' encounters. The backstage has been identified by sociological research as being a frequent yet under-researched site of identity construction at work (Sarangi & Roberts, 1999). The importance of

¹⁵⁹ Indeed, any study that examines language learning processes in an un/under-researched setting has the potential to expand a general understanding of L2 learning processes.

‘backstage’ identity in ‘teaching English abroad’ settings has also been emphasized - with calls for further research (e.g. Vaughan, 2007). This study answers these calls and relates identity insights to SLA processes. This study reveals a complex and fluid use of a variety of identities – with, for example, the ALT shifting from co-chatter identity to language teacher and then back to co-chatter. While the linguistic expert/K+ status of the ALT in relation to the novice/K- status of the JTEs are identity categories made relevant to in EHSs, they are just some of a wide variety of identity categories that arise depending on the activity undertaken. However, as ‘back’ and ‘frontstage’ distinctions are shown to be particularly blurred and somewhat restricting - and are at odds with the Ethnomethodological underpinnings of CA - this study concludes that these terms should be avoided in CA research.

The second major ‘borrowing’ relates to sociological insights into ‘epistemics’. Heritage’s recent insights (2012a, 2012b) have had a ‘remarkable’ effect on sociology - linking knowledge to identity (Drew, 2012). These findings have largely been applied to first language encounters. The small body of CA-SLA research that does link epistemics to SLI has been limited to classroom encounters with little understanding of how these findings relate to second language encounters. This CA study, in linking epistemics to language learning processes outside the classroom, adds depth to CA-SLA research and contributes to the broader stretching of SLA’s parameters. Additionally, in applying the recent sociological findings in epistemics to SLI data, this study also tests the validity and expanse of epistemics research. This shows a mutually-beneficial relationship between sociology and CA-SLA - that holds considerable promise for future research.

It is now relevant to consider the ways in which this study’s findings contribute to the relevant domains of research. As stated in section 1.4, primary aim of this study was to uncover the interactional resources and patterns of second language behaviour occurring in EHSs between ALTs and JTEs.

When considering the first action in this three-part sequence, requesting English language-related information, several interesting phenomena occurred. First, ‘questions as ‘fronting’’¹⁶⁰. At the start of information request actions, JTEs use interrogatively-formed utterances¹⁶¹. Despite their ‘question syntax’, they don’t always function as information requests. Instead, these see JTEs end a previous topic and inform the ALTs that they are beginning the process of requesting information. This use of fronting in SLI hasn’t been identified in epistemics research - and its identification adds depth to this area. Second, JTEs’ ‘fronting’ leads to considerable interactional ‘work’ to enable the ALT’s information assertion¹⁶². One question-formulated turn alone doesn’t trigger an immediate

¹⁶⁰ section 8.31

¹⁶¹ For example, in extract 17, line 4, Aya utters,

‘[do: ↑you say] (.) quality people’

¹⁶² section 8.32

information assertion - indeed, several turns are often necessary. Consequently, rather than considering the social relations embedded in a single turn's 'grammar' (Raymond, 2010), all turns making up information requests must be examined. Third, this study reveals one information request is frequently followed by another until the JTE is satisfied. As such, it is important to consider all information request sequences used to achieve this epistemic satisfaction - and how one relates to the next¹⁶³ - rather than focusing on just one information request. This enables a fuller view of "the regulation of knowledge" (Raymond, 2010: 104). Further research would see if this applies only to SLI or if this is how knowledge is regulated universally.

This study identified various ways in which ALTs' K+ status in the English language domain is triggered¹⁶⁴. Even without grammatical cues, JTE's turns commonly trigger ALT's assertions - with rising intonation and the provision of alternative formulations triggering assertions. Even without the English language being explicitly mentioned, it is frequently treated as the relevant domain in which ALTs have K+ status. This indicates a strong orientation to ALTs' K+ status in English as being "presupposed" (Heritage, 2012b: 6). Participants orient to presumptions of *the group* ALTs belong to as determining what they can *do* (Sharrock, 1974). This is, seemingly, a 'native speaker' group. ALTs' English language K+ status is not obtained by professional qualifications, access to particular physical resources, or first-hand experience. However, it is stable and transcends grammar, intonational resources and more. As such, this study unearths the 'transcendental knowledge of the English native speaker'.

This study found that while EHSs take place primarily in English, JTEs often use Japanese - treating this as a multilingual setting. JTEs often use English to request information - resulting in assertions. JTEs often use Japanese, however, to reflect upon prior turns or to treat them as 'informings' - prompting ALTs' minimal or no response. Consequently, although JTEs orient to ALTs having some Japanese language *understanding*, they don't prompt any demonstration of Japanese *use*. ALTs treat this somewhat 'low stakes' use of multilingual resources as unproblematic - yet talk only in English. While all participants demonstrate 'doing being bilingual' (Gafaranga, 2001), JTEs are 'doing being bilingual users and understanders', whereas ALTs are 'bilingual understanders'. This orientation to an unequal epistemic access to each other's first language is an important area requiring further research. However, JTEs using ALTs' treated-as-restricted Japanese knowledge to obtain information indicates their resourcefulness.

Another key finding is that while ALTs orient to their K+ status in the English language use and nuance epistemic domains, they frequently display interactional 'trouble' and somewhat hesitant epistemic stances. Nevertheless, participants' orientations to ALTs' K+ status remain in-

¹⁶³ section 8.33

¹⁶⁴ section 8.4

tact. This suggests participants' somewhat 'social deterministic' view of knowledge - that people and their knowledge reflect pre-existing social structures, transcending the individual (Schutz, 1962). Participants orient to ALTs as being part of a larger collective - and are vectors of its knowledge, able to communicate it. Accounting for this marked stance appears to be the inherent difficulty in *explicitly* describing *implicit* language knowledge. This may suggest ALTs' lack of 'metalinguistic awareness' (Karmiloff-Smith, 1997). As those with high levels of L2 competence tend to have higher levels of 'metalinguistic awareness' (Reynolds, 1991), ALTs with higher L2 competence levels may be able to deliver such information more clearly. Alternatively, ALTs who have bilingual abilities in other languages – and thus are more likely to have developed good levels of metalinguistic awareness – may be better equipped with the task of making explicit the implicit.

The final key finding is although JTEs often display what from an external viewpoint suggest interactional 'trouble' while requesting information, ALTs treat this as unproblematic. ALTs' interjection is minimal as they prompt JTEs to continue - indicating ALTs' overriding orientation to progression of the EHS. ALTs treat JTEs as competent users of English (Wong, 2005). This continues until the ALTs' 'penny-drop moment' enables them to assert information and thus invoke K+ status. 'Penny-drop moments' are a new discovery in social interaction research - and will be a focus of this researcher's future research. This focus on progressivity of the EHS over dealing with 'trouble' suggests equalizing epistemic asymmetries is ALTs' main priority - unearthing a further strength of Heritage's 'epistemic engine' (2012a). Additionally, it suggests the invocation of ALT's linguistic K+ status is contingent upon the JTEs enabling it. As such, ALTs' linguistic K+ status and JTEs' K- status are a jointly achieved. Consequently, in response to Graddol's 'tantalizing question' (1999)¹⁶⁵, it is clear that in this study, the English 'native speaker' ALT is treated as an authority on the norms of English usage - by themselves and the JTE.

This study's research objectives were to continue SLA's borrowing from sociology so as to "expand our general stock of knowledge of L2 learning and L2 acquisition" (Firth, 2009: 131)" in the 'perspicuous' setting of Japanese high school staffrooms. As this study has unearthed the above summarized interactional patterns and phenomena, it has successfully achieved this objective. Despite the limitations of having audio-only data, with no visuals, this study is able to combine SLA with sociology to identify this setting as a language learning one and shed considerable light on it. While much remains to be understood, this study and its findings can trigger further research to achieve even more understanding of this setting and a host of other non-classroom settings.

Finally, upon completion of this PhD programme, the researcher will use the findings of this study to compile a report for the JET Programme. This will inform them of the significance of the

¹⁶⁵ "large numbers of people will learn English as a Foreign Language in the 21st century...But will they continue to look towards the native speaker for authoritative norms of usage?" Graddol, 1999: 68.

staffroom as an ‘informal’ language learning context for JTEs. This can be used to improve JET Programme training and orientation programmes. The researcher is currently considering the applicability of the Conversation Analytic Role-play Method (CARM)¹⁶⁶, developed primarily by Professor Elizabeth Stokoe. In 2005 Professors Elizabeth Stokoe and Derek Edwards investigated neighbour disputes and collected over 120 hours of phone calls – many of which were to mediation services and police interviews. Following a CA analysis of such ‘real-life’ calls, Professor Stokoe developed a role-play method that has been used in training for mediators and police domestically and internationally. The researcher will continue researching this method, in consultation with Professor Stokoe, to see if it can be used for JET Programme training and orientation programmes.

¹⁶⁶ See: <http://homepages.lboro.ac.uk/~ssehs/>

Appendices

Appendix A

Gail Jefferson's CA Transcription Conventions

Transcription Conventions (Adapted from Atkinson and Heritage, 1984)

- [[]] Simultaneous utterances – (beginning [[) and (end]])
- [] Overlapping utterances – (beginning [) and (end])
- = Contiguous utterances (Latching intra/inter turn)
- (0.4) Represent the tenths of a second between utterances
- (.) Represents a micro-pause (1 tenth of a second or less)
- : Sound extension of a word (more colons demonstrate longer stretches)
- . Fall in tone
- , Continuing intonation (not necessarily between clauses)
- An abrupt stop in articulation
- ? Rising inflection (not necessarily a question)
- LOUD Capitals indicate increased volume
- Underline words indicate emphasis
- ↑ ↓ Rising or falling intonation (before part of word)
- ° ° Surrounds talk that is quieter
- hhh Audible aspirations (out breath)
- hhh Inhalations (in breath)
- .hh. Laughter within a word
- > < Surrounds talk that is faster
- < > Surrounds talk that is slower
- (what) Transcriber unsure
- (()) Analyst's notes
- \$ \$ 'smile voice'

Appendix B

Encounter 1

- 1 Aya °↑uh::↓m::°
2 (0.8)
- 3 Aya °↓sou ↑ne:° (0.3) >so< ↑how: can you <sa:↓:y> (0.6)
yeah right
- 4 a:↓h:: (0.4) >i don't know how to say this in english<
5 (.) >though< (0.5) she:: passed >the test?<
6 (0.8)
- 7 Bev ↑uh huh?
8 (1.1)
- 9 Aya on (0.5) ↑ON (0.5) ↑BY (0.5) ↑IN (0.4) thirty six (0.3)
10 her ↑sco:re was thirty six [↑and] it >was ↑JUst< a=
11 Bev [a°h:-°]
- 12 Aya =pass ([°?°])
- 13 Bev [>↑WE] say< ↑WITH a THIRTY SIX (.) [I] ↑PA- °i-°=
14 Aya [ah]
- 15 Aya =↑WITH=
16 Bev =↓ye:ah
- 17 Aya ↑with a score of thi[rty ↓six]
- 18 Bev [i: PA]SSed the score with °uh:°
19 with a ↑thirty ↓six=
- 20 Aya =↑with (0.3) ↑AH (a)
- 21 Bev with AH: (a) (.) ↑thirty ↓si:x
- 22 Aya ↑AH:
23 (0.5)
- 24 Bev >and then< ↑AH: (a) is short for ah (a) sco:re o:f
25 (1.0)
- 26 Aya h:↑m: with ↑AH thirty ↓six=
27 Bev =yeah with a [thirty s-] i passed the test with a=
28 Aya [°↑m::↓ah::°]
- 29 Bev =thirty ↓six
30 (0.8)

Appendix C

Encounter 2

- 1 Aoi ↑ONce:: (.) a year:: (0.3) >we have to< talk to tha::
2 (0.4) >teachers< like a ↑interview
3 >↑interview to iu ka<
should I say interview?
- 4 Ben UH::[:↓m::]
- 5 Aoi [>like<] a:: (0.4) meeting onLY:: (0.6) ME::
6 And [[°the teacher°]]
- 7 Ben [[AN:d >the teacher]] about< the::
8 (0.4)
- 9 Aoi >about the<=
- 10 Ben =PROGRESS °hmm° MM
- 11 Aoi ya::h progress
12 (1.5)
- 13 Ben wo::w
14 (1.3)
- 15 Aoi su::>goku ooi<
lots of meetings
16 (0.7)
- 17 Aoi E:BENTO >mo ooi<
there are also lots of events
- 18 Ben °hhhuh huh°
19 (0.3)
- 20 Aoi hhuh .hhh (.) BA↑ZAA::- >bazaa ↑nan to iu no?< (0.5)
what do you say?
- 21 BAzaa:: °da↓tta°
it was
22 (0.3)
- 23 Ben [[°b↑obm-°]]
- 24 Aoi [[>bazaa tte]] nan to iu no?< >huh i d.hhh.on't kn↑ow<
what do you say for bazaar?
- 25 Ben b↑or- uh- °wha-?°
26 (0.8)
- 27 Aoi E:::h >↑i don't ↓kno::w< (0.5) ↑It's a.hah.h (0.6)

28 ↑NAni [wo]
 something

29 Ben [°bazaa:]::°
30 (0.8)

31 Aoi .HHH:[:]

32 Ben [ba]°zaa:°

33 Aoi BAzaa:: (.) we ↑usually have ah:: (0.6) elementary
34 >school toka< ↑kindergarten has ah::=
 etc

35 Ben =↑OO::h ba↑zhaar (.) u::hm (.) >th↑is one?<
36 (1.2)

37 Aoi ya::h (.) tha- >they sell< something and they a:re
38 (1.0)

39 Aoi earn[ing mon]ey:?

40 Ben [°ah ↑that's right°]
41 (0.4)

42 Aoi is:: for:[: fo-]
43 Ben [for charity:?] °>or<°=
44 Aoi =yeah charity:=
45 Ben =↑Hm=
46 Aoi =>YEAH ↑CHARITY ↓baza<
47 (0.5)

48 Ben .hhh °↑that's ↓right°
49 Aoi BAZA::?
50 Ben ba↓zaa::r
51 Aoi ba↓zaa:r
52 Ben °ba↓zaa::r° (0.4) UH:m: >we ↑have< <°th↑at ↓too:°>
53 (1.4)

54 Ben ↑THAT'S [quite ↓good]
55 Aoi [>taihen data] ↑LA:ST [wee:k datta<]
 it was tough *it was*

56 Ben [°bu-°]
57 (0.4)

58 Ben AH:: >you had to go:?< (0.3) >↑hmm<

Appendix D

Encounter 3

- 1 Aki °ah:° >↑one more question<=
- 2 Ben =>↑H↓m<
(bell rings))
- 3 (0.6)
- 4 Aki ADIDAS (.) adidas (0.5) catch copy h↑hhuh
slogan/catch-phrase
- 5 Ben ↑H:↓m
- 6 (1.0)
- 7 Aki <IM↑POSSIBL:E>?
- 8 Ben is ↑no↓thing
- 9 Aki h↑hah=
- 10 Ben =hah ha[h .hhh]
- 11 Aki [YE]S
- 12 (0.8)
- 13 Aki is ↑IT (0.3) hhha[h]
- 14 Ben [ha] haha
- 15 Aki is ↑it (0.5) is ↑it ah:: (.) POSSIBLE:? hhah
- 16 Ben hah ↑HAH hah .hhh
- 17 (0.3)
- 18 Aki <↑is ↑no:↓thing>
- 19 Ben the ↑GRAMMAR is a >bit< (0.4) °s:>trange<° (.) °>↑let me
- 20 think (.) im↑possible is no[thing]<°
- 21 Aki [N]O↑THING is
- 22 im↓POSSible
- 23 (0.7)
- 24 Ben >↑N>O<thi[ng is< impossible] is (.) is the::=
- 25 Aki [>↑nothing in y↓our ↑life]
- 26 Ben =>it's like an< <°:ld phrase?>=
- 27 Aki =↑uh↓m
- 28 Ben so the:y >try< ↓to:: (0.4) uh:: (.) >↑make it< fresh:
- 29 Aki AH::↑::: ↓ho:: ↓ho::=

30 Ben =im↑possible is ↑n>O<thing (.) like a[h::]

31 Aki [°↑ah] hah°

32 (0.5)

33 Ben >↑it's saying< ah:- im↑possible: (0.5) >the idea of<

34 imposs- >well it's< paTHETic it' [s ↑n>o<thing]

35 Aki [↑h:↓m::]

36 (1.3)

37 Aki HAH: >naru hodo: naru hodo::<=
I see I see

38 Ben =°hm↓m::°

39 Aki ↑hoh:: hoh: ↓hoh: h[a-]

40 Ben [↑n>o<]thing is im>↑poss<ible is

41 mo:re: (.) >HUM<ble:~ maybe?

42 Aki M::↓::

43 Ben like ah::=

44 Aki =very (0.4) ↑COmmon

45 (0.7)

46 Aki ↑COmmon ex↓pre↑ssio[n] y.hhh.eah

47 Ben [\$that's right\$]

48 (0.6)

49 Aki [[h:↑ai hai hai]]
yes yes yes

50 Ben [[°impossible]] is nothing-°>↑MAYbe like< an

51 arrogance:

52 Aki [[<HA::↑I:> hai hai]]
yes yes yes

53 Ben [[°yeah uhm°]]

54 (0.3)

55 Aki th↑EN ah- adidas (0.4) ↑tried ↓to: (.) ↑tried ↓to: (.)

56 make: (.) >ma- some< NE::w (0.4) [new] impression=
 57 Ben [UH::↓m]

58 Aki =[o::f]

59 Ben [th↑at's] ↓ri:ght (.) °th↑at's ↓ri:ght°=
 60 Aki =ah °effe-° (0.4) <effect:>=

61 Ben =th↑at's ↓ri:ght=
62 Aki =°↑ah:: hah ha°
63 (0.6)
64 Ben what ↑IS ↓the:: (0.4) NIKE? (.) ah:: (.) is >still-<
65 (0.4) ↑just >↓do it< (0.3) °uh°=
66 Aki =↑an just >↓do it< (.) >na- nike<
67 (0.5)
68 Ben and same
69 (1.0)
70 Ben >↑sometimes< they ↑change °↓it°
71 Aki U:↑mm:: (0.5) °>naru ho↑do naru ho↓do<°
I see I see
72 Ben °uh↓m°
73 (1.5)
74 Aki >↑o↓kay< the:- th↑en:: (0.5) >th↑is is< (0.5) ↑NOT (0.4)
75 ah:: grammatically [>impossible<] hhuh hh=
76 Ben [↑ah::]
77 Ben =IT's: (0.4) °impossible is ↑nothing° (0.3) >it's a- it
78 would be< spoken spoken (0.5) ↑IT makes sense
79 °but (?)° uh:↓m
80 Aki o↓kay: hahaha=
81 Ben =thank ↓you
82 (12.0)

Appendix E

Encounter 4

- 1 Bev >it would be< R::EALLY (.) ° i- its like° (0.2)=
- 2 Aya =°.hhh >huh<°(.)=
- 3 Bev =°>you [have to take<°]
- 4 Aya [do: ↑you say] (.) quality people
- 5 (1.0)
- 6 Bev °↑th-° THEY are a QUALITY of- quality
- 7 [per:↑son (.) °yeah°]
- 8 Aya [so >that MEAN]S<
- 9 (1.0)
- 10 Aya PER:son or PEO:ople who::: >are very n↑ice<=
- 11 Bev ↑uh huh=
- 12 Aya =>And<
- 13 (1.5)
- 14 Aya >you want to k↑eep in touch ↓with<
- 15 (1.5)
- 16 Bev YE::AH=
- 17 Aya =(?)=
- 18 Bev =uh- UH::M
- 19 (1.4)
- 20 Aya tatoeba:=
for example
- 21 Bev =°.hhh°=
- 22 Aya =for exam-
- 23 (1.0)
- 24 Aya i- >it was< (0.3) n- n::nice m::eeting:↓::
- 25 (1.6)
- 26 Aya °>nan to iu kana? <°
how should I say it?
- 27 (1.0)
- 28 Aya °hmm↓::° (.) >it was n↑i:ce< to::
- 29 (1.4)
- 30 Aya h- have (.) me°t::°

31 (1.5)

32 Aya a >quality< person like ↓you:

33 Bev UH [HUH?]

34 Aya [is this] (.) is that (.) makes sense? DOES that make

35 sens[e?]

36 Bev [Y↑]EAH

37 (0.5)

38 Bev °you like the mu- uh°

39 (0.5)

40 Aya >↑AND [it's a compliment<] °no?°

41 Bev [°>quality person like ↑you<°]

42 Bev =Y.hhh.EAH Y.hhh.EAH y.hhh.eah .hhh °y.hhh.eah°

43 Aya >QU↑ALITY:< pe:o↓ple (0.4) ho::w? should describe (.)

44 ho::w? do you des↓cribe=

45 Bev =°>i descri[b-°< .hhh >IT can be-<]

46 Aya [(?)] a PERson who is

47 (0.8)

48 Bev ↑I:T can be a >LOT of things< (.) >but i think< it

49 usually has >to do with< ATTItude

50 (0.7)

51 Aya ↑UH:::[:::↓m::]

52 Bev [>they have a good< attitude=

53 Aya =↑UH:: m: ↓m: ↓m:=

54 Bev =>that when you're< arou:nd them YOU feel °goo:d

55 s[[o they're (.) they're a quality per:↑son°]]

56 Aya [[↑Uh:::↓m desu ne:]]

that's right

57 (1.0)

58 Aya °hm:↓:°=

59 Bev =°ah°

60 (2.6)

61 Aya is it P↑OSSIBLE to sa::y

62 (0.8)

63 Aya °that° you are q↑uality ↓person (0.3) or: (.) >it was<

64 n↑ice to:? (0.6) hm- meet a family:? (0.4) (°>uh hoh na-

65 ha<°?) QUALity people like (0.5) >YOU<=

66 Bev =.hhh >YE:AH< (.) it's a <li↑ttle SL↓ANGY> though

67 Aya ↑H::m↓::m

68 (2.6)

69 Aya °sou: ne::° >so tatoeba::<

yeah right *for example*

70 (2.4)

71 Aya >a P↑ERSON< (0.3) who was just li- ↑ONCE (0.5) and

72 t↑alked for: [two minutes]

73 Bev [↑OH YEAH] yeah they can be °quality:°

74 Aya >quality<=

75 Bev =↑UH:M (0.3) °↑hm°

76 (10.0)

Appendix F

Encounter 5

- 1 Aya =<twē:nty se:ven> my allergies don't have any pro:ble:ms?
- 2 Bev uh h.hhh.m
- 3 Aya >but my cold< (0.3) REA↑lly ↑Goe:s ↓on (0.5)
- 4 ↑Keisuke's diary (0.4) °so° (0.4) will go: o:n?
- 5 (1.6)
- 6 Bev AH[::]
- 7 Aya [will] CON↑TInue i ↓THINK
- 8 (1.0)
- 9 Bev >just in genera:l< it's O::- ↑AH ↑MY
- 10 (fou-[bla-?])
- 11 Aya [↑SO] ↑won't ↑go awa::y?
- 12 (0.6)
- 13 Bev ↑YEAH won't ↑go a↓way
- 14 (0.9)
- 15 Bev YEAH °or:° YEah ↑WON'T get better won't go away
- 16 (1.1)
- 17 Bev °ye:ah°=
- 18 Aya =>and ↑how about< ↑long period (0.3) ↑won't go
- 19 awa:y .hhh IF I SA:Y ↑won't go wa:y=
- 20 Bev =I==
- 21 Aya =>I don't ↑have to SAY< [long per:iod]
- 22 Bev [>you don't have to say<]
- 23 long period
- 24 (0.6)
- 25 Bev >just won't go aw:ay<
- 26 (1.2)
- 27 Bev °yeah°=
- 28 Aya =<↑tha::nk °↓you:°>
- 29 Bev °no pro:blem°
- 30 (2.0)
- 31 Aya sorry i want to get your ↑cup

Appendix G

Encounter 6

- 1 Asa atto:↓: (.) >netowa:rku to doutou ga< our new model
and network and equivalent
- 2 is equivalent to >nan desu kedo< ko- parallel to:
but
- 3 wha-
- 4 (0.6)
- 5 Ami .hhh ↑H↓M::: ↑imi ga (.) Ben sensei ni >kiite
it's better to ask Ben teacher
- 6 ↑ATTE ireba ii n ↑ja↓nai<
the meaning isn't it?
- 7 Gen ↑H↓m:
- 8 Asa °↑ah (.) >↑can you<°
- 9 Ben ↑u↓hm=
- 10 Asa =our new ↑MO↓DEL (.) ↑IS (.) <E↑QUIVA↓LENT> TO a
11 ↑netWORK (0.3) composed of (0.4) >°↑one hundred°<
12 compUTERS
- 13 Ben ↑U↓HM
- 14 Asa >↑AND< (.) our new ↑MO↓DEL ↑Is (.) <↑PARA↓LLEL>
15 (0.6) T↑O: (.) ↑AH (.) ↑net (.) work=
16 Ben =↑AH↓:::
17 ? (°↑h↓m:°?)
18 (1.2)
- 19 Ben <E↑QUIVALEN(.)°t° mea::ns> it ha- >is the s↑ame or
20 has the same< E↑<ffect> (.) but parallel <mea::ns>
21 (0.8)
- 22 Ben >it's like< <next t- ↓to:::>
- 23 Asa °↑ah:°=
- 24 Ben =so you wouldn't (.) really say °<parall↑el>
25 [for th↑at°]
- 26 Asa [°↑ah:°] sss: so it's ↑NOT the completely SAmE?=
27 Ben =↑hmm↓::: (0.4) >↑HANG on (.) uhh (.) our new

28 network is<=
29 Asa =↑DIFFe↓rent=
30 Ben =<°pa:rallel ↓to::°>
31 (1.0)
32 Ben ↑CERTAINLY:: ↓you:d say >equivalen°t:°< (0.3) is
33 ↑much more:: ↑like°ly:°
34 (0.7)
35 Ben is <°pa:rallel to°>
36 (2.0)
37 Asa >↑so< S↑ENTENCE ITSELF ↑IS-
38 (0.7)
39 Ben it's GRA↑MMATICALLY ↓RIGHT but it's a little:(.) >WE
40 wouldn't< say tha:t (0.6) ↑MAYBE you'd say< our (.)
41 our (.) ne- my net↑WORK runs PARAllel to YOUR
42 net↑work
43 Asa ↑AH:: >huh huh<
44 Ben >it means they run< at the <same t↑i:me may↑be> (.)
45 BUt (0.3) NOT (0.3) >necessarily< eQUIValent::
46 (5.5)
47 Asa ↑O↓KAY
48 Ben >↑h↓m<
49 (11.5)

Appendix H

Encounter 7

- 1 Ai .hhh °sou ka::° (0.4) >↑so< (0.4) by the wa:y? (.)
I see
- 2 h[ayashi] >sensei is< a:sking (0.5) ↑WOULD you=
teacher
- 3 Bev [ah huh?]
- 4 Ai =sa:y (0.6) in °english:°
5 (1.2)
- 6 Ai °eh:: ↑to° (0.4) sou::ritsu (0.5) s- congra>tulations<
erm foundation
- 7 on: the (0.6) seven:(.)↑teenth year of the foundation
8 (.) OF school >or something<=
- 9 Bev =ah: [s-]
- 10 Ai [>li]ke a< ph↓ra:se
11 (1.0)
- 12 Bev AH:m we w- >probably just sa:y< °eh-° seventeenth (.)
13 a:nniversary:
14 (0.8)
- 15 Ai just [seven]>teenth< anni[versary]
16 Bev [Ah-] [yeah: ye]ah: >WE ah:<
17 just use a:nniver↑sary °for ↑that°
18 (1.3)
- 19 Ai <twenTY::> >thIRD?<
20 (0.6)
- 21 Bev A:NNIver°sary°
22 (4.9)
- 23 Bev °e[h:°]
- 24 Ai [DO]uble en: ((n))?
- 25 Bev a- >↑DOUBLE ↓EN< ((n))
26 (3.4)
- 27 Bev Y:EAH yeah
- 28 Ai °>o↑kay<°
29 (1.1)

30 Ai °↑ye:ah°
 31 (0.4)
 32 Bev °i think that's: (0.3) that's the best ↑way° (0.4) YEah
 33 >coz WE D↑ON'T HA:VE< school foundation day >or
 34 anything<
 35 Ai hu:h=
 36 Bev =>so ↑WE don't really have a w-< (0.6) °way: of say-
 37 >↑just the< seventeenth a:nniversary of kuroshima high
 38 ↑school?°
 39 (1.5)
 40 Ai EH: (.) anniversary (0.4) ↑OH VU: ((of))?
 41 (0.6)
 42 Ai ↑OF [[kuroshima high school?]]
 43 Bev [[↑Uh::↓m]]
 44 (1.5)
 45 Ai °↑o↓kay:° (0.4) °↑thank° ↓you
 46 (0.8)
 47 Bev n↑o ↓pro:blem
 48 (30)

Appendix I

Encounter 8

- 1 Aoi AH::: >nishimura ↑sen↓sei< (.) pro↑fessor nishi-
teacher
- 2 [>nishimuras<]
- 3 Ben [↑uh↓m]
- 4 (0.5)
- 5 Aoi AH::: in tha:: >nan ke< daigaku?
what is it? university?
- 6 Ben ↑Uh:↓m
- 7 Aoi AH::: hhh told U::s that (.) in if yu- (0.3) if we- (0.6)
8 if we >talk abouduh< CAPital punishMENT: (0.4) we
9 ↑usually: (0.5) AH:: have TH↑REE: THRee elements:
- 10 Ben Uh:↓m
- 11 Aoi and (.) ↑o:ne I::S (0.3) THE:: (0.4) °↑how can I s↓ay°
12 (1.5)
- 13 Aoi ↑HOW CAN I S↓AY (0.4) like a revenge (.) reVENGE
14 >to iu ka<
do you say?
- 15 Ben ↑Uh:↓m
- 16 Aoi if W↑E::: do:: >something< BA::↓D >we should be<
17 PUNISHed=
- 18 Ben =for THA(.)t
- 19 Aoi for [that]
- 20 Ben [oh::] ↑AH:::m
- 21 Aoi o:r f↑o:r (.) THA::
- 22 Ben ↑would >say< punishment=
- 23 Aoi =PUNISHm[ent] punishment .hh and ↑second second (.)=
24 Ben [yeah]
- 25 Aoi =AH:: (.) element i::s (0.3) AH:M=
26 Ben =>↑AH retribution sorry< retribution
27 Aoi retribu:tio[n] oh retriBU: [Tion]=
28 Ben [↑uh↓m] [↑uh↓m hm]

29 Aoi =>ah< retribu::tion da[tta]
it was

30 Ben [↑YES] °h↓m°

31 Aoi retribu::tion TO: (0.3) ↑SECOnd WA: (0.5) eh:: to:
and is let me think

32 (0.3) ↑USUally (.) if ↑WE: do:: (0.5) >°nan ke°< (0.4)
what is it?

33 for example if WE: a- WE have capital punish[ment]=
34 Ben [u:↓hm]

35 Aoi =S↑O: (0.5) AH:↓:: (0.5) WE::↓:
36 (1.0)

37 Aoi WE:: (0.4) should no- WE:: t↑ry not to:: kill others

38 Ben ↑UH:↓: m uh↓m

Appendix J

Encounter 9

- 1 Asa >itsumo kore ni naru yo< ne:
it always ends up like this
- 2 (0.3)
- 3 Gen kake tte >ittara< (.) katei tte ittara (.) sou desu ne
should I tell them to write the subjunctive mood? hmm
- 4 (0.9)
- 5 Ami genmitsu ni wa >chotto< chigatte iru n:: desu ga ne:
but strictly speaking, that isn't really right
- 6 Gen (?)=
- 7 Ben =what's the question?
- 8 (1.0)
- 9 Ami i:: (.) °u-° tur:ned (.) japanese transla:tion
- 10 (0.8)
- 11 Ami in↓to <japa>↓nese (0.4) although:
- 12 (0.8)
- 13 Ami i ↑wish: i ↑could have bou:ght a ↑TICKet
- 14 (1.0)
- 15 Ben uh::↓m
- 16 (2.1)
- 17 Ami [[°↑but°]]
- 18 Ben [[↑but]]
- 19 (0.9)
- 20 Ben they said (.) i (0.5) ↑could have ↑bough (0.3) °<t::>°
- 21 Ami °↑u:↓u↑uhn°
- no*
- 22 (0.7)
- 23 Ami ↑NAN °to ↓uttara ↓ii: no°
- what should I say*
- 24 (2.2)
- 25 Ami in: ↑the (0.6) japane:se
- 26 (1.0)
- 27 Ami the:y (0.3) ca↑nno- (0.5) they COULDN't (.) bu:y a

28 ticke[t]

29 Ben [↑UH:]↓m: (0.4) >↑yeah<

30 (0.7)

31 Ami ↑de↓mo: (0.5) they said (0.3) they ↓DID↑N'T buy a
 but

32 ↓ticket

33 Ben AH::↓::

34 (2.6)

35 Ben it's a ↑bit (.) diffe↑ren°t:[::°]

36 Ami [°>ah<°] ↑CHI↓GAU
 different

37 Ben ↑uh:↓m:

38 (1.8)

39 Ben i w::↑ish: i could have bought a ticket? ↓mea::ns

40 (3.0)

41 Ben ah:[::] i would >have:< (.) i wanted to:?=

42 Ami [°i-°]

43 Ami =°uh ↑hm°

44 Ben >↑but<

45 (1.2)

46 Ben i ↑could↓n (0.6) °t:::° becau:::se: (0.5)it's >out< of my
47 <power?>

48 Ami °>↑uh ↓hm< hm:°

49 Ben >↑but< i ↑did↓n't (0.3) buy a ↑ti↓cket

50 (1.6)

51 Ben >↑it< DOESn't tell you why:?

52 Ami ↑UH::↓m::

53 Ben wh°a-° (.) whoa- (.) >we don't know< why: they
54 didn['t?]

55 Ami [°↑h:↓m::°] (.) >it's ↑like<

56 (0.9)

57 Ami >↑chotto< ↑CHI↓GAU
 a little different

58 Ben a little °bit° (0.4) °diffe↓rent hm::°

59 (1.3)

60 Ami *B sensei mo chigau to iware[te iru]*

B teacher is also saying its different

(voice becomes more distant)

61 Ben [h::↓m:] a li↓ttle

62 (3.0)

Appendix K

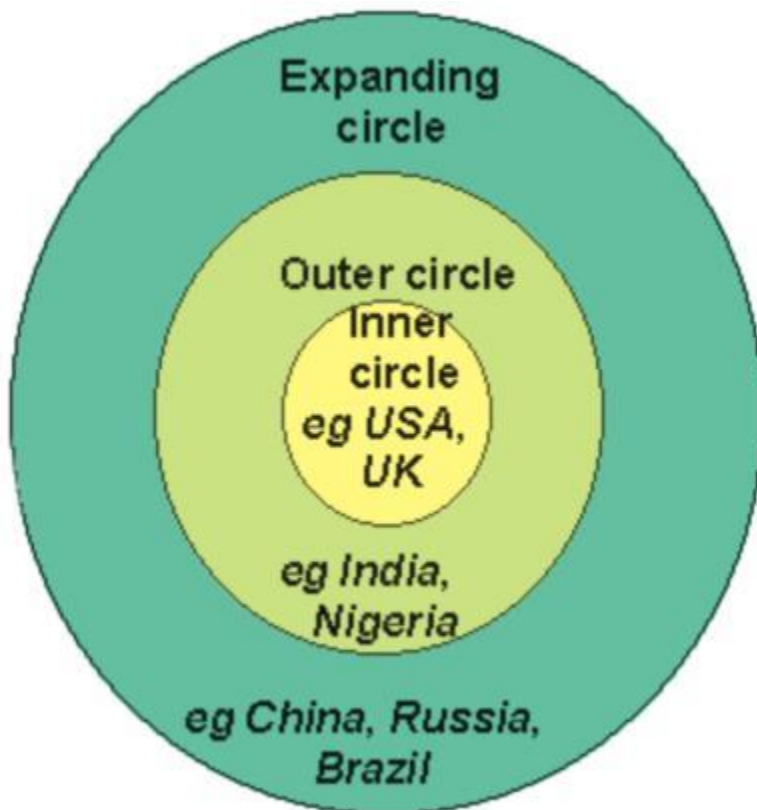
Encounter 10

- 1 Ama AH:: (.) >i have a ques:tion<
- 2 Bev ↑yes
- 3 (1.8)
- 4 Ama °dokoro ↑da ↓kke:::°
where is it?
- 5 (0.8)
- 6 Ama °↑uh (.) >ah ↑chi↓gau<°
wrong
- 7 (1.3)
- 8 Ama .hhh some people are ↑wo:↓°rrie::d°
- 9 (0.7)
- 10 Ama that (.) if this:: trend continues >to adVANCE<
- 11 economy will become ↑less com(.)petitive?
- 12 (0.4)
- 13 Bev UH huh?
- 14 (0.7)
- 15 Ama ↑TO:
- 16 *and*
- 17 (0.5)
- 17 ((sound of a page turning))
- 18 Bev ((cough))
- 19 (1.0)
- 20 Ama °>↑all: ri:ght<°
- 21 (1.6)
- 22 Ama some people are WO:>rried ↓tha:t< (0.4) ↑the: (.)
- 23 com:: (.) petitive ↑POwers (.) or power:?
- 24 Bev >i think< POWER >is better:<
- 25 Ama ↑po↓wer
- 26 (0.6)
- 27 Ama <↑I:n japa(.)ne:se economy:: (0.3) ↑will (0.4) dro:::p>
- 28 (0.5)

29 Bev >UH huh will dro:p?<
30 (1.0)
31 Ama °↑o↓kay:° >↑IF this trend continues?<
32 Bev ↑UH↓M
33 Ama ↑Its (0.3) >↑POWER?<
34 Bev >i think< °power is better (.) ↑yeah°
35 Ama °heh[↑::°]
36 Bev [°com]↑petitive ↑power°
37 Ama >kore okashikunai? <
this isn't strange?
38 Bev ↑UH↓M NO: >no ↓no<
39 (0.4)
40 Ama *iSSHO?*
the same?
41 Bev >↑it's ↑o↓kay<
42 (2.8)
43 Ama kore na:ni:?
what is this?
44 Bev ah: sakai kun ah *ichi nen sei*
that first grade boy Sakai

Appendix L

Kachru's 'Three Circles of English' (1985)



Retrieved from

http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/a/ae/Kachru%27s_three_circles_of_English.jpg

(22/11/2013)

In 1985, to conceptualize the global spread of the English language, Kachru created a 'Concentric Circles of the English language' model. This is made up of 'inner', 'outer' and 'expanding' circle countries. Countries in the 'inner circle' have English as their 'mother tongue' - for example the UK and USA. 'Outer circle' countries don't have English as their 'mother tongue' but use it domestically as a common language between different ethnic and linguistic groups - for example India, Bangladesh and Kenya. For 'expanding circle' countries, English hasn't been used historically nor by their governments. English is used, however, for international communication. Examples of 'expanding circle' countries are China, Japan, Russia and Egypt.

References

- Anspach, R. (1993). *Deciding who lives: fateful choices in the intensive-care nursery*. Berkeley: California University Press.
- Antaki, C. (1998). Identity-ascriptions in their time and place: "Fagin" and "The Terminally Dim.". In: C. Antaki & S. Widdicombe (eds.), *Identities in talk*. London: Sage, 71-86.
- Antaki, C. and Widdicombe, S. (1998). *Identities in Talk*. London: Sage Publications.
- Arnold, L. (2012). Dialogic Embodied Action: Using Gesture to Organize Sequence and Participation in Instructional Interaction. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 45 (3), 269-296.
- Aston, G. (1995). Say 'Thank You': Some Pragmatic Constraints in Conversational Closings. *Applied Linguistics*, 16 (1), 57-86.
- Atkinson, J. and Drew, P. (1979). *Order in court: the organization of verbal interaction in judicial settings*. London: Macmillan.
- Auer, P. (1984). *Bilingual Conversation*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Auer, P. (1995). The pragmatics of code-switching: a sequential approach. In: L. Milroy & P. Muysken (eds.), *One Speaker, Two Languages. Cross-disciplinary Perspectives on Code-switching*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 115–135.
- Auer, P., 1998. Introduction: Bilingual conversation revisited. In: P. Auer (Ed.), *Code-switching in conversation: Language, interaction and identity*. London: Routledge, 1-24.
- Auerbach, E. (1993). Re-examining English only in the ESL classroom. *TESOL Quarterly*, 27 (1), 9-32.
- Bakhtin, M. (1981). *The Dialogic Imagination: four essays*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Bayley, R. and Schecter, S. (2003). *Language Socialization in Bilingual and Multilingual Societies*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

- Beach, W. and Anderson, J. (2004). Communication and Cancer? Part II. *Journal of Psychosocial Oncology*, 21 (4), 1-22.
- Beach, W. and Metzger, T. (1997). Claiming insufficient knowledge. *Human Communication Research*, 23 (4), 562-588.
- Beeke, S., Wilkinson, R. and Maxim, J. (2003). Exploring aphasic grammar 1: a single case analysis of conversation. *Clinical linguistics & Phonetics*, 17 (2), 81-107.
- Benveniste, E. (1971). *Problems in general linguistics*. Miami, Florida: University of Miami Press.
- Benwell, B. (2011). Masculine identity and identification as ethnomethodological phenomena: Revisiting Cameron and Kulick. *Gender and Language*, 5 (2), 187-211.
- Benwell, B. (2012). Common-sense anti-racism in book group talk: The role of reported speech. *Discourse and Society*, 23 (4), 359-376.
- Benwell, B. and Stokoe, E. (2006). *Discourse and Identity*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Bergmann, J. (1992). Veiled morality: notes on discretion in psychiatry. In: P. Drew & J. Heritage (eds.), *Talk at work: interaction in institutional settings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 137-162.
- Bhatt, R. M. (2002). Experts, dialects, and discourse. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 12 (1), 74-109.
- Bialystok, E., (1978). A theoretical model of second language learning. *Language Learning*, 28, 69-83.
- Bialystok, E. (2001). *Bilingualism in Development*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Billig, M. (1999). 'Whose Terms? Whose Ordinarity? Rhetoric and Ideology in Conversation Analysis'. *Discourse & Society*, 10, 543-82.

- Block, D. (2007a). The rise of identity in SLA research, post Firth & Wagner (1997). *The Modern Language Journal*, 91 (s1), 863-876.
- Block, D. (2007b). *Second Language Identities*. New York: Continuum.
- Bloomfield, L. (1933). *Language*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston.
- Boden, D. (1994). *The business of talk: organizations in action*. London: Polity Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1977). The economics of linguistic exchanges. *Social Science Information*, 16, 645–668.
- Braine, G. (2010). *Nonnative Speaker English Teachers: Research, Pedagogy and Professional Growth*. Oxford: Routledge.
- Brandt, A. (2006). Allowing for practice: a critical issue in TESOL teacher preparation. *ELT Journal*, 60 (4), 355-364.
- Brandt, A. (2011). *The maintenance of mutual understanding in online second language talk*. PhD thesis, Newcastle University, UK. Retrieved from <https://theses.ncl.ac.uk/dspace/bitstream/10443/1213/1/Brandt%2011%28note%20to%20be%20added%20on%20upload%20-%20multimedia...at%20Robinson%20Library%29.pdf>
- Briggs, C. (1997). Introduction: From the Ideal, the Ordinary, and the Orderly to Conflict and Violence in Pragmatic Research. *Pragmatics*, 7, 451–9.
- Brouwer, C. (2003). Word Searches in NNS–NS Interaction: Opportunities for Language Learning? *The Modern Language Journal*, 87 (4), 534-545.
- Brouwer, C. and Wagner, J. (2004). Developmental issues in second language conversation. *Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 1, 29–47.
- Bruner, J. (1987). Life as narrative. *Social Research*, 54 (1), 11–32.
- Button, G. and Casey, N. (1985). Topic Nomination and Topic Pursuit. *Human Studies*, 8, 3-55.

- Carroll, D. (2005). Vowel-marking as an interactional resource in Japanese novice ESL conversation. In: K. Richards & P. Seedhouse (eds.), *Applying conversation analysis*. London: Palgrave–Macmillan, 214–234.
- Cekaite, A. (2007). A child's development of interactional competence in a Swedish L2 classroom. *The Modern Language Journal*, 91 (1), 45-62.
- Cekaite, A. and Bjork-Willen, P. (2013). Peer group interactions in multilingual educational settings: Co-constructing social order and norms for language use. *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 17 (2), 174-188.
- Chafe, W. (1994). *Discourse, Consciousness, and Time: the flow and displacement of conscious experience in speaking and writing*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Chomsky, N. (1957). *Syntactic Structures*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Chomsky, N. (1968). *Language and Mind*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich.
- Chomsky, N. (1986). *Knowledge of language: its nature, origin, and use*. New York: Praeger.
- Cioffi, F. (2000). The propaedeutic delusion: what can 'ethogenic science' add to our pre-theoretic understanding of 'loss of dignity, humiliation and expressive failure'? *History of the human sciences*, 13 (1), 108-123.
- Coates, J. (2000). Small talk and subversion: Female speakers backstage. In: J. Coupland (ed.), *Small talk*. Harlow: Pearson, 241-263.
- Cook, V. (1999). Going Beyond the Native Speaker in Language Teaching. *Tesol Quarterly*, 33 (2), 185-209.
- Corder, S. P. (1967). The Significance of Learner's Errors. *International Review of Applied Linguistics*, 5, 161-170.
- Corder, S. P. (1973). *Introducing applied linguistics*. Harmondsworth, England: Penguin.

- Creese, A. (2005). *Teacher Collaboration and Talk in Multilingual Classrooms*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Cromdal, J. (2000). *Code-Switching for all practical purposes. Bilingual organization of children's play. Linköping Studies in Arts and Science, 223*. Department of Child Studies, Linköping University (Diss.).
- Dagneaux, E., Denness, S. and Granger, S. (1998). Computer-aided error analysis. *System*, 26 (2), 163-174.
- Davies, A. (1991). *The Native Speaker in Applied Linguistics*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Davies, A. (1996). Proficiency or the native speaker: What are we trying to achieve in ELT? In: G. Cook & B. Seidlhofer (eds.), *Principle and practice in applied linguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 145-157.
- Davies, A. (2011). Does Language Testing Need the Native Speaker? *Language Assessment Quarterly*, 8 (3), 291-308.
- Davies, A. (2012). Who owns English? Questioning the native speaker. *Journal for Language Teaching*, 46 (2), 191-201.
- Dickerson, L. (1975). The Learner's Interlanguage as a System of Variable Rules. *TESOL Quarterly*, 9 (4), 401-407.
- Dings, A. (2012). Native speaker/nonnative speaker interaction and orientation to novice/expert identity. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 44 (11), 1503-1518.
- Drew, P. (1991). Asymmetries of Knowledge in Conversational Interactions. In: I. Markova & K. Foppa (eds.), *Asymmetries in Dialogue*. Hemmel-Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 29-48.
- Drew, P. (2012). What drives sequences? *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 45 (1), 61-68.
- Drew, P. and Heritage, J. (1992). *Talk at Work*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Drucker, P. (1993). *Post-Capitalist Society*. New York: Harper.
- Duff, P. (2006). Beyond Generalizability: Contextualization, Complexity, and Credibility in Applied Linguistics Research. In: M. Chalhoub-Deville, C. Chapelle, & P. Duff (eds.), *Inference and generalizability in applied linguistics: Multiple research perspectives*. Dordrecht, Netherlands: John Benjamins, 65-95.
- Duranti, A. (1997). *Linguistic Anthropology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Durkheim, E. (1915). *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*. London: Allen & Unwin.
- Egbert, M., Niebecker, L. and Rezzara, S. (2004). Doing Pronunciation: A Specific Type of Repair Sequence. In: R. Gardner & J. Wagner (eds.), *Second Language Conversations*. London: Continuum, 93-113.
- Ehrlich, S. and Freed, F. (2010). The function of questions in institutional discourse. In: A. F. Freed & S. Ehrlich (eds.), *“Why do you ask?”: The function of questions in institutional discourse*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 3-19.
- Ellingson, L. (2003). Interdisciplinary Health Care Teamwork in the Clinic Backstage. *Journal of Applied Communication Research*, 31 (2), 93-117.
- Ellis, N. (1999). Cognitive Approaches to SLA. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 19, 22-42.
- Englert, C. (2010). Questions and responses in Dutch conversations. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 42 (10), 2666–2684.
- Escudero, P. and Sharwood-Smith, M. (2001). Reinventing the native speaker: or ‘What you never wanted to know about the native speaker so never dared to ask.’. *EuroSLA Yearbook*, 1 (1), 275-286.
- Faerch, C. and Kasper, G. (1983). Plans and strategies in foreign language communication. In: C. Faerch & C. Kasper (eds.), *Strategies in interlanguage communication*, London: Longman, 20–60.
- Firth, A. (1996). The discursive accomplishment of normality. On ‘lingua franca’ English and Conversation Analysis. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 26, 237-260.

- Firth, A. (2009). Doing not being a foreign language learner: English as a lingua franca in the workplace and (some) implications for SLA. *International Review of Applied Linguistics in Language Teaching*, 47 (1), 127-156.
- Firth, A. (2012). The social practice of practising English Learning lessons from outside the language classroom. *The Language Teacher*, 36 (4), 9 -11.
- Firth, A. and Wagner, J. (1997). On Discourse, Communication, and (Some) Fundamental Concepts in SLA Research. *The Modern Language Journal*, 81, 285-300.
- Firth, A. and Wagner, Y. (1998). SLA property: No trespassing! *The Modern Language Journal*, 82, 91-94.
- Firth, A. and Wagner, Y. (2007). Second/Foreign Language Learning as a Social Accomplishment: Elaborations on a Reconceptualized SLA. *The Modern Language Journal*, 91 (s1), 800-819.
- Fotos, S. (2001). Codeswitching By Japan's Unrecognized Bilinguals: Japanese University Students' Use Of Their Native Language As A Learning Strategy. In: M. Goebel Noguchi & S. Fotos (eds.), *Studies in Japanese Bilingualism*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 329-352.
- Fox, B. and S. Thompson. (2010). Responses to Wh-Questions in English Conversation. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 43 (2), 133-156.
- Gafaranga, J. (2001). Linguistic identities in talk-in-interaction: Order in bilingual conversation. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 33 (12), 1901-1912.
- Gafaranga, J. (2012). Language alternation and conversational repair in bilingual conversation. *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 16 (4), 501-527.
- Gardner, R. and Wagner, J. (2004). *Second Language Conversations*. New York: Continuum.
- Garfinkel, H. (1967). *Studies in Ethnomethodology*. Cambridge: Polity.

- Garfinkel, H. (1984). Common sense knowledge of social structures: the documentary method of interpretation in lay and professional fact-finding. In: H. Garfinkel (ed.), *Theories of the mind*. New York: Free Press, 76-103.
- Gass, S. M. (1998). Apples and Oranges: Or, Why Apples Are Not Orange and Don't Need to Be A Response to Firth and Wagner. *The Modern Language Journal*, 82 (1), 83-90.
- Gass, S. M. (2003). 'Input and interaction'. In: C. J. Doughty & M. L. Long (eds), *The Handbook of Second Language Acquisition*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 224-255.
- Gass, S. M. and Varonis, E. M. (1985a). Task variation and nonnative/nonnative negotiation of meaning. In: S. M. Gass & C. G. Madden (eds.), *Input in second language acquisition*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House, 149–161.
- Gass, S. M. and Varonis, E. M. (1985b). Variation in native speaker speech modification to non-native speakers. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*, 7, 37–57.
- Gill, V. (1998). Doing Attributions in Medical Interaction: Patients' Explanations for Illness and Doctors' Responses. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 61 (4). 342-360.
- Gills, B. (2004). The turning of the tide. *Globalizations*, 1 (1), 1–6.
- Goffman, E. (1955). On face-work. *Psychiatry. Journal for the Study of Interpersonal Processes*, 18, 213- 231.
- Goffman, E. (1959/1971). *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.
- Goffman, E. (1967). *Interaction Ritual*. Chicago: Aldine Publishing.
- Goffman, E. (1983). The Interaction Order. *American Sociological Review*, 48, 1-17.
- Goodwin, C. (1979). The Interactive Construction of a Sentence in Natural Conversation. In: G. Psathas (ed.), *Everyday Language: Studies in Ethnomethodology*. New York: Irvington Publishers, 97- 121.

- Goodwin, C. (1981). *Conversational Organization: Interaction between speakers and hearers*. New York: Academic Press.
- Goodwin, C. (2007). Participation, stance and affect in the organization of activities. *Discourse and Society*, 18 (1), 53-73.
- Goodwin, C. and Goodwin, M. (1987). Concurrent operations on talk: Notes on the interactive organization of assessments. *IPrA Papers in Pragmatics*, 1 (1): 1-52.
- Graddol, D. (1997). *The future of English?*. London: British Council.
- Graddol, D. (1999). The decline of the native speaker. *AILA Review*, 13, 57-68.
- Greatbatch, D. (1988). A turn-taking system for British news interviews. *Language in Society*, 17, 401-430.
- Grice, H. P. (1975). Logic and conversation. In: P. Cole & J. Morgan (eds.), *Syntax and semantics. 3: Speech acts*. New York: Academic Press, 41-58.
- Groenendijk, J. (1998). Questions in update semantics. In: J. Hulstijn & A. Nijholt (eds.), *Formal semantics and pragmatics of dialogue*. Twente,: University of Twente Proceedings TWLT13, 125-137.
- Guiora, AZ. (2005). The language sciences - The challenges ahead: a farewell address. *Language Learning*, 55, 183-189.
- Haas, P. (1992). Introduction: epistemic communities and international policy coordination. *International Organization*. 46 (1), 1-35.
- Halliday, M. and Hasan, R. (1976). *Cohesion in English*. London: Longman.
- Hancock, M. (1997). Behind classroom code switching: Layering and language choice in L2 learner interaction. *TESOL Quarterly*, 31, 217-235.

- Hare-Mustin, R. and Maracek, J. (1990). *Making a Difference: Psychology and the Construction of Gender*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- ten Have, P. (1991). Talk and institution: a reconsideration of the 'asymmetry' of doctor-patient interaction. In: D. Boden & D. Zimmerman (eds.), *Talk and social structure: studies in ethnomethodology and conversation analysis*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 138-63.
- ten Have, P. (2007). *Doing Conversation Analysis*. London: Sage.
- Hayashi, M. (2012). Claiming Uncertainty in Recollection: A Study of Kke- Marked Utterances in Japanese Conversation. *Discourse Processes*, 49 (5), 391-425.
- Heath, C. (1986). *Body Movement and Speech in Medical Interaction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Heath, C. (1997). The analysis of activities in face to face interaction using video. In: D. Silverman. (ed.), *Qualitative Research: Theory, Method and Practice*. London: Sage Publications, 183-200.
- Heinemann, T. and Lindström, A., Steensig, J. (2011). Addressing epistemic incongruence in question-answer sequences through the use of epistemic adverbs. In: T. Stivers, L. Mondada, & J. Steensig (eds.), *The morality of knowledge in conversation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 107-131.
- Hellermann, J. (2008). *Social actions for classroom language learning*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Hellermann, J. (2009). Looking for evidence of language learning in practices for repair: A case study of self-initiated self-repair by an adult learner of English. *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research*, 53 (2), 113–132.
- Hellermann, J. (2011). Members' methods, members' competencies: Evidence of language learning in longitudinal studies of other-initiated repair. In: J. Hall, J. Hellermann, & S. Pekarek Doehler (eds.), *The Development of Interactional Competence*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 147-172.

- Heritage, J. (1984). A change-of-state token and aspects of its sequential placement. In: J. M. Atkinson & J. Heritage (eds.), *Structures of social action: studies in conversation analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 299–345.
- Heritage, J. (1998). Oh-prefaced responses to inquiry. *Language in Society*, 27 (3), 291–334.
- Heritage, J. (2005). Conversation Analysis and Institutional Talk. In: L. Fitch & R. Sanders (eds.), *Handbook of Language and Social Interaction*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 103-147.
- Heritage, J. (2007). Intersubjectivity and progressivity in references to persons (and places). In: Stivers, T. & Enfield, N.J. (eds.), *Person Reference in Interaction: Linguistic, Cultural and Social Perspectives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 255–280.
- Heritage, J. (2010). Conversation Analysis: practice and methods. In: D. Silverman (ed.), *Qualitative Research*. London: Sage Publications, 208-230.
- Heritage, J. (2011). Territories of experience, territories of knowledge: Empathic moments in interaction. In: T. Stivers, L. Mondada, & J. Steensig (eds.), *The morality of knowledge in conversation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 159–183.
- Heritage, J. (2012a). The epistemic engine: Sequence organization and territories of knowledge. *Research on language and social interaction*, 45 (1), 30-52.
- Heritage, J. (2012b). Epistemics in action: Action formation and territories of knowledge. *Research on language and social interaction*, 45 (1), 1-29.
- Heritage, J. and Raymond, G. (2005). The terms of agreement: Indexing epistemic authority and subordination in assessment sequences. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 68: 15–38.
- Heritage, J. and Sorjonen, M. (1994). Constituting and maintaining activities across sequences. And-prefacing as a feature of question design. *Language in Society*, 23, 1-29.
- Heritage, J. and Watson, D. (1979). Formulations as conversational objects. In: G. Psathas (ed.), *Everyday language: Studies in ethnomethodology*. New York: Irvington, 123-162.

- Holliday, A. (2006). Native-speakerism. *ELT Journal*, 60 (4), 385-387.
- Holzner, B. and J. H. Marx. (1979). *Knowledge Application: The Knowledge System in Society*. Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon.
- Hosoda, Y. (2000). Other-Repair in Japanese Conversations Between Nonnative and Native Speakers. *Issues in Applied Linguistics*, 11 (1), 39-63.
- Hosoda, Y. (2006). Repair and Relevance of Differential Language Expertise in Second Language Conversations. *Applied Linguistics*, 27 (1), 25-50.
- Hosoda, Y. and Aline, D. (2012). Doing being interrupted by noise as a resource in second language interaction. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 44 (1), 54-70.
- House, J. (2013). Developing pragmatic competence in English as a lingua franca: Using discourse markers to express (inter)subjectivity and connectivity. *Journal of Pragmatics*, in press.
- Houtkoop-Stenstra, H. (1994). De interactionele functie van zacht spreken in interviews [The interactional function of low volume in interviews]. *Gramma/TTT*, 3, 183-202.
- Hutchby, I. and Wooffitt, R. (1998). *Conversation Analysis: principles, practices and applications*. Cambridge. Polity Press.
- Hutchins, E. (1995). *Cognition in the Wild*. MIT Press, Cambridge MA.
- Hymes, D. (1961). Functions of speech: The evolutionary approach. In: F. Cruber (ed.), *Anthropology and education*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 55–83.
- Hymes, D. (1974). *Foundations in sociolinguistics: An ethnographic approach*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Ihemere, K. (2007). *A tri-generational study of language choice and shift in Port Harcourt*. Boca Raton: Universal Publishers.

- Jakonen, T. and Morton, T. (2013). Epistemic Search Sequences in Peer Interaction in a Content-based Language Classroom. *Applied Linguistics*, 1-23.
- Jefferson, G. (1973). A case of precision timing in ordinary conversation: over-lapped tag-positioned address terms in closing sequences. *Semiotica*, 9, 47-96.
- Jefferson, G. (1974). Error correction as an interactional resource. *Language in society*, 2, 181-199.
- Jefferson, G. (1978). Sequential aspects of storytelling in conversation. In: J. Schenkein (ed.), *Studies in the Organization of Conversational Interaction*. London: Academic Press, 219–248.
- Jefferson, G. (1983). On exposed and embedded correction in conversation. *Studium Linguistik*, 14, 58-68.
- Jefferson, G. (1984). Notes on a systematic deployment of the acknowledgement tokens “Yeah”; and “Mm Hm”. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 17 (2), 197-216.
- Jefferson, G. (1985). An exercise in the transcription and analysis of laughter. In: T.A. van Dijk (ed.), *Handbook of discourse analysis*, vol.III. London: Academic Press, 25-34.
- Jefferson, G. (1986). Notes on 'latency' in overlap onset. *Human Studies*, 9, 153-183.
- Jefferson, G. (1987). On exposed and embedded correction in conversation. In: G. Button & J.R.E. Lee (eds.), *Talk and social organization*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 86-100.
- Jefferson, G. (1988). On the sequential organisation of troubles talk in ordinary conversation. *Social Problems*, 35 (4), 418-441.
- Jefferson, G. (1993). Caveat speaker: preliminary notes on recipient topic-shift implicature. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 26 (1), 1–30.
- Jenkins, J. (2006). Points of view and blind spots: ELF and SLA. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 16, 137–162.

- Jenks, C. (2009). Getting acquainted in Skypecasts: aspects of social organization in online chat rooms. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 19 (1), 26-46.
- Jeon, M. and Lee, J. (2006). Hiring native-speaking English teachers in East Asian countries. *English Today*, 22 (4), 53-58.
- Jeong, K. (2004). A chapter of English teaching in Korea. *English Today*, 20 (2), 40–46.
- Johnson, K. and Johnson, H. (1998). *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Applied Linguistics*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Kachru, B. (1985). Standards, codification and sociolinguistic realism: the English language in the outer circle. In: R. Quirk & H. Widdowson (eds.), *English in the World*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 11-30.
- Kamio, A. (1994). The theory of territory of information - the case of Japanese. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 21, 67–100.
- Kamp, H. (1981). A theory of truth and semantic representation. In: J. Groenendijk, T. Janssen & M. Stokhof (eds.), *Truth, Interpretation, and Information* (Selected Papers from the Third Amsterdam Symposium), Groningen-Amsterdam: Foris, 1-41.
- Kärkkäinen, E. (2003). *Epistemic stance in English conversation: a description of its interactional functions with a focus on I think*. Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Kärkkäinen, E. (2007). The role of *I guess* in conversational stancetaking. In: Englebretson (ed.), *Stancetaking in Discourse: Subjectivity, Evaluation, Interaction*. Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 183-219.
- Karmiloff-Smith, A. (1997). *Beyond Modularity*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Kasper, G. (1997). A stands for acquisition: A response to Firth and Wagner. *The Modern Language Journal*, 81, 307–312.

- Kasper, G. (2004). Participant Orientations in German Conversation-for-Learning. *The Modern Language Journal*, 88 (4), 551-567.
- Kasper, G. (2009). Categories, context and comparison in CA. In: H. Nguyen & G. Kasper (eds), *Talk-in-Interaction: Multilingual Perspectives*. Honolulu: National Foreign Language Resource Center, 1-28.
- Kasper, G. and Kim, Y. (2007). Handling sequentially inapposite responses. In: Z. Hua, P. Seedhouse, L. Wei, & V. Cook (eds.), *Language learning and teaching as social interaction*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 22–41.
- Kasper, G. and Wagner, J. (2011). A conversation-analytic approach to second language acquisition. In: D. Atkinson (ed.), *Alternative approaches to second language acquisition*. London: Routledge, 117-142.
- Kendon, A. (1990). *Conducting Interaction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kiernan, P. (2010). *Narrative Identity in English Language Teaching*. New York: Palgrave-Macmillan.
- Kim, K. and Kim, H. (2013). L1 Korean Transfer in Processing L2 English Passive Sentences. *Selected Proceedings of the 2011 Second Language Research Forum*. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project, 118-128.
- Koole, T. (2010). Displays of epistemic access: Student responses to teacher explanations. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 43 (2), 183–209.
- Koshik, I. (2002). Designedly Incomplete Utterances: A Pedagogical Practice for Eliciting Knowledge Displays in Error Correction Sequences. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 35 (3), 277–309.
- Koshik, I. (2003). Wh-Questions Used as Challenges. *Discourse Studies*, 5 (1), 51–77.
- Koshik, I. (2005). Alternative questions used in conversational repair. *Discourse studies*, 7 (2), 193-211.

- Kramsch, C. (2006). Preview article of forthcoming book (The multilingual subject. Oxford: Oxford University Press). *International Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 16 (1), 97–110.
- Kramsch, C. (2007). *Language Acquisition and Language Socialization : Ecological Perspectives*. London : Continuum International Publishing Group.
- Krashen, S, D. (1977). Some issues related to the monitor model. In: H.D. Brown, C.A. Yorio, & R.H. Crymes (eds.) *On TESOL '77*. Washington, DC: TESOL, 144-158.
- Krashen, S, D. (1982). *Principles and Practice in Second Language Acquisition*. Oxford: Pergamon.
- Kubota, R. and McKay, S. (2009). Globalization and Language Learning in Rural Japan: The Role of English in the Local Linguistic Ecology. *TESOL Quarterly*, 43 (4), 593-619.
- Kurhila, S. (2001). Correction in talk between native and non-native speakers. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 33, 1083–1110.
- Kurhila, S. (2004). Clients or language learners – being a second language speaker. In: R. Gardner & J. Wagner (eds.), *Second Language Conversations*. London: Continuum, 58-74.
- Kurhila, S. (2006). *Second Language Interaction*. Philadelphia: John Benjamins publishing company.
- Kuroshima, S. (2010). Another look at the service encounter: progressivity, intersubjectivity, and trust in a Japanese sushi restaurant. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 42, 856–869.
- Labov, W. and Fanshel, D. (1977). *Therapeutic Discourse: Psychotherapy as Conversation*. New York: Academic Press.
- Lantolf, J. P. (1996). SLA theory building: “Letting all the flowers bloom!”. *Language Learning*, 46, 713–749.
- Larsen-Freeman, D. (2002). Language acquisition and language use from a chaos/complexity theory perspective. In: C. Kramsch (ed.), *Language acquisition and language socialization: Ecological perspectives*. London: Continuum, 33–46.

- Lave, J. (1988). *Cognition in Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lave, J. (1993). Situated learning in communities of practice. In: L. B. Resnick, J. M. Levine, & S. D. Teasley (eds.), *Perspectives on socially shared cognition*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association, 63–82.
- Lave, J. and Wenger, E. (1991). *Situated Learning: legitimate peripheral participation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lee, Y. (2007). Third Turn Position in Teacher Talk: Contingency and the Work of Teaching. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 39 (1), 180–206.
- Lee, Y. (2012). Descriptions of Second Language Interaction: Toward Descriptive Adequacy. *The Modern Language Journal*, 97 (4), 853-868.
- Lehti-Eklund, H. (2013). Code-switching to first language in repair – A resource for students’ problem solving in a foreign language classroom. *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 17 (2), 132-152.
- Lerner, G. (1991). On the syntax of sentences in progress. *Language In Society*, 20, 441–458.
- Lerner, G. (1995). Turn design and the organization of participation in instructional activities. *Discourse Processes*, 19 (1), 111-131.
- Lerner, G. (1996). Finding “face” in the preference structures of talk-in-interaction. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 59, 303-321.
- Lerner, G. (2004). Collaborative turn sequences. In: G. Lerner (ed.), *Conversation Analysis: Studies from the First Generation*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 225-256.
- Levine, G. (2011). *Code Choice in the Language Classroom*. Clevedon: Channel View Publications.
- Levinson, S. (1983). *Pragmatics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Levinson, S. (2000). *Presumptive meanings: the theory of generalized conversational implicature*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.
- Levinson, S. (2012). Interrogative intimations: On a possible social economics of interrogatives. In: J.-P. De Ruiter (ed.), *Questions: Formal, functional and interactional perspectives*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 11-32.
- Leyland, C. and Firth, A. (2014). The ‘penny-drop moment’ in English Language Help sequences. Forthcoming.
- Li, W. (1998). The “why” and “how” questions in the analysis of conversational code-switching. In: P. Auer (ed.), *Code-Switching in Conversation: Language, Interaction and Identity*. London: Routledge, 156–179.
- Licoppe, C. and Inada, Y. (2008). Geolocalized Technologies, Location-Aware Communities, and Personal Territories: The Mogi Case. *Journal of urban technology*, 15 (3), 5-24.
- Locke, J. (1996). Why do infants begin to talk? *Journal of Child Language*, 23 (2) 251-268.
- Long, M. H. (1997). Construct validity in SLA research. *The Modern Language Journal*, 81, 318–323.
- Long, M. H. and Doughty, C. J. (2003). SLA and cognitive science. In: C. J. Doughty & M.H. Long (eds.), *The handbook of second language acquisition*. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 866–869.
- Low, W. M. and Lu, D. (2008). Persistent Use of Mixed Code: An Exploration of Its Functions in Hong Kong Schools. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 9 (2), 181-204.
- Luckmann, T.(1983). Comment [on Breitborde]. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 39, 97-101.
- Macaro, E. (2001). Analysing student teachers’ codeswitching in foreign language class-rooms: Theories and decision making. *Modern Language Journal*, 85, 531–48.
- Macbeth, D. (2004). The Relevance of Repair for Classroom Correction. *Language in Society*, 33 (5), 703–36.

- MacDonald, P., Garcia-Carbonell, A. and Carot-Sierra, J. (2013). Computer Learner Corpora: analysing interlanguage errors in synchronous and asynchronous communication. *Language Learning & Technology*, 17 (2), 35-56.
- Mackey, A. and Gass, S. M. (2005). *Second Language Research*. London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Mahoney, S. (2004). Role Controversy among Team Teachers in the JET Programme. *JALT Journal*, 26, (2), 223-244.
- Mannheim, K. (1952). *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge*. London: Routledge Kegan Paul.
- Markee, N. (2008). Toward a Learning Behavior Tracking Methodology for CA-for-SLA. *Applied Linguistics*, 29 (3) 404–427.
- Markee, N. and Kasper, G. (2004). Classroom Talks: An Introduction. *The Modern Language Journal*, 88 (4), 491-500.
- Markee, N., and Seo, M-S. (2009). Learning talk analysis. *International Review of Applied Linguistics in Language Teaching*, 47 (1), 37–63.
- Martin, C. (2009). Relevance of Situational Context in Studying Learning as Changing Participation. *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research*, 53 (2), 133-149.
- Martin-Jones, M. (1995). Code-switching in the classroom: Two decades of research. In: L. Milroy & P. Muysken (eds.), *One Speaker, Two Languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 90–111.
- Maynard, D. (2003). *Bad news, good news: Conversational order in everyday talk and clinical settings*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Mazeland, H. and Zaman-Zadeh, M. (2004). The logic of clarification. Some observations about word-clarification repairs in Finnish-as-a-lingua-franca interactions. In: R. Gardner & J. Wagner (eds.), *Second Language Conversations*. London: Continuum, 132–156.

- McCarthy, E. D. (1996). *Knowledge as Culture: the New Sociology of Knowledge*. London: Routledge.
- Mishler, E. G. (1984). *The Discourse of Medicine: Dialectics of Medical Interviews*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- Miyazato, K. (2009). Power-sharing between NS and NNS Teachers: Linguistically powerful AETs vs. Culturally powerful JTEs. *JALT Journal*, 31 (1), 35-62.
- Mondada, L. (2005). La constitution de l'origo déictique comme travail interactionnel des participants: Une approche praxéologique de la spatialité. *Intellectica*, 41–42, 75–100.
- Mondada, L. (2007). Multimodal resources for turn-taking: pointing and the emergence of possible next speakers. *Discourse Studies*, 9, 194-225.
- Mondada, L. (2008). Using video for a sequential and multimodal analysis of social interaction: Videotaping institutional telephone calls. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 9, (3), Art. 39. <http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/1161/2571>
- Mondada, L. (2009). Emergent focused interactions in public places: A systematic analysis of the multimodal achievement of a common interactional space. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 41 (10), 1977-1997.
- Moore, L. (2002). Language mixing at home and school in a multilingual community. In: J.E. Alatis, H. Hamilton & A.H. Tan (eds), *Proceedings of the Georgetown University Roundtable 2000*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 135-140.
- Morgan-Short, K., Steinhauer, K. and Sanz, C. (2012). Explicit and Implicit Second Language Training Differentially Affect the Achievement of Native-like Brain Activation Patterns. *Journal of Cognitive Neuroscience*, 24 (4), 933-947.
- Mori, J. and Hasegawa. (2009). Doing Being a Foreign Language Learner in a Classroom: Embodiment of Cognitive States as Social Events. *International Review of Applied Linguistics in Language Teaching*, 47 (1), 65-94.

- Muysken, P. (2000). *Bilingual Speech: A Typology of Code-Mixing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Negretti, R. (1999). Web-based activities and SLA: a conversation analysis research approach. *Language Learning and Technology*, 3 (1), 75-87.
- Nicholas, B., Rossiter, M. and Abbott, N. (2011). The power of story in the ESL classroom. *Canadian Modern Language Review*, 67 (2), 247-268.
- Nikander, P. (2008). Working with Transcripts and Translated Data. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 5, 225-231.
- Norton Pierce, B. (1995). Social Identity, Investment, and Language Learning. *Tesol Quarterly*, 29 (1), 9-31.
- Ochs, E. (1982). Talking to children in Western Samoa, *Language in Society*, 11, 77-104.
- O'Connell, D. and Kowal, S. (1994). Some current transcription systems for spoken discourse: a critical analysis. *Pragmatics*, 4 (1), 81-107.
- Ortega, L. (2012). Epistemological diversity and moral ends of research in instructed SLA. *Language Teaching Research*, 16 (2), 206-226.
- Park, H. (2010). Japanese and Korean High Schools and Students in Comparative Perspective. In: J. Dronkers (ed.), *Quality and Inequality of Education*. Maastricht: Springer, 255-274.
- Park, I. (2007). Co-construction of Word Search Activities in Native and Non-native Speaker Interaction. *Working Papers in TESOL & Applied Linguistics*, 7 (2), 1-23.
- Park, I. (2012). Asking different types of polar questions: The interplay between turn, sequence, and context in writing conferences. *Discourse Studies*, 14 (5), 613-633.
- Parsons, T. (1937). *The Structure of Social Action*. New York: McGraw-Hill

- Pavlenko, A. (2001). Language learning memoirs as a gendered genre. *Applied Linguistics*, 22 (2), 213-240.
- Pavlenko, A. (2002). Poststructuralist approaches to the study of social factors in second language learning and use. In: V. Cook (ed.), *Portraits of the L2 user*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters, 257–302.
- Pekarek Doehler, S. (2010). Conceptual Changes and Methodological Challenges: On Language and Learning from a Conversation Analytic Perspective on SLA. In: P. Seedhouse, S. Walsh, C. Jenks (eds), *Conceptualising 'Learning' in Applied Linguistics*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 105-127.
- Pekarek Doehler, S. (2013). Conversation Analysis and Second Language Acquisition: CA-SLA. In C. Chapelle (ed), *The Encyclopedia of Applied Linguistics*, London: Blackwell Publishing, 1-8.
- Peräkylä, A. (1997). Reliability and validity in research based on transcripts. In: D. Silverman (ed.), *Qualitative Research. Theory, Method and Practice*. Sage Publications, London, pp. 201–220.
- Peräkylä, A. (1998). Authority and accountability: The delivery of diagnosis in primary health care. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 61, 301–320.
- Phillipson, R. (1992). *Linguistic imperialism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Pica, T., Young, R. and Doughty, C. (1987). The impact of interaction on comprehension. *TESOL Quarterly*, 21, 737–758.
- Piirainen-Marsh, A. and Tainio, L. (2009). Other-Repetition as a Resource for Participation in the Activity of Playing a Video Game. *The Modern Language Journal*, 9 (2), 153-169.
- Pike, K. (1967). *Language in relation to a unified theory of the structure of human behavior*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Pinker, S. (1994). *The Language Instinct*. London: Allen Lane.

- Pomerantz, A. (1980). Telling my side: 'Limited access' as a 'fishing' device. *Sociological Inquiry*, 50, 186–98.
- Pomerantz, A. (1984). Agreeing and disagreeing with assessments: Some features of preferred/dispreferred turn shapes. In: J. M. Atkinson & J. Heritage (eds.), *Structures of social action: Studies in conversational analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 57-101.
- Poon, A. (1998). Bilingualism and monolingualism: A shift in Hong Kong's language in education policy. In: V. Berry & A. McNeill (eds), *Policy and Practice in Language Education*. Hong Kong: Department of Curriculum Studies, the University of Hong Kong, 89-104.
- Potter, J. and Edwards, D. (2001). Discursive Psychology: Between Method and Paradigm. *Discourse and Society*, 14 (6), 783-794.
- Poznan, L. and Quirk, E. (2013). Second language acquisition of English questions: An elicited production study. *Applied Psycholinguistics*, 1-32.
- Psathas, G. (1990). *Conversation Analysis: the study of talk-in-interaction*. California: Sage Publications.
- Psathas, G. and Anderson, T. (1990). The "practices" of transcription in conversation analysis. *Semiotica*, 28, 75-99.
- Quirk, R., Greenbaum, S., Leech, G. and Jan Svartvik, J. (1985). *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*. New York: Longman.
- Rampton, B. (1987). Stylistic variability and not speakin 'normal' English. In: R. Ellis (ed.), *Second language acquisition in context*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 47-58.
- Rampton, B. (1990). Displacing the Native Speaker: expertise, affiliation, and inheritance. *ELT Journal*, 44 (2), 97-101.
- Raymond, G. (2000). The Voice of Authority: The Local Accomplishment of Authoritative Discourse in Live News Broadcasts. *Discourse Studies*, 2 (3) 54–79.

- Raymond, G. (2003). Grammar and social organization: Yes / No interrogatives and the structure of responding. *American Sociological Review*, 68, 939–967.
- Raymond, G. (2010). Grammar and social relations: Alternative forms of yes/no-type initiating actions in health visitor interactions. In: A. F. Freed & S. Ehrlich (eds.), *“Why do you ask?”: The function of questions in institutional discourse*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 87–107.
- Raymond, G. and Heritage, J. (2006). The Epistemics of Social Relations: Owning grandchildren. *Language in Society*, 35 (5), 677-705.
- Reissman, C. K. (2002). Analysis of Personal Narratives. In: J. Holstein & J. Gubrium (eds.), *Inside Interviewing: new lenses, new concerns*. London: Sage Publications, 695-710.
- Reynolds, A. G. (1991). The cognitive consequences of bilingualism. In: A. G. Reynolds (ed.), *Bilingualism, multiculturalism, and second language learning*. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum, 145–182.
- Richards, K. (2007). Knowing when to ‘no’: Aspects of alignment in professional relationships. In: H. Bowles & P. Seedhouse (eds.), *Conversation analysis and language for specific purposes*. Berlin: Peter Lang, 69–98.
- Richards, K. (2011). Engaging identities: personal disclosure and professional responsibility. In: J. Angouri & M. Marra (eds.), *Constructing identities at work*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 200-222.
- Roloff-Rothman, J. (2012). Looking for common ground: An investigation of motivational strategies valued by ALTs and JTEs. *Accents Asia*, 5 (2), 1-20.
- Romaniuk, T. and Ehrlich, S. (2013). On the interactional import of self-repair in the courtroom. In: M. Hayashi, G. Raymond & J. Sidnell (eds.), *Conversational Repair and Human Understanding*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 172-197.
- Sacks, H. (1984). Notes on methodology. In: J.M. Atkinson & J. Heritage (eds), *Structures of Social Action: Studies in Conversation Analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 21-27.

- Sacks, H. (1987). 'On the preferences for agreement and contiguity in sequences in conversation'. In: G. Button & J. R. E. Lee (eds.), *Talk and social organization*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 54-69.
- Sacks, H. (1992). *Lectures on conversation*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Sacks, H., Schegloff, E. and Jefferson, G. (1974). A simplest systematics for the organization of turn-taking for conversation. *Language*, 50 (4), 696–735.
- Sahlstrom, F. (2011). 'Learning as social action'. In: J. K. Hall, J. Hellermann, & S. Pekarek Doehler (eds.), *L2 Interactional Competence and Development*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 45–65.
- Sarangi, S. and Roberts, C. (1999). *Talk, work and institutional order: Discourse in medical, mediation and management settings*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Schegloff, E. (1968). Sequencing in conversational openings. *The American Anthropologist*, 70 (6), 1075-1095.
- Schegloff, E. (1979). Identification and recognition in telephone conversation openings. In: G. Psathas (ed.), *Everyday Language: Studies in Ethnomethodology*. New York: Irvington, 23-78.
- Schegloff, E. (1980). Preliminaries to Preliminaries: "Can I Ask You a Question?". *Sociological Inquiry*, 50 (3-4), 104-152.
- Schegloff, E. (1982). Discourse as an interactional accomplishment: some uses of 'uh huh' and other things that come between sentences. In: D. Tannen (ed.), *Analyzing Discourse: Text and Talk (Georgetown University Round Table on Language and Linguistics)*. Washington: Georgetown University Press, 71-93.
- Schegloff, E. (1987). Analyzing Single Episodes of Interaction: An Exercise in Conversation Analysis. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 50 (2), 101-114.
- Schegloff, E. (1990). On the organization of sequences as a source of 'coherence' in

- talk-in-interaction. In: B. Dorval (ed.), *Conversational organization and its development*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex, 51–77.
- Schegloff, E. (1991). Reflections on talk and social structure. In: D. Boden & D. Zimmerman (eds.), *Talk and Social Structure*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 44-70.
- Schegloff, E. (1992a). On talk and its institutional occasions. In: P. Drew & J. Heritage (eds.), *Talk at Work*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 101–134.
- Schegloff, E. (1992b). Repair after next turn: the last structurally provided defense of intersubjectivity in conversation. *American Journal of Sociology*, 98, 1295-1345.
- Schegloff, E. (2007). *Sequence organization in interaction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schegloff, E. and Sacks, H. (1973). Opening up closings. *Semiotica*, 7, 289–327.
- Schegloff, E., Jefferson, G. and Sacks, H. (1977). The preference for self-correction in the organization of repair in conversation. *Language*, 53, 361-382.
- Schenkein, J. (1978). Identity Negotiations in Conversation. In: J. Schenkein (ed.), *Studies in the organization of conversational interaction*. New York: Academic Press, 57-78.
- Schutz, A. (1962). Common sense and scientific interpretation of human action. In: M. Natanson (ed.), *Collected Papers I - The Problem of Social Reality*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 3-47.
- Schwartz, B. (1998). The Second Language Instinct. *Language Acquisition Knowledge Representation and Processing*, 106 (1-4), 133-160.
- Seedhouse, P. (2004). *The interactional architecture of the language classroom: a conversation analysis perspective*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Seedhouse, P., Walsh, S. and Jenks, C. (2011). *Conceptualising 'Learning' in Applied Linguistics*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Seidlhofer, B. (2011). *Understanding English as a Lingua Franca*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Seliger, H. and Shohamy, E. (1989). *Second language research methods*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Selinker, L. (1969). The psychologically relevant data of second-language learning. In: P. Pimsleur & T. Quinn (eds.), *The psychology of second language learning*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 35-43.
- Selinker, L. (1972). Interlanguage. *International Review of Applied Linguistics*, 10, 209-231.
- Sert, O. (2011). *A Micro-analytic Investigation of Claims of Insufficient Knowledge in EAL Classrooms*. PhD thesis, Newcastle University, UK. Retrieved from <https://theses.ncl.ac.uk/dspace/bitstream/10443/1331/1/Sert%2011.pdf>
- Sert, O. (2013). 'Epistemic status check' as an interactional phenomenon in instructed learning settings. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 45 (1), 13-28.
- Sert, O. and Walsh, S. (2012). The interactional management of claims of insufficient knowledge in English language classrooms. *Language and Education*. (Advance access) <http://dxdoi.org/10.1080/09500782.2012>.
- Shannon, C. and Weaver, W. (1949). *The mathematical theory of communication*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Sharrock, W. (1974). On Owning Knowledge. In: R. Turner (ed.), *Ethnomethodology*, Middlesex: Penguin Education, 45-53.
- Shimahara, N. (1998). The Japanese model of professional development: teaching as craft. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 14 (5), 451-462.
- Shin, S. (2010). The functions of Code-switching in a Korean Sunday School. *Heritage Language Journal*, 7 (1), 91-116.
- Shin, S. and Milroy, L. (2000). Conversational code-switching among Korean-English bilingual children. *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 4, 351-384.

- Sidnell, J. (2010). *Conversation Analysis: an introduction*. West Sussex: Wiley Blackwell.
- Sorjonen, M. (1996). On repeats and responses in Finnish conversations. In: E. Ochs, E. Schegloff, A. Thompson & A. Sandra (eds.), *Interaction and Grammar*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 277-327.
- Stark, W. (1958/1991). *The Sociology of Knowledge: toward a deeper understanding of the history of ideas*. New Jersey: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd.
- Stern, H. H. (1983). *Fundamental concepts of language teaching*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Stivers, T. (2010). An overview of the question-response system in American English. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 42, 2772–2781.
- Stivers, T. and Hayashi, M. (2010). Transformative answers: One way to resist a question's constraints. *Language in Society*, 39, 1-25.
- Stivers, T., Mondada, L. and Steensig, J. (2011). *The morality of knowledge in conversation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Stivers, T. and Rossano, F. (2010). Mobilizing response. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 43, 3–31.
- Stokoe, E. (2006). On ethnomethodology, feminism, and the analysis of categorical reference to gender in talk-in-interaction. *Sociological Review*, 54 (3), 467-494.
- Stokoe, E. and Edwards, D. (2008). 'Did you have permission to smash your neighbour's door?' Silly questions and their answers in police—suspect interrogations. *Discourse Studies*, 10 (1), 89-111.
- Stokoe, E., Benwell, B. and Attenborough, F. (2013). University students managing engagement, preparation, knowledge and achievement: Interactional evidence from institutional, domestic and virtual settings. *Learning, Culture and Social Interaction*, 2, 75-90.

- Swinglehurst, D., Greenhaugh, T. and Roberts, C. (2012). Computer templates in chronic disease management: ethnographic case study in general practice. *BMJ Open*, 2 (6), 1-15.
- Tanner, J. and Timmons, S. (2000). Backstage in the theatre. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 32, 975–80.
- Tarone, E. and Liu, G. (1995). Situational context, variation, and second language acquisition theory. In: G. Cook & B Seidlhofer (eds.), *Principle and Practice in Applied Linguistics: Studies in Honour of H. G. Widdowson*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 107-124.
- Taylor, D. S. (2003). Who speaks English to whom? The question of teaching English pronunciation for global communication. *System*, 19 (4), 425-435.
- Terasaki, A. K. (1976/2004). Pre-announcement sequences in conversation. In: G. Lerner (ed.), *Conversation analysis: Studies from the first generation*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 171–223.
- Thewissen, J. (2013). Capturing L2 Accuracy Developmental Patterns: Insights From an Error-Tagged EFL Learner Corpus. *The Modern Language Journal*, 97 (S1), 77-101.
- Van Eijck, J. and Visser, A. (2010). Dynamic semantics. In: E. N. Zalta (ed.), *The Stanford encyclopedia of philosophy (Fall 2010 edition)*. Retrieved from <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2010/entries/dynamic-semantics/>
- Varonis, E. M. and Gass, S. M. (1985a). Non-native/Nonnative conversations: A model for negotiation of meaning. *Applied Linguistics*, 6, 71–90.
- Varonis, E. M. and Gass, S. M. (1985b). Miscommunication in native/non-native conversation. *Language in Society*, 14, 327–343.
- Vaughan, E. (2007). ‘I think we should just accept ... our horrible lowly status’: Analysing Teacher–Teacher Talk Within the Context of Community of Practice. *Language Awareness*, 16 (3), 173-189.
- Wagner, J. (2004). The Classroom and Beyond. *The Modern Language Journal*, 88 (4), 612-616.

- Wagner, J. (2010). Learning and doing learning in interaction : What do participants do in everyday out-of-school second language talk? *Language Learning and Socialization through Conversation*, 51-59.
- Wang, J. (2006). Questions and the exercise of power. *Discourse and society*, 17 (4), 529-548.
- Weatherall, A. (2011). *I don't know* as a Prepositioned Epistemic Hedge. *Research on language and social interaction*, 44 (4), 317-337.
- Weedon, C. (1987). *Feminist practice and poststructuralist theory*. London: Blackwell.
- Wenger, E. (1998). *Communities of Practice: Learning, Meaning and Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wilkinson, R., Beeke, S. and Maxim, J. (2003). Adapting to conversation: on the use of linguistic resources by speakers with fluent aphasia in the construction of turns at talk. In: C. Goodwin (ed.), *Conversation and Brain Damage*. New York: Oxford University Press, 59-89.
- Wong, J. (2000). Delayed next turn repair initiation in native/non-native speaker English conversation. *Applied Linguistics*, 21 (2), 244-267.
- Wong, J. (2004). Some preliminary thoughts on delay as an interactional resource. In: R. Gardner & J. Wagner (eds.), *Second language conversations*. London: Continuum, 114-131.
- Wong, J. (2005). Sidestepping grammar. In: K. Richards & P. Seedhouse (eds.), *Applying conversation analysis*. London: Palgrave-Macmillan, 159–173.
- Young, R. and Miller, E. (2004). Learning as Changing Participation: Discourse Roles in ESL Writing Conferences. *The Modern Language Journal*, 88 (4), 519-535.
- Zimmerman, D. and West, C. (1975). Sex roles, interruptions, and silences in conversation. In: B. Thorne & N. Henley (eds), *Language and Sex: Difference and Dominance*. Rowley: Newbury House, 105-129.

Zuengler, J. and Miller, E. (2006). Cognitive and Sociocultural Perspectives: Two Parallel SLA Worlds? *Tesol Quarterly*, 40 (1), 35-58.