Second Language Interactional Competence and its Development: A Study of International Students in Australia

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my family, Peter, Jessica and my late son, Mikaël, for their understanding of my odd working hours and absences from family life, and who gave me boundless support and love through this challenging journey.

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ABSTRACT

Recently second language interactional competence has become the central object of much research in the field of Conversation Analysis and Second Language Acquisition. This study contributes towards a better understanding of this construct and offers a substantial definition based on the data collected and past research. To achieve this aim, Conversation Analysis was supplemented with Ethnography to obtain a broader picture. The study focussed on four Non-English-Speaking-Background international students from Asia who came to study in Australia as undergraduate students. Conversation analysis was employed to examine their interactional competence in English as a Second Language, and to show how this competence developed over time by investigating ordinary conversation. Ethnography was used to investigate the students' perceptions of their oral communication needs in relation to their academic studies and to explore their social networks.

A total of eleven second language international students were recruited and interviewed, and four were retained for the longitudinal study. The four focal students were videorecorded over seven months interacting regularly in four dyads and one triad with native speaker local students, and once with other second language international students. Two types of conversation analytic study were undertaken: (1) a cross-sectional study documenting and comparing some of the interactional resources that the focal participants displayed during the observation period, and (2) a case study of one particular focal participant. In the ethnographic study a number of research instruments were employed, and a pilot study was conducted to refine the methodology.

The conversation analytic study reveals that to develop second language interactional competence, key conditions need to be met: (a) an orientation to communication, (b) active listening-in-interaction, which includes orienting to the co-conversationalist(s), (c) producing action sequences involving turn expansions, such as expanded responses to questions and storytelling, (d)

initiating different and new actions, and (e) having an ongoing social relation with an expert speaker.

The focal participant with the most advanced linguistic competence, Akiko, was studied in depth from a conversation analytic perspective because she presented differently to the other focal participants. While they engaged in long turns-at-talk from the outset, Akiko mostly remained a listener. Over time Akiko gradually moved from recipiency to speakership and changed her focus from accuracy to communication. She progressively expanded her responses and engaged in longer storytelling employing an increasing range of sophisticated interactional devices, while her grammar became more complex.

The ethnographic study indicates that the students generally perceived speaking skills as important in order to succeed in their academic studies. They also expressed a strong desire to befriend native speaker local students to learn about Australians and their culture, and to improve their spoken English. Developing social networks, particularly in English, had a positive impact on the focal participants' wellbeing and their second language interactional competence. That social affiliation was an important factor in developing second language interactional competence was confirmed by the conversation analytic study.

Anne-Marie Barraja-Rohan
18th March 2013

DECLARATION

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or any other educational institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

Signature:

Name: Anne-Marie Barraja-Rohan

The plan for this research was approved by the Monash University Standing Committee on Ethics in Research Involving Humans (reference: 99/496)

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DECLARATION

Part of the literature review (chapter 2) on Interactional Competence appeared in a modified form in a publication: (2011) Using conversation analysis in the second language classroom to teach interactional competence. *Language Teaching Research Journal*, 15(4), 479 –507.

CONVERSATION ANALYSIS TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

The conventions used in the transcriptions in relation to intonation contours are adapted from the Jeffersonian transcription by Gardner (1995) and are as follows:

. full fall
; slight fall
_ level
, slight rise
¿ medium rise
? full rise

The Jeffersonian conventions are:

= latching indicates continuous stretch of talk
[ ] indicates simultaneous talk
yea:h the colon indicates lengthening of sound
nine o'<u>clock</u>: the underline indicates sentence stress
- the hyphen indicates abrupt cut off or glottal stop
°it's okay° the degree sign indicates talk that is softer than the surrounding talk
°°species°° the double degree sign indicates unvoiced talk
↑ indicates an upward shift in pitch
↓ indicates a downward shift in pitch
(.) indicates a very short pause or micropause
(0.5) indicates the length of the silence in relation to the surrounding talk
>anyway< the signs > < indicate talk that is faster than the surrounding talk
< anyway the sign < at the beginning indicates talk that starts quickly
<maybe> the signs < > indicates talk that is slower than its surrounding talk
huh indicates burst of laughter
(h)uh (h) indicates plosive quality
$that's a pity$ the $ sign indicates laughing while talking
((clears throat)) the double brackets indicate co-activity relevant to the interaction
(( )) indicates talk that is not clearly audible
→ the arrow indicates a point of interest in the transcription.

To indicate kinesic information produced simultaneously by the current speaker or by the co-participant the forward slash / was added as in the example below:

```
AKI:    /=.hh I'm studying ehm (0.8) English?
       /AKI disengages her gaze
```

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Focus of the Thesis

This thesis addresses the construct of second language[1] (L2) interactional competence, based on collected samples of spoken interactions from four adult non-expert L2 speakers of English[2], with a particular focus on the development of that competence in one L2 speaker over a period of seven months. These interactions reveal on a moment-by-moment basis the linguistic, interactional and embodied resources that the focal L2 participants bring into action while engaged in face-to-face interactions. This thesis examines in a cross-sectional study the interactional resources that the four L2 speakers bring to the interactions captured during the longitudinal study. Most specifically, this thesis explores in detail one L2 speaker's progression from producing minimal responses in single turn-units to accomplishing expanded responses in multi-unit turns in relation to self-presentational questions, other questions requiring an expanded response and storytelling. To a lesser extent, this study also uses ethnographic research to examine the broader sociocultural context of the L2 speakers, and particularly the relationship between the development of L2 interactional competence and the L2 speakers' social networks.

The preoccupation with uncovering L2 interactional competence generally stems from a need to inform second language pedagogy in order to improve the teaching of L2 oral communications skills. Research examining L2 interactional competence, which comes from Second Language Acquisition, can also be combined with Conversation Analysis (CA), henceforth called CA-for-SLA. The focus of this research is on the non-expert L2 speakers' interactions and their use of interactional resources. Because Conversation Analysis has talk-in-interaction

[1] Second language (L2) is used here as an overarching term to include any additional language.
[2] These four L2 speakers will be referred as the focal participants.

as its object of inquiry, its contributions to Second Language Acquisition reside in discovering how L2 speakers achieve orderliness and reach mutual understanding (intersubjectivity), how they accomplish social actions through talk, particularly what interactional resources they deploy and how they use them. Moreover, CA can show how they display their learning in real time, and in longitudinal studies CA can track changes over time.

There is a separate body of research that investigates international students from a non-English speaking background (NESB), looking at their social networks and welfare from an educational ethnographic or psychological perspective. This research project fuses CA-for-SLA with an ethnographic approach focusing on NESB international students to capture a more encompassing picture of these 'learners'. In this research project the L2 students are first year undergraduate NESB international students from Asia recruited at an Australian university. The research questions aim to establish: 1) how L2 interactional competence in English develops over two university semesters, 2) what L2 interactional competence broadly consists of, 3) what relationship may exist between linguistic and L2 interactional competences, 4) how the L2 students perceived the importance of speaking skills in relation to their tertiary studies, and 5) how social networks may contribute to the development of L2 speakers' L2 interactional competence.

Previous Australian ethnographic studies have shown that a number of international students, particularly from a non-English speaking background, lead a rather isolated life, and when combined with inadequate communicative competence, this often equates with an unsatisfactory overseas experience. Exposure to spoken L2 is essential for NESB international students if they want to improve their English, and L2 interactional competence is paramount to a successful sojourn in the host country. Given that spoken language is acquired via social interaction, it was important to examine the type of interactions in

which the L2 students under investigation engaged as well as their perceived speaking needs and difficulties while studying in an Australian university.

Many studies have been conducted on classroom learning and interactions within a conversation analytic framework but few have been conducted outside the classroom, and this is particularly true of studies in which a longitudinal perspective is combined with ethnographic research. What motivates this research project is to fathom what language educators and applied linguists also seek to know: how L2 students use and learn spoken English as a Second Language once they have stepped outside the classroom. The L2 speakers participated in conversations for practising English as L2, which were videoed across one university year.

Lastly, the present study hopes to advance knowledge in Second Language Acquisition by investigating the acquisition of aspects of L2 interactional competence, as this is still under-explored. It equally contributes to CA-for-SLA where longitudinal studies of L2 interactions are still in their infancy.

1.2 Organisation of the Thesis

The study is structured in the following way:

Chapter 2 gives an overview of the fundamental methodological principles that operate in conversation analysis and ethnomethodology. It also looks at membership knowledge to lay the groundwork for the research undertaken in CA-for-SLA and L2 interactional competence. This is followed by a literature review, which examines how studies conducted in CA-for-SLA came to be more widely accepted in Second Language Acquisition as an alternative approach to the dominant cognitivist oriented research. In addition, it offers a discussion of the role of cognition in CA-for-SLA, and presents other CA-for-SLA studies pertinent to this study. Moreover, this chapter gives a critical historical account

of the development of the construct of interactional competence by various researchers up to present times by exploring various definitions and the contributions of a number of scholars. The chapter ends with some background information related to international students studying in an English speaking country, focussing in particular on the issues they generally face in relation to oral communication skills.

Chapter 3 is the methodology chapter which describes the research design, research site, and the participants' profiles, recruitment and selection criteria. It explains the various research instruments employed to collect the data used in both the ethnographic study and the CA analysis. It also explains the rationale for conducting a pilot study which helped to refine the research design for the longitudinal study that in turn generated richer data. Finally, it examines how the research instruments were used in both the pilot and longitudinal studies with a particular focus on the longitudinal study.

Chapter 4 describes the L2 participants' profiles in relation to their perceived oral communication skills and how they viewed their importance for their studies, especially for tutorials and their social life. It also examines how the focal L2 participants developed their social networks over one university year, and what impact friendship had on their wellbeing, their speaking skills and their studies.

Chapter 5 is a cross-sectional study using CA to document various interactional resources employed by the four focal L2 speakers at various points in time during the seven month study. It also considers the relationship between linguistic competence and L2 interactional competence based on the data collected, as a comparison between two focal L2 speakers is undertaken to contrast their differing orientations to the interaction and how that impacts their talk. Furthermore, it focuses on a number of interactional aspects, which includes some instances of learning.

Chapters 6 and 7 focus on one non-expert L2 speaker's L2 interactional competence in relation to turn taking. This L2 speaker, Akiko, is observed during five interactions over a seven month period. Changes in her L2 interactional competence are tracked and revealed through a conversation analysis of her interactions, as she gradually moves from recipiency to speakership. Chapter 6 provides background for chapter 7. It illustrates the L2 participant's typical interactional behaviour in the first videoed interaction with the L1 speaker, where the focal participant mostly remains a passive recipient, generally producing short turns with minimal responses. Chapter 7 investigates the remaining four interactions and highlights significant changes of some aspects in her L2 interactional competence. It focuses on how the L2 speaker gradually takes longer turns at talk through the examination of self-presentational sequences, expanded responses to questions and storytelling. Chapter 7 also reveals how the L2 speaker interacts with her L2 speaker friend and engages in different activities while mostly remaining a recipient.

Chapter 8 concludes the study with a discussion of the findings from both the ethnographic research and the conversation analysis of the focal L2 speakers' interactions while preserving the integrity of both theoretical frameworks. This chapter also links the results from both studies to obtain a more encompassing picture of these L2 speakers. In light of past research and the results of this project, it provides a definition of the construct of L2 interactional competence together with a concept map. Finally, it makes suggestions in relation to pedagogical materials, examines the limitations of this study, and sets out recommendations for further studies.

Chapter 2

RESEARCH THEORIES AND CONCEPTS

INTRODUCTION

"One immediate task ahead is to further expand the existing corpus of CA-SLA studies" (Kasper & Wagner, 2011, p. 170).

This is precisely what this study endeavours to do by contributing to the existing body of knowledge within the Conversation Analysis for Second Language Acquisition field of study (CA-for-SLA). Since the publication of Firth and Wagner's (1997) controversial paper, Conversation Analysis (CA) has now been embraced by eminent Second Language Acquisition (SLA) scholars such as Kasper and Hall, and has made inroads in the SLA field (Gardner & Wagner, 2004; Hall et al., 2011; Kasper & Wagner, 2011; Pallotti & Wagner, 2011; Richards & Seedhouse, 2005) despite claims to the contrary by Gass et al. (2007). Thus it has become another "strong alternative theoretical perspective[e] for SLA[3]" (Ortega, 2005, p. 323), thereby expanding the research scope of mainstream SLA by adding a socially and interactionally oriented research to the dominant cognitivist paradigm (cf. Zuengler & Miller, 2006).

To capture the research methodology that underlies CA-for-SLA studies, fundamental conversation analytic principles are first explained. Then attention is directed to CA-for-SLA studies, looking at how CA started to become an accepted theoretical framework in SLA research despite many criticisms, and what findings CA-for-SLA has yielded. CA's objective is to describe the orderliness of talk-in-interaction, therefore uncovering members' interactional competence is its central object of study. Interactional competence has also been the focus for some SLA researchers and within CA-for-SLA, hence it is referred

[3] Ortega (2005) argues that it is no longer valid to distinguish mainstream SLA from peripheral SLA and SLA is a pluralistic field in its own right.

to as second language (L2) interactional competence. Being the focus of the present study the construct of L2 interactional competence is examined in detail. Finally, to contextualise the present study, information related to the sociocultural context of international students and the difficulties they face is provided.

2.1 Basic Methodological Principles of Conversation Analysis

For over a decade CA-for-SLA has become a more established field of inquiry. This review begins by examining the fundamental principles on which CA-for-SLA bases its analysis. CA informed studies have examined interactions occurring in a natural setting, whether they are in the classroom, outside the classroom or other settings. They reflect an attention to microanalysis and a desire to examine interactional phenomena not from a cognitivist perspective but from a social behavioural perspective. They operate within a qualitative research and emic[4] paradigm using naturalistic data.

2.1.1 The Use of Naturally Occurring Talk

The most fundamental principle in CA is that naturally occurring talk is subjected to analysis, thus rejecting experimental data as a partial representation of human social organisation at work. To capture naturally occurring talk as objectively and as accurately as possible recorded (and preferably filmed) talk-in-interaction needs to be thoroughly transcribed. To conduct a microanalysis, all vocalisations, utterances and prosody must be revealed, and when relevant nonverbal language needs to be included. What is central in CA is the study of talk-in-interaction. Its aim is to uncover its orderliness and social order, as "talk

[4] A distinction is made between etic and emic research. According to Have (2007) "etic refers to a viewpoint to study behaviour as from outside a particular (cultural) system, while an emic approach tries to study it from inside the system" (2007, p. 217). Thus emic an emic research captures participants' perspective and not the analyst's.

is a central activity in social life" (Hutchby & Wooffit, 1998, p. 1) so everything produced in talk is considered as significant in some way. Talk in this theoretical framework is not simply viewed as participants transferring information or knowledge and conveying messages to one another. Rather, it is considered as a joint orientation on the part of the participants who use interactional procedures and resources to accomplish social actions and achieve mutual understanding. Therefore, the aim of CA is to

> Reveal the tacit, organized reasoning procedures which inform the production of naturally occurring talk. … The analytic objective of CA is to explicate these procedures, on which speakers rely to produce utterances and by which they make sense of other speakers' talk.
>
> (Hutchby and Wooffitt, 1998, p. 1)

Ordinary or mundane conversation in face-to-face encounters or by telephone is not the only type of interaction investigated in CA. CA also examines talk that occurs in institutional settings, such as in medical, legal, political, pedagogical, media, aviation, emergency services, commercial contexts, etc. Thus various other forms of talk-in-interaction are studied such as interviews, talkback radio programs, business meetings, classroom interactions, medical interactions, psychotherapy interactions, service calls, emergency calls, cockpit talk, and internet chat-rooms.

For the purpose of this study, ordinary conversation is thought to yield richer data to examine L2 interactional competence than institutional talk. Classroom interactions have already received much attention in CA-for-SLA, and some of these studies will be discussed in sections 2.4.1 and 2.4.2. Classroom interactions constitute a form of institutional talk and therefore may restrain the type of language and interactions elicited (see Gajo & Mondada, 2000), as institutional talk "shows systematic variations and restrictions on activities and their design relative to ordinary conversation" (Drew & Heritage, 1992a, p. 19). Moreover,

ordinary conversation is considered the basis of institutional talk (Drew & Heritage, 1992a).

2.1.2 Qualitative Research

In CA quantification of interactional phenomena beyond counting instances of a particular phenomenon does not usually apply to most analyses as it fails to capture all the subtleties of socially oriented behaviour (Markee, 2000), nor is it methodologically feasible as CA tries to explicate phenomena on a case-by-case basis. Interactional phenomena depend on the local sequential environment in which they occur therefore they cannot be coded into pre-established categories and submitted to statistical analysis. Quantification results in simplifying the phenomenon observed, which leads to a partial or even inaccurate account of the phenomenon under study (Hutchby & Wooffit, 1998; Schegloff, 1993; Zimmerman, 1993).

In CA the analyst bases his/her analysis on the careful and close description of the data. The analyst approaches the data without any specific a priori idea. It is through repetitive and thorough examination of the data that s/he identifies a particular phenomenon. This method of approaching data is referred as 'unmotivated looking' (Have, 2007). When a particular phenomenon is recurrent the analyst can identify a pattern, and document its systematic sequential environment and the methods used by the interactants, as well as deviant cases that confirm the phenomenon. In order to strengthen his/her case the analyst needs to form a collection of the particular phenomenon. These empirical examples serve to infer a rule about the occurrence of a particular phenomenon, therefore CA is data driven as all concepts and phenomena must be empirically demonstrated. Thus, CA is not about testing and confirming hypotheses, but about uncovering how participants co-construct meaning and actions and what

mechanisms underlie the procedures and methods employed by conversationalists.

2.1.3 The Turn-taking System

In CA the turn constitutes the unit of analysis and the organisation of turn-taking was first described by Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974). Their observations are based on research conducted in English ordinary conversation. Turns are considered the main resources that participants employ and are allocated in systematic ways among speakers. Sacks et al. (1974) reveal that there is a system at play in which speakers take turns, whereby one speaker tends to speak at a time, and turns occur with minimal pauses and/or overlaps. This does not preclude the existence of overlaps or pauses but it means that conversationalists orient to speaker change with minimal disturbance. Sacks et al. comment that overlaps occur but when they do they are usually brief. They made other important observations regarding the variability of turn size, turn order, the distribution of turns and the number of participants. In addition, the length and content of the conversation are not preordained.

Furthermore, Sacks et al. observe that the turn-taking system is composed of a turn constructional unit (TCU) and a turn distribution component. A TCU is constituted of a phrase, clause, sentence, lexical item or vocalisation produced by a speaker, and it is determined by its syntactic, intonational and pragmatic completion (Ford & Thompson, 1996)[5]. In relation to this Ford & Thompson (1996) state that: "turn units are complex, [in] that they include intonational and pragmatic cues as well as syntactic ones, and that speakers design and place their turns according to these complex turn units" (1996, p. 137).

[5] Note that Ford & Thompson (1996) have expanded the original focus of Sack, Schegloff & Jefferson's (1974) paper.

Turns can be constituted of one or more TCUs. An essential property of the TCU is its projectability, that is, in the course of a TCU a listener is able to project its end by recognising its syntactic structure, pragmatic meaning and/or its intonational import. For instance, on hearing the sentential pre-sequence *are you free tonight?* a speaker in responding positively can overlap on the word *tonight* having obtained enough information to predict the end of the TCU as well as projecting an upcoming action, i.e., an invitation. The notion of projectability is therefore paramount in talk-in-interaction and this is an area where novice L2 speakers may run into difficulty, particularly when they are at a beginning or lower intermediate level. As the novice L2 speaker experiences talk-in-interaction on a regular basis, s/he will become better at projecting TCUs and upcoming actions. Projecting TCUs is crucial for speaker change as it enables a secondary speaker or non current speaker (i.e., the listener) to take the floor right at the end of the TCU, at the transition relevant place (TRP), or a little earlier as in the example mentioned above at a possible completion point. In the data below, one of the L2 participants, Akiko, shows a high level of interactional competence as she is able to project the end of a TCU before its completion. She does so by providing a candidate response and collaboratively completing the L1 speaker's utterance (line 5), which he accepts (line 6). Note that Jon (John) is the L1 speaker:

```
1. JON:      fer twenty minutes so it's okay actually.
2. JON:      er the difficulty is always jess the bus.
3. AKI:      °°the bus°°
4. JON:      yeah b'cos sometimes
5. AKI: →    it's crowded
6. JON: →    well it's crowded an sometimes ehm:
7. JON:      sometimes it'll jess be it'll …
```

The second component of the turn-taking system is turn distribution, which is characterised by rules allocating turns to participants. Sacks et al. (1974, p. 704) found that the turn-taking mechanism is governed by a set of normative practices, which regulates how speaker change is effected at transition relevant places. The first set of practices requires that

a) When a speaker has been selected, s/he should take the floor.

b) If no selection has been made, then any next speaker may choose to take a turn, in which case the first self-selected speaker is entitled to the floor.

c) Alternatively when there is no selection, the current speaker may continue with another TCU unless another speaker self-selects in which case, s/he has the right to the floor.

Regardless of the option selected, then any practice a), b) and c) is re-applicable for the next TRP. Research in CA (Hutchby & Wooffit, 1998) has demonstrated that participants orient to this set of normative practices and accomplish turn-taking in an orderly manner. These practices constitute the basis of the turn-taking system and novice L2 speakers need to know them to be able to participate in conversation. These observations were originally made for American English.

It is conceivable that the same normative practices would be observed for other languages and therefore novice L2 speakers would have a basic understanding of their mechanism, however the projection may be done at different points in the turn. According to Fox et al. (2012) numerous CA studies conducted on various languages have confirmed that, despite cross-linguistic differences between English and many other languages, "the basic 'mechanisms' of interaction are shared by all people regardless of 'culture' or language" (p. 733). Research also demonstrates that conversational syntax plays a crucial role in turn projection (Ochs et al., 1996) and that in other languages, such as Japanese, the projection of a turn operates differently as it depends on the syntax (Hayashi, 1999). English speakers can project a TRP earlier than Japanese speakers because of conversational syntactic practices, English being an SVO[6] language and Japanese has mostly an SOV word order pattern with some OSV variability (Mazeland, 2012). Fox et al. (1996) state that: "English recipients are able to use the

[6] SVO stands for Subject Verb Object word order.

beginning of a TCU to project a possible course for that utterance, while Japanese recipients "wait and see" how the utterance develops" (p. 213).

Novice L2 speakers, particularly when their L1 is a not an SVO language like English, may therefore struggle in recognising a TRP and a place of possible completion, which requires a more sophisticated interactional competence. They may not recognise the first pair part of an adjacency pair, which calls for the next speaker to take a turn at talk. Alternatively, they may not know how to self-select by way of topic initiation. Another possibility is that they may take longer to process the information and respond to the prior turn after a longer gap. This could result in an overlap where another speaker has stepped in and subsequently the L2 speaker may not be able to retain the floor, as usually in an overlap one speaker drops out. These are some of the technical problems in turn-taking that novice L2 speakers may encounter.

In ordinary conversation participants are supposed to have a symmetrical relationship inasmuch as they are free to initiate actions when they feel the need to, within the general principle of recipient-design. The concept of 'recipient design' is an important one in conversation analysis and Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson (1974) defined it as follows:

> With 'recipient design' we intend to collect a multitude of respects in which talk by a party in a conversation is constructed or designed in ways which display an orientation and sensitivity to the particular other(s) who are the co-participants. In our work, we have found recipient design to operate with regard to word selection, topic selection, the admissibility and ordering of sequences, the options and obligations for starting and terminating conversation, etc.
>
> (Sacks et al., 1974, p. 727)

Therefore, the speaker devises their turn with the intention that it is clear to their co-participant(s) what the speaker is accomplishing with their turn. Moreover,

the turn-taking system is managed by the participants without any restrictions (Have, 1999) as opposed to institutional talk where constraints are placed on the interactants (Drew & Heritage, 1992a). In institutional talk there is an asymmetrical relationship in which interactants follow specific sets of rules which allow one conversationalist to control to some extent the parameters of the interaction. Such cases are found for example in classroom interactions (cf. Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975) or interviews, where the teacher/interviewer has the role of questioner and the student/interviewee of answerer, hence the interactants are confined to specific interactional roles. In these two cases, it is the questioner (i.e., teacher/interviewer) that leads the interaction so the participants are not on an equal footing (Clayman, 1992).

Participants interpret each other's utterances on a turn-by-turn basis and this requires keeping track of prior actions as well as projecting future actions and understanding the trajectory. The display of participants' understanding is evidenced by the relevance of their responses to prior actions and the actions they initiate, which then create the sequential environment. The sequential environment is thus the primordial situ of talk "which provides the primary context for participants' understanding, appreciation and use of what is being said, meant and, most importantly, done in and through the talk" (Zimmerman & Boden, 1991, p. 9)

The participants produce intersubjective[7] understanding through the sequential organisation of their talk-in-interaction, which is structured, and imposes constraints on participants. Participants' behaviour is shaped by the sequential organisation. For instance, the first pair part of an adjacency pair, such as a question, requires the next speaker to appropriately respond by providing a second pair part immediately in the next turn as conditionally relevant. However, participants can employ techniques to avoid adhering to the requirements of the sequential structure by, for example in the case of a question, not providing a

[7] Intersubjectivity is the display of joint understandings as sequentially achieved by conversationalists in relation to their behaviours and actions produced during the course of an interaction (Schegloff, 1992).

response or delaying it, remaining silent or engaging in a completely different activity. These actions are accountable and the absence of a sequentially next-appropriate action is noticed in talk-in-interaction, and this in turn will constitute a new sequential environment. Participants are held responsible and accountable for the design of their actions, however in the case of a novice L2 speaker greater tolerance on the part of the L1 speaker may be at play.

When actions are not responded to appropriately or when utterances are not heard properly or misunderstood or are erroneous (i.e., wrong word choice or slips of the tongue), participants can take remedial actions to correct any perceived interactional trouble. This mechanism is called repair. A repair usually has a retrospective function, as a participant orients the talk to a prior utterance in an effort to remedy some interactional trouble located in a prior utterance or turn. The aim of the repair is to locate the trouble-source and provide a solution.

The initiation of a repair can be done by the speaker who produced the trouble-source, in which case, it is self-initiated or by a different speaker, in which case it is other-initiated. The correction of the perceived trouble can be accomplished by the same speaker so the repair is self-repaired, or by a different speaker so the repair is other-repaired. Therefore four different possibilities for repair arise: self-initiated self-repair, other-initiated self-repair, self-initiated other-repair and other-initiated other-repair. The self-initiated self-repair has been found to be participants' preferred option (Schegloff et al., 1977) therefore this has implications for the sequential organisation of repairs in relation to the position of the initiation of the repair. The placement for self-initiation is either within the same turn, or in the transition space[8], or in the third turn relative to the trouble-source turn. Other-initiation usually occurs in the next turn but can also occur in the third or fourth turn, and generally occupies a series of turns, thus constituting a repair sequence. Repairs are consequential for the interaction and constitute an

[8] The transition space is defined by Schegloff et al. (1977, p. 366) as "roughly, [being] the environment of a turn's possible completion, at which possible transition to a next speaker becomes relevant. … it may be thought of as the "beat" that potentially follows the possible completion point of a turn."

important mechanism for participants. They have been the object of study in both conversation analysis (including CA-for-SLA) and second language acquisition as they represent a significant (potential) resource for language learning and interactional management (Hall, 2007; Huth, 2011; Kurhila, 2006; Lightbown & Spada, 2006; Seedhouse, 2001; Wagner, 2003).

Even though repairs reflect participants' understanding or lack of understanding (or hearing) and how understanding is negotiated, examining recipiency can also indicate how participants display their understanding through the way they design their utterances and receipt their co-participants' utterances. Listener responses have long been the focus of CA research (on native speakers (NS) of English) and much work has been conducted in this area to differentiate the various types of listener responses, and to determine their sequential environment (see Gardner, 2001). Listener responses (or response tokens) are important conversational objects as they show that the recipient is actively listening and participating, even if minimally, to the talk in progress as s/he orients toward a TRP. This involves recognising or projecting the end of a TCU and the type of social action the primary speaker is engaged in.

Listening-in-interaction is an important aspect of interactional competence, thus listener responses constitute a valuable indicator of a co-participant's involvement in the interaction. They are also particularly relevant in this study as recipiency is the focus of chapter 6 and they are also examined in chapters 5 and 7.

Verbal and nonverbal listener responses broadly include the following:

- Continuers (*mm, mmhm, yeah, uhuh* with rising intonation) indicate that the participant relinquishes his/her full turn to let the primary speaker proceed with their talk (Gardner, 2001). They do not claim understanding (Schegloff, 1982).

- Acknowledgement tokens (*yeah*, *right*, *okay*, *mm* with falling intonation) indicate that the listener is keeping track of the talk claiming understanding of the prior talk. However, acknowledgement tokens can have various functions depending on their placement and intonation (e.g. "okay" as a change of activity token, Beach, 1993).
- Newsmarkers (e.g. (*oh) really*, *did you?*) usually treats the previous turn by the recipient as newsworthy and engenders a new sequence (Jefferson, 1981), or can indicate surprise (cf. Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 2006, on reaction tokens).
- Receipt tokens (*oh* and its variant *ah*) can have various functions such as displaying an epistemic change (Heritage, 1984), closing down a question-repair sequence (Heritage, 1984), indicating a problematic question (Heritage, 1998) or noticing (Jefferson, 1978).
- Assessments are evaluations of the prior talk. They can be affiliative (Goodwin, 1986; Goodwin & Goodwin, 1987), and they can also be used to close down a topic (Jefferson, 1981).
- Kinesic activity such as gaze (or lack of gaze), nods, headshake, eyebrow flash and laughter indicate listening activity, and they also can be displayed concurrently with a response token.

Listener responses could be viewed on a continuum in relation to how much involvement is shown on the part of the secondary speaker or listener. That is, at one end of the continuum are continuers and at the other end more involved listener responses such as newsmarkers, assessments, multiple nodding and laughter.

From the discussion above, we have seen that the turn-taking system has implications for how participants display their understanding of each other, as it "at least partially controls the understanding of utterances" (Sacks et al., 1974, p.

728). Hence, turns are a logical place to examine how non-expert L2 speakers design their utterances in relation to preceding turns and utterances.

Engaging in multi-unit turns involves using more language, and this may entail using a more complex grammar with subordinate/complex clauses, which would be a desirable outcome for an L2 learner. Schegloff (1996) affirms that it is interactionally more difficult to take multi TCUs, and claims that it takes practice to achieve: "It can take "work", i.e. praxis, to get more than one TCU into a turn" (Schegloff, 1996, p. 61). Note that Schegloff was referring to native speakers (NSs) therefore it can be assumed that for non-expert L2 speakers it would take even more work. Schegloff's claim is corroborated by Wong & Waring (2010) in relation to L2 non expert speakers, who declare that:

> ESL/EFL learners may have difficulty holding a turn long enough to finish what they are saying. Part of the problem is the expectation that others will wait till you finish. That you only get one TCU at a time and the next speaker can start at the end of your very first TCU comes as a rude awakening for many. Holding a turn beyond its first TCU takes interactional labouring.
>
> (Wong & Waring, 2010, p. 26)

To sustain long turns at talk not only takes practice but also involves elaborate interactional achievements, as will subsequently be demonstrated in this present study (see chapters 5, 6 and 7). Further, taking multi TCUs indicates that the conversationalist is the primary speaker for the time being, therefore taking a (temporary) leading role in the interaction, which may be challenging for a non-expert L2 speaker.

From a second language acquisition perspective, it is interesting to examine the length of turns, their placement and relevance in ordinary conversation because turn-taking reflects how the non-expert L2 speaker understands and participates in the interaction, what interactional resources s/he uses, and what forms of language s/he deploys. As grammar and interaction have a reflexive relationship

(Schegloff, 1996) in that grammar shapes the interaction to some extent and vice-versa, the more complex the turns deployed are, the more intricate language may become, and the more advanced the L2 speaker is interactionally. Hence taking multi-unit turns at talk, which are complex, reflects the L2 speaker's participation in the interaction and her/his use of interactional resources and grammar.

2.1.4 The Importance of Membership Knowledge and Interactional Competence

CA is concerned with reconstructing the participants' perspectives (i.e., the emic perspective), in other words it seeks to demonstrate what the participants are trying to achieve in using particular resources and procedures on a moment-by-moment basis. The analyst is required to base his/her observations strictly on what the data show, i.e., what is relevant to and exhibited by the participants and his/her membership knowledge of the language used in the data.

'Membership knowledge', an important concept drawn from ethnomethodology, from which CA originated, refers to "the use of knowledge invoked within and managed as part of members' common sense knowledge in any particular interactional event" (Fitzgerald, 2007). This notion of membership knowledge is equally used by conversation analysts (see Brouwer & Wagner, 2004). To be able to acquire L2 interactional competence, one needs to draw on membership knowledge as used by the L2 community. According to Have (2002) this knowledge represents the social practices used by a language community, which are what "persons, as members of society, use and rely on a corpus of practical knowledge which they assume is shared at least in part with others. This 'use and reliance' is mostly tacit, it is 'seen but unnoticed'" (Have, 2002, p. 2). The important point in Have's definition is the notion of shared knowledge in a given community, which is used, displayed ("seen") and understood but it remains

inferred ("unnoticed"), not explicit. Analysts in both conversation analysis and ethnomethodology are themselves members, and their analyses aim at understanding what members are doing in social interaction thereby making this membership knowledge explicit. In other words, according to Have (2002), the analyst[9]

> has to understand the practices studied, before they can be analysed, and that this "understanding" involves the researcher using his or her "membership knowledge". In a way, this unavoidable use of membership knowledge for understanding what people are doing is then turned from an implicit resource into an explicit topic for analysis.
>
> (Have, 2002, p. 1)

This knowledge is not usually explicitly taught, as it is acquired implicitly through repeated and on-going interactions by novice members with expert members of the same community. However, it can be argued that at times this membership knowledge can be taught explicitly, for instance, when a parent reprimands his/her child for behaving inappropriately, a practice that Schegloff (1989) identifies as other-correction. Although other-correction is a dispreferred move, Schegloff explains that it can be used in interactions where the expert teaches the novice such as parent-child interaction. This knowledge transmitted through a socialisation process includes sociocultural norms of interaction, which are reflected in language (Barraja-Rohan, 1997; Crozet, 1996) and paralinguistic features reflecting specific cultural practices. It is through social interaction that interactional competence needs to be deployed. This interactional competence is naturally acquired by native novice speakers (e.g. children) through on-going instances of participation in various situations (from home to the outside world) and with a range of speakers (from parents, relatives, friends to teachers, etc.).

[9] Have (2002) refers to ethnomethodologists here, however it can be argued that this is also the case for conversation analysts (Brouwer & Wagner, 2004; Kasper & Wagner, 2011).

Therefore to access this L2 membership knowledge, L2 novice speakers need to mingle with the members from the L2 community to figure out the set of sociocultural and language practices used by the L2 community, which is usually accomplished through social interactions. This membership knowledge is situated in the interaction and is socially shared among the participants, although in the case of native speaker (NS) children and adult novice L2 speakers there is unequal access to this knowledge.

However, adult novice L2 speakers already possess L1 membership knowledge, which means that they already have at their disposal L1 interactional competence. This L1 membership knowledge may be accessed when interacting in L2 in a range of situations and with various speakers. It is through ongoing social practices in L2 ordinary conversation (and institutional talk) that novice L2 speakers will notice or be made aware of differences (for example, through repairs or recasts, cf. Wong & Waring, 2010). It is also through engaging in L2 with the same speakers where an interactional socio-history takes place that novice L2 speakers can learn and acquire L2 social practices. This point will be demonstrated in chapter 7 and a lesser extent in chapter 8.

In relation to L1 interactional competence, Charles Goodwin (Goodwin, 1995, 2006; Goodwin, C., 2007; Goodwin, 2013) shows that interactional competence is not limited to grammar but includes embodied actions and various semiotic fields. Goodwin (1995, 2006) convincingly demonstrates how a man with severe aphasia, Chil, is able to involve his co-participants in co-constructing his own talk, given his limited speech ability. This is achieved through the precise placement of one of the three words he can only say (*yes*, *no*, *and*), prosody, gaze and gestures to not only initiate a repair regarding the prior speaker's statement but also to get the co-participant to repair the trouble and give an acceptable alternative to the previous talk. Hence, Chil's action covers various semiotic fields, such as his own limited talk, as well as that of others', his gestures, gaze and the spatial environment. Despite his very limited linguistic repertoire, Chil

still displays some interactional competence, which indicates that mastering linguistic competence[10] only plays a part in accomplishing interactional tasks.

Carroll (2004, 2005) finds that Japanese L2 speakers of English, despite their low English linguistic competence, can perform complex interactional actions, which Carroll claims stem from their L1 interactional competence. Carroll's findings could also point to some universals being at play. For instance, before recycling their overlapped TCU beginnings the novice L2 speakers in Carroll's study use phrasal breaks and pause during which they try to secure their co-participants' gaze and attention in the same way that Charles Goodwin (1980, 1981) demonstrated for competent native speakers of English. In addition, when these novice L2 speakers restart their turns after the completion of overlaps, they accomplish their turns with such a precision as to produce a smooth transition with no gap. Carroll (2005) reflects on this observation and proposes that:

> "this practice is most likely "transferable" from whatever competences constitute membership in their primary language/culture. This in turn suggests that *interactional competence* lies at a deeper, more fundamental level than does traditionally defined linguistic competence and may well represent the crucible with which linguistic skills are forged."
>
> (Carroll, 2005, p. 160, emphasis in the text)

If interactional competence represents the nexus where linguistic skills are built, turning to L1 acquisition may help us understand this issue. Young children (including infants) learning to talk resort to embodied actions (gaze, smile, uttering sounds, pointing) to engage the carer to speak to them and to label items of interest (Filipi, 2009). Thus it would appear that initially in L1 acquisition linguistic competence emerges from the (nonverbal) interactional accomplishment.

[10] Linguistic competence includes an implicit and/or explicit knowledge of the structural aspect of language such as phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics.

This is where CA becomes useful, as it makes apparent this implicit membership knowledge in the social actions that members undertake and orient to. Hence at the core of its analysis is the deployment of interactional competence. CA has been able to show how members interact in both ordinary and institutional talk, the latter covering a vast array of settings (Have, 2007; Hutchby & Wooffit, 1998).

Through the detailed examination of interactional accomplishments in institutional talk, it becomes apparent that members need various competencies to be able to interact adequately in these diverse settings. Hanh Nguyen's (2011a) CA study documents an adult's development of a new L1 interactional competence in an institutional setting. She focuses on how a pharmacy intern learns to interact with patients over two months in his new capacity as a pharmacist. She analyses recurrent interactional practices specific to the pharmacy profession, and provides evidence of the intern learning to design his talk for his co-participants in dealing with patients and building a positive rapport with them. Such studies point to the fact that learning a new profession not only involves new technical knowledge but also a new set of interactional practices, which aggregates to the existing L1 interactional competence. Interactional competence can therefore encompass multiple competencies. It can also be considered a process by which one learns to interact in multiple situations and settings, with a multitude of participants, and which further develops over one's lifetime.

Oliver, Haig, & Rochecouste (2005) provide another evidence that interactional competence continues to be elaborated throughout one's lifetime. They show that English NS secondary school students need to improve their interactional skills or learn new ones to interact more effectively in a number of contexts: on the phone, in face-to-face interactions with strangers (including other teenagers), with people in a position of authority (including teachers and principals), with administrative staff, older people and business people. Yet these teenagers are

fluent in their mother tongue, so we can assume that they have acquired linguistic competence in English. If teenagers are still 'novices' in their L1 interactional competence, i.e., still in the process of developing interactional competencies in both ordinary conversation and institutional talk, adult novice L2 speakers will have to grapple with similar issues with the added second language and culture learning dimensions. Thus, the younger the adult L2 speaker is, the less life experiences h/she would be likely to have, and the more L2 interactional competencies s/he will need to develop, particularly when living in the L2 community.

2.2 Conversation Analysis and Second Language Acquisition

Second Language Acquisition is still considered a new field going back some 40 years (Gass & Selinker, 2008). Being interdisciplinary it incorporates various theories. Its main focus is to uncover the process by which an additional (L2) language is learned, therefore, according to Long (2006), Doughty & Long (2005b), and Gregg (2005), SLA has a cognitivist orientation. These scholars view SLA as an internalist theory, since for them SLA is preoccupied with changes in the L2 learner's internal state and not external behaviour. However, this pure cognitivist orientation has been criticised by a number of researchers, and particularly by Firth & Wagner (1997). Their criticisms have continued to be the object of discussion in SLA and recently have been further dismissed by cognitivists such as Long (2006) and Gregg (2005) who qualified them as "bizarre". Both Long and Gregg regard SLA as essentially a psycholinguistic process whose focus is "firmly on identifying the nature and sources of the underlying L2 knowledge system, and on explaining developmental success and failure" (Doughty & Long, 2005a).

Firth & Wagner (1997) called for a reconceptualisation of SLA as they criticised the dominant cognitivist orientation of SLA for a range of reasons that are

briefly outlined below. Further, they identified a tension "weighted against the social and the contextual, and heavily in favour of the individual's cognition, particularly the development of grammatical competence" (1997, p. 288). Mostly they viewed the SLA field as too narrow in its research focus, obviating sociolinguistics and the sociocultural dimension of language. In addition, they argued that too many etic quantitative research methodologies were employed to analyse interactions, which mainly occurred in (quasi-) experimental settings, and therefore yielded results that, according to Firth & Wagner, could not be generalised to the overall L2 population. Hence they called for a broader database drawn from an emic research perspective, which would include other settings, particularly natural settings and outside the classroom, in order to be "better able to understand and explicate how language is used as it is being acquired through interaction, and used resourcefully, contingently, and contextually" (p. 296).

Their other point of contention concerned what they perceived as a deficit model of the 'learner', portrayed by a number of SLA researchers as "a defective communicator" (Firth & Wagner, 1997, p. 288), a view encapsulated by the communication strategies used by the so-called "nonnative" speaker or 'learner'. Further they problematise the labelling of non-native speaker or learner, pointing out that it stripped the 'learner' from other relevant social identities. For Firth & Wagner, mainstream SLA concentrated on learners' failures and not on their successes. Although some of their critics did not regard their views as novel (cf. Kasper, 1997), their paper created much heated debate polarising views among the SLA community. As such it is considered by a number of scholars as seminal (see Lafford, 2007).

In this review the most relevant criticisms levelled at Firth & Wagner's (1997) paper will be addressed. These criticisms can be refuted on empirical grounds through the findings of studies conducted in CA-for-SLA that have since been

published, and which have a direct relevance to this study, particularly longitudinal studies.

Firth & Wagner were strongly criticised for their lack of focus on the psycholinguistic processes of acquisition and their reliance on language use in their argumentation and research, which was regarded as distinct to acquisition (Gass, 1998; Kasper, 1997; Long, 1997; Poulisse, 1997). Therefore they were considered as being outside the SLA field by mainstream SLA researchers (Gass, 1998; Long, 1997, 2006; Poulisse, 1997). Firth and Wagner (1998) stressed that acquisition would not occur if L2 was not actually used: "we take this opportunity to venture that acquisition will not occur without use" (1998, p. 93) and this point is further reinforced by Lafford (2007, p. 747).

CA studies such as Brouwer (2000), Firth & Wagner (2007), Kasper (2004), Kurhila (2006) and Nguyen (2011b) clearly show that it is through language use in everyday situations outside of classroom, be it ordinary conversation or institutional talk that learning linguistic items and/or interactional resources occur. Kasper (2004) examines conversations for learning, set up to provide the L2 speaker with an opportunity to practise L2 with an L1 speaker outside of class to further improve the L2 participant's linguistic knowledge of the target language. Kasper now upholds a CA stance when a decade earlier she criticised and refuted Firth & Wagner's (1997) call for a reconceptualization of SLA (see Markee & Kasper, 2004), and demonstrates in her CA analysis that L2 use leads to L2 learning. She shows that at times, the L1 participant orients to the interaction as a teaching exercise and assumes the role of language instructor by initiating other-corrections to correct the L2 participant's linguistic inaccuracies. The L2 participant repeats the corrected version following the correction, thereby engaging in the learning activity. Kasper also remarks that the participants do not always invoke instructor/learner identities and other social identities are also drawn upon. However, at times the L2 participant uses code-switching to invoke her novice language status and to call for a particular action

from the L1 participant, thereby requesting the L1 participant to supply the target language item. Thus, Kasper's study confirms Firth & Wagner's argument, that language use promotes learning, and that other social identities are also relevant besides that of learner.

Brouwer's (2000) and Kurhila's (2006) studies include ordinary conversation, and Kurhila's study also incorporates institutional talk. In contrast to Kasper's study, in the studies by Brouwer and Kurhila, it is the L2 speaker who solicits linguistic correction through displaying prosodically uncertainty markers on a particular linguistic item. The L1 speaker responds to the uncertainty markers in the next turn by offering the correct version, which is then repeated by the L2 speaker. Thus it is the L2 learner who initiates the repair by showing uncertainty and seeking confirmation. Both authors further notice that the novice L2 speaker can initiate a repair on linguistic items by offering two alternative candidate solutions. In that way the L2 speaker solicits a precise answer from the L1 speaker, and indicates that the trouble is of a linguistic nature, as well as identifying the trouble-source. On the other hand, both authors observe that when the L1 speaker initiates other-correction, the L2 participant does not repeat the correct version but simply acknowledges it. In Brouwer's study, the L2 participant, who speaks Danish as a second language, initiates a repair on pronunciation, whereas in Kurhila's study the repair initiated by the L2 speaker is morphological, (Finnish being a highly inflected language). Brouwer's and Kurhila's studies provide further evidence of L2 use being beneficial for the L2 novice speaker and in both cases it is the L2 speaker who seeks the linguistic correction.

Hanh Nguyen's (2011b) longitudinal study adds further evidence that it is through language use that L2 interactional competence develops over time, and language structures become more sophisticated. Nguyen examines five weekly interactions in which a Vietnamese student interacts in English as a second language (ESL) with her English tutor. She focuses on the opening of the sessions, in which the participants engage in ordinary conversation before moving to the task. She finds

that over time, the L2 speaker is able to accomplish an expanded answer without delay to topic proffers initiated by the tutor. According to Schegloff (2007) topic proffers usually bring about an expanded sequence, and he states that: [s]pecifically, in topic-proffering sequences (...) preferred responses engender expansion and dispreferred responses engender sequence closure" (p. 169). Further Schegloff explains that the topic-profferer will usually have two tries in pursuing an expanded response (2007, p. 173).

In Nguyen's (2011b) study, during the first two meetings, the L2 speaker initially produces minimal responses to topic proffers, and eventually she produces a delayed expanded response before the sequence is closed down or after the tutor has another try. From the third meeting on, the L2 speaker can produce expanded responses with multi-unit turns and without delay following the teacher's topic proffers. In addition, in the fourth session, the student is able to accomplish a topic proffer, which, according to Nguyen, signals a more active participation. Nguyen observes that over time, the L2 speaker produces more elaborate answers (2011b, p. 34), commenting that her grammar and her lexis become more intricate (p. 37). Further she notes a link between language learning and ongoing relationship, as the participants are more familiar with each other (p. 37). Moreover, she notices that topic proffers provide language learning opportunities (pp. 37-38).

The language learning opportunities are co-constructed by the tutor and the learning occurs implicitly as the tutor provides occasions for the L2 speaker to expand on her answers by withholding long turns. Thus, through the production of multi-unit turns in expanding her answers, the L2 speaker is eventually able to use more elaborate lexical items and a more complex grammar. Nguyen concludes that language learning occurred as a result of increased participation and that "participation itself is the target of learning: A second language learner needs to develop the specific interactional resources to participate in conversations with the target language" (2011b, p. 38).

Thus the findings above provide compelling evidence that participation in interaction is a key to language learning and L2 language use cannot be treated as a separate research agenda to second language acquisition, since both fall under the same research umbrella. Nguyen's study is particularly pertinent to this study as the same interactional practice is observed over time in one particular L2 speaker of a different L1 background. However, this thesis goes a step further than Nguyen's (2011b) study. Because the duration of this study is much longer and this interactional practice occurs in a non-instructed setting, it can be explored in more depth as the interactants develops a closer relationship than Nguyen's participants. As a result, other learning opportunities (and social actions) are created.

Another criticism addressed to Firth &Wagner (1997) referred to their focus on external behaviour rather than internal behaviour (see Long, 2006). However, it is through examining external behaviour such as spoken interaction that cognitive work that is publicly displayed can be captured and described (Schegloff, 1991a). Language learning can be accounted for through the description of interactional practices deployed by the L2 participants. In fact, Firth & Wagner (2007) show that learning can occur within interactional sequences taken from conversations outside the classroom. Language learning is thus viewed as "a social accomplishment" (p. 807). From this perspective learning is a socially situated practice built upon co-constructed actions that are publicly deployed and achieved. Firth & Wagner are more interested in showing learning occurring outside the classroom 'in the wild' since learning is linked to use (see also Firth, 2009).

To that effect, Firth & Wagner (2007) show an example of 'doing learning' whereby the L2 participant who is learning Danish wants to know how to order a pizza in Danish. In order to do so he asks his L1 co-participant to supply him with the phrase, and the latter complies. Having heard the 'learning object', the L2 repeats it and confirms his learning of the Danish phrase by translating it into

English, which is accepted by the L1 participant. In showing this excerpt Firth & Wagner illustrate how participants can set up a learning situation similar to what is done in a language classroom, and how actions (thus external behaviour) are built onto previous ones to accomplish the learning. However, they remark that this doing learning activity does not indicate whether the learning has been integrated into the L2 participant's long-term memory as the latter simply repeats the sentence provided by the L1 speaker. In this kind of doing learning the L2 participant engages in an interactional sequence whose object is to learn L2 explicitly as commonly occurs in a classroom situation. He momentarily treats the L1 participant as a 'teacher' by drawing on his/her language expertise. This is corroborated by a study conducted by Theodórsdóttir (2011) who finds similar behaviour in which the L2 participant temporarily orients to language learning in the course of the interaction, whether it be institutional talk or ordinary conversation. In doing that, the L2 participant, Anna, insists on completing her turn-constructional unit (TCU), an action seen as unnecessary by her L1 co-participants who displays understanding of her incomplete TCU and wants to move the progressivity of the interaction. Despite fulfilling the communication goal of the interaction with her incomplete TCU, the L2 speaker's insistence on completing it shows her orientation to learning, particularly new lexical items.

Besides doing learning Firth & Wagner (2007) also show two other types of learning. They illustrate another type of learning, which they call 'learning-in-action', as it is embedded in the ongoing sequential activity. They show two excerpts taken from two telephone conversations in English as lingua franca where the interactants are conducting business. In the first excerpt, an L2 participant (H), after initiating a repair sequence, learns a new expression in English. Then a second excerpt shows the same L2 participant (H) two days later making another telephone call to the same company. The analysis of the transcript illustrates how that L2 participant, H, operationalises the learning. H achieves it by correctly incorporating the new expression only when he is interacting with the previous interlocutor (from excerpt 1), who had explained its

meaning to him, and not with the first interactant. Thus Firth & Wagner explicate this behaviour as "calibrating his language behavior for his interlocutor's competence" (p. 809). In order words, H is very specific in his language use as he selectively targets a particular interactant when using his new expression, so it is recipient-designed (Sacks et al., 1974). Firth & Wagner are able to instantiate a case of learning in action because they have access to naturally occurring developmental data. However they lament that studies of this kind are lacking: "The main obstacle for this type of research [showing learning in action] has been the lack of longitudinal corpora available for L2 interactions" (Firth & Wagner, 2007, p. 809). Since their (2007) article more longitudinal CA-for-SLA studies have emerged and those relevant to the present study are examined in more detail in sections 2.3 and 2.4. Firth & Wagner (2007) also urge to examine other type of learning and not just linguistically based learning. What is powerful in the type of analysis that Firth & Wagner advocate is the detailed examination on a moment-by-moment basis of interactional events, which reveal the complexities of L2 participants' interactional competence and language behaviours.

The last type of learning that Firth & Wagner (2007) identify is mostly on the interactional level as they contrast two excerpts, taken two years apart of the same L2 participant engaged in business telephone openings with an L1 speaker of English. In the second excerpt the L2 participant makes a smoother, more fluent opening than in the first one. However, Firth & Wagner point out that that the second excerpt shows little linguistic development rather it shows interactional development, a finding corroborated by Brouwer & Wagner (2004), who also examine longitudinal data and will be further explored in section 2.4.1. Firth & Wagner (2007) observe that learning is part of the interaction and is dependent upon the topics and tasks as well as the sort of situated identities that the participants invoke. Learning seems also to be linked to the participants and the social relations they form. They conclude their study with a powerful statement in which they state that the study of language learning (or acquisition)

as a social accomplishment requires a different conception of what learning entails and call for more studies from a socially interactional perspective:

> Studying learning as a social accomplishment shifts our understanding of learning from the construct of a linguistic system or a competence that serves all the speaker's purposes. Instead, the development of social relations, the mutual constituency of linguistic resources and tasks, and the specific biography of the language learners come to the foreground. This strand of research has gained momentum over the last 10 years, and quite clearly, much more research into the specifics of social interactions in L2 environments is clearly necessary in the years to come.
>
> (Firth & Wagner, 2007, p. 812)

The studies above provide strong evidence that external behaviour needs to be taken into consideration, as they reveal that learning is not simply an internal state but it can also be publicly deployed in socially situated environments. Therefore discounting external behaviour would impoverish the SLA field since learning can be instantiated by the description of interactional practices. Besides, learning a language does not solely involve learning linguistic items but also its interactional practices and resources, which encompass multimodality (Seo, 2011) such as gestures, facial expressions, gaze, proxemics, and other paralinguistic features. Language is constituted by a linguistic system which is articulated by interactional resources. As language is a social act (Kramsch, 1993) it is through continued social interactions that a first language is acquired (cf. Filipi, 2009). It can therefore be deduced that the same principle would apply to L2, particularly in the case of spoken language being the central focus of this study. Kasper & Wagner (2011) claim that the goals of CA-for-SLA is to show how learning opportunities are created by non-expert L2 speakers in talk-in-interaction, and to empirically demonstrate the practices that these speakers engage in. CA offers the most rigorous theoretical framework to report and

explicate these interactional practices, as its core inquiry is the organisation of talk-in-interaction.

2.3 Social Cognition and CA-for-SLA

Conversation Analysis has also been criticised in mainstream SLA for being incapable of showing how cognition occurs in interaction. However, CA can describe how social cognition is made publicly available by examining interactants' behaviours in detail. Schegloff (1991a) argues that cognition and interaction are inextricably intertwined (p. 152) and he explains the role that CA plays in showing how cognition is displayed. CA can reveal the common practices, procedures and knowledge that the interactants deploy when engaged in spoken interaction in order to figure out and create a shared social world. At the core of interaction is intersubjectivity that is sharing meaning and making sense of participants' actions, and interactants build on each other's understanding and actions. Socially shared cognition is common knowledge, which participants need to establish. Schegloff (1991) identifies a connection between intersubjectivity and cognition:

> Socially shared cognition is nowhere more important than in the course of direct interaction between persons. The very coherence and viability of the course of such interaction, jointly produced by the participants through a series of moves in a series of moments that are built in some coherent fashion with respect to what went before, depends on some considerable degree of shared understanding of what has gone before, both proximately and distally, and what alternative courses of action lie ahead. Such intersubjectivity is not always untroubled.
>
> (Schegloff, 1991, p. 157)

Schegloff gives examples of socially situated cognition, such as the deployment of *oh* indicating a change-of-state, thereby a change in the speaker's state of knowledge hence cognition. Schegloff further illustrates the relationship between cognition and intersubjectivity when the latter is threatened (i.e., when meaning is not clear to one party) and remedial action needs to be taken. This is accomplished through repairs whose task is to maintain intersubjectivity hence socially shared cognition:

> Of the various aspects of the organization of talk-in-interaction that contribute to the sustaining of socially shared cognition, one that is specialized for the task is called the organisation of repair.
>
> (Schegloff, 1991, p. 157)

Repairs, initiated by others than the current speaker, show participants' knowledge of what has been understood (e.g. requiring confirmation of information) or misunderstood (e.g. requesting clarification of information).

Kasper (2009) concurs with Schegloff on the intersection between interaction and cognition, and that intersubjectivity is paramount in interaction. She points out that it is the architecture of intersubjectivity that enables learning to take place in L2 instructed and non-instructed settings (p. 23). She argues that repairs constitute a locus for potential L2 learning, and that CA "affords a more profound grasp of the sociocognitive work implicated in repair and consequently of its potential for L2 learning" (2009, p. 12-13). However, she posits that there are other interactional procedures that indicate socially shared cognition. She critiques the interactionist branch of SLA for focusing solely on misunderstandings and on one type of repair (other initiated repair in the next turn), and not on untroubled L1-L2 conversations, which can reveal other forms of understanding and cognitive work[11]. She thereby claims that interactionists

[11] Kasper (2009) shows other types of repairs, such as self-initiated self-repair whereby L2 speakers repair their own utterances, which indicates their focus on accuracy. She suggests that: "the correctness-focused self-repairs are

neglect to examine a major organisation of intersubjectivity, and contends that "[i]n this way the most critical condition for L2 learning, or any kind of learning for that matter goes unexamined" (2009, p. 23).

Through her conversation analysis of an L1-L2 ordinary conversation, Kasper (2009) demonstrates how the projection of action sequences, particularly in relation to adjacency pairs, preference organisation and turn taking, reveal the participants' joint understanding and therefore their socially shared cognition. Particularly, she shows how a question, such as "have you ever", is understood to project an extended response, and how the L2 interactant suspends the response to a question ("why do you ask") for a few turns before providing the response without his co-conversationalist engaging in a repair. The participants can project the pragmatic import of each question, thus displaying an understanding of the sequentiality of these questions. Kasper concludes that L2 development is "located in socially shared cognition as a practical accomplishment" (2009, p. 32).

Kasper refers to Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1978) in relation to the need for "active listening" as a condition for participating in conversation, since participants have to closely monitor each other's talk to be able to interact. Listening-in-interaction requires joint attentional focus (Long, 2006), thus it is a cognitive and social function, and CA can show how listening is accomplished through examining a number of interactional practices (Kasper & Wagner, 2011) including listener responses (see Gardner, 2001). This active listening is shown by Firth (2009) whose study indicates how people, conducting business in English as a lingua franca, calibrate their interactional and linguistic competences to match those of their conversational partners. To be able to do so, these interactants need to be very attentive to each other's talk, as they analyse and assess each other's talk (Seedhouse, 2004, p. 10). Thus, Firth finds that a

activity- and identity-implicative and as such embody socially shared cognition, not only individual cognitive processes" (2009, p. 29).

different kind of learning associated with an omnipresent social activity takes place implicitly other than on morpho-syntactic and lexical levels.

CA is capable of showing how cognition can be achieved as a co-constructed social activity but it cannot account for what occurs in an individual's mind. In CA cognition is regarded as socially shared since it is accomplished as a joint activity. Some CA-for-SLA researchers have endeavoured to address the issue of cognition in CA, and the fact that CA does not have a theory of learning (He, 2004). He (2004) makes the valid point that learning does not solely happen during interaction but also requires some introspection on the part of the learner. CA cannot uncover this aspect of learning but this thesis attempts to address this issue by resorting to verbal protocols (e.g. stimulated recalls). Further, He affirms that "CA does not document change over time' (2004, p. 579). However, longitudinal studies as shown above and in the next sections now challenge this position. These studies and the present one provide evidence that CA can document change over time. Since He's (2004) paper, much work in CA-for-SLA has taken place, which has helped to advance CA in the SLA field, testifying the robustness of CA achievements in SLA.

A number of CA-for-SLA scholars, such as Markee & Seo (2009), have endeavoured to engage in a dialogue with cognitivist SLA. Markee & Seo (2009) are opposed to supplementing CA with an exogenous theory to explain learning in interaction critiquing Seedhouse (2007) for endorsing sociocultural theory. They claim that since Discursive Psychology (DP) shares the same ethnomethodological roots as CA and uses CA methodological tools, both frameworks can be combined to observe cognition in interaction, which they remark is difficult to demonstrate from the data (2009, p. 39). Thus Markee & Seo proposes a theoretical methodology for tracking learning in interaction, which they call "Learning Track Analysis" (LTA). They anchor it in CA, Ethnomethodology, and Discursive Psychology together with Discourse Hypothesis to provide an account of socially distributed language learning

behaviour. By LTA Markee & Seo refer to language learning behaviour, which involves a specific set of interactionally achieved and socially situated actions that participants may combine together in producing new language rather than language learning. These language learning behaviours are process oriented and entail actions, such as repair, changes of epistemic states like the token *oh*, etc. (see Markee & Seo, 2009, p. 45 for a full description). Markee & Seo (2009) comment that their data seem to indicate that cognition and language learning (together with the mind and affect) are both individually and socially distributed behaviours (Markee & Seo, 2009, p. 46). They illustrate their LTA with data excerpts taken from an L1-L2 tutor-tutee interaction, in which the L1 speaker initiates a repair on a linguistic error made by the L2 speaker who uses *many* instead of *lot of* or *much*. Two issues arise as a result of the repair. The L2 speaker does not understand that the L1 speaker has engaged in a different speech exchange system; from ordinary conversation to pedagogical talk[12], as the L1 speaker prefaces his repair with a listener response, which resembles a continuer. In addition, the L2 speaker misunderstands the repair work the L1 speaker is doing. He displays his confusion in the form of a confirmation request regarding the sort of action he believes the L1 speaker requires him to engage in i.e., spending more time on his pronunciation exercise. The L1 speaker then makes it explicit that the repair is about a linguistic error correction and not about a pronunciation exercise.

The L2 speaker displays his understanding and learning in various ways, which support the authors' LTA that it is a constellation of actions: through his production of the change-of-state token *oh* accompanied by a snap of his fingers and a repetition of the correct linguistic form (p. 53). The authors argue that the L2 speaker thus displays a change of cognitive state. Further, they show evidence how the learning is displayed, as a minute later the L2 speaker makes the same linguistic error but immediately self-corrects (also using embodied action),

[12] The authors point out that this is a zone of interactional transition (Markee, 2008) which often occasions misunderstandings.

thereby displaying a change in his knowledge of the grammatical rule. Through his embodied actions, the L2 speaker also points to his shared interactional history with the L1 speaker in relation to his learning, attributing it to the L1 speaker's collaboration. However, with the last excerpt occurring some moments later, the authors demonstrate that the L2 speaker is still trying to figure out the countable/non-countable rule, and now opposing *specific* to *general* amount of time. Thus, the authors provide evidence of the L2 speaker engaged in grammar construction over the course of the interaction, and that the participants orient to grammar as an emerging interactional phenomenon but also as the topic of their talk (p. 57).

Markee & Seo (2009) are cautious in that they do not claim to have demonstrated that the L2 speaker understands the grammatical rule, nor that they have evidence of long-term learning. They cannot account for how grammatical rules are represented in the L2 speaker's mind, however they seek to engage the collaboration of their cognitive colleagues to "develop a comprehensive theory of mind" (p. 58). This is a challenge for cognitive SLA researchers to take up, and it will be interesting to see whether any such collaboration is feasible given the theoretical and methodological differences in approaching interactional data.

Mori & Hasegawa (2009) align themselves with a more traditional CA approach in relation to cognition that is "assuming the existence of an underlying cognitive state that is distinguishable from the interactional surface of talk-in-interaction" (2009, p. 68, footnote 1). The authors in this study do not resort to an exogenous theory to show the various cognitive processes that the students are engaged in. In effect, CA ascribes cognitive states and processes to social events that may become the focus of the analysis or part of the phenomenon under study. Mori & Hasegawa (2009) base their analysis on embodied cognition which is demonstrated in the talk via the use of gestures, facial expressions, gaze, postural shift, artefacts, and handling documents depending on the context and setting.

However, they add that cognition is embodied and displayed by the participants, and the authors seek to fathom the participants' motivation for and treatment of these behavioural manifestations. They show how two students working in pairs display their cognitive processes, when engaged in word search and in a language game. The word search activity becomes a social event in which the students use gaze, posture, artefacts such as a textbook and notebook and also engage in a word game.

By not resorting to an exogenous theory, Mori & Hasegawa could demonstrate the various cognitive processes that the students were engaged in thus proving the robustness of conversation analysis. That they also relied to a lesser extent on ethnography to support their observations also strengthens their findings. This approach is also taken in this thesis.

Both Kasper (2009) and Markee & Seo (2009) have relied upon Discursive Psychology to complement CA because, even though DP is non-cognitivist, it examines psychological states (such as affect, stance and motivation) and other mental processes (e.g. mind, cognition, and memory) from an empirical perspective by looking at oral and written texts (Deschambault, 2012; Evnitskaya, 2012; Kasper, 2008). Since both written text and spoken interaction can be analysed in Discursive Psychology, this methodology can potentially enhance CA-for-SLA research agenda in relation to classroom learning (also see Markee, 2011).

Whether CA needs an exogenous theory to explain socially situated cognition and learning is still being debated. Some scholars such as Brouwer & Wagner (2004), Firth (2009) and Hellerman (2006, 2009) have considered Lave and Wenger's (1991) theory of situated learning and community of practice, while others like Mondada & Pekarek-Doehler (2004) have turned to sociocultural theory. Hauser (2011) claims that CA does not require an exogenous theory to examine learning in interaction, particularly in response to Hellermann's recourse to situated learning, a position also endorsed by the researcher. Hauser contends

that "[CA's] strength is that it is driven by the data, which may make it possible to develop a CA-based theory of language learning that is grounded in the data" (2011, p. 351). In light of Schegloff's work on socially situated cognition and the centrality of intersubjectivity and of the Goodwins' work on embodied cognition (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1986), the researcher takes the view that CA is more than adequate to show how cognitive states such as learning, are publicly displayed through talk, action and multimodality (see Mondada, 2006; Mori & Hayashi, 2006). Mori & Hasegawa's (2009) study, which does not rely on an exogenous theory or on Discourse Psychology to examine cognitive processes, provides strong evidence that CA is powerful in revealing cognitive processes during a language learning activity in class.

2.4 Conversation Analytic Studies in SLA

2.4.1 Longitudinal Studies Using a Conversation Analytic Framework

In the last few years an increasing number of CA studies using longitudinal data have emerged with the explicit aim of tracking interactional competence as deployed over time. These have involved learners from various language levels using a diversity of languages (Japanese, Korean, English, etc.) in differing settings. The studies examined ordinary talk or institutional talk in contexts like: study abroad programs, tutoring sessions, and classroom interaction (Barraja-Rohan, 2011; Brouwer & Wagner, 2004; Hellermann, 2006, 2008a, 2009, 2011; Ishida, 2011; Markee, 2008; Nguyen, 2011b, 2012a)[13].

The fundamental questions in relation to CA-for SLA studies that consider development are how CA studies can: 1) instantiate any development, and 2) account for any development that takes place. A major challenge in seeking to illustrate evidence of change in a particular interactional practice is to find

[13] Hanh Nguyen's (2011b) study has already been reviewed in section 2.1.

"comparable contexts at different points in time in the interaction of language learners" (Hellermann, 2011, p. 154). Both Brouwer & Wagner's (2004) and Hellermann's (2006, 2008, 2009, 2011) studies on longitudinal data consider Lave and Wenger's (1991) theory of socially situated learning to account for learning in interaction. This theory considers that learning is socially situated, which means that learning forms an integral part of a social practice, and that it occurs in a context as part of that context in a community of practice. Learning is considered a social process involving a progressive change that takes place through experiencing a number of social interactions occurring over time. In addition, learning involves acquiring the interactional resources created through those interactions.

Brouwer & Wagner's study, which focuses on conversations occurring outside the classroom, demonstrates how an L2 speaker learns to open a telephone conversation and which terms of address to use through making repeated telephone calls over a short span of time. The authors show a series of three telephone openings and the development that happens over time: in the first opening there are perturbations, overlapped greetings and code-switching. However, by the third telephone conversation, the opening is done smoothly and efficiently without hitches and perturbations. Hence over time both interactants learn social niceties, and routinise a social practice (2004, p. 37). Since they view learning as a desire to participate and communicate with others, the authors conclude that, instead of focusing on the acquisition of form, the focus should be on how learners access new communities. In the same vein as Firth (2009), the authors found that the L2 speaker did not learn grammar but a social routine.

Since Hellerman's (2009) longitudinal study does not really show a progression in the learner's various usages of *no*, attention is directed at his (2011) study. In this (2011) classroom study, Hellermann focuses on other-initiated repair by the same two novice speakers as in his previous studies over a period of 50 weeks, and

shows changes of focus and repair practices, as these learners' participation in the English class evolves.

Hellermann contrasts other-initiated repair sequences taken months apart in which he shows changes: one learner, Renaldo, orients to pronunciation and the other learner, Inez, to structure, and both learners expand their repair strategy. In the repair sequences taking place later in the study, Renaldo resorts to spelling for mispronounced words and not simply correcting the pronunciation orally, while Inez explicitly identifies the trouble-source verb or lexis. She not only initiates the repair with the lexical item *no*, which she did not use initially, but she also offers accounts for her correction. Thus there are changes in both learners' L2 interactional competence. In addition, Hellermann provides evidence of other changes in the repairs initiated by Inez, as over time she moves her orientation from grammatical or lexical items to action projection. Hellermann notes that her repair orientation has become broader in relation to language and language learning tasks. Therefore for Inez the change occurs in the sequential formatting of her talk, rather than in her repair initiation using the lexical item *no*. Hellermann remarks that the two learners can engage in next turn repair initiation points to a 'panlinguistic' practice, and attests to their membership in an English speaking community. His other finding concerns the learners' orientation to different trouble sources in their repairs using various methods at different points in time, indicating the development of the learners' L2 interactional competence. Finally, Hellermann concludes that the shifting contexts within the classroom would have influenced the changes, given that the tasks and materials are constantly modified to accommodate the increased language proficiency of the learners. Thus, according to Hellerman, language learning needs to be reconceptualised from an individualised perspective to learners' multiple competencies adapting to the context and competencies of the various communities of practice (2011, pp. 167-168).

Ohta's longitudinal study is located in sociocultural theory, but Ohta (2001) uses CA as a tool to investigate how beginning adult learners develop L2 interactional routines within a pedagogical context, notably listener responses in Japanese as a foreign language. Her study took place over one academic year, and she examines the acquisition of aligning expressions, which are listener responses used to show empathy, understanding or agreement with another speaker. Ohta indicates that in Japanese aligning expressions are used more frequently than in American English. She adds that: "alignment often takes the form of a secondary assessment" (2001, p. 181) and bases her understanding of assessment[14] (Ohta, 1999) on the work of Charles Goodwin.

Ohta (2001) recorded four learner-learner interactions and teacher-fronted interactions. She examines the initiation/response/follow-up (IRF) routine to explore whether learners were exposed to aligning expressions, whether these leaners could be socialised into this interactional routine that way, and whether they acquired these aligning expressions. Although she observes that the teachers included aligning expressions in their IRF routine, pair work provided more opportunities for learners to practise interactional routines and develop their interactional competence, because in a teacher-fronted context they rarely have the opportunity of using listener responses. From the conversation analysis of learner-learner interactions, Ohta finds that learners acquired aligning expressions in a certain order and proceeded from expressing acknowledgment to alignment. She suggests a sequence of acquisition: "Based upon these results, I propose a developmental continuum of responses from acknowledgement to alignment" (2001, p. 180). However, she recommends that further research be conducted to confirm this finding.

Ohta's research shows that learners are sensitive to pragmatic information and her findings suggest that the acquisition of interactional competence may reflect a common developmental route. Her findings correlate with Barraja-Rohan's

[14] Assessments are expressions of evaluation that can show affect, such as *how terrific* or *how sad*.

(2011) study whose preliminary findings indicate that adult Vietnamese students studying ESL at an upper beginner level generally do not produce response tokens, not even continuers, whereas ESL students from various Asian backgrounds of an intermediate level use various response tokens but no assessments. Using CA, Barraja-Rohan conducted a longitudinal and cross-sectional study over one semester examining the speech of adult ESL learners of varying competencies and nationalities, from upper beginner to intermediate within a classroom setting. The learners were audio/video recorded while having undirected conversations in class, as well as when they were commenting on their language experience. The author confirms Ohta's (2001) finding that assessments are more difficult to acquire and that both continuers and assessments need to be taught explicitly. Moreover, when the students' awareness are raised in a subsequent lesson on response tokens, particularly continuers, the Vietnamese ESL students indicate that they use them in their L1. This study points to the fact that L2 learners do not necessarily transfer their L1 interactional competence into their L2, particularly during the early stage of their L2 learning.

Another CA cross-sectional study was conducted by Pekarek Doehler & Pochon-Berger (2011) on teenage students learning French as a foreign language in a classroom setting. The authors examine the accomplishment of disagreements in two groups of L2 student interactions: a group of lower-intermediate students aged 13-14, and another group of advanced students aged 17-18. Like the two previous studies, they also find a developmental sequence of acquisition, which is related to accomplishing disagreements. They report that the lower intermediate group overwhelmingly perform strong disagreements with *no* in turn initial position and use fewer techniques than the advanced group who perform similarly to a group of L1 students. Rather than being bold in their disagreements, the advanced students use the 'yes-but' pattern, and also push the disagreement into the turn, thus mitigating the strength of the disagreement. The advanced group employ more varied and sophisticated techniques, which involve

a close monitoring of the prior speaker's utterance linguistically and interactionally, and adapt better to the local contingencies of the talk. The authors thus conclude that the differences between the two groups are due to changes in the students' L2 interactional competence, which they equate to learning (2011, p. 238).

Ishida (2011) also investigates the production of assessments by a Japanese learner in ordinary conversation. Ishida examines interactions between a learner of Japanese, Sarah, and her host mother in a study abroad program over seven months. In these interactions, Ishida investigates from a CA perspective Sarah's interactional behaviour while her host mother is telling stories. Initially, Sarah aligns as the recipient of an informing by producing response tokens and nonverbal displays. After a few months, Sarah starts to align as a story recipient by producing assessments and acknowledgments, engaging in an assessment activity as well as a second story to show understanding and similarity with the host mother's story. Ishida remarks that Sarah gradually becomes more engaged with her host mother's stories in co-constructing them. However, Ishida contends that the learner's changes are the result of language socialisation in developing interpersonal relationships with members of the L2 community, rather than the development of newly acquired L2 interactional skills. Because the researcher is limited to the five conversations she recorded, she remarks that the learner may have produced assessments outside the recorded sessions, and she acknowledges that her observations cannot testify to any development in Sarah's L2 interactional competence. Yet she mentions 'development of interactional competence' in her introduction and in the title of her study. Further, in her discussion she comments that the host mother's scaffolding helped Sarah's development of interactional competence, which all points to some contradiction in her argument.

Markee (2008) demonstrates the use of a Learning Behaviour Tracking (LBT) methodology to document learning instances of L2 learners in a class situation

over time. His LBT shows two ways of tracing the learning object: (1) learning object tracking (LOT), which involves marking instances of occurrence of learning over time in a table, and (2) the learning process tracking (LPT), which involves a CA analysis of an instance of talk in which attempts at pronouncing the learning object are shown after a repair initiated by the teacher highlighting the troublesome item. Markee's aim is to show how particular learners can reproduce over time a difficult lexical item *prerequisite*, however, he lacks the primary data i.e., talk, to show that the learning occurred. Instead, he uses an email from the teacher explaining how two learners working in pairs may have used the problematic lexical item four months later, and how one tries to pronounce it. Markee acknowledges that his demonstration is flawed in that he resorted to secondary source data and not to actual talk. Nonetheless his objective is to demonstrate that this methodology has potential applications to show learning occurring over time.

Brouwer & Wagner (2004)'s call to focus on a new form of learning, i.e., how novice L2 speakers access new communities is certainly taken into account in the present thesis. This learning is represented by the L2 speakers' orientation to social practices rather than linguistic items. The majority of the longitudinal studies reviewed above (with the exception of Hellermann (2009, 2011) and Markee (2008)), including the present study testify that it is the case, even in classroom settings. Equally important to the present research are findings of acquisition sequences in studies by Ohta (2001), Barraja-Rohan (2011) and Pekarek Doehler & Pochon-Berger (2011). All the longitudinal studies mentioned previously indicate that interactional development occurs on various levels depending on the contexts, the local contingencies of the talk, and the novice L2 speakers' orientation to learning, which could be social actions and/or linguistic items. This conclusion has particularly relevance to the present research as will be demonstrated in chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8.

2.4.2 Other CA-For-SLA Studies

There have been numerous classroom based studies conducted within a CA paradigm (Gajo & Mondada, 2000; Gardner, 2007; Hellermann, 2006, 2008a, 2009, 2011; Markee, 2000, 2004, 2005; Markee & Kasper, 2004; Mondada & Pekarek Doehler, 2004; Mori, 2002; Mortensen, 2009, 2011; Olsher, 2004; Pekarek Doehler & Pochon-Berger, 2011; Seedhouse, 2004), but only those relevant to the present study will be examined. Besides classrooms, other pedagogical settings have been investigated, such as conversations-for-learning[15] (Carroll, 2004, 2005; Kasper, 2004; Kasper & Kim, 2007; Mori, 2003), tutor-tutee interactions (Seo, 2011), proficiency interviews (Lee et al., 2011; Van Compernolle, 2011), pedagogical interviews (Barraja-Rohan, 2003b), business transaction (Firth, 1996), as well as ordinary conversation (Gardner, 2004; Wagner, 2003; Wong, 2000a, 2000b, 2004, 2005).

Repair has received much attention in CA and SLA studies (cf. Markee, 2000; Wagner, 2004) and can take forms that only occur in L2-L1 speaker interaction. For instance, using CA Wong (2000a) found in her data on English conversation that the Mandarin L2 speakers of English perform delayed other-initiation of repair in a different way to NSs. Other initiation of repair can be delayed in the next turn to the trouble-source turn. In a native speaker environment the recipient starts displaying an understanding of a prior action, which later in the same turn is reconsidered and judged as inadequate, so the recipient cuts him/herself off to initiate a delayed next turn repair. In Wong's data, instead of reviewing their understanding within the same turn, the L2 speaker receipts the trouble-source turn with a receipt token, which is followed by a pause, and only initiates the repair in the third turn. So the initiation is delayed and does not come in the repair-opportunity space, which is instead occupied with a receipt token (like *oh*).

[15] These conversations are also called out of class arrangements for L2 practice (Kasper & Wagner, 2011, p. 127)

Drawing on Heritage's (1984) work, Wong notes the difference between her data and NS data. The *oh* in NS talk occurs at the end of a repair sequence, i.e., after the resolution thus receipting the repair, whereas in Wong's data it precedes the repair sequence. Furthermore, Wong observes that the L2 speaker can equally receipt the trouble-source turn with *uh huh* signalling that so far there is no problem, yet later a repair is initiated. As a result, five turns are involved instead of the canonical three-turn repair sequence for other initiated repairs predicated by Schegloff et al. (1977). Wong indicates that the L2 speaker analyses the trouble-source turn (TST) twice and the repair initiator is an indication of a second analysis, the first being the immediate receipt of the TST. The initial receipt therefore claims understanding of the prior turn and this understanding is later revised and found problematic. Thus, Wong finds that the main difference between L2-L1 speaker interactions and NS interactions resides in the "premature understanding needing to be superseded in the case of the native speakers versus not-yet-mature understanding in the case of non-native speakers" (2000, pp. 260-261).

Her study shows that negotiation of meaning can occur over a longer sequence than what has been identified so far in SLA studies, and she comments that SLA would benefit from a fine-grained analysis as well as observations drawn from the interactants' perspective and not the analyst's. Wong's criticisms of mainstream SLA methods of investigation are valid as CA captures better this level of details. Wong's finding is not unique to her data because a similar repair practice also occurs in the present thesis. If this pattern is recurrent in other studies, CA findings may be generalised.

Other-initiated repair has also been explored by Wagner (2003) who examines business telephone interactions between L2 and L1 speakers. Wagner makes an interesting observation in relation to the lack of repairs in an environment that warrants them. Wagner finds cases when actions are seen unfitted to the sequential environment and yet no repair is undertaken to remedy the trouble;

the L1 speaker does not orient to the trouble but lets it pass. He reports instances in his corpus where the second pair part is missing and should have been produced by the novice L2 speaker, yet the L1 speaker does not undertake remedial work to repair it. The missing second pair part therefore indicates that the L2 speaker misunderstood the local contingencies of a preceding turn. Wagner shows an excerpt in which the L1 speaker makes a request to the L2 speaker (asking him to spell his name) and the latter does not comply with the request. Instead the L2 speaker responds with a completely different action unfitted to the prior turn. What is surprising is that the L1 speaker does not initiate a third position repair (as a free-standing correction) to rectify the misunderstanding and instead responds to the L2 speaker's next inappropriately placed action.

Wagner points out that many errors are not acted upon and not made an issue; instead the NS abandons the topic. Wagner's observation correlates with Long's (1983) finding that a NS may drop a new topic altogether when the response given by the novice L2 speaker does not answer the L1 speaker's question and instead leads to a new topic. Long calls this tactic 'accepting an unintentional topic-switch' while Wagner refers to it as the NS co-participant treating the 'misplaced turn as sequentially proper'. Long explains this tactic by a desire from the L1 speaker to pass the control of the topic to the L2 novice speaker and an ability to tolerate ambiguity. Long notices that this tactic is used more frequently by L1 speakers who have more experience in foreigner talk. Wagner does not try to analyse this finding in this fashion as this is imposing an analyst's view on the data (i.e., an etic perspective), which is inconsistent with CA methodology. Rather, he describes how the participants orient to the talk and what actions they undertake. Wagner's and Long's observation of the NS abandoning the topic when faced with an unanswered question is not borne out by the present thesis. Instead, the NS uses scaffolding or reformulations to elicit the response from the L2 speaker.

Wong's and Wagner's studies have shown discrepancies between NS interactions and L2-L1 speaker interactions. However, the research undertaken by Carroll (2004) on TCU beginnings reports that novice L2 speakers can display an interactional behaviour mirroring that of L1 speakers'. Carroll's study indicates that L2 novice speakers recycle their turn beginning once the overlap has been resolved, and it can be produced in the clear. His study indicates that the L2 novice speakers tune in to details of the talk. While Carroll (2004) examines TCU beginnings in conversations-for-learning, Gardner (2007) examines them in a classroom environment, and in particular looks at broken starts. Gardner demonstrates how L2 novice speakers produce broken starts after which they can fluently complete their TCU. The disfluencies at a turn beginning occur especially after a question, and they are made up of hesitation (silence filler *uhm*), pause, repetition, abandonment, reformulation, and delayed start. However, the L2 speakers complete the rest of the turn with (relative) fluency. Gardner attributes these disfluencies to the L2 speaker engaging in planning and designing his/her turn, particularly when his/her linguistic competence is still limited. Gardner argues that this 'bricolage' is a place where learning takes place (2007, p. 63). This broken start can also occur with L2 speakers with a more advanced language level than those in Gardner's study and in an environment different to a classroom setting as this study testifies.

In another study, Gardner (2004) examines the pursuit of response in a non-pedagogical setting involving three advanced L2 speakers having an ordinary conversation with three Australian L1 speakers. This study contradicts Wagner's (2003) and Long's (1983) finding that NS abandons the topic when the L2 speaker does not produce a fitted next response. In his study, Gardner notices that there are numerous expanded question sequences (EQSs) whereby the base question is extended, which also occurs in this thesis to some extent and for different reasons. In Gardner's (2004) study, the L1 speaker asks a question, which is followed by a pause, so the L1 speaker either rephrases or modifies his/her question, and/or adds an increment or an expansion to the turn. The

expanded question sequence occurs for two reasons: (1) to pursue a response which is followed by a pause, and (2) when there is no pause to secure the floor to provide additional material to the question as an alternative to a specific pre-sequence called pre-pre[16] (cf. Schegloff, 2007). When the question is initially followed by a pause the answer that follows an EQS is usually a dispreferred response and it is produced by the L2 speaker. When the question is elaborated without a pause, Gardner surmises that the speaker perceives a need for increased explicitness (2004, p. 265). The perceived inadequacy is based on the L1 speakers' assumptions about the L2 speakers' insufficient language proficiency, which Gardner remarks, is an incorrect assessment because the L2 speakers display understanding of the L1 speakers' utterances. Gardner points out that these EQSs resulted from the fact that the dispreferred responses were produced by the L2 speakers with a minor discrepancy in timing, and they did not fully reflect practices performed by L1 speakers, as they take longer to be accomplished. Therefore, to avoid incipient misunderstanding or breakdown the L1 speakers felt a need to produce EQSs (2004, p. 266).

Lee et al. (2011) also look at expanded sequences by examining two language proficiency levels of English-speaking Korean background speakers during oral proficiency interviews (intermediate and advanced). In particular, they investigate the production of expanded responses to questions, which in Korean require specific grammatical resources. In Korean, an agglutinate verb final language, the projectability of a turn is delayed because of the grammar. To expand their utterances, speakers can either append a clausal connective or a sentence-final suffix (such as tag questions, *you know*, or *you see?*), whose function is to secure a space to extend the turn. The authors find that advanced speakers often deploy those grammatical resources to expand their responses, but the intermediate students seldom do. In addition, they note that the advanced speakers utter 1.6 times more words than the intermediate speakers. This study shows how grammatical competence is linked to interactional competence. Expanded

[16] An example of a pre-pre is: "Can I ask you a question?" (Schegloff, 2007, p. 44).

sequences are of particular interest to the present thesis although differing language levels do not seem to be strongly related to their occurrence.

Another cross-sectional study on adult ESL learners conducted by Hellerman (2008b) looks at storytelling produced by two different language proficiency groups in a classroom setting. Although Hellermann (2008a) also examines other interactional practices, such as task openings and disengagement, storytelling being pertinent to this thesis will represent the focus of this review. Hellermann (2008b) compares what he calls two classroom communities of practice: beginning language level and intermediate. He collected 17 non-elicited stories that mostly occurred in student dyads during teacher-assigned tasks. He does not view the social action of storytelling as off task inasmuch as these stories are part of talk-in-interaction, and they have to be accomplished in a sequentially relevant way and timely manner for the participants to align as story-recipients.

These stories constitute a social conversational practice that students engage in while socialising with each other as members of a classroom community of practice and as members of an English speaking community. Hellermann states that storytelling provides not just opportunities for language development but also "students' use of story tellings in their dyadic interaction also allows them to do interpersonal relationship work which is important in building an effective learning community" (2008b, p. 87).

Hellermann finds differences in the production format between the two groups: the lower proficiency students do not produce an extended preface to the story unlike the intermediate students. They also accomplish twice as many stories and longer ones as the lower proficiency groups. Story prefaces using time locators occur more in the intermediate groups with only one instance from the beginning language level groups. The intermediate groups possess a greater range of lexical-grammatical resources such as the use of past tense and other pre-sequence markers, (e.g. *for example*, *look*). Only one past tense marker is used in the prefaces in the beginning groups. In addition, extended pre-sequences are

only found in the intermediate groups. Hellermann notes that story recipients in neither of the groups produce a second story. Hellermann suggests that this could be due to insufficient language proficiency and to classroom constraints since storytelling can be interrupted when the teacher calls for attention. Hellermann indicates that storytelling mostly follows the NS pattern. However, he notices that the start of a story may be delayed by a (lengthy) repair sequence on a lexical item due to insufficient language proficiency, particularly in the beginning level groups, a point that reflects their learner status. In spite of these difficulties the novice L2 speakers show persistence in accomplishing storytelling. Hellermann concludes that having larger lexical-grammatical repertoires enables the higher proficiency level students to accomplish more intricate stories yet, despite their limited resources the beginning level groups can still engage in this social practice. Finally, he suggests that this social practice could be universal (2008b, p. 101).

Besides grammar and language, gestures and other nonverbal behaviours are important interactional resources, which are also taken into consideration in this thesis. The last study in this section conducted by Seo (2011) examines embodied action during an ESL tutoring session in which the tutee is a novice L2 speaker. In the session, the tutee indicates her lack of understanding of a lexical item, which engenders a long repair sequence with multiple tries by the tutor who resorts to various semiotic modalities (e.g. gaze, gestures, body orientation, material objects and talk) to help the learner achieve understanding. Eventually, the tutee not only displays an epistemic change but she also engages in a series of turns, and incorporates embodied action to provide an additional example for the troublesome lexical item as an illustration of her understanding. Thus, both tutor and tutee employ embodied action: the tutor to facilitate learning given the tutee's limited linguistic ability, and the tutee to complement her verbal display of understanding to remedy her lack of language proficiency. Therefore this study demonstrates that embodied action and the use of semiotic fields constitute important interactional accomplishments in the case of repair and displaying

understanding. Note that Hellermann (2008a) also find that the learners in the beginning language level groups use more gestures in their interactions.

This section has reviewed a number of CA studies conducted in various settings involving institutional talk and ordinary conversation with mostly L2 speakers of English at different language proficiency levels. In comparing L2 and L1 speakers, these studies highlighted some discrepancies in interactional practices (Hellermann, 2008b; Wagner 2003; Wong, 2000), but also similar practices to NSs (Carroll 2004). Both sets of findings have also been observed in this thesis although they do not always concern the same interactional practices as discussed above. The discrepancies can be attributed to the non-expert L2 speakers' insufficient language proficiency, delayed processing, or need to plan their turns, but they can also be imputed to the L1 speakers responding to the L2 speakers' display of non-native like practices (Gardner, 2007). The study by Lee et al. (2011), which focused on Korean background speakers, showed a notable link between grammar and interactional competence. This link between the two competences is further discussed in this thesis based on the data collected and analysed. Hellermann's (2008b) study indicated that novice L2 speakers could participate in the social practice of storytelling enabling them to engage in interpersonal relationship work, which contributed to language development. This finding has particular relevance to the present study as storytelling is investigated as a potential language learning practice. Lastly, the study by Seo (2011) highlighted other resources, such as embodied action and semiotic fields, used to accomplish interactional work. Seo's findings are pertinent to this thesis inasmuch as such resources were also employed by the participants to accomplish various social actions. Most of the studies discussed above described learning interactional practices besides linguistic items. In this thesis both types of learning occur. Therefore, the studies described above are informative for SLA in that they throw light on non-expert L2 speakers' and L1 speakers'

interactional behaviours in a wide range of situations thereby illustrating the intricacies and complexity of not only talk-in-interaction but also of L2 interactional competence. Finally, they point to the varied learning opportunities that talk-in-interaction can offer.

2.5 Interactional Competence

Early conversation analysts understood that in examining talk-in-interaction they were in fact dealing with the interactional competence (IC) of members of a particular community (Psathas, 1990). However, this view has taken some time to be embraced and redefined by the SLA research community to address issues pertaining to L2 research, particularly in relation to teaching conversational skills to adults. In the last twenty years the concept of interactional competence has gradually developed in SLA research and has now gained momentum. Kramsch (1986) was the first researcher to envisage the teaching of interactional competence and urged researchers to move away from regarding language as a 'functional tool'. She critiqued the Proficiency Movement for focusing on accuracy and not taking into account the dynamic process of human interactions, where there is collaboration, negotiation and accommodation with a focus on communication. Kramsch considered interactional competence as part of the curriculum within an intercultural framework. Her notion of "an interactionally-oriented curriculum" (1986, pp. 369) consisted of critically evaluating language and reflecting on discourse and how language in use was actually regulated. This was a ground-breaking way of approaching language in the context of language teaching and assessment.

The examination of the construct of IC was initially explored by Oksaar (1983, 1990, 1999) who proposed a complex model to explain in detail what this interactional competence entails. In a similar vein to Kramsch (1986), he defined spoken language as a complex medium of communication. Oksaar's premise was

based on the fact that culture was often underlying human interactions in multilingual situations. His model (1983) was empirically based on the work that he had conducted with L2 learners in various countries over several years. He reflected on the kind of factors impacting on IC and the occurrence of miscommunication. In his model he included paralinguistic features, nonverbal behaviour, and sociocultural norms, which he named "Cultureme and Behavioureme", encompassing extraverbal behaviour such as proxemics, time and space (1983, pp. 247). He defined IC as:

> The ability of a person, in interactional situations to carry out and interpret verbal, paralinguistic, non-verbal and extraverbal communicative actions in two roles, that of the speaker and that of the hearer, according to the sociocultural and psychological rules of the group.
>
> (Oksaar, 1990, p. 530)

Kramsch (1986) too regarded the role of the listener and understanding the intentionality of the message communicated as important; however Oksaar (1990) added another element, that of extralinguistic behaviour.

Hall (1995), in exploring the concept of IC, examined what she called 'interactive practices' (1995, pp. 38-39). She focused on the fact that there were conversational practices that were repeated, goal directed, and played a socially cohesive role for a community. Hall's concept of interactive practices was designed for practices in the L2 classroom. Furthermore these interactive practices implied that the participants shared some common ground and meaning, which in turn resulted in setting up expectations about what was happening in the talk. Hence there was pragmatic understanding and expectation. Her starting point was speech acts and their sequential organization, which has implications for turn taking whereby topics are initiated and developed, and which led to a particular use of lexis and syntax. Hall considered

that pragmatic competence[17] played a significant part in communicative competence. In a later study, Hall (1999) claimed that empirical studies showed that participating with more expert participants was the key to learn interactional practices as they provided guidance (1999, p. 140). She also noted that L2 learners had to reflect on their interactional practices to learn IC. Her notion of interactive practices was further redefined at length by He & Young (1998) who renamed it interactional competence. It comprised discursive practices, that is, knowledge of rhetorical scripts, the turn-taking system, topic management and the recognition of boundaries between various speech activities. Where their work offered new contributions was in their consideration of the transition between speech exchange systems and the collaborative aspect of talk-in-interaction.

Later, Young (1999) proposed a broader definition of the construct of interactional competence, implying that L2 knowledge was brought to the interaction and was co-constructed during the interaction. Young argued that IC was a theory so it is more than a definition, and according to this theory L2 knowledge did not solely reside in the L2 speaker's mind but was produced through an interactive process. The other important point he made was that this IC occurred within specific interactional events, a point which is further discussed below.

The specificity of the discursive practices seems to be drawn from a genre approach that categorises these recurring events. In fact, this idea that interactions are viewed as a specific genre is acknowledged in Young's (2008) book on *Language and Interaction* where he draws the idea from Bakhtin's theory of genre in that: "A genre is a pattern of communication that is created in a recurring communicative situation" (2008, p. 6)[18]. However, the term "specific",

[17] Pragmatic competence is described as the ability to understand and produce a communicative action, which implies using speech acts, engaging in various discourse-types and speech events as well as be able to attain social goals and relate appropriately in interpersonal situations. This involves the use and comprehension of politeness strategies in an appropriate context (see Kasper & Rose, 2001)

[18] The genre theory was initially applied to writing and then the teaching of English writing.

which is intrinsic to genre theory is problematic because an interaction is a dynamic process during which talk can move from ordinary conversation to institutional talk (Drew & Heritage, 1992a) to even troubles-talk[19], for instance, (See Barraja-Rohan, 2003b, for troubles-talk that inadvertently occurred during pedagogical interviews) or vice versa. Heritage & Atkinson (1984) explains that it is not always easy to distinguish between institutional talk and ordinary conversation: "we stress that we do not accept that there is necessarily a hard and fast distinction between the two [institutional talk and ordinary conversation] in all instances of interactional events" (1984, p. 21). That the talk may move from one interactional event to another one within the same interaction is not predictable and may not occur at all, but it remains a possibility.

One type of discursive practice that Young discussed in his various studies is language proficiency interviews. These have also been investigated by Brown (2003), who found that they are unpredictable to some degree, inasmuch as different interviewers varied in the ways they elicited speaking skills from one particular candidate. In order to identify this variation, she focused on two different interviewers interviewing the same candidate. She found that each interviewer had a distinct conversational style and employed different questioning techniques, which led the raters to rate the candidate's performance differently. The implications of these findings are therefore significant for testing. Another unpredictable factor is the participants themselves, their behaviour and how they orient to one another, even in particular speech exchange systems like interviews.

Hence, L2 novice speakers have to be prepared to expect some unpredictability and cannot always reproduce what they have been exposed to because of variations within the same interactional event. This point is further reinforced by Pekarek Doehler & Pochon-Berger (2011), who argue that L2 interactional

[19] Troubles-talk is an interactional phenomenon in its own right and it refers to a conversation in which personal problems or misfortunes are the focal points of the talk, and in which participants orient to a set of categories, that of troubles-talk teller and troubles-talk recipient (see Jefferson, 1980).

competence includes an adaptation to the local contingencies of the talk, which implies a sensitivity to the local context and a diversification of interactional practices (or methods). L2 speakers not only monitor the linguistic details of their co-conversationalist's utterances but also the actions performed in that talk. Pekarek Doehler & Pochon-Berger add that the ability to project upcoming actions enables the L2 speaker to participate more in talk-in-interaction (2011, p. 239). As a result, L2 speakers will be able to make predictions as to what social actions the participants are engaged in and then decide how to orient to these social actions. What is important in this regard is not just the "discursive practices" per se, but the social actions and the local context that underpin the interaction, which will determine how the participants coordinate their actions with each other and make them relevant. It is this understanding that is crucial for participants and particularly novice L2 speakers, as social interactions are locally managed and recipient designed (cf. Nguyen, 2011a).

Young's and his collaborators' theory of IC evolved over the years and they further refined their construct. The concept of IC was applied to their study (Young & Miller, 2004), but the authors no longer referred to a theory of IC. They mostly drew from CA insights and from Goffman's work in describing the now called 'discursive resources', which the participants need to know and use. These include: constructing boundaries between practices, managing transitions between speech exchange systems, selecting "acts in a practice and their sequential organization", register, participation framework, and "the ways in which participants construct meaning in a specific discursive practices (2004, p. 520). The authors referred to "acts" but they did not explain what those "acts" meant. One is left to wonder if they meant social actions that participants either perform or orient to, or speech acts. The new additions to their definition are the construction of a participation framework and an orientation to the register of the practice.

Young's definition of L1 interactional competence was crystallised in his book *Language and Interaction* (2008). In trying to understand spoken interactions Young combined systemic functional linguistics (SFL) and CA, having found that these two theoretical frameworks were complementary (2008, p. 54). For Young, SFL is helpful in that it enables the researcher to analyse the register and how participants make meanings in a speech exchange system, the latter endeavour being precisely what CA aims to do. In his attempt to capture all aspects underlying human spoken interactions, Young drew from a number of theoretical perspectives. This approach has both advantages and disadvantages. Human interactions are very complex and since each theory has its limitations in considering what elements are at play encapsulating their complexity under one theory may prove unfeasible. However, bringing together too many theoretical perspectives may engender inconsistencies between the various theories. For instance, influenced by Bourdieu, Young added the notion that any human relations are based on power to his definition of discursive practices. Thus he stated that "every interaction involves a complex network of power relations among participants" (2008, p. 60), and claimed that "all relations between individuals involve power" (2008, p. 61).

This notion of power needs to be problematised, as in CA the deployment of power has to be demonstrated in the details of the talk through the turn-taking techniques, together with the utterances that the interactants employ and the local sequential context (Hutchby & Wooffit, 1998). Schegloff (1991b) urges analysts to have a sound understanding of the conversational functions of utterance types before making a claim about a power relationship. He cautions against assuming its existence on the basis of the social structure in which a particular talk occurs. Moreover, power does not necessarily underlie every interaction. In ordinary conversation, where participants have equal access to the turn-taking, playfulness, as an example, can be achieved jointly on an equal footing and publicly displayed through laughter, jokes or puns.

Marjorie Goodwin (2007) provides a fine example of a family interaction involving young children, where it might be assumed the parents, as figures of authority, would hold a position of power. However, the various interactions she describes show playfulness, collaboration in utterance production, and where explanations are recipient-designed and only provided by the parents when the children display an interest. Hence power is not necessarily always asserted by the parents, as the interactions show symmetry and role reversal. For instance, children correct their father's pronunciation or definition, children make requests for information and engage in word games, in which the parents collaboratively participate. Where power is at play participants restrict their co-participants' rights to the turn-taking system and access to the floor and/or to resources, thereby creating an asymmetrical relation such as is found in institutional talk. This asymmetrical relation may be co-constructed by the co-participants as, for instance, in talkback radio (Hutchby & Wooffit, 1998), but this power relationship can also be temporarily challenged (Greatbatch, 1988; Hutchby, 1991). Thus, CA takes the view that power needs to be empirically evidenced in the talk and should not be assumed to be an a priori ruling principle in human relations.

Young (2008) gave a more succinct definition of IC that encompassed the principles elaborated in his previous work as follows:

> Interactional competence is a relationship between the participants' employment of linguistic and interactional resources and the contexts in which they are deployed; the resources that interactional competence highlights are those of identity, language, and interaction (…). Interactional competence, however, is not the ability of an individual to employ those resources in any and every social interaction; rather, interactional competence is how those resources are employed mutually and reciprocally by all participants in a particular discursive practice. This means that interactional competence is not the knowledge or the possession of an individual person,

> but is co-constructed by all participants in a discursive practice, and interactional competence varies with the practice and with the participants.
>
> (Young, 2008, p. 101)

This definition has been inspired by key CA concepts however; no CA analyst has encapsulated IC in a single definition because interactional phenomena "are discoverable matters" (Psathas, 1995, p. 5) and it is not the aim of pure CA to give it a definition[20]. However, an important element that appears in this definition is the notion that an individual's IC is variable and this is exemplified by the present study; where it will be shown that Akiko's L2 IC can vary between the L1 speaker and her L2 speaker friend. Also of interest is that IC brings to light the participants' identity, which has been demonstrated by work conducted in CA (Antaki & Widdicombe, 1998). Young made another key point in his definition that IC is not situated in an individual's mind, and it cannot be reduced to an intrapsychological state, a point that Kasper & Wagner (2011) concur with. In other words, IC does not arise from each individual's ability to employ interactional and linguistic resources, but emerges from a joint management of these resources by the participants involved or a "shared knowledge of procedure and practice" (2008, p. 102). Moreover IC varies for the individual participant, since it depends on his/her co-participants and on different interactional practices. This point is reinforced by Kasper & Wagner (2011) who state that IC cannot be isolated from performance.

In Young's definition there is no longer a theory of knowledge but a "relationship between the participants' employment of linguistic and interactional resources and the contexts in which they are deployed" (2008, p. 101). Hence IC is the interplay between the conversationalists' use of linguistic and interactional resources and the various contexts in which these resources are utilised. In this definition, Young added two notions: context and identity. IC is context

[20] Nonetheless, Psathas (1995, p. 5) attempted to define 'interaction' as referring "to the orderly and patterned actions occurring whenever two or more persons come into one another's auditory or visual range in the context of everyday life situations."

dependent, and within that context participants co-construct particular identity or identities. He argued that there are factors, such as gender, social class, accent, ethnicity, age, sexual orientation, profession and individual personality, reflecting particular identities that can affect conversational style (2008, p. 114). Further he adds that any of these identities can be invoked by any of the participants, which can be ratified or rejected by the co-participant. Young's definition though is about L1 IC and not L2 IC.

Another significant point made by Young is that he distinguishes IC from communicative competence (CC), which was elaborated by Hymes (1972). While this distinction was hinted at by He and Young (1998), by now Young (2008) states that interactional competence is a separate competence, a competence of its own, unrelated to the overall communicative competence. This assumption corroborates with Oksaar's view. Young asserts that: "interactional competence builds on the theories that preceded it but it is a very different notion to communicative competence and language ability" (2008, p. 105). However, not all scholars agree with the perspective that IC is a separate competence. Celce-Murcia (2007) who redefined communicative competence for L2 teaching, includes IC[21] within CC. At the core of her model is discourse competence which involves cohesion, deixis, coherence, and speech exchange systems. Her model also includes sociocultural competence (comprising pragmatic competence), formulaic competence (being constituted of conversational routines), linguistic competence and strategic competence[22] (which involves communication and learning strategies and underpins the other competences). Most of her competences, particularly sociocultural, formulaic and discourse competences appear to be related to IC. However, her notion of interactional competence is under-representative of what constitutes IC, in that it only takes into account speech acts and turn-taking.

[21] Her notions of IC consist of actional competence, which involves speech acts, and conversational competence, which consists of turn-taking as defined by Sacks et al. (1974).
[22] Interestingly, Celce-Murcia includes a social strategy which involves the L2 learners seeking out encounters with L1 speakers to practise and use the target language (2007, p. 50).

In his latest definition, Young (2011) adds the notion of pragmatics, and describes IC as including "the pragmatic relationship between participants' employment of linguistic and interactional resources and the contexts in which they are employed" (2011, p. 427). Pragmatics is necessarily a part of IC, as for instance understanding speech acts together with the import of utterances and projecting a TRP require pragmatic understanding. Moreover, Young (2011), like Hall & Pekarek Doehler (2011), incorporates in this definition the notion of the expectations that participants have in relation to how particular interactional practices unfold. This notion of expectations parallels what may be viewed in CA as recognising a particular speech exchange system and projecting an upcoming action. Similarly to Young, Hall & Pekarek Doehler view speech exchange systems and participants' roles and relationships as specifically defined, yet they recognise that these expectations are not fixed mental interpretations of a particular speech exchange system but can change depending on the local context. They state that: "[r]ather their [expectations'] shapes and meanings are dynamic and malleable, tied to their locally situated uses in culturally framed communicative activities" (2011, p. 3). Like Oskaar, these authors acknowledge that 'culture' is part of an interactional practice. In addition, because participants have to draw from an accumulated knowledge of interactive practices they consider IC as being partially cognitive, a view that Young does not subscribe to. However, Young and Hall & Pekarek Doehler are still defining interactional competence from an L1 perspective.

To date Young is the scholar who has produced the most comprehensive work on interactional competence spanning more than a decade. Other scholars have been influenced by Young's work, such as Kasper (2006). In light of CA principles[23], she advocates considering IC as interactional competencies. She explains that IC is not finite and involves a variety of resources, expectations and abilities that participants bring to an interaction. There are diverse situations with

[23] She states that: "As an approach to SLA, conversation analysis (CA) represents one of several perspectives on L2 learning as a social practice" (2006, pp. 83).

various participants, for instance in institutional talk, which require competencies somewhat different to the ones needed for ordinary conversation. Kasper defines this construct as follows:

> – To understand and produce social actions in their sequential contexts
>
> – To take turns at talk in an organized fashion
>
> – To format actions and turns, and construct epistemic and affective stance (…), by drawing on different types of semiotic resources (linguistic, nonverbal, nonvocal), including register-specific resources
>
> – To repair problems in speaking, hearing, and understanding
>
> – To co-construct social and discursive identities through sequence organization, actions-in-interaction and semiotic resources (…)
>
> – To recognize and produce boundaries between activities, including transitions from states of contact to absence of contact (interactional openings, (…) closings, (…) and transitions between activities during continued contact (Markee, 2004)).
>
> (Kasper, 2006, pp. 86)

Like Young, Kasper takes into account the role of discursive identities and knowledge brought to the interaction (epistemic stance) as well as the concepts of co-construction and transitions between speech exchange systems. However, she is more specific about what interactional boundaries conversationalists need to produce depending on the situations (absence of contact or continued contact). Kasper's references to the understanding and production of sequential actions, orderly turn-taking, formatting actions and turns, drawing on semiotic resources (including embodied actions) and repair all point to a CA laden definition. Where she adds a new element, taken from Ochs, is in the construction of an affective stance.

Unlike the scholars like Young (1999, 2008, 2011) and Kasper (2006), Markee's (2007, 2008) definition specifically refers to second language IC. He clearly anchors it in CA as he states "this formulation of interactional competence (…) is native to CA-for SLA" (2007, p. 44). Further, he notes that L2 IC is a developing competence, and of particular interest to this study is his notion of linguistic progression, and a development in fluency as well as in extended sequences of actions. Markee's (2008) formulation of L2 interactional competence is defined as the following:

> Developing interactional competence in a second language includes but goes beyond learning language as a formal system, however this concept is specified (see the next section for a discussion of how interaction interfaces with grammar). It involves learners orienting to different semiotic systems - the turn taking, repair, and sequence organizations that underlie all talk-in-interaction, combined with the co-occurrent organization of eye gaze and embodied actions - and deploying these intersubjective resources to co-construct with their interlocutors locally enacted, progressively more accurate, fluent, and complex interactional repertoires in the L2. Interactional repertoires (…) consist of the kinds of extended sequences of actions discussed by Schegloff (1989) and empirically illustrated (…). As participants achieve such extended sequences, they may also focus on discrete learning objects (such as verb morphology, pronunciation, or vocabulary items) that are embedded in these sequences (most noticeably, in definition sequences).
>
> (Markee, 2008, p. 406)

First, Markee remarks that L2 IC goes beyond linguistics to include embodied action and semiotics, resources that Kasper (2006) had also mentioned. He refers to basic CA concepts such as turn-taking, co-construction, repair and intersubjectivity, also endorsed by Kasper (2006), but unlike Young and Kasper, he does not include identities, orientation to transitions or boundaries between speech exchange systems. Nonetheless, he introduces a new notion, that of interactional repertoires, which he draws from Hundeide. According to Markee

these interactional repertoires correspond to what Schegloff (1989) proposed with "extended action sequences", which have since been empirically demonstrated in German compliment responses (Golato, 2005), in Persian accounts of telephone greetings (Taleghani-Nikazm, 2002) and in Markee's (1994) definition sequences. Hence Markee grounds his definition in empirical studies that have examined particular interactional practices in various languages from a conversation analytic perspective. Importantly, Markee's definition indicates that L2 speakers may learn grammar in accomplishing extended action sequences. Extended sequences of actions, illustrated through expanded responses to questions and storytelling, are examined in the present study thus Markee's definition has direct relevance.

Finally, Wagner & Kasper's (2011) contribution to the construct of IC lies in the notion that IC is a procedural competence. They differentiate it from the cognitivist notion of procedural knowledge, in that it involves procedures such as turn-taking, sequence organisation, turn construction and repair (pp. 118-119). They view IC in CA-for-SLA as serving a dual function in that it creates both a condition for learning and an object of learning. L2 speakers use their IC when participating in interaction generating possibilities for learning-in-action, while enabling them to participate more effectively over time.

The definitions discussed above have attempted to conceptualise IC. Most scholars have explored it from an L1 perspective, with the exception of Markee and Oksaar, who have included the notion of culture. In addition, Young and Oksaar have both differentiated interactional competence from communicative competence. Furthermore, more recently scholars such as Young (2008) and Kasper (2006) have drawn from CA to explain the construct, which indicates that CA occupies a central place in defining it. Despite some incongruities, Young's (2008, 2011) evolving definition offers real insights, as does Markee's. Markee grounds his definition in empirical L2 studies and adds the important notions of learning (action sequences and linguistic items) and development of

L2 IC. Young has been able to capture the slippery nature of IC, since it is enacted during a particular interactional event and depends on the mutual accomplishments of the interactants as well as the procedural knowledge each brings to the interaction. It therefore transpires that IC is neither measurable, nor fixed. It constitutes a difficult construct to grasp because of the complexity that social interaction entails. Despite this difficulty, this thesis will attempt to capture L2 IC in more depth by linking the research discussed above with the findings.

2.6 Issues Faced by NESB International Students

This thesis's ethnographic findings are based on information obtained from eleven NESB students, therefore it is relevant to explore the issues that are generally faced by NESB international students who come to study in an Australian university.

Educating international full-fee paying students in Australia was an expanding market, particularly prior to the global financial crisis. In 2008 it represented the first export services industry in the state of Victoria (where this research took place), and the third export overall in Australia (Rout, 2008a). This has been a significant industry and it remains so today. International students represent on average about 21% of the total student enrolment in major Australian universities (Sawir et al., 2012). Most of these students come from Asia, particularly China, Hong Kong, South Korea, India, and Malaysia as well as from other Asian countries. For a number of these students, studying in Australia implies grappling with a new language and culture in addition to the intellectual effort of tertiary study in a new learning environment. Often they need to take ESL classes or a bridging course to improve their English proficiency before undertaking tertiary studies. Australian universities generally require international NESB students to sit for an entry test, such as the IELTS (International English

Language Testing System), requiring a minimum score of 6.0-6.5[24] for most undergraduate courses (there is variation according to the type of course and the university). Once international students enrol in a university course, they can access some form of assistance to overcome their language difficulties, and some universities offer a peer mentoring program for a few weeks to help them to adjust to the host country. English support can take the form of concurrent assistance and some universities offer units that include English for Academic Purposes[25] , which are accredited towards a degree.

Despite the support offered to overseas ESL students, they still experience difficulties when they study in an Australian context because of the different cultural, linguistic and tertiary environment they encounter (Sawir et al., 2012). Much research into international students has focused on different learning approaches and their difficulties in adapting to the Western style of learning. According to Li & Kaye (1998), Burns (1991), Sawir (2005), Marginson et al. (2010), and Wang (cited in Quintrell & Westwood, 1994) lack of English proficiency, particularly at the undergraduate level, was perceived as one of the major difficulties that international students face. Students with low language ability tended to experience more homesickness and felt depressed. Li & Kaye (1998) attributed their depression to their lack of English skills, which prevented them from obtaining help, mixing with local students and adapting to the new academic life.

Having low English proficiency can, more often than not, equate with low confidence, hence students feel unable to formulate their need for assistance. Burns (1991) reported that these students were too afraid to seek help, adding that 62% of international students were unable to speak in class. Moreover, Li &

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[24] This score band is referred to as **Competent User** and defined as having generally effective command of the language despite some inaccuracies, inappropriacies and misunderstandings, as well as being able to use and understand fairly complex language, particularly in familiar situations (2012, http://www.ielts.org/institutions/test_format_and_results/ielts_band_scores.aspx). This represents the minimal level required to function, but students with a higher score of 7 (referred to as **Good User**) fare better. At the university where the research was conducted the minimal requirement was 6.5 for the IELTS.

[25] The English for Academic Purposes (EAP) course is offered at the university where the research took place as an elective in Arts for both international and local students.

Kaye (1998) established a relationship between low language level and insufficient academic progress. They also suggested that poor language skills tend "to prevent students from becoming integrated into their new environment" (p. 49) and recommended a longitudinal study to identify ways to help overseas students overcome their difficulties. This is what the present study endeavours to achieve to some degree through the ethnographic research conducted on international NESB students. The ethnographic part of the study seeks to identify the main language needs of the L2 participants and to investigate whether their speaking skills and self-confidence improve over time (through socialising and outside of class conversations for practising L2). Socialising with local students is also deemed to assist with learning about the local culture.

The level of adjustment to the Australian culture may equally have a bearing on overseas students' academic progress, and according to Quintrell & Westwood (1994) it is also linked to their level of proficiency. Quintrell & Westwood also commented that students with more advanced language skills are more likely to have better relationships with the host community. Furthermore, they indicated that having contact with the host culture enhances social adjustment. Feeling socially adjusted would certainly be beneficial to overseas students as it would positively impact upon their sense of self and wellbeing. Adjustment can be facilitated through having contact with local students, and although international students desire this contact, more often than not it does not occur (Li & Kaye, 1998; Marginson et al., 2010). To address this issue, contact with domestic students was facilitated in the present study. First year undergraduate international students seem to express a stronger need to interact with local students than students of second and third years (Nesdale & Todd, 1993).

This intercultural exchange is not necessarily sought by the local students, as confirmed by Nesdale and Todd (1993, 1997), Das (2008), Rout (2008b) and Campbell (2012). Nesdale & Todd (1993), Marginson et al. (2010) and Arkoudis et al., (2012) found that Australian students, similarly to their British and New

Zealand counterparts as reported by Li & Kaye (1998) and Campbell (2012) respectively, do not readily seek intercultural contact. Within the international student population there is a tendency for each ethnic group to mix within their own group and this trend is verified for both the dominant group and the minorities (Arkoudis et al., 2012; Marginson et al., 2010). However, Marginson et al (2010, p. 337) also stated that this trend is considerably less marked in older and postgraduate students who tend to form more "dominant networks with Australians" than younger students. Younger international students, particularly those from more culturally distant countries such as Asia, do not seem to mix much with students from other nationalities or with local ones. Remaining within their own ethnic group can compound the problems of isolation and low language level, as interacting in their L1 does not help their acquisition of English, nor does it promote the adjustment process (see Campbell, 2012). The L2 participants in this study perceived a real need to interact with a wide group of people from various nationalities and particularly with local students or native speakers. Such interactions would offer them better and richer language opportunities, a view corroborated by Rochecouste et al. (2012). Rochecouste et al. conducted a study involving five Australian universities examining NESB international students' strategies for developing English proficiency (amongst other things). They found that mixing with L1 speakers proved to be a very successful social strategy for both improving their English and learning about the Australian culture. However, they reported that this strategy was not widely used.

Forming social networks is therefore an important element to combating isolation and loneliness in a new country which can bring about depression. Social isolation has dire consequences on students' wellbeing as it "threatens student welfare and academic progress" (Marginson et al., 2010, p. 326). Social relationships assist in achieving wellbeing and increasing self-confidence (Campbell, 2012). For international NESB students, interacting in L2 gives them additional language practice, which is evidenced in the studies conducted in CA-for-SLA, including the present study. Baker et al. (1991, p. 81) reported that on

the interpersonal level, Asian overseas students tend to experience difficulties in forming particularly close relationships in their L2, and taking the initiative in conversations. These difficulties are not only aggravated by low language proficiency, but they may also be due to a lack of topical knowledge (Marginson et al., 2010), as well as not knowing how to start and continue a conversation, as was reported by one of the L2 participants who took part in this project. Having a social life in conjunction with academic life brings about a balance that overseas students find hard to achieve (Burns, 1991), yet when found, it can facilitate positive academic outcomes. Marginson et al. (2010) indicated that many studies stress the benefits of friendship and added that: "[s]tudent peer networks can enhance self-esteem and concentrate and universalise the motivation to achieve" (2010, p. 331).

In summary, the studies above have indicated that inadequate L2 interactional competence, which is linked to language proficiency as will be shown in this thesis, appears to be a major hurdle for many NESB international students.

2.7 Summary

This literature review has examined the qualitative and empirical research methodology of CA, and explored some of its fundamental principles such as turn-taking, repair and recipient design. Turn-taking was shown to be central as turns reflect to some extent participants' understanding, and taking multi-units turns may be challenging for novice L2 speakers. Conversation analysts base their analyses on membership knowledge, a concept derived from ethnomethodology. Membership knowledge was explored in this context as L2 speakers' in developing their L2 interactional competence need to acquire L2 membership knowledge. L1 interactional competence was also discussed in relation to its relevance to adult speakers interacting in L2.

The central focus of this review was CA from a second language perspective, in other words CA-for-SLA. The review first focused on the controversy created by Firth & Wagner (1997) in the SLA field, and the criticisms levelled at them which were discussed and refuted on the basis of the findings from various CA studies. These studies empirically demonstrated learning in interaction and how language use cannot be dissociated from language acquisition. It is through use that acquisition can take place. Socially shared cognition as revealed by CA was considered, given the cognitivist orientation of mainstream SLA studies. CA was shown to be capable of demonstrating how socially situated cognition was publicly displayed and how learning occurred in various settings.

To show development, relevant longitudinal studies in CA were discussed. They indicated that over time novice L2 speakers developed interactional and/or linguistic resources. Furthermore, other CA-for-SLA studies in various settings, from ordinary conversation to institutional talk showing L2 speakers from different language proficiency levels and diverse languages were considered. Some of the findings indicated discrepancies between non-expert L2 speakers and L1 speakers in relation to repair. However, similarities with L1 speakers' actions were also revealed in relation to TCU recycled beginnings. False starts were shown to constitute a locus for learning as novice L2 speakers used them to plan and design their utterances. Other studies, including cross-sectional ones, examined social practices such as pursuing or producing an extended response, disagreements and storytelling, implying a sequence of L2 interactional acquisition. Moreover, storytelling indicated that the novice L2 speakers engaged in interpersonal relationship work. Embodied action and semiotics fields were found to represent important interactional resources in learning. The findings of these studies are particular pertinent to this thesis as will be shown in the analysis chapters (5, 6 and 7).

The construct of IC was examined from a critical historical perspective and drew on the work of scholars outside the CA research paradigm. This review showed

that most researchers attempted to define it from an L1 perspective and that CA seemed the most appropriate theoretical framework with which to explicate it. The literature review highlighted the complexity of L2 IC and the difficulty to capture it in one single definition.

Lastly, the chapter ended with a focus on international students and the difficulties they face in relation to oral communication skills and establishing relationships with the host students, which they seek. This last section also showed that having social networks in L2 is not only beneficial for the international students' welfare, but also for the development of their L2, which was demonstrated in some CA-for-SLA studies and in this study.

Chapter 3

METHODS OF INVESTIGATION

INTRODUCTION

This study seeks to understand and interpret how natural phenomena are organised and the best way to achieve this is through qualitative research. In order to capture the sociocultural context and participants' spontaneous speech, various instruments were employed to collect data. Conversation Analysis was used to examine the micro level; i.e., the interactional samples, collected through video recordings that were transcribed using CA conventions and analysed within this framework. Ethnographic research was used to examine the macro level, i.e., to understand the L2 participants' sociocultural context, which included their background (language, education and needs), their social networks, their participation in tutorials[26] and, to a lesser extent, their adjustment to the university and Australian culture. By combining CA with ethnographic research this study endeavours to obtain an emic perspective and a broader picture of the L2 participants.

The study aims to:

1. Further develop the construct of second language interactional competence from a conversation analytic perspective through collecting and analysing spoken interactions from four L2 participants over a period of seven months.
2. Examine to some extent the relationship between L2 linguistic competence and L2 interactional competence.

[26] The reason that tutorials are of interest to this study is because they form an interactionally complex speech exchange system. This is due to the fact that they are multi party hence they are a more competitive interactive environment. As a result, they require a high level of interactional competence.

3. Track any developmental changes in L2 interactional competence that may have taken place over the seven month observation period, and evaluate whether these changes have a positive impact on linguistic competence.
4. Investigate the L2 participants' perceptions of the importance of their speaking skills for their academic life.
5. Explore whether there is a positive relationship between social networks and the development of L2 interactional competence.

In this chapter, section 3.1 compares Conversation Analysis with Ethnography. Section 3.2 describes the research design, outlines the research instruments employed, and gives a rationale for their use. Section 3.3 deals with sampling, and section 3.4 presents the research site. Section 3.5 explains the pilot study by identifying the issues that emerged and briefly describing the L2 participants involved. Section 3.6 describes the longitudinal study, which includes a succinct description of the focal participants, the L1 participants and their interactions. This section also explains the implementation of the research instruments. The chapter ends with a brief description of the transcription procedure and the obtainment of ethics clearance.

3.1 Combining Conversation Analysis with an Ethnographic Research

The choice of methodology to analyse the L2 participants' videoed interactions and their wider context depends on the type of results that each particular methodology can yield. Seedhouse (2004) states that CA is compatible with Ethnography as he claims: "CA is compatible with an ethnographic approach in that an initial conversation analysis can provide a warrant for the introduction of

relevant ethnographic information" (2004, p. 98). This is the view adopted in this study.

Both Conversation Analysis and Ethnography are qualitative research methodologies that are concerned with studying human behaviour in a natural setting and with minimal interference from the researcher. Both methodologies have an emic approach, which seeks to reveal the participants' perspective and not an analyst constructed view. In CA, this emic view is realised via the analysis of the data whereby the analyst demonstrates the participants' actions and interactional resources through their utterances and embodied action. In Ethnography, this emic view is achieved by describing the L2 participants' points of view and perceptions collected via interviews, introspective research methods (e.g. stimulated recalls, self-reporting) and other methods (e.g. diaries, emails in Markee's (2008) study).

In Conversation Analysis, the object of inquiry is essentially talk-in-interaction. CA is expected to yield the most appropriate results in relation to describing the L2 interactional competence of the L2 participants, as according to Heath and Hindmarsh (2002) it is

> Through detailed scrutiny of particular cases, fragments of action and interaction, [that] analysis is directed towards explicating the resources, the competencies, upon which people rely in participating in interaction. Interaction, the emergent and sequential character of conduct, provides unique opportunities to explicate these resources.
>
> (Heath and Hindmarsh, 2002, p. 106)

The transcription system used in CA can reveal prosodic information, paralinguistic activities, conversational rules, the structure and organisation of talk-in-interaction as well as other features relevant to turn-taking, such as overlaps and latching. Documenting the development of L2 interactional competence requires a precise and detailed transcription of the interaction, which

is achievable with CA. Moreover, CA has been used extensively to record the features operating in ordinary conversation and institutional talk (cf. Atkinson & Heritage, 1984; Boden & Zimmernann, 1991; Button & Lee, 1987; Drew & Heritage, 1992b; Goodwin, 1981; Have, 2007; Sacks, 1992; Sidnell & Stivers, 2012) and is also used to analyse non-native talk (refer to chapter 2).

The ethnographic study not only reveals the overall sociocultural context of the participants, but other elements not considered by CA at a macro level. The ethnography research therefore adds another dimension to the microanalysis as:

> [it] aims to bring a variety of different kinds of data to bear in such description, on the principle that multiple perspectives enable more valid description of complex social realities than any single kind of data could alone.
>
> (Ramanathan & Atkinson, 1999, p. 49)

Even though the setting in this study is a university, a place familiar to researchers, what is of interest in this case is the L2 participants' perception of their language needs, in relation to their participation in academic life, particularly tutorials. Another focus is the development of their social networks during the study. The ethnographic research was conducted via research instruments such as interviews, self-reporting, stimulated recall, diary keeping, and focus groups (described in detail below). The ethnographic research aimed to explore the L2 students' perceptions of their oral communication language needs, their participation in academic life, particularly tutorials, and the development of their social networks during the study. Gaining information about their social networks involved finding out about the type of people they form relationships with; and whether these people were native or expert speakers of English, other overseas students, or relatives. Tutorials were of special interest as they are particularly challenging for the L2 students, requiring a high L2 interactional

competence. Other useful elements, such as the participants' background, were taken into account (refer to appendix 1).

Through an ethnographic research the researcher can capture a segment of social reality as shown by Auer (1995), Cicourel, (1992), Heath & Hindmarsh (2002). By analysing the information provided by the research instruments outlined above the researcher can obtain a thick description of the L2 participants and gain a better understanding of their social world. The results of this analysis are described in chapter 4.

In ethnographic research, context is paramount and is viewed as having significant influence on behaviour, so there is a need to investigate the natural context where the behaviour occurs (Nunan, 1992). In CA however, context is considered local, as according to Hutchby and Wooffitt (1998, p. 146) "CA places great emphasis on the immediate sequential context in which a turn is produced." In CA, context refers to the interactional environment created by the participants' utterances, actions and activities as these emerge in the talk. As such, context is a moment-by-moment product of the interaction. Hence, CA does not treat context as a 'container', which influences participants, but context results from the participants' actions and is constantly renewed and reproduced throughout the interaction as participants responds to each other's actions. Heath and Hindmarsh (2002) summarise the different notions of context between CA and ethnographic research, as follows:

> [In ethnography] [f]eatures of a particular context, including the physical environment, purpose of the occasion, and the like are thought to bear upon the organization of the participants' conduct, and in turn their actions and activities in part reproduce the characteristics associated with particular situations or contexts. Ethnomethodology and CA adopt a rather different approach. Rather than treating a particular situation as a framework in which conduct takes place, they treat context as the product of the participants'

> actions and activities. Participants constitute circumstances and situations, activities and events, 'in and through' their social actions and activities.
>
> (Heath and Hindmarsh, 2002, p. 105)

In CA the wider social context is taken into account only if it becomes directly relevant to the participants and is invoked through the activities the participants engage in. In other words, unlike in ethnographic research, context is not considered an abstract social force. In the present study, both notions of context are taken into account; the ethnographic notion of context is used to describe the general setting and behaviour of the L2 participants, while the conversation analytic notion of context as product of the participants' actions is considered in the interactional analysis of the video-taped interactions.

For the purpose of this study, it is important to gain an understanding of the L2 participants' interactional behaviour at both general and local levels. Both types of information are supplied by the ethnographic research and the conversation analysis of the recorded interactions. Consequently, each approach has a different purpose in the present study, and they complement each other without compromising CA theoretical underpinnings.

3.2 Research Design

To describe L2 interactional competence, samples of spontaneous spoken interactions of non-expert L2 speakers were taken. They were videoed over seven months. To capture any development it is necessary to collect data over a certain period of time thus a longitudinal study was selected. A pilot study was set up prior to the longitudinal study to test the research methodology. In order to capture the complexity of L2 interactional competence, various situations were organised, such as first encounter versus on-going relationship, and dyad versus triad, with a variety of co-conversationalists (L1 speakers and L2 speakers)

to ensure that the L2 participants would have different opportunities to deploy a range of interactional resources. The triad was included as interactionally it is more complex and challenging than a dyad (see Sacks et al., 1978). These situations involved:

- A dyadic situation with the same L1 speaker captured three times (L1-L2 interactions),
- A dyadic situation with another L2 speaker (L2-L2 interaction),
- A triadic situation involving the same L1 speaker and an additional L1 speaker (L1-L1-L2 interaction).

These situations were chosen because they elicited ordinary conversation.

Triangulation was used, and particularly methodological triangulation (see Mathison, 1988), which involves multiple methods of data collection in order to examine a social phenomenon and gain a clearer perspective on it. In this case, the particular social phenomena under study included: L2 interactional competence, its development and its relationship with the L2 participants' pattern of socialising in L2. Thus differing data gathering techniques were employed, such as interviews with the L2 participants, diary keeping, video-recording of the L2 participants' ordinary conversations, stimulated recalls, self-reporting and focus groups. By using multiple methods it was hoped to arrive at a deeper understanding of the social phenomena under study. As Mathison (1988) puts it:

> The value of triangulation is not as a technological solution to a data collection and analysis problem, it is as a technique which provides more and better evidence from which researchers can construct meaningful propositions about the social world. The value of triangulation lies in providing evidence such that the researcher can construct explanations of the social phenomena from which they arise.
>
> (Mathison 1988, p. 15)

Further, in the examination of social phenomena, triangulation ensures the validity of the findings as various methods are used (LeCompte & Preissle Goetz, 1982).

For the longitudinal study, the data was collected on a regular basis over two university semesters. In order to optimise the quality of the data needed, these instruments were first tested in the pilot study to assess their efficacy. Some were added (e.g. self-reporting and focus group) to address issues identified in the pilot study. Refining a methodology forms part of the qualitative research process as it allows reflection to take place and changes to occur to improve the research methodology.

The research instruments, which consisted of the interview (conducted at the beginning of the project), diary keeping, self-reporting and focus group interviews, were employed to establish a number of the following features concerning the L2 participants:

1) Their language and education background, as well as their needs in relation to adjusting to a foreign country, culture and university. Of particular interest were their perceptions of their language needs in relation to being able to succeed in their studies, and whether speaking skills were perceived as important. Speaking is essential to perform numerous tasks such as interacting with classmates, lecturers, and administrative staff, participating in tutorials, and so on.
2) Their use of L2 outside class and their social networks: how much they used their L1 and their L2 outside of class, whether they made friends, and what language(s) they spoke with their co-interactants,
3) Their participation in tutorials, which they perceived as a very demanding and challenging interaction. Participating in a tutorial requires not only content knowledge, but also importantly a high

level of interactional competence because it is a multi-party interaction, which is more complex than a dyad.

4) Their experience of adjusting to the university and the Australian culture.

Gathering this type of information was necessary in order to explore the L2 participants' social networks and the difficulties related to L2 interactional competence they had experienced while studying at the university. The implementation of these instruments is described in section 3.6.8.

3.3 Sampling

Being a qualitative study the sample could only be small and a case study approach was adopted. About two hours of recorded interactions were collected for each focal participant (used for the CA analysis) in addition to the other recordings, such as interviews, stimulated recalls and focus groups. CA is characterised by small samplings because the transcriptions of interactions are fine-grained hence time consuming, and the analyses carried out on a micro level are very detailed. Consequently, CA precludes the study of numerous L2 participants, thus caution is required in making claims of generalisability. However, relying on a small sample permits a more profound investigation, as details about the L2 participants' L2 interactional competence are gathered, observed and analysed.

Altogether eleven L2 speakers participated in the project. Four of them fully participated in the longitudinal study, (a fifth one who participated in the longitudinal study had to be excluded from the CA analysis, see section 3.5.3 for further detail). In the pilot study, three had one video-recorded conversation followed by a stimulated recall and kept a diary for one semester, while another three were interviewed and kept a diary, and then dropped out of the study. Six

participants withdrew from the study at some point during the data collection period.

Eleven L1 speakers participated in both the pilot and longitudinal studies. They comprised four regular participants (in the longitudinal study) and seven occasional participants (including both studies).

Since the L2 participants had trouble engaging in social interactions with local L1 students, their main motivation to participate in the study, as revealed in the interviews, was to meet local L1 students for the following reasons:

(1) To get to know Australians since they were living in this country,

(2) To learn about Australian culture through meeting an Australian, and

(3) To practise their English with a native speaker, which they thought would be more beneficial than speaking with other L2 speakers.

3.4 Research Site

The data collection took place at the university campus where the participants were enrolled. The researcher could not get ethical clearance to study the L2 participants in their natural setting, although this would have been more consistent with conversation analytic principles. To circumvent this restriction, cameras could have been lent to the L2 participants but lending expensive equipment was considered too risky. Instead, the participants were asked to come to the Linguistics Department to record their interactions. Most of the participants were studying or working on a regular basis at the university campus, hence they were familiar with the setting.

3.5 Pilot Study

The pilot study constituted a period of reflection whereby the research instruments were trialled allowing the procedure to be modified when problems were identified. This process helped to improve the quality of the data collected, particularly in relation to understanding the L2 participants' social networks and difficulties, as focus groups and self-reporting were added in the longitudinal study.

In the pilot study, data was collected in the second semester from August to November of the same year. The L2 participants had to be recruited and selection criteria were set up to target suitable L2 participants for the study (see section 3.5.1). Once the L2 participants were recruited, they were interviewed and they were given the diary, which they were required to keep for a week. A few issues, described below, emerged during the pilot study around finding L1 speakers, L2 speaker recruitment, and observation of the L2 participants by the researcher.

As L2 participants could not be observed in their natural setting, the researcher requested the L2 participants to bring an L1 speaker for the recorded interactions. However, only one L2 participant was able to comply with this requirement. The other L2 participants had not befriended an L1 speaker during the study, with the exception of one, however his L1 speaker friend refused to be filmed. In the pilot study, only one L2-L1 interaction was recorded, as the researcher was waiting for the L2 participants to befriend an L1 speaker[27]. It became apparent that to be able to organise L2-L1 interactions, it would be necessary to formally recruit L1 speakers, and appropriate selection criteria were put in place.

[27] The lack of social contact between international NESB students and domestic L1 students reflected the findings from the literature review.

The selection criteria were modified for the longitudinal study to eliminate variables such as the various levels of study of the L2 participants enrolled at the university (undergraduate versus postgraduate), and different English varieties for the L1 speakers. In the pilot study, the L2 participants comprised undergraduate and postgraduate students. It was observed that the two postgraduate students had a more advanced L2 proficiency, socialised more easily and adjusted better to the university compared to the undergraduate students[28]. Thus it appeared preferable to only recruit undergraduate students for the longitudinal study. To remedy the L2 participants' objection to being observed in tutorials, self-reporting was used instead in the longitudinal study. In addition, a few questions were added to the diary and the interview to gauge the L2 participants' participation in tutorials and the difficulties they experienced.

Lastly, instructions for videotaped face-to-face interactions were modified for the longitudinal study. In the pilot study the participants were given instructions that were too specific, which impacted on the quality of the data obtained. The participants were instructed to have a conversation for about 20 to 30 minutes. Giving the participants an expected duration of the interaction meant that after some time, they were looking at their watch wondering if they had talked long enough. Focussing on the time skewed the ending of the conversation, as the participants did not end their conversation naturally. This point became obvious when reviewing the video-recorded interactions. Different instructions were given in the longitudinal study.

In summary, several problems emerged during the pilot study; consequently the design of the study was reviewed and modified. These issues included being unable (1) to videotape most L2 participants with an L1 speaker friend, (2) to befriend an L1 speaker for a number of L2 participants, which resulted in recruiting L1 speakers, and (3) to observe L2 participants in tutorials, which was replaced by self-reporting.

[28] This is also consistent with the findings from the literature review.

The next sections will look at the selection criteria, the recruitment process, and the L2 participants in the pilot study.

3.5.1 Selection Criteria

The selection criteria for the L2 participants in the pilot study were more stringent than for the L1 participants. The criteria for the L2 participants were as follows:

1) The L2 participant had to be over 18 years at the commencement of the study.
2) The L2 participant had to be newly enrolled at the university.
3) The L2 participant had to speak English as a second/foreign language.
4) The L2 participant had to be an overseas student.
5) The L2 participant had to have spent less than a year in Australia.
6) The L2 participant had to have never lived in an English speaking country before coming to Australia.

The criteria for the L1 participants were as follows:

1) The L1 participant had to be over 18 years at the commencement of the study.
2) The L1 participant had to speak English as their first language.
3) The L1 participant had to have spent most of their life in an English speaking country.

3.5.2 Recruitment Process

The L2 participants were self-selected because participating in a longitudinal study requires commitment and goodwill on the part of the participants. Subject attrition during a longitudinal study can have serious adverse consequences for the study, therefore it was thought more appropriate for students to volunteer for this research. For the pilot study, recruitment of the L2 participants took place during and after Orientation Week and was organised by the International branch of the university. This Orientation Week is an induction programme for new international students that occurs before the beginning of a semester to familiarise them with the university. The advertising for the study was conducted via emails that were sent to all newly enrolled overseas students and some volunteered in response to these email invitations. The L1 participants were recruited by posting an outline of the project to the electronic newsletter sent to all postgraduate students at the university.

3.5.3 The L2 Participants

The L2 and L1 speakers who participated in the pilot study are summarised in table 3.1 below. This also includes the L2 speakers who only partially participated.

PILOT STUDY		
L2 Participants	**IELTS/TOEFL**	**Participation/Withdrawal**
1. Rosanna[29]: 2nd year undergraduate female student from Bangladesh. L1: Bangla. Age: 21	None (studied 1 year in an English instructed university in Bangladesh)	Also participated in the longitudinal study.
2. David: 2nd year undergraduate male student from Hong Kong. L1: Cantonese. Age: 23	Did 1 year foundation studies in Australia	Withdrew after 3 months as he went back to his home country for a semester.
3. Jackie: 1st year undergraduate female student from Hong Kong. L1: Cantonese. Age: 20	Did 1 year foundation studies in Australia	Withdrew after 3 months as she found the project too time consuming.
4. Patrick: postgraduate male student from Hong Kong. L1: Cantonese. Age: 29	None	Withdrew after 3 months: his L1 friend did not want his conversation to be videoed.
L1 Participants	**Interactions**	
1. Nigel: Australian male research assistant. Age: early 20s	Interacted once with Rosanna	
2. Eric: Englishman, retired. David's landlord. Age: 50-60	Interacted once with David	
3. Kathleen: Australian female PhD student. Age: early 20s	Interacted once with Patrick	
4. Katie: American female PhD student. Age: early 20s (had lived in Australia for some years)	Interacted once with Jackie	
OTHER L2 PARTICIPANTS WHO PARTIALLY PARTICIPATED		
L2 Participants	**IELTS/TOEFL**	**Participation/Withdrawal**
5. Ipong: postgraduate male student from Indonesia. L1 Bahasa Indonesian. Age: 28	IELTS 7	Withdrew after handing in his diary.
6. Michelle[30]: 1st year undergraduate female student from mainland China (Shanghai). L1: Mandarin. Age: 22	TOEFL 587 (does not include speaking)	Withdrew. She suddenly returned to China (did not cope well living in Australia, was homesick and lonely). Kept a diary for 1st semester.
7. Carmen: 1st year undergraduate female student from Hong Kong. L1: Cantonese. Age: 20	IELTS 6.5 (score for Speaking: 6)	Withdrew, as she found the project too time consuming, and refused to be filmed.

Table 3.1 Participants[31] in the Pilot Study

[29] Rosanna was subsequently removed from the analysis as she revealed at the end of the study in the focus group that she had regularly socialised with L1 speakers of English prior to coming to Australia. In addition she had sojourned in England a few times.

[30] Both Michelle and Carmen were recruited the following year after the pilot study had been completed.

[31] All the participants in both the pilot and longitudinal studies chose pseudonyms, and all consented to have their videoed interactions shown in public.

The L2 participants are described further in chapter 4.

3.6 Longitudinal Study

For the longitudinal study, new participants were recruited the following year and data was collected from March until November of the same year.

3.6.1 Selection Criteria

The reviewed selection criteria for the longitudinal study for both the L2 and L1 participants were a little more restrictive. Regarding the L2 participants, the existing criteria previously invoked in section 3.5.1 were retained and a seventh criterion was added, which required the L2 participants to study at the undergraduate level. Hence in the longitudinal study, all the L2 participants were undertaking first year undergraduate subjects (with one L2 participant who also undertook one second year subject).

In relation to the L1 participants, it was decided that all participants had to be Australian nationals. This means that they had to have been born in Australia and to have grown up speaking English as their first language; so volunteers from other English speaking varieties were excluded from the present study. This eliminates the variable of diverse English varieties, and concomitant diverse socialisation styles in English.

3.6.2 Recruitment Process

As in the pilot study, only volunteer self-selected participants took part in the longitudinal study. As the attrition rate had been significant among the L2 participants in the pilot study, participants were asked to commit for the duration of the data collection, i.e., two semesters. The focal participants saw a real value

in participating in the project, and displayed eagerness and readily gave their time and commitment. Great care was taken to accommodate the focal participants' timetable and study commitments so that the project would not place undue stress on their time and studies.

As with the pilot study the previous year, recruitment was initially conducted during Orientation Week where the project was presented orally and in the form of flyers to all the newly enrolled overseas students at the beginning of the university year. Due to an information technology problem no emails were sent by the International Office to all the newly enrolled international students, so alternative methods of recruitment had to be found. Flyers outlining the project were put in halls of residence. In addition, recruitment of both L1 and L2 students took place by presenting the project to two regular university undergraduate classes[32]. Most of the L1 participants were recruited through posting an announcement in the electronic postgraduate newsletter to which they responded with enthusiasm.

3.6.3 The Focal Participants

Out of the five L2 participants who participated in the longitudinal study, only four were retained for the analysis; the Bangladeshi female, Rosanna, did not fulfil all the criteria as mentioned previously. The four selected L2 participants were newly enrolled at the university and were undertaking undergraduate studies. These focal participants were observed for a period of seven months. They include Carol from Hong Kong, Hle from Vietnam, Akiko and Meg both from Japan. The focal participants were originally scheduled to participate in five interactions recorded every two months, but two of them did not come regularly. Table 3.2 below gives a summary of the focal participants and their L1 and L2 co-conversationalists.

[32] One class was specifically designed for ESL students.

LONGITUDINAL STUDY		
L2 Participants	**TOEFL/IELTS**	**Participation**
1. Akiko: female exchange student from Japan, enrolled in 1st year undergraduate subjects. L1: Japanese. Age: 24	TOEFL score: 564 (does not include speaking)	Participated regularly in 5 interactions with John whom she had met on campus prior to the study. She interacted once with her L2 friend, Carol.
2. Meg: female exchange student from Japan, enrolled in 1st (and one 2nd year) undergraduate subjects. L1: Japanese. Age: 21	TOEFL score: 570 (does not include speaking)	Participated regularly in 5 interactions. She interacted once with Rosanna.
3. Carol: 1st year undergraduate female student from Hong Kong. L1: Cantonese. Age: 20	Did foundation studies in Australia for 6 months (IELTS score before arriving in Australia: 4.5 (Speaking 5, Listening 4.5)	Participated in all 5 interactions but with some irregularity. She interacted once with Akiko.
4. Hle: 1st year undergraduate female student from Vietnam. L1: Vietnamese. Age: 20	IELTS score: 6.5 (Speaking: 6.5, Listening: 6.5)	Participated irregularly in 4 interactions, but did not attend the focus group. She interacted once with Akiko.

L1 Participants	Recorded Interactions
1. John: Australian male PhD student. Age: early 20s	Interacted regularly with Akiko (4 times) Interacted twice with Carol (separate interactions)
2. Fiona: Australian female PhD student. Age: 30	Interacted regularly with Meg (4 times)
3. Chris: Australian male PhD student. Age: mid to late 20s	Interacted once with Meg Interacted once with Hle
4. Damian: Australian male PhD student. Age: 22	Interacted three times with Carol
5. Michelle: Australian female PhD student. Age: 24	Interacted twice with Hle
6. Lou: Australian female undergraduate student. Age: 21	Interacted once with Hle
7. Hassanah: Australian female PhD student. Age: mid 50s	Interacted once with Akiko

Table 3.2 Participants in the Longitudinal Study

The focal participants had just started at the university where the research was conducted, they had yet to establish their social networks (or in Carol's case re-establish hers as she had studied in a different institution in the same city) and get to know the university.

Three of the focal participants had been in Australia for a few weeks at the time of recruitment, except Carol who had already spent six months in Australia. Even though Carol had already done a foundation course in the same city, she was allowed to stay in the study because she was very keen to participate and had only spent a few months, a period of time considered negligible. Furthermore, during that period she had not engaged in regular social interactions with L1 speakers of English mostly interacting with other L2 speakers, particularly from her L1 country. None of the focal participants had lived in an English-speaking country or overseas prior to coming to live in Australia. All the focal participants had studied English before coming to Australia: for Carol as a second language, and for Akiko, Meg and Hle as a foreign language. Therefore the amount of exposure to English among the focal participants differed.

The L2 speakers who participated in the longitudinal study are described in further detail in chapter 4.

3.6.4 Coding the Focal Participants' Interactions

Table 3.3 below gives the number of recorded interactions for each L2 participant, the coding used, the dates of the interactions and the duration of each interaction.

Longitudinal Study		
Videoed Interactions	**Dates**	**Minutes**
1. Akiko-John [AJ1]	23 March	23:15
2. Akiko-John [AJ2]	25 May	27:30
3. Akiko-John [AJ3]	2 August	26:00
4. Akiko-Carol [NNS-AC]	28 August	23:46
5. Akiko-John-Hassanah [AJ4+H]	11 September	23.40
Total for Akiko		**2hrs05mn**
1. Carol-John [CJ]1	4 April	28:55
2. Carol-Damian [CD1]	5 July	20:07
3. Carol-Akiko [NNS-AC]	28 August	23:46 (already counted in grand total)
4. Carol-Damian [CD2]	20 September	33:11
5. Carol-Damian-John [CD3+J2]	25 October	23:40
Total for Carol		**2hrs14mn**
1. Meg-Fiona [MF1]	2 May	48:28
2. Meg-Fiona [MF2]	3 August	30:09
3. Meg-Fiona [MF3]	5 October	44:13
4. Meg-Fiona-Chris [MF4+C]	9 November	55:08
5. Meg-Rosanna [NNS-RM]	9 November	34:44
Total for Meg		**3hrs53**
1. Hle-Lou [OL]	4 May	1:00:33
2. Hle-Michelle [OM1]	20 September	25:57
3. Hle-Michelle-Chris OM2+C	30 November	41:46
4. Hle-Akiko [NNS-OA]	30 November	20:40
Total for Hle		**2hrs18mn**
TOTAL		**9hrs21mn**

Table 3.3 Coding the Interactions of the Focal Participants

3.6.5 The English Native Speakers

The L1 co-conversationalists were all Australian students at the university where the study was conducted and most were postgraduate students. All but two of L1

participants came from an Anglo[33] background: one had a Chinese background and the other Croatian.

Two types of L1 interactants participated in the longitudinal study: the regular L1 participants, who consistently interacted with the L2 participant and the occasional L1 participants who only had one encounter with the L2 participant.

Most of the L1 participants in the longitudinal study had not previously met the focal participants except for one L1 participant, John, who had briefly met his L2 co-conversationalist, Akiko, at the postgraduate centre where they had a mutual friend. Most of the L1 participants, except for one young male L1 participant, had previous experience interacting with L2 speakers prior to taking part in the study, and the two from Chinese and Croatian backgrounds had L2 relatives.

The L1 participants' motivation to participate in the study varied and was somewhat complex, although the main motivational factor was a desire to help a fellow student and meet people from diverse cultural backgrounds. Other reasons for participating included an interest in taking part in a research project, and a desire to help L2 students to acquire English. In sum, it can be said that all had altruistic motives for taking part in the study.

3.6.6 Rating of the L2 Participants

In most cases, in order to enrol at the university the L2 participants had to produce a score identifying their language level in English, the university requiring a certain linguistic competence for international ESL students. The score was obtained on the basis of a language test, which is recognised by the university. Two test scores were used at this university; either the International English Language Testing System (IELTS) or the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL). However, not all the L2 participants had an IELTS or a

[33] Anglo refers to British ancestry.

TOEFL score when they enrolled at this university, as some were admitted on the basis of previous study in an accredited course in Australia or overseas.

3.6.7 Variables

3.6.7.1 *Age and Gender*

The focal participants in the longitudinal study were in their early twenties and all female. Therefore their age and gender were comparable. However, the L1 participants who participated in the longitudinal study, varied in both age and gender: among the seven L1 participants in the longitudinal study, four were females whose ages ranged from the early twenties to thirty and over fifty, while the three males were in their twenties.

The L2 participants could choose the gender of their co-conversationalist but none of them considered gender an issue, hence in a number of interactions the L2 participants interacted with the opposite sex. Meg and Hle only interacted with L1 females, whereas Akiko interacted with one male and one female, and Carol with two males. When the L2 participants interacted with another L2 speaker, Akiko and Carol chose each other as they were friends, but the other three could not bring an L2 friend to the recording session so they interacted with each other.

3.6.7.2 *Native Speaker Co-conversationalists*

As mentioned earlier the L2 participants found it very difficult to meet Australian L1 speakers outside their class. At the beginning of the first session with a new L1 co-conversationalist, the researcher explained the reason for the encounter, i.e., that the L2 participant wanted to meet a native speaker.

As the study also examines the role of socialising in the development of L2 interactional competence it was deemed important that the L2 participants regularly interacted with the same L1 co-conversationalists. However, this was not always possible as some L1 speakers, like Lou, only participated once. In another case, the L1 co-conversationalist allocated to a particular L2 participant could not come on the day of the recording and another co-conversationalist had to be found at short notice. As a result, some L2 participants, such as Hle and Carol, had a number of different L1 co-conversationalists while Akiko and Meg always had the same L1 co-conversationalist. However, all the L2 participants were able to converse with the same L1 co-conversationalist more than once, to enable the participants to establish some rapport and to avoid having to face a new encounter for each recorded interaction. In two cases, the focal participants, such as Akiko and John in particular, and to some extent Meg and Fiona, and Carol and John were able to develop some relationship with their L1 co-conversationalist. At least, three focal participants met their L1 co-conversationalist outside the recorded sessions: Akiko regularly interacted with John whom she had met outside the study, and they had mutual friends, Meg occasionally came across Fiona on campus, and Carol had two conversations with John on campus.

3.6.7.3 *Exposure to English*

Exposure to L2 in the L1 country differed between the L2 participants. Carol came from Hong Kong where English was an official second language, while Akiko, Meg and Hle came from Japan and Vietnam where English was taught as a foreign language. Therefore the Japanese and Vietnamese L2 participants had much less exposure to English than Carol. In Hong Kong, student started learning English from an early age - usually at pre-school -whereas for the students from Japan and Vietnam, learning English began at high school. However, in Hong Kong the language of choice for Hong Kong Chinese

remained Cantonese. Non-native English speaking teachers usually spoke Cantonese in class and the emphasis was more on writing and grammar than spoken English. Despite studying English in Hong Kong for most of her life, Carol arrived in Australia with an extremely low IELTS score, the lowest of all the L2 participants recruited in both studies (refer to tables 3.1 and 3.2).

Table 3.4 below briefly outlines the focal participants' English study in their home countries.

Longitudinal Study - Education in English			
L2 Participants	**L1 Country**	**Years of English study**	**Type of Study**
1. Akiko	Japan	11 (school and university)	Reading, grammar, 1 hour/week conversation class (university level)
2. Meg	Japan	11 (school, university and 3 months in a private language centre)	Reading, grammar
3. Carol	Hong Kong	18 (from kindergarten to high school, and 2 months in an intensive course)	Grammar, writing, speaking and listening
4. Hle	Vietnam	7 (school and a 6 month foundation course designed for students awarded an Australian scholarship)	Reading, writing, grammar, and conversation (during the foundation course)

Table 3.4 Education in English of the Focal Participants

It is worth noting that three of the focal participants had had some limited interactions with L1 speakers of English in their L1 country. Carol, Hle and Akiko had some English native speaking teachers or lecturers while attending school or university in their home country. In addition, when Carol was working as a waitress in an American restaurant in Hong Kong, she engaged in casual conversations with her customers who spoke English as L1 or L2. Lastly, Hle

had a few irregular outings and social activities (like cooking a meal together) with an Australian lecturer.

3.6.7.4 *Social Networks in Australia*

The focal participants changed their social networks from semester to semester. Nonetheless, the focal participants developed and maintained friendships within their own language group as well as with other L2 students (both local, i.e., migrants and international students, mostly from Asian countries such as Sri Lanka, the Philippines, Korea, Cambodia, and Indonesia). Within about six months, the four L2 participants had managed to develop some friendships with local L1 speakers or L1 speakers from other countries such as the United States or Singapore.

3.6.7.5 *Education and Tertiary Experience*

The level of education varied among the focal participants, but all except Carol had previous tertiary experience in their L1 country prior to coming to Australia. Even though the four L2 participants studied at an undergraduate level and were undertaking first year subjects (at some point, Meg had undertaken one second year linguistics subject), Akiko and Meg had more substantial tertiary experience in their home country. Table 3.5 below summarises their tertiary experience.

Longitudinal Study – Tertiary Education			
L2 Participants	**L1 Country**	**Tertiary Education Completed**	**University Course in Australia**
1. Akiko	Japan	1. Completed a degree qualifying her as an English as a Foreign Language (EFL) teacher. 2. Had completed one year of a Masters in Politics in Japan.	1st year undergraduate subjects
2. Meg	Japan	Had nearly completed her undergraduate degree in Economics in Japan. Was going to graduate on her return to Japan.	1st year undergraduate subjects and one 2nd year undergraduate subject (could not undertake units related to her degree because her English language skills were insufficient)
3. Carol	Hong Kong	Had completed a six-month foundation study course in Australia.	1st year - Bachelor of Performing Arts
4. Hle	Vietnam	Had studied at university for 6 months in Vietnam and completed a 6 month foundation study course in Vietnam.	1st year - Bachelor of Commerce

Table 3.5 Tertiary Education of the Focal Participants

As mentioned previously the variables in a qualitative study are not always controllable and the selection criteria for the recruitment process were designed to eliminate undesirable variables. Nonetheless, other uncontrollable variables remained in the study and are summarised as follows:

- Age and gender were comparable for the focal participants but varied greatly for the L1 co-conversationalists.
- Carol and particularly Hle had interacted with a greater number of co-conversationalists than Akiko and Meg.

- Different exposure to L2 was found among the focal participants: in Carol's case English had been learnt as a second language whereas for the other three it was learnt as a foreign language.
- The amount of socialising in L2 differed during the first semester between Akiko and the others, although Akiko, Meg and Hle initially spoke their L1 more than English. Akiko initially lived in shared accommodation with Japanese compatriots thus she spoke Japanese much more than English. Initially Meg did not socialise much; like Akiko, she also interacted with other Japanese speakers but also with L2 speakers. The other two L2 participants regularly interacted with their flatmates, friends from their L1 country, or neighbours or flatmates from other L2 countries and socialised in English more than Akiko.
- Instruction in English in their home country and tertiary academic experience varied for the L2 participants, with Akiko, in particular, and Meg having wider tertiary experience than Hle and Carol.

3.6.8 Research Instruments in the Longitudinal Study

The research instruments were modified to some degree in the longitudinal study, and new ones were added such as self-reporting and focus groups. The sections below indicate the modifications made to each research instrument, introduce the new instruments, and explain how they were all implemented.

3.6.8.1 *The Interview*

The L2 participants were interviewed at the commencement of the pilot and longitudinal studies. The interview served to gather information related to the L2

participants' background. This interview was important for determining the essential characteristics of each L2 participant such as: age, length of stay in Australia, education background, instruction in English, self-evaluation, reasons for studying in Australia, social networks, contact with L1 speakers, local students and other international students, language attitude and needs, motivation and cultural adjustment. In addition, the L2 participants were asked to rate their speaking skill ability. The interview, which was audio-taped and semi-structured, lasted for about 30-40 minutes (see appendix 1 for the interview protocol).

The L2 participants in the longitudinal study were interviewed within a few weeks of starting their university courses. The aim of the interview remained essentially the same as for the pilot study, i.e., to gather biodata and sociocultural information on the L2 participants. An additional aim was included to gauge the L2 speakers' participation in tutorials. Most of the original questions were retained; however, some new questions were included to compensate for the lack of class observation, and to obtain more information in relation to the L2 participants' courses and socialising (see appendix 1 for the interview protocol).

A series of questions was therefore inserted to determine the L2 participants' participation level and initial difficulties in tutorials and lectures, as the L2 participants were not observed in class. Other questions relating to their socialising were added in order to determine 1) if they felt lonely, and 2) whether the L2 participants had already set up a social network. In both the longitudinal and pilot studies eleven interviews were conducted, totalling 5 hours and 20 minutes. The most relevant parts were transcribed and notes were also taken.

3.6.8.2 *Video Recorded Face to Face Interactions*

As one of the aims of the present study is to describe the L2 participants' interactional competence, video-recording was considered the best option as it captures both verbal and nonverbal behaviours. While audio-taping is the easiest way to record talk-in-interaction because it is more practical - only requiring highly manageable and unobtrusive pieces of equipment – it misses the important dimension of embodied actions. Heath and Hindmarsh (2002, p. 104) claim that "talk is inextricably embedded in the material environment and the bodily conduct of participants". Embodied actions are part of the interaction and when relevant need to be included in the interactional analysis. Therefore when other non-hearable activities are taking place, an audio recording only gives a partial rendition of the behaviour under study. For instance, it may be difficult to explain why a pause occurs at a particular space if the visual elements of the interaction, such as gaze, gestures, facial expression and body posture, are missing.

In this study, embodied actions are indicated in the transcription when they are relevant to the interactional behaviour. Videotaping produces a more accurate rendition of the interaction, as kinesic activities co-occur with talk (see studies incorporating non-verbal behaviour such as Bavelas et al., 2002; Goodwin, 1981, 2000, 2003; Heath, 1984; Heath & Hindmarsh, 2002; Kendon, 1994a, 1994b; Olsher, 2004; Schegloff, 1984; Seo, 2011; Streeck, 2009).

Equally important in Conversation Analysis is the use of data collected from naturally occurring instances of everyday speech exchange systems (Heritage 1984, p. 236). Reporting informants' behaviours through field notes, interviews, or experimental designs involving manipulation of human behaviour are considered inadequate representations of human behaviour that cannot substitute (Kendon, 1986) for the actual occurrence of that behaviour. However, filming naturally occurring talk is a difficult enterprise, particularly capturing non-expert L2 participants engaging in ordinary conversation outside of class, and

issues arose regarding capturing this type of interaction. Conversation Analysis requires that the data collected be naturally occurring, i.e., the interactions should happen without the researcher's intervention (Psathas, 1990), however, in the present project they were arranged by the researcher.

The L2 participants could not be filmed interacting with L1 and L2 speakers in their natural environment (i.e., interacting outside of class), so most L2 participants had to be paired with L1 and L2 speakers. Since the L2 participants (in both pilot and longitudinal studies) had expressed a strong desire to interact with an Australian L1 speaker and expected the researcher to introduce them to L1 speakers, the researcher arranged these interactions. As "[l]anguage learners aspire to become participants in mundane social life, networks and social relations" (Brouwer & Wagner, 2004, p. 34), the researcher introduced most of the L1 participants to the L2 participants, with the exception of one encounter (Akiko-John), which had taken place naturally. However, it must be added that when the participants met and were videotaped no task was given, so the videoed interactions yielded talk-in-interaction that is akin to naturally occurring talk - as illustrated in chapters 5-7 (apart from the rare occasions when two particular participants referred to the non present researcher, or oriented to the recording). The conversations between L1-L2 participants can be considered as out of class arrangements for L2 practice[34].

The notion of natural data versus contrived data has been problematised by Speer (2002). Speer argues that much of CA 'so-called' natural data is actually contrived. She claims that for social scientists to access 'naturally occurring talk', they have to get informants to sign a consent form and equip them with recording equipment, which creates a somewhat artificial situation. Recording is an obtrusive method and the recording equipment may have a bearing on the

[34] Kasper & Kim (2007) refer to conversations for learning because the L1 speaker had the specific goal of "teaching" English to the L2 speaker. The conversations in the present study are similar to what Kasper & Wagner (2011) call "out of class arrangements for L2 practice" (p. 127) because they were not set up with the explicit aim for the L1 speakers to teach English to the L2 participants but simply to create an opportunity for the L2 speakers to practise English and meet an Australian.

participants' behaviours, particularly initially, although after a while it is likely that the participants become oblivious to it (see chapters 5-7). Further, Speer contends that:

> I argue that, from a discursive and CA perspective, it actually makes little theoretical or practical sense to map the natural/contrived distinction onto discrete 'types' of data. What are natural data and what are not is not decidable on the basis of their type and/or the role of the researcher within the data. Rather, the status of pieces of data as natural or not depends largely on what the researcher intends to 'do' with them.
>
> (Speer, 2002, p. 513)

In the present study, the researcher was absent during the recorded interactions, therefore the role of the researcher in the recording is irrelevant. Speer's contention is to show that the distinction of natural and contrived data is not useful, and that it depends on how the data is used by the researcher. In this study, the data that resulted from the interactions were analysed for what they revealed in relation to aspects of L2 interactional competence and the development of such a competence.

Face to face interactions form the core of the analysis of this study describing the L2 participants' L2 interactional competence. However, in the longitudinal study it proved difficult to record the L2 participants' interactions every two months as planned. Hle was the most irregular participant and there was a gap of four months between the first and second interaction, which in some respects skews the analysis of her interactions if they are compared with those of the other focal participants. Each focal participant participated in five filmed interactions, except for Hle who participated in four interactions.

In the pilot study only one type of interaction had been envisaged. However, three other types of videotaped conversations were set up in the longitudinal study. The reason for the change came from the information obtained in the

stimulated recalls in the pilot study. One L2 participant, Rosanna, commented that she felt more at ease conversing with other L2 users, and another L2 participant, Patrick, remarked that interacting with more than one L1 speaker at a time became problematic for him. As a result of these findings, two other types of interactions were added in the longitudinal study: L2-L2 interaction and a triadic situation with two L1 speakers. Putting L2 participants in a variety of situations, particularly when they are challenging, helped to capture better the focal participants' L2 interactional competence.

Video recording involves much equipment, which can be intimidating to informants (see Speer, 2002) so in order to help them relax, the researcher would offer them a drink and chat to them while the recording had started. The researcher would remain with the interactants until they appeared comfortable and unmindful of the recording. The instructions the researcher gave them were as follows:

- Talk for longer than five minutes and as long as you want,
- Talk about anything you want, and
- Come out of the room when you have finished talking to let me know.

Occasionally in new encounters, when the L1 speaker requested a topic the researcher suggested getting to know each other. Talking for more than five minutes is easy so the participants did not worry about sthe duration of their conversation and they generally talked for more than 20 minutes. They ended their conversation when they wished, and left the room to inform the researcher that they had finished.

In all videotaped interactions the interactants meeting for the first time endeavoured to get to know each other and participants selected their own topics.

The participants talked for between 20.07 minutes to one hour. In the longitudinal study, the total length of videorecording for the four L2 participants was 9 hours 45 minutes, which were fully transcribed.

3.6.8.3 *Diary Keeping*

In ethnographic studies, diaries are a source of secondary data (Auer, 1995) and are used to record specific information by the informants under instruction from the researcher. In language learning diaries have been used for different purposes such as observing adult learners' experiences in learning a foreign language and to study language patterns in L2 speakers. For example, Bailey (1983) recorded her daily impressions about learning French and observed that high levels of anxiety and competitiveness were experienced. In this study, the diary was used to provide information related to the L2 participants' social networks. The L2 participants were asked to keep a diary to record all types of interaction and the language used for each interaction they were involved in outside class. These were kept on a daily basis for a week at the start of each semester for two semesters. The L2 participants were also asked to provide details about the interactants, such as sex, age, nationality, relationship to the L2 participant, place and purpose of the interaction as well as approximate length of the interaction (refer to appendix 2). The information recorded in the diaries helped to establish their social networks and how much English they spoke outside class (see chapter 4). Guidelines outlining what to record were inserted in the diary, which was then given to the L2 participants at the beginning of each semester (see appendix 2). It was estimated that the L2 participants would spend 15 minutes a day writing in their diary.

3.6.8.4 *Stimulated Recalls*

In the stimulated recall the L2 participants were required to reflect on the recorded interaction and record their impressions of it or a particular sequence. Stimulated recalls are classified as an obtrusive method in linguistic ethnography as they elicit secondary data and require the informant to comment on their linguistic activity, which has been recorded and is played back. Their aim is to activate the informant's knowledge to interpret particular speech behaviour and they have been used by various researchers from different disciplines including Conversation Analysis (Auer, 1995; Ericsson & Simon, 1984; Færch & Kasper, 1987; Gass & Mackey, 2000; Pomerantz & Ende, 1997)[35]. However, such interviews are a controversial data collection instrument. Auer (1995) points out that the use of stimulated recall is highly problematic and must be handled with care. Auer considers this method of data collection as semiotically complex social situations claiming that such confrontations need "to be treated and analysed as a social encounters in their own right" (p. 437). Conversation analysts who are sceptical about the use of such an instrument also uphold this position. This point will be further developed below. However, Auer acknowledges that this type of interview can be useful.

Ericsson and Simon (1984, 1987), who come from the different perspective of psychology, also urge caution when using stimulated recalls and advocate using them immediately after the event, which was the case in the present study. Gass and Mackey (2000) too recommend their immediacy and that a strong stimulus be used, such as viewing the recorded speech event. Further, Ericsson and Simon (1984, 1987) recognise that the retrieval operation can be fallible. If left too long after the event, different memories or thought processes to the ones targeted can be activated, producing the wrong information. However, they

[35] Stimulated recalls have been given different labels such as retrospective reports or interviews (Ericsson & Simon, 1984; Færch & Kasper, 1987), self-reflexive interviews (Auer, 1995), and postprocess oral observation (Gass & Mackey, 2000).

claim that stimulated recall is a "direct verbalization of specific cognitive processes" (1984, p. 16) and is a valuable tool if used properly. Accessing cognitive processes was the aim of this study.

In the present study, some information obtained from the stimulated recalls was only used to supplement insights gained through the CA analysis. For example, two focal participants, Akiko and Meg[36], revealed that at times they used the 'let it pass' strategy (Firth, 1996) to mask their lack of understanding. Instead of initiating a repair, they would use a continuer to avoid interrupting the flow of the conversation. Because this 'let it pass' strategy can easily be masked it is not evident to the conversation analyst and it can only be exposed through retrospective methods. Pomerantz and Ende (1997) who operate within the CA framework have used stimulated recalls as they found that they complemented CA.

At times, it is rather difficult to distinguish which type of memory is activated, whether it is the working or short-term memory or the long term one (Ericsson and Simon, 1984). Nonetheless, in the present study, accessing both short-term and long-term memories was deemed equally useful. Long-term memory yielded information about the L2 participant's general behaviour, which was relevant as the present study seeks to understand SLA phenomena (e.g. the 'let it pass' strategy used by Meg and Akiko).

The stimulated recall yielded interesting information in the pilot study, but it proved to be of limited value in the longitudinal study (its source is indicated in the analysis chapters 6 and 7). It was audio/video-recorded and conducted immediately after the video-recorded interaction. On some occasions, the L2 participants were not available, therefore it was not always possible to conduct a stimulated recall after each video-recorded interaction. Nonetheless, all focal participants in the longitudinal study participated in a stimulated recall after their

[36] Meg also declared in a stimulated report that she would memorise the lexical item and then ask a friend to explain it or translate it for her.

first videoed interaction. In total, Akiko participated in four stimulated recalls, Meg in three, Carol in two and Hle in one.

3.6.8.5 *Self-Reporting*

Self-reporting was used instead of class observation for the reasons explained earlier (refer to section 3.5). Self-reporting, also known as 'verbal reports', involves observation of one's own behaviour and constitutes one type of retrospective method of data gathering like stimulated recalls and think aloud protocols (see Cohen, 1984). Self-reporting has been used in psychology and in L2 research to study cognitive processing, and other aspects such as test taking (Cohen, 1991) and communication accommodation theory (Williams, 1999). Self-reporting has been criticised for failing to delve into the internal processes of language learning, which are assumed to take place largely at the unconscious level. For Seliger (1983), self-reporting indicates how L2 learners use what they have learnt and do not describe the internal mechanisms of language learning. This view is not widely shared in SLA as Cohen (1984) testifies. Cohen argues that the L2 participants can have access to their cognitive processes to some extent through their memory and they can describe them partially. However, he agrees with Seliger that caution should be exercised when using self-reporting. Regardless of the various views expressed in the literature, self-reporting in this study was employed to probe into the L2 participants' overall interactional behaviour[37] and not their cognitive processes.

According to Cohen (1988), the self-report is based on personal beliefs about what one does, and as such is vulnerable to error as it cannot be tested and it is not based on hard evidence. However, it can be used to complement other

[37] While interactants cannot reproduce a verbatim account of their interactions, they can describe their general behaviour and explain why they behaved in a certain way.

procedures, as is the case in the present study. Its success depends on whether the stimuli used yield the appropriate responses.

Elicitation methods for obtaining self-reports can vary and can include written instructions in the form of a questionnaire or they can be conducted orally through an interview (Cohen, 1984). In the present study, two elicitation methods were used: (a) oral questions regarding the L2 participants' behaviour in tutorials were posed during the interview (refer to appendix 1) and in the focus groups (refer to appendix 3), and (b) a written question relating to their participation in tutorials was included in the guidelines of the diary (refer to appendix 2). The dual aim of self-reporting was for the L2 participants to (1) describe their degree of participation during tutorials, and (2) explain the reasons underlying their behaviour.

The L2 participants were required to report on their experience in lectures and participation in tutorials each semester and at the end of the year. These questions yielded interesting responses, as the questions were precise, easy to understand and targeted the L2 participants' awareness of their difficulties. The questions in the interview, focus groups and diary concerned their psychological state, level of comprehension, and degree of participation during tutorials, and they are shown below:

Questions included in the interview and focus groups comprised the following:

1. How do you feel in tutorials and lectures?
2. In tutorials, do you understand the tutor?
3. Do you respond to his/her questions?
4. Describe what you do in tutorials (e.g. what do you say, do you initiate questions, who you sit next to, do you approach a lecturer/tutor, do you initiate contact with local students, do you work in groups with NSs?)

5. What about your studies? Earlier on you mentioned to me that you had some communication problems in tutorials. Can we talk about this? (*class participation, discussion, following the discussion, asking questions, making comments*)?

The written question included in the guidelines of the diary was as follows:

6. Did you participate in tutorials?

As L2 participants reported their lack of participation in tutorials, simply observing them in class would have yielded insufficient information regarding their silence (cf. Nakane, 2006). Therefore self-reporting was an effective alternative to probe the L2 participants' behaviour to compensate for the lack of participant observation. Even though Cohen (1984) made the following comment in relation to language learning behaviour in class, it is also applicable to the present study:

> Classroom observations can record the physical movements of students -- nods of the head, smiles, eye movements, and what they say -- but cannot capture what they are thinking about, how they are thinking, or how they feel. Thus observations regarding language learning behavior are generally limited to students who speak out loud. It tells us nothing about those who remain quiet, and not a great deal about those who do not.
>
> (Cohen 1984, p. 101)

According to Ericsson and Simon (1980, cited in Cohen 1984), for self-reporting to be successful, the informants have to focus on the information (or behaviour in this case) to be reported. Such was the case in the present study, as the L2 participants were conscious of the difficulties they were experiencing in tutorials they could report them. Their difficulties in participating were generally related to the interactional aspect of that speech exchange system, rather than the subject content or their knowledge of the subject. Even though direct observation had originally been the preferred method, self-reporting turned out to be most

appropriate, as some L2 participants not only reported their lack of participation in tutorials but also provided the reasons for not participating (see chapter 4 for further discussion on this).

3.6.8.6 *Focus Group Interviews*

A focus group was established with the L2 participants involved in the longitudinal study to explore the difficulties they had faced in adjusting socially, culturally and academically during their first year at the university, in order to ascertain the role that speaking skills (and potentially L2 interactional competence) could play in their lives and studies. The uniqueness of the focus group interview is the interaction that occurs between the participants, which can yield rich data.

The focus group interview is used in qualitative research and is described as "an informal discussion among selected individuals about specific topics relevant to the situation at hand" (Beck, Trombetta and Share, cited in Vaughn et al., 1996, p. 4). According to Vaughn et al. (1996), focus groups can be used to collect various types of information. Choosing the appropriate approach depends on the aims of the research and what the focus group will be used for. In this study the focus group interview was used to supplement other qualitative methods, whereas in other studies, it can be used as self-contained, constituting the sole source of data (Morgan, 1997).

The rationale for conducting focus groups was to capture the L2 participants' overall experience at the university, the role of their social networks in relation to (the development of) their speaking ability and their studies, and discover what difficulties they were still facing at the end of the year. The focal participants, who mostly had come to know each other, took part in two separate focus

groups[38], which were set up at the end of the university year. The researcher's role in the discussion group was that of a moderator. Prior to the meeting a guide had been prepared, which contained the key points to be covered in the discussion and specific questions (see appendix 3). The guide was used to steer the discussion around the following five central themes:

1) Their adjustment to the Australian culture (what they found challenging and easy, and how they adapted),
2) Their social networks (the importance of making friends and how socialising impacted on their studies),
3) The difficulties they experienced particularly in tutorials,
4) Their speaking skills, together with their persception of their importance and their progress in speaking, and
5) The language learning support services (whether they used them, and if they did, whether they found them useful).

In addition, the L2 participants were asked to rate their English speaking skills, which they had also done in the interview at the beginning of the first semester. It was interesting to compare whether seven months later their rating and confidence had improved or remained the same. The focus group interviews enabled the researcher to gain a better understanding of the L2 participants' perspectives in relation to:

(a) Their continued difficulties in participating in tutorials at the end of the year,
(b) The importance of their social networks and regular L2 social interactions in relation to their wellbeing and studies, and

[38] Two groups had to be set up because of timetable clashes.

(c) The major impact that socialising had on the development of their speaking skills (and presumably on their L2 interactional competence) and on their studies.

The guide was used with flexibility so that the natural flow of the discussion was not impeded, and its aim was to make sure that the major points were covered. In other words, depending on the direction of the discussion if a question on the guide was deemed unnecessary it was omitted while questions not included in the guide were improvised. The duration for each focus group was one and a half hours and two hours, totalling three and a half hours. The main points of the focus groups were summarised and are included in chapter 4.

The focus group interview took place at the end of the data collection and was conducted on two separate occasions to include all the L2 speakers who participated in the longitudinal study, including Rosanna. Only Hle did not participate. In order to keep a reliable record of the focus group interviews, both groups were recorded: the first group involving Akiko, Carol and Meg was only audio taped but the second group, comprising Meg and Rosanna, was both audio and video recorded. The reason for choosing to video-tape group 2 was to facilitate the observation of nonverbal behaviour instead of having to take notes to describe them (as in the first group), since some responses were only expressed nonverbally.

A central aspect of the focus group interview is the interaction that occurs between the participants. It is this interactional aspect that differentiates it from an individual interview whereby the interviewee only responds to the interviewer's questions. In a focus group the participants can elaborate or contest other participants' responses and the exchange that ensues between the participants is arbitrated by the researcher. This exchange can yield richer data because in sharing their experiences the participants explore issues more deeply, which can open up new ground for the researcher. In fact, Morgan (1997) calls

this process of sharing and comparing among participants in self-contained focus groups "one of the most valuable aspects" (1997, p. 21). This represented an opportunity for the L2 participants to raise any issues relevant to their studies and share their experiences and concerns in adjusting to the new culture and environment, and coping with the oral linguistic demands made on them. The L2 participants showed great involvement in the discussion as they responded to each other and elaborated on each other's responses.

3.6.9 The Researcher as Participant

Throughout the longitudinal study, the researcher had continued contact with the L2 participants while collecting the data using various research instruments. There is no doubt that a relationship evolved with them throughout the data collection period. As such the researcher must be included as an active participant in the interactions that the L2 participants engaged in with expert speakers. That there were regular interactions with the researcher would have had some impact on the development of their L2 interactional competence.

3.7 Transcription Procedure

As CA is a heuristic data driven methodology, no a priori questions can be set before obtaining the recorded conversations. It is only through transcribing the video-taped conversations that patterns are identified and become the focus of the analysis. Therefore all utterances in the interactions are first transcribed roughly, then passages of interest are finely transcribed using the Jeffersonian transcription system modified by Gardner (1995).

In CA it is left to the analyst's discretion to elect what details to be included depending on what phenomena are being investigated. In addition, reflecting the

participants' pronunciation and variety of English is left to the analyst's decision. In this study a moderate approach was taken on both issues, therefore the transcriptions only reflect to some degree the Australian English variety and the L2 pronunciation.

Various interactional phenomena were examined and reported to map out L2 interactional competence. In relation to the development of interactional competence, the analysis focuses on the following action sequences: 1) self-presentational sequences (Svennevig, 1999), 2) expanded responses to questions, and 3) story-telling. All action sequences selected involve turn expansion, and taking long turns at talk.

Pseudonyms were allocated to any persons named by the participants in the course of the interactions in order to preserve their anonymity in the transcriptions.

3.8 Ethical Clearance

To undertake the present study, ethical clearance was required and granted. All participants in the study were given an explanatory statement briefly describing the project. They were required to sign a consent form at the commencement of the study or before a recording. In their consent form they agreed to have their videoed interactions shown to the public. To ensure anonymity all participants were asked to choose a pseudonym.

Due to restrictions imposed on researchers on ethical grounds, some aspects of the research design could not be carried out, such as videotaping the participants in their natural setting.

Chapter 4

RESULTS FROM THE ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY: PROFILES OF THE L2 PARTICIPANTS

INTRODUCTION

This chapter describes the various L2 speakers who participated in the pilot and longitudinal studies, and their needs in relation to oral communication skills, based on the data collected throughout this project (interviews, self-reporting, diaries and focus groups, and to a lesser extent stimulated recalls). Drawing a portrait of the L2 participants from their own perspective enables the researcher to gain a better understanding of their needs and the difficulties they experienced in using L2 interactional competence, particularly in applying it to an academic environment such as tutorials. It also helps to recognize the importance of their social networks in relation to L2 interactional competence and their academic studies. For obvious reasons, special attention is given to the focal participants. Those who participated in the pilot study are also described to some extent in order to provide more information about NESB international students who were enrolled at the university where the project took place. In sum, the views of the L2 participants involved in this project may help to form some perspective about what some NESB international students experienced in an Australian university and will add to the body of research in this area. More to the point, a thick description of the international students involved in this study is very revealing of the oral language learning difficulties they encountered in Australia and captures their view of how crucial speaking skills [39] are in the tertiary environment.

[39] Speaking skills are viewed as incorporating listening skills in agreement with Hodges et al. (2012, p. 502), who refer to 'languaging' as "the actual speaking and listening to others". Some interviewees mention that their listening skill was also important.

4.1 The L2 Participants' Perceptions of Their Speaking Skills, Needs and Difficulties

Before describing in detail the L2 participants, it is worth examining their own perceptions of their oral language ability and needs.

The eleven interviews were conducted with L2 international students who were at different stages of their studies: two students were enrolled at graduate or postgraduate levels, while the others were enrolled as undergraduate students. These interviews were generally conducted about a month after the international students had commenced their studies, and include those who dropped out of the study after completing their diary. All L2 participants were from Asia: there were four Chinese students from Hong Kong, and one from mainland China, one Indonesian, one Vietnamese, one Bangladeshi, and two Japanese (refer to tables 3.1 and 3.2, chapter 3). This mixed group of students had learnt English in various ways and had had various amounts of L2 exposure in their L1 country. In addition, information collected from the focal participants is incorporated with the L2 participants from the pilot study[40] (refer to appendix 1 for interview schedule) and their diaries.

4.1.1 Speaking Skills

The interviews generally revealed that the L2 participants rated their spoken English as not very good in response to questions (43): *Regardless of the score you got, how good do you think your English is?* and (44) *How confident do you feel when you speak English? Do you feel comfortable when you speak English?* Overall, their responses indicated that the interviewees did not feel very confident speaking English. For instance, in relation to question (43) Jackie from Hong Kong replied: "poor,

[40] The source of the information will only be indicated where it appears relevant to the information..

poor, poor"; Meg[41] from Japan: "I can read and write a sentence but I can't speak, I can't speak very well", and to question (44) "I have no confidence"; and Hle from Vietnam replied to question (43): "I mean probably minimum level, first stad (stage?) (sic)", and to question (44) "no not much". Also in response to question (44), Carmen from China stated that: "mm I think my English is not [good], yeah because of confidence". All these comments indicate that confidence strongly corroborates with their perception of their L2 speaking skills (and maybe their ability to speak).

Some L2 participants observed that the English learnt in their L1 country was not useful in an English speaking country like Australia where you need to interact for various purposes; i.e., for social, administrative, or academic purposes and for daily living. For instance, in relation to question (57) *Do you think that this English course ([n your home country] was helpful?* Patrick from Hong Kong responded:

> "I think for studying it's useful, but for er when you come to it, they speak English. English speaking countries like Australia where you need to speak to the people, I don't think it's useful".

And Michelle from China remarked: "When I was in Shanghai I think my English is good. After I come here I think it's no good. " This observation was also made by Jackie who noted that: "it's not practical".

In response to question (94) *Can you tell me why you have chosen to participate in this project?* Meg commented that courses of English in Japan did not prepare students to interact in English:

> (…) "My situation is very good for your project I've just arrived. Japanese students studied English for very long time and can't speak it."

[41] Yamada (2003) also noted that Japanese students at an Australian university reported that speaking skills were the most problematic area in their academic studies, followed by listening to their native speaker peers.

In other words, most L2 participants felt that they had not been equipped well enough to conduct spoken interactions, particularly with native or near native speakers.

Regarding question (59) *In relation to your studies here at this university, what qualities or skills do you think are important for you to succeed in an Australian university?* most interviewees rated their speaking skills as either very important or important, which is a significant finding. For example, the following L2 participants from Hong Kong remarked: "oh yes speaking is most important" (David), and Patrick: "an in the tuts you need speech so so I mean ehm so speaking skill is also important".

Overall the L2 participants acknowledged that speaking skills represented a major difficulty that they would face at university. That speaking skills are viewed as important is not surprising given that the type of teaching usually taking place in their L1 country was more focused on grammar, writing and reading (see also Marginson et al., 2010; Sawir, 2005). Only a few interviewees who had a speaking skills component in their English course in their home country recognised that this aspect of their course was a more useful part of their overall L2 learning experience. This was reported to be particularly so when it was taught by native speakers and they had the opportunity, albeit limited, to interact with them, which was the case for Akiko and Hle.

A number of reasons were given for the importance of speaking skills. The most obvious one is the fact that the interviewees had to constantly interact in English. The main obstacles they perceived in relation to their lack of L2 interactional competence were: 1) making friends, and 2) participating in tutorials. The L2 participants made the following comments in relation to the importance of speaking skills to make friends:

> David: "Oh yes speaking is most important. You need a lot of connections. You'd better to an speak well, otherwise nobody know- somebody don't

> know what you speak. If they don't understand what you speak, they don't like to make friends with you."
>
> Hle: "Yes it is important specially to talk like, and also in social life as to have to get a life. Speaking skill, ehm I try to- sometimes I've tried to make conversation, even if it hard yeah (listening hard) answer my friend because they make they're willing to help me. I can ask them like I ask one guy ehr if you want to ref-ref- refue [refuse] ehr invitation of people, how can we say what can I say."

For Hle, making friends had a double function: having a social life but also helping to resolve language or conversational issues. In the example she provided, Hle wanted to know how to reject an invitation. To deal with this difficulty, her strategy was to ask someone who had more L2 expertise.

> Meg: "Yunno (pause) expressing my opinions expressing my opinion and discuss with er students. (an)- it's these thing are very hard to me, that part for me now. I think it's also very important to write essay but for me to-to communicate and to express myself are important now b'cause I can't do this I can't make friends yeah."

Rosanna felt particularly lonely and had a strong desire to make friends, particularly with local students:

> "Here it's really really lonely. So I-I really want to make more friends, It will be nice if I could be in a group or something, it would have helped me in my studies. Sometimes, it is- it might be difficult to er explain to my lecturer or my tutor what I really don't understand. Well I can easily do it to another student, and er whom I may have the same kind of problem, or whom may have gone through the same kind of problems because we can discuss it. They might help me to learn more an learn quickly."

Rosanna was pointing out that friends were an important part of academic life for various reasons: to discuss her studies, clarify what she did not understand

during the tutorial, and also to share problems. She saw friends as providing the help that she could not get from academic staff whom she initially found hard to deal with. This difficulty stemmed from her perceived insufficient L2 interactional competence. Thus friends could contribute to her academic learning.

In relation to the questions regarding their participation in tutorials (refer to appendix 1) some of the L2 participants' responses are reproduced below:

> David: "My problem is my problem is speaking, speaking is a problem so it's very difficult to speak specially in tutorial. Yeah I sometimes I just always keep silence."

> Hle: "In tutorial I have now problem with participation. Sometimes I don't feel confident to participate ehm sometimes er I ((laughter)) I hate because I feel like empty or something like that for I cannot contribute for the for the tutorial or other people. I feel ehm I don't contribute anything because I keep silent again. (because) I-I'm not quite familiar with discussion in class er an we don't we didn't- we don't have do this in my country. Yeah don't do much in my country. My English is not very well."

Hle noted that this type of discussion format did not really exist in her L1 academic environment and she felt unable to participate. She expressed strong feelings in relation to her lack of participation, and she also referred to her inadequate L2 interactional competence.

> Jackie: "They talk so many things that I can't catch up because they are so interaction."

Jackie in her comment was referring to the highly interactive nature of tutorials. and as a result, she struggled.

> Akiko: "I can-cannot understand what the tutor-tutor saying and other students because of their accent".

Akiko did not participate much in tutorials, remaking that: "the other students are faster than me."

Meg observed that her lack of L2 interactional competence was problematic:

> "Yeah I have to express myself in class concerning er the subject, but I sometimes I er make sentence but I have to stay in class and and I think it's difficult to communicate with people. (…) I try to I try to [participate] but it's very difficult to say something straightaway. I study every week I must study an I prepared the qu- the answer of the question."

Carol also experienced great difficulties expressing her opinions in tutorials:

> "And in the tutorial I sometimes I want to hav' my- I want to say my idea lik' because mm I don't know, I don't afraid of talking with someone, but when that time ehm I'll I don't know, I don't know why but ehm I have no motivation to speak or I want to speak. Just I feel tired how to speak er er I have idea but even I have but I didn't say. (…) is when they're talking they're easy to change the topic, I is difficult to catch up or the teacher ask are they- (...) but sometimes they talk this topic I have idea but after that some people already see that top- idea or because they talk very fast."

Carol made the interesting point, that she lacked motivation because she could not participate in tutorials. Further, she explained that it was difficult to follow the discussion because of the fast speech rate. It is not surprising therefore that she mentioned that she felt tired, which could be due to the fact she would have been concentrating very hard to understand both the content of the discussion and the interactional interplay between the participants.

Michelle also remarked:

> "but also tsk when I take part in tutorial tsk ehm it's very difficult to express myself. Ehm it's very difficult for me to listen to the tutors because they have accents, English accent. I don't understand what they say. Some tutorial I

> understand but others I don't understand what they say. Oh because they speak slowly and there is no accent an also they very ehm ehm speak very clearly."

According to Michelle, the difficulty was twofold: first, she found it hard to express her opinions, and second, she struggled understanding some of her tutors because they spoke with English accents that she was unfamiliar with. However, she points out that she could understand some tutors because they spoke more slowly and more clearly. Thus, tutors can make a difference for NESB students by pacing their talk and closely monitoring their pronunciation.

In relation to questions (64) *What do you think is going to be difficult for you at uni?* and (65) *How do you plan to overcome this difficulty (if any)?* Speaking skills, cultural differences, and dealing with administration seemed to be most problematic. The comments below testify to the importance of L2 interactional competence:

> David: "It's difficult, I think just mys English is most is-it most in my speaking is most there."

David means that the most difficult aspect is related to speaking, which is linked to L2 interactional competence.

Jackie explained that you needed to use and ask in English wherever you went, as people were English speakers. Referring to spoken English she added that: "English is main barrier of study."

Culture and language are intertwined and this created some interpersonal issues for Rosanna. In her comment, she is quite articulate. It shows that her level of difficulty is of a different order to the other L2 participants as she is struggling with the Australian English variety, local idioms and Australian humour (and

sarcasm). Her problem of making friends resides more in cultural differences rather than a lack of English proficiency, i.e. finding common ground[42].

> "Even the culture is difficult and er. I mean the culture is different. What I meant is different. Er so ((pause)) in making friends it's difficult, it's difficult to make friends here, well I'm, more difficult. Because, what shall I say, even I had this problem with my er cousin who, I said that to you, almost grew up here because er that there are some kind of byt- by talking to her or talking to anyone, there are some kind of expressions an, er like local expressions an, er an things that er what shall I say, but I don't I don't I feel I don't understand that. I'm not familiar with them and er so it is a problem while talking to people. I think sometimes you say something but mean something else, and er there are but funny kind of expressions as well but I won't get that."

Akiko noted that as a L2 student she faced another difficulty as regards to dealing with administrative staff because she observed cultural differences in administrative procedures:

> "sometime ad-administrative ehr procedures because ehm they're quite different from Japanese experience, the instructions are very difficult to understand. So at the beginning of the semester ehr it was it is very difficult for foreign students."

The main points that L2 participants were making can be summarised below regarding the importance of speaking skills for their wellbeing (making friends) and their academic life. Their viewpoints testify that L2 interactional competence is a crucial part of university life and students' lives. Hence L2 students need to:

- Express their opinions either socially or academically, as for example in tutorials,

[42] Rosanna's problem of finding common ground was very apparent in her first interaction with an Australian L1 speaker (data not shown).

- Be able to fully participate in tutorials. This entails: understanding the tutor and local students, particularly when interacting with each other; recognising topic shift; taking a turn within an appropriate interactional time in a group discussion to either make comments or ask questions; responding to questions adequately; and being understood by other participants,
- Confer with other students about a common project or their homework,
- Share their concerns with fellow students,
- Have the appropriate language to approach academic and administrative staff confidently,
- Be able to converse with fellow students for social purposes to make friends and have a social life.

Further, as the comments above indicate, having a social life was viewed by a number of interviewees as paramount to their overall happiness, thus having a positive impact on their academic performance. Other important points about having friends are that L2 students:

- Can share common feelings and issues, such as being an international student, to make sense of their new experiences[43],
- Solve language problems or study-related problems which have direct implications for their studies,
- Have different conversations on various topics which help improve their vocabulary and expression, particularly when they have a variety of interlocutors, and more so if the latter have a good

[43] This point was further reinforced during both focus group interviews.

command of English, and particularly if they are native speakers or near native speakers.[44]

- Can have shared knowledge with friends and tacit understanding, so making mistakes is not felt face threatening as in tutorials[45] (Rochecouste et al., 2012) .

Hence, it is through talking with their friends that they were able to not only share but also solve problems related to 1) their studies (e.g. understanding questions for an assignment, etc.), and 2) their second language learning experience (e.g. asking for an explanation of a particular idiom or sociocultural norm). In addition, making friends meant sharing some common experiences. In the focus groups, the L2 speakers who participated in the longitudinal study felt that it was important to have friends from their own cultural and linguistic background, but also from other backgrounds, including that of the host country. Talking with friends offered them practice at speaking English on a variety of topics in a non-threatening environment where they felt more confident. For instance, Meg commented that friends can predict what you want to say because you share common ground.

Making friends with the local students proved to be difficult for the L2 participants, as often they did not how to start a conversation or what topics to talk about. This difficulty was also reported in the Australian research conducted by Marginson et al. (2010). Initially sharing common knowledge was an impediment. For instance, Carol struggled to find common topics, and she mentioned that they were culture specific. So did Jackie who made the following comment:

> I think I will uhm it's very hard to respond them or understand them. Oh no (it's not the accent) I think uhm (...) of uhm some-some kind like uhm when-when they are talking before and then I don't know nothing about that.

[44] This information was obtained during the first focus group interview. This observation was made by Meg and endorsed by Akiko and Carol.
[45] This point was made during the focus group interviews.

For Hle and Meg the difficulty also resided in how to start a conversation and in not being able to perform some sociocultural norms like refusing an invitation (refer to Hle's comment above). Rosanna struggled with Australian idioms (see comment above). Further, Meg noted in her first stimulated recall that she did not know how to end a conversation with her L1 co-conversationalist, Fiona, so she used silence and gazed away to indicate that she had finished talking. However this strategy did not work and Fiona broke the silence with further talk. The difficulties outlined above point to a low proficiency level and what Marginson et al. (2010) have recognised as a lack of topical knowledge.

The focus group interviews revealed that some L2 participants did not view talking with other L2 participants positively, because they considered the other L2 speakers' spoken English fraught with errors and not a good example to emulate. Carol in particular expressed a strong opinion in this regard, stating that she did not want to socialise much with other L2 speakers for this reason. Overall, the L2 participants expressed the view (in both the interview and focus groups) that they gained much more from conversing with native speakers who would correct their English and use richer English. For instance, in the interview in response to question (84) regarding whether they wished to befriend Australians, Akiko replied:

> "er I-I-I have to find many chances to (...) to speak with other speakers native speakers or other native speakers who speak English."

Ipong remarked that:

> "I'd love to [make friends with Australian L1 speakers]. I can learn a lot from them, about lifestyle, city, about everything."

Further, Carmen commented that interacting with local L1 speakers would enable her to: "learn English to talk to friends in English." And for Jackie, meeting local L1 students was also important to improve her English and to learn about Australian culture:

> "I think it's very important because uhm I think some- it can uhm practise more English firstly and know more about the society."

Hle responded in the interview:

> "yes huh huh. I can learn from the culture, ehr learn English, learn English learn and especially have friends to (....) mm sometimes. I have someone to I can share the feelings."

It seemed that interacting with Australian L1 speakers served three functions for the L2 participants: 1) to make friends, 2) to help improve their English, and 3) to learn about the Australian culture. That the L2 participants felt that they had more scope to improve their English by interacting with Australian L1 speakers is a view corroborated by an Australian study (Rochecouste et al., 2012). Further, interacting with L1 speakers has been shown to assist NESB international students with social adjustment and to increase their self-confidence (Campbell, 2012).

In the focus groups, the five L2 participants responded positively when asked if having friends contributed to improving their English. They added that friendship greatly contributed to their improvement in speaking and to their studies, which would not have occurred otherwise. In referring to friends they did not discriminate between local and overseas students. They pointed out that friendship i.e., connecting with others was important. Friendship was viewed as helpful because it provided an avenue for sharing and resolving their problems with their peers, whether their problems were language or study related. In the interview, all L2 participants viewed socialising as crucial for a range of reasons. For example, Jackie states that: "yes, of course social life is important". It transpires that the most important reason for this concerned their wellbeing. Achieving a sense of wellbeing through forming social networks concurs with what the literature has indicated (refer to Marginson et al., 2010). David makes it very explicit that friends make you happier, and for Hle, friendship is about

sharing her feelings with someone. Not having local friends or very few overseas friends was perceived as a disadvantage for Rosanna because she felt socially isolated (an issue pointed out by Sawir et al., 2012 and Marginson, et al. 2010). Hence socialising in L2 and L1 was perceived as beneficial, not only for their wellbeing, but also for their studies because they felt more motivated and positive, a point reinforced by Marginson et al. (2010) and Burns (1991).

4.1.2 Difficulties with Speaking

In regards to speaking, a number of interviewees mentioned that they had trouble starting a conversation. However simple this may seem, it is actually a complex task, as sociocultural norms come into action since language and culture are interrelated (see Barraja-Rohan, 1999, 2003a). That they did not know how to engage in a conversation with local students aggravated, for some, their sense of isolation. As a result, they tended to congregate with other overseas students (a trend identified in the literature, see Arkoudis et al., 2012; Marginson, et al., 2010) and their compatriots with whom they felt more comfortable, since they could share common ground and experiences. Nevertheless, all interviewees expressed the desire to meet local students (as predicted by the literature, see Li & Kaye, 1998, Nesdale & Todd, 1993). However, as mentioned previously, this proved to be difficult to achieve because of their insufficient English speaking skills and their lack of cultural references, both issues confirming the literature (refer to Li & Kaye, 1998; Burns, 1991; Marginson et al. 2010; Sawir, 2005; Wang cited in Quintrell & Westwood, 1994).

4.1.3 Tutorials

In the comments shown in section 4.1.1, most interviewees indicated that participating in tutorials was more problematic than understanding lectures

because of their insufficient L2 interactional skills. As a result, they either participated minimally or not at all. They reported in the interviews that even though lectures were initially difficult to follow, they gradually became easier over time, while tutorials still represented a major difficulty for most of them.

Tutorials are an interactionally complex speech exchange system. They require participants to be aware of the rules and features that generally apply to multi-party ordinary conversation, as the tutor may ask questions but may not select particular students. In this speech exchange system, students are also free to some extent to express their opinions. Therefore, taking the floor becomes highly competitive and requires precision timing and rapidity (cf. Sacks et al., 1978). Topics shifts often occur and the speech rate is usually fast. Tutorials involve complex turn-taking skills. For instance, participating in tutorials requires identifying TCUs (and TRPs), and projecting TRPs within a short interactional time to be able to take the floor or simply to follow the exchange. Further, interactants need to have the language resources to take the floor and express their opinions spontaneously. They also need to recognise topic shift, initiate topic shift, as well as changing conversational roles from recipiency to speakership. In addition, NS interactants often use idioms and colloquial language (see Sawir et al., 2012). The L2 participants reported that content was not an issue in tutorials, but the difficulty lay in familiarising themselves with a new form of learning (for some L2 participants tutorials were non-existent in their L1 academic system), and participating as a full member of the group.

When the L2 students participated, it was mainly to respond to direct questions from the tutor. One of their difficulties resided in their lack of understanding 1) the tutor, and 2) interactions between the tutor and local students because their speech rate increased and their language became more colloquial. For some L2 students, the Australian accent was initially an additional problem. Furthermore, the L2 participants found it difficult to recognise when the topics were shifting so they could not keep track of the discussion. In addition, they struggled to "get

a word in edgewise", in other words, they found it hard to take a turn to either ask a question or pass comment at an appropriate interactional time and without impeding the flow of the discussion. By the time they had formulated their question, response or comment, the discussion had moved on, or a local student had already expressed the idea that the L2 student was planning to convey. Carol from Hong Kong made this point:

> "but sometimes they talk this topic I have idea but after that some people already see that top idea or because they talk very fast."

Because of the discussion format in tutorials where there is a dialogue between various participants, some interviewees simply did not know when it was appropriate to take a turn. Therefore the turn-taking system was perceived as a main source of difficulty. Most of the interviewees experienced a high level of anxiety during tutorials.

For these L2 students, participating in tutorials entailed aspects associated with learning a second language such as L2 interactional competence, decoding the language, and affective factors. Affective factors include lack of confidence, anxiety and alienation that can have a particularly negative influence on their participation. Lack of confidence also affects performance, as it is linked to a high level of anxiety about the use of L2. Anxiety arises from the fear of making mistakes (e.g. grammatical or related to pronunciation) and not being understood. Thus, L2 students may not want to take risks in speaking L2 and instead remain silent (on this topic see also the Australian study conducted by Nakane, 2006). Some L2 participants felt very self-conscious and viewed participating as not only a particularly challenging activity and but also very face threatening. They were also very concerned about making mistakes or mispronouncing words for fear of being ridiculed. Hle made the following comment: "Like it someone migh' laugh at you when you make a mistake so sometimes is- (...) oh just my feeling."

In the focus groups, the L2 participants discussed their anxiety in tutorials in relation to:

- Mispronunciation,
- Speaking in front of others, particularly L1 speakers,
- Making grammatical errors,
- A (perceived) lack of tolerance for linguistic mistakes from L1 speakers,
- Not being understood, and
- Slowing down the discussion if they contributed.

Alienation refers to a feeling of isolation whereby the L2 speaker lacks a cultural frame of reference and so does not share any common ground with the local students in relation to a particular situation or topic (see comments in section 4.1.1). As a result, the L2 student feels unable to participate or share ideas with the group. These negative affective factors were reported by most of the L2 participants who stressed that they knew the topic area but lacked the skills to participate fully.

In not participating some L2 participants felt frustrated, because they knew the right answer but felt incapable of sharing it for the reasons just invoked (refer to their comments above). Hence the lack of participation in tutorials was not due to lack of content knowledge. In fact, Meg remarked that they had the same knowledge as local students. However, because of their insufficient L2 interactional competence, when confronted with a situation involving multi participants, they did not have the confidence and the resources to participate effectively.

4.2 The L2 Participants in the Pilot Study

In the pilot study[46], the L2 participants consisted of a male Indonesian postgraduate student, Ipong, a graduate student from Hong Kong, Patrick, and three undergraduate students, David and Jackie both from Hong Kong, and Rosanna from Bangladesh. Ipong spoke Bahasa Indonesia as his L1, Patrick, David and Jackie Cantonese, and Rosanna Bengali. Rosanna also participated in the longitudinal study, but only some of her data such as her interview, diaries, and focus group interview are considered for this study.

Both Ipong, and Patrick, stood out amongst the L2 participants recruited for the pilot study because they adapted more quickly to the university and its challenges, and both had a more advanced linguistic competence than the younger L2 participants. Ipong was enrolled in a Masters and Patrick in a postgraduate diploma. Ipong had the highest IELTS score with 7, and Patrick had completed his undergraduate degree in an English-medium university in Hong Kong. Patrick and Ipong were the oldest L2 participants: 28 and 29 respectively at the time of the interview, whereas the other three students were in their early twenties. Both Ipong and Patrick had been in Australia for one month when they were interviewed. They reported in the interview that within a few weeks they had befriended classmates from various nationalities. Ipong's friends included Indonesians, and Patrick had befriended a L1 speaker from South Africa. Ipong was the only L2 participant who did not view speaking skills as important. In addition, he did not experience difficulties in tutorials. He was reasonably fluent in English and felt very confident about his spoken English. This is how he responded in the interview when asked to rate his spoken English:

> "Actually very confident but er yeah, sometimes it's hard but I will try it. (…) you know how say er something effective."

[46] The information obtained to depict the portrait of the L2 participants in the pilot study mostly came from the interviews, and the diary also helped to establish their social networks.

Ipong had started learning English at the age of 14 and had had intensive English lessons both at school and in a language centre. As part of his final English exam in the language centre he had had to conduct a conversation in English, which did not seem to be the case with the other L2 participants involved in this study.

Patrick had started studying English in primary school at the age of seven. Despite claiming that he did not feel very confident when speaking in English, like Ipong he spoke fluently. This is what he said in the interview:

> "I think er I can't express myself. I can't really express myself if I want to speak. Yes er I think not so good, not so confident. But if I have the chance to speak to other I will try to speak, speak to other people."

Another strategy he used to improve his English was living with a homestay family, which he had applied for. Similarly to Ipong, he did not report any particular difficulties in tutorials, and felt very positive about the university. Ipong and Patrick shared similar traits, and being enrolled as a graduate or postgraduate student in an Australian university appeared to be advantageous as their language skills were more advanced, which helped them adjust more quickly to their new learning environment. A high proficiency level has been equated with better outcomes for NESB international students according to findings from the literature (see Marginson, et al., 2010; Quintrell & Westwood, 1994; Sawir, 2005). Moreover, Ipong and Patrick already had tertiary experience in their home country.

The three undergraduate students had started learning English at different stages of their lives in their home countries and had L2 teachers in English. David was ten when he started learning English in primary school. Jackie and Rosanna had an earlier start, as they both were in kindergarten when they began to learn English. Jackie noted that she thought her English was okay in Hong Kong but she said that in Australia it was "poor". The L2 participants from Hong Kong

perceived the teaching of English as useful for reading and writing for academic subjects, but not for social interaction. In Hong Kong, they studied English as a language and as content-based subjects, whereas Rosanna studied English as a subject and the rest of the curriculum was taught in Bengali. Jackie commented that she knew English grammar before she left Hong Kong, but she had not practised her spoken English enough, as she could only practise it in class. This profile seems to be typical of many Hong Kong students that the researcher has taught.

Despite studying English for a long time, all three rated their confidence in speaking English as low because most of them reported that they had not used spoken English in their L1 country. That Rosanna made the same comment was surprising as she was fluent in English and had used English to some extent in her L1 country. She had had some regular interactions with L1 speakers, as her father worked in an international company and invited his English native speaker colleagues at home. In addition, she had been to Europe with her family a few times, and particularly to England where they would stay for a month, mostly with a Bangladeshi family. While in England, she had also spent a week living with a British family. All in all, talking to English native speakers was not unusual for Rosanna, and she commented at the end of the study that she did not have major difficulties adjusting to the Australian culture and speaking in English.

Initially, Rosanna lacked confidence however, because she could not codeswitch between Bengali and English in Australia, a common practice in her home country. She had completed one year of tertiary study in Bangladesh, and the subjects were taught in English. English was compulsory in class, and Rosanna conceded that having attended all classes in English in Bangladesh at tertiary level constituted good training for studying in Australia. She did not report having difficulties in tutorials, unlike David and Jackie. Rosanna's initial difficulties in Australia were related to cultural differences and Australian idioms

rather than language skills. In addition, she did not really establish strong social networks, particularly during the first part of the study.

Jackie and Rosanna had similar living arrangements and both mostly interacted in their L1. Rosanna lived with a Bangladeshi family for one semester, and generally interacted in Bengali and sometimes in English with the daughter, as the latter had grown up in Australia. Then Rosanna moved in with her Bangladeshi boyfriend. She befriended L2 international students from Asian countries and Canada. Nonetheless her diary entries show that she had limited interactions in English outside class. Eventually, she was able to approach staff when she needed help with her studies. When Rosanna spoke English it was mainly in relation to her studies, so English was generally used for institutional talk and Bengali for social purposes.

Both David and Jackie had been in Australia for nine months or a year at the time of the interview, whereas Rosanna was newly arrived. David was enrolled in the second year of a Bachelor degree at the university where the research was conducted, and had completed one year of tertiary study in another university in the same city. Jackie had completed a foundation study course, also at a different university in the same city, and was enrolled in the first year of a bachelor degree. Therefore both had to re-establish their social networks at this university. However, David retained his friends from his former course who included Chinese and other Asian nationalities. Further, he regularly interacted with his English landlord. David was keen to make friends with local students, and had an Australian acquaintance, a student from his previous university. However, David had very limited contacts and brief conversations with that local student. Thus, David spoke L1 and L2 outside class. David seemed to struggle in English and he commented that he did not enjoy studying English as he found it a difficult language.

Jackie did not speak much English outside class, as she lived with her aunt and generally interacted in Cantonese. She was keen to improve her English, so she

studied English newspaper articles with her cousin who grew up in Australia. Jackie had made friends with students from her foundation study course from Malaysia and Hong Kong, but her social networks mainly consisted of Cantonese speakers. Jackie did not really have any contact with L1 speakers or local students outside her classes. She was struggling with her studies and failed one subject. She observed that "English is main barrier of study".

The pilot study showed a diverse range of L2 participants in terms of the degree and type of English instruction they received in their home countries, their level of study, their English language skills and the type of difficulties that some of them encountered.

4.3 The L2 Participants in the Longitudinal Study

In the interview, three focal L2 participants rated their confidence in speaking English as low. Only Carol felt moderately confident in using English but she did not feel as confident when confronted with unfamiliar topics. The four focal L2 participants projected a positive attitude towards learning English. All participated in the study with a view to improving their English and were very keen to meet Australians.

4.3.1 Akiko

Akiko was 24 at the time of the interview. She came from Japan and her first language was Japanese. She came to this university as an exchange student with a TOEFL score of 564 (excluding speaking). She had completed a degree in Japan qualifying as a secondary school EFL teacher[47], and was in her second year of a Masters in politics in Japan. In Australia, she studied a variety of first year Arts

[47] She was qualified to teach junior high school students.

subjects at an undergraduate level. She had started learning English at the age of 13 when she entered high school and continued studying English during her four years of tertiary study in Japan. At her secondary school, she mainly studied English reading and grammar and had on average five to six hours of tuition a week. At university in Japan, she had between seven to ten hours of English a week, including one-hour conversation a week with a native speaker. While studying in Australia, she actively sought contact with native speakers of English through joining the Japanese club, and also interacted with classmates, particularly in her French classes.

In Australia, during the first university semester, Akiko shared her accommodation with a Japanese friend and a Filipino, and outside class she spoke more Japanese than English. Her diary entries show that on average she spent three hours and a half a week speaking English outside class, mostly with L2 speakers. However in semester two Akiko spoke three times more English outside class with L2 speakers and with some occasional L1 speakers. Akiko was very keen to make friends with local students, as she perceived that they would help her to discover Australia and enjoy life. Akiko also considered that learning about Australian culture was important since she was living in Australia, and found it interesting. Despite her initial fear of living in a foreign country, she surprised herself by the facility with which she adjusted to the Australian way of life.

She used the Language Learning Services[48] in the first semester doing a course on writing, which she did not find useful. She did not use this service in the second semester. Instead, she relied on her L1 friend to help her with writing essays.

[48] Language Learning Services are services designed to help overseas and local students with their academic skills.

4.3.2 Meg

Meg was 21 at the time of the interview. Like Akiko, she came from Japan, and spoke Japanese as her first language. She was also an exchange student in the final year of her undergraduate degree in economics. She arrived in Australia with a TOEFL score of 570 (excluding speaking). In Australia, Meg studied undergraduate subjects in Arts, in particular intercultural communication at second year level, which made her aware of language communication issues, and she also took some business subjects.

In Japan, Meg had studied English for 7 years both at school and to some extent in a private language centre. Like Akiko, she started learning English in high school at the age of 13 and had 5 hours a week of English tuition. In senior high school she studied English for 3 hours a week, and while she was studying at university in Japan she had one and a half hours of English tuition a week. Similarly to Akiko her learning was mainly focussed on grammar and reading. She also gave English lessons to secondary school students when she was studying at university in Japan and as a result improved her English grammar. The English teachers she had in Japan were all Japanese and Meg commented that it was a shock for her when she first met native speakers of English. She went on a trip to the US organised by her university for two weeks but did not really interact with the locals. During the day she had conversation classes with an American teacher but the rest of the time she stayed with her compatriots. Thus she commented that she only learnt survival skills and had very short conversations with American students. Prior to coming to Australia, Meg attended an English conversation class for four weeks with one and a half hours of tuition a week. Moreover she endeavoured to improve her English while she was in Japan by listening to the radio and educational material that she had bought.

In Australia, during the first university semester Meg spoke more Japanese than English as she experienced great difficulties expressing herself in English and

thus socialising in English was hard. Instead she applied herself mostly to her studies and did not socialise much. As a result, she commented during self-reporting that she did not enjoy the first semester. Nonetheless her diary entries show on average that she spent more than eight hours a week speaking English outside class, mainly with other L2 speakers.

Meg was an active learner, and like Akiko, she joined the Japanese club so she could meet other students and particularly native speakers. She made friends with Asian overseas students and with local students. Meg remarked that she enjoyed the second semester better because by then she had established a social network. She generally felt more at ease speaking English and interacting with native speakers. She spoke English outside class with L2 speakers and with some L1 speakers three times more than in the first semester. Meg, like Akiko, considered learning about Australian culture important and she commented that: "You should you should (fit) in this society so you should you should know how to fit in this society so you know the Australian culture." Meg was very aware of cultural differences and overall adjusted well to the new sociocultural norms, although sometimes she felt a little uneasy, particularly in relation to the use of silence in English, which she perceived as different from Japanese.

Meg did not use the Language Learning Services as she had an L1 friend who could help her with her essays.

4.3.3 Carol

Carol was 21 at the time of the interview. She came from Hong Kong and her first language was Cantonese. She was enrolled in the first year of a performing arts degree. On arrival her English language skills were too low to be accepted in a university (IELTS score of 4.5). Therefore to improve her English, Carol completed a six month foundation study course at a different university in the

same city before coming to this university. During that time she interacted mostly with other Cantonese speakers, hence she did not really socialise in English. In Hong Kong, she had started learning English when she was in kindergarten and continued through her school years until her final year of secondary school. In primary and secondary schools, she had about six hours of English tuition per week, with one hour for listening and one hour for speaking. For one year in secondary school she had an English teacher who was a native speaker and she joined a conversation group with this teacher. In addition, in Hong Kong, she attended an intensive English language course for two months, which involved 30 hours of class a week. Further, she worked for ten months in an American restaurant as a waitress and took this opportunity to have conversations in English with both non-native speaker and native speaker customers.

It appears that she had considerable exposure to English, however, in Australia she struggled with her speaking skills. She lacked vocabulary and found it difficult to express herself, comprehend the Australian accent, follow and understand topics of conversation, and take part in discussions, particularly in tutorials. Furthermore, she commented that she could not practise English enough in her home country. Carol displayed great difficulties with her pronunciation and syntax when speaking English. She struggled with performing plays in her drama subject, understanding tutorials and Western culture. It was paramount for Carol to learn about Western culture, as there were many cultural references in her course.

In Australia, Carol shared her accommodation with other Asian students, but she took every opportunity to talk in English with her landlady who was from Germany and worked at the same university. She joined a Christian church group which was attended by Chinese, however Carol reported that when possible she avoided speaking Cantonese with the churchgoers. Nonetheless, from her entries in her diary it seems that she was not very successful at keeping

to speaking English only and she spoke Cantonese and Mandarin at length. Carol commented that she did not like to associate with other Cantonese speakers and that she sought every opportunity to speak English, but she found that she did not have much time to socialise. She was under a great deal of pressure from her family to improve her English. Carol was very keen to speak with L1 speakers because she found that talking with other L2 speakers did not help her to improve her English, and also she wanted to have her English corrected. Like Akiko and Meg, Carol also joined the Japanese club to make friends, and a choir as she liked singing. Both activities provided Carol with opportunities to speak English with various Australian people of different ages. In the first semester, her diary entries show that on average Carol spent eight hours a week speaking English outside class. Most of the time, she was talking to L2 speakers and occasionally she would have shorter conversations with L1 speakers, which mostly included institutional talk.

In the second semester, Carol worked in a factory for eight days and used this opportunity to have casual conversations with her Australian workmates. Moreover, she managed to make friends with L1 speakers from Australia and the US. Her diary entries show that Carol spent on average twice as much time speaking English outside class than in the first semester. She interacted more with L1 speakers for longer periods of time as well as with L2 speakers. While studying performing arts, she also spent time rehearsing for a play which involved discussions with her classmates and the director. Therefore, Carol gained more confidence and started participating in tutorials, where at times she would volunteer her opinion, particularly when the group was small.

4.3.4 Hle

Hle was 20 at the time of the interview and had arrived in Australia two months before the interview. She came from Vietnam and spoke Vietnamese as her first

language. She was enrolled in the first year of an economics degree, with an IELTS score of 6.5 and held an Australian scholarship. In Vietnam, she started learning English in high school at the age of 13, with two and a half hours of English a week. She spent one semester at a Vietnamese university studying international trade with four hours a week of English before obtaining an Australian scholarship. Then, still in Vietnam, she attended an eight-month English preparatory course[49] for studying in an Australian tertiary institution where she studied English for ten hours a week. The course was taught by a Vietnamese teacher who had lived in Australia and by a female Australian L1 teacher. Hle socialised to some extent with this Australian teacher while doing the preparatory course, which involved occasional activities like cooking together and talking about Australia.

Hle revealed during the interview that she did not feel confident about participating in tutorials and she did not always contribute because she was unfamiliar with the discussion format. However, towards the end of the year she participated more actively. Due to her lack of confidence in English, she mentioned that she had difficulty expressing her ideas. She also felt anxious about making mistakes in L2 and not understanding local students.

Hle's motivation in learning English was instrumental as she viewed English to be useful professionally, and saw meeting Australians as an opportunity to learn more about the world around her, i.e., acquiring knowledge that she could apply in her L1 country. She shared a house with four other Vietnamese students and made friends with students from Vietnam, Cambodia, China, Singapore, Malaysia and Japan as well as with Australian students. Hence outside class, Hle interacted in both Vietnamese and English, although she reported using Vietnamese more than English. Her diary entries show that in the first semester on average she spoke English outside class between six to seven hours per week, whereas in the second semester on average she spoke English for nine hours a

[49] She reported that it was part of the Vietnam Australian Training Project.

week. Even though the amount of English she spoke outside class increased in semester two, she spoke four times more Vietnamese because she had developed a close relationship with a Vietnamese. However, what made the difference in semester two was the quality of her English interactions. She interacted more in English with L1 speakers, having longer conversations in institutional talk with staff and casual conversations with two local L1 students whom she befriended. At the same time, she participated more in tutorials. In contrast, in semester one she mostly interacted in English with other L2 participants. She had shorter interactions and her participation in tutorials was minimal.

4.4 Conclusion

It is interesting to note that at the commencement of their studies, the majority of the L2 interviewees did not feel confident about their English. In addition, they rated their English speaking skills as not very good, regardless of their entry scores. A more significant finding is the importance that the L2 participants attributed to speaking skills, which they regarded as being (very) valuable and important for academic success. This is not a surprising finding, given that spoken interaction is central to university life: tutorials and group work represent major speech exchange systems. Tutorials constituted a significant hurdle for most of these students as they require complex interactional skills, such as taking part in highly competitive multi-party conversations. The focal participants reported in the focus group interview that they still found it difficult to participate in tutorials even at the end of the academic year, despite their progress in English. Their involvement increased to some degree toward the end of the year but they still could not fully participate. They explained that they still had trouble understanding when the speech rate accelerated. Moreover, they had difficulty expressing their opinions in an adequate interactional time and taking a turn appropriately. Furthermore, even at the end of the university year, they all remained self-conscious about their pronunciation and felt anxious about it.

Meg made a noteworthy comment in the focus group interview. She reported that taking part in ordinary conversation with L1 speakers was considerably difficult, whereas it was easy for her to participate in institutional talk when turns were pre-allocated like in a classroom situation. Tutorials are a distinct speech exchange system to classroom interaction as discussed above. That ordinary conversation is more difficult for novice L2 speakers has also been reported by research (Nakahama et al., 2001).

At the beginning of the study all L2 participants declared that they wanted to befriend local L1 students. At the end of the study the focal participants and Rosanna commented in the focus group interviews that it was crucial to interact with expert L2 speakers and not just with speakers from the same language background. These L2 participants (with the exception of Carol) were not dismissive about interacting with other students from their L1 background, as they could be helpful in explaining linguistic and cultural differences between L1 and L2. Moreover speaking to other L2 students was considered important because they could share their common experience of living overseas, an experience which most local L1 students could not appreciate. However, all agreed that it was imperative to interact with an expert or native speaker because that way they could improve their English and learn about Australian culture, which confirms the findings from the literature (Campbell, 2012; Rochecouste et al., 2012). The focal participants managed to befriend some native or expert speakers (not necessarily Australians). They felt that with these friends they could relax and not worry about making mistakes any more because they found that friends were more tolerant of their misuse of spoken English than the domestic L1 students in class. The focal participants and Rosanna declared in the focus group interviews that they had gained more confidence in speaking English, despite still experiencing anxiety regarding their pronunciation. They also noted

that their English had improved. For example Akiko rated her speaking skills as great, and Meg and Rosanna as good.

Another important finding uncovered in both interviews and focus group interviews is that the L2 participants considered friendship as an essential factor in improving their English. Friendship, i.e., socialising, is not to be dismissed, as it is through friendship that these international students could resolve their language and study issues. Moreover, the focus group interviews revealed that the L2 participants felt relaxed when speaking English with friends without the fear of making mistakes and losing face. Hence friends represented a non-threatening environment, which is more conducive to learning (see. Marginson et al., 2010). Social relationships helped to combat isolation, had a positive impact on their wellbeing and augmented their self-confidence, a finding also verified by the literature (cf. Marginson, et al., 2010; Campbell, 2012). It was also through friends that they could discuss various topics and have a wider range of conversations, thereby expanding their interactional skills. In addition, they shared common experiences with these friends and they did not feel the need to explain themselves, which contributed to their feeling more at ease. Thus, friendship not only offered shared understanding and common knowledge, but also new conversational possibilities. As a result, socialising in L2 had a positive impact on their L2 interactional competence, a point that is demonstrated in chapter 7. Therefore, friendship had a flow-on effect; by producing a sense of wellbeing it helped them to study better, thus it contributed to their success at university, a point reinforced by the L2 participants and demonstrated by past research (Burns, 1991; Marginson et al. 2010).

Chapter 5

SECOND LANGUAGE INTERACTIONAL COMPETENCE

INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents a cross-sectional study to offer a small window into what L2 interactional competence may entail, based on collected samples of interactional behaviours from the focal participants during the seven month study. The focal participants' orientation to the interaction may contrast with one another; for example one participant may be orienting more to grammar, while another one to its communicative goal. Their orientation may also change over the period of the study. The different orientations led to distinct interactional behaviours and as a result the relationship between L2 interactional competence and linguistic competence is considered. This relationship is illustrated by contrasting samples of interactional behaviours between Akiko and Meg. This chapter will also examine various interactional resources used by the focal L2 participants taken at different points in time during the study, data which will help to further elaborate the construct of L2 interactional competence.

5.1 Linguistic Competence and Interactional Competence

Some L2 participants showed different orientations to the interaction; for example at the beginning of the study, Meg oriented to its communicative goal whereas Akiko oriented to linguistic accuracy. The different orientations translated into contrastive behaviours: while Meg produced few same turn self-initiated self-repairs and naturally expanded on her responses despite her linguistic difficulties, Akiko often produced a number of same turn self-initiated self-repairs. In addition, Akiko gave short responses with very few expansions even though her linguistic competence was more advanced than Meg's. From the

outset of the study, Meg adopted the discursive role of a primary speaker as often as her L1 co-conversationalist, whereas Akiko mostly remained a listener while John, her L1 co-conversationalist, did most of the talking.

High linguistic competence does not necessarily correspond with high interactional competence. It is relevant and interesting to compare these two L2 speakers. The two female Japanese exchange students are a good example as both share the same L1 linguistic and cultural background and are of comparable ages. Akiko was slightly older than Meg and she had had more exposure to English, having had more contact with native speakers, and having completed a degree in Japan (which qualified her as an EFL teacher). In comparison, Meg's linguistic skills were less advanced than Akiko's despite having a slightly higher TOEFL score than Akiko.

Meg stated in her first interaction, which took place nearly three months after her arrival in Australia, that being in Australia provided her with the opportunity to engage in talk-in-interaction in L2. She commented that it was the first time that she really spoke English (beyond greetings) as shown in excerpt (5.1) below:

```
(5.1) [MF1]
MEG:   this is my first time to write- (0.2) lite ((write)) an essay,
       (0.8) an of course (0.8) speaking in English;
```

Regarding their co-conversationalist L1 speakers' gender, Akiko interacted with an Australian male and Meg with an Australian female. Whether gender is a significant variable is hard to verify, however it is worth mentioning that in her fourth interaction, Akiko behaved in the same manner with her female L2 speaker friend, Carol, as she did with John until then, i.e., by playing the role of the listener, which involves less participation.

5.1.1 Meg's Linguistic Difficulties

Meg, who has a less advanced linguistic competence than Akiko, unlike Akiko, is nonetheless able to move from recipiency to speakership in her very first interaction with a native speaker whom she had never met before. Conversely, in her first interaction Akiko does not display the same ease as Meg in elaborating on her answers, even though she had previously briefly met her co-conversationalist. In the first two interactions Meg speaks very slowly to plan her utterances. To illustrate Meg's English linguistic competence some samples taken from her first interaction are provided below.

```
(5.2) [MF1]
5. MEG:    I went here on Valenteen day ((I came here on Valentine day))
6.     (0.2)
7. FIO:    ·hh when? [sorry,
8. Meg:              [Valenteen day the fourtee:n (.) February¿
9. FIO:    a::[↓::h Valentine's [Day;
10. MEG:                        [yep. Valentine 's Day;
```

The mispronunciation on Valentine (line 5) engenders a repair sequence initiated by the L1 speaker, Fiona, but the syntactic error *I went here* did not cause any communication problem. In the repair sequence, once Fiona understands what Meg means she produces the correct pronunciation or recast (line 9), which Meg repeats (line 10). In this excerpt, intersubjectivity is threatened, hence Meg needs to get the pronunciation correct. Meg makes a number of linguistic errors that Fiona does not repair if they do not impede communication.

Her linguistic difficulties range from phonological errors as exemplified in excerpts (5.1), (5.2) and (5.7), to expression and grammatical difficulties as shown in excerpts (5.2) to (5.7). Sometimes Meg produces cut-offs as she is trying to formulate her utterances, and at times her false starts resemble what Gardner (2007) calls broken starts, which are followed by relatively more fluent talk (excerpt 5.6). When Meg reformulates her utterances, she inserts a new verb as in excerpts (5.4) and (5.6). Thus her reformulations reflect a focus on expressing

ideas rather than correcting her grammar. Other excerpts attest to the linguistic difficulties that Meg is experiencing, yet she continues with her talk and elaborates on her answers without the L1 speaker initiating other-repairs (even in excerpt (5.4) *rabord* is accepted by Fiona).

```
(5.3) [MF1]

MEG: it's difficult to receive the lecture¿ ((it's difficult to
     understand the lectures)) an do the essay¿
```

```
(5.4) [MF1]

MEG: so I want to the- get the good credit, not good credit just my
     English ability; I want to incre-uh increase my (rabord¿)
```

```
(5.5) [MF1]

MEG: in the ↑halls, I speak Japanese most of the time; yeah it's
     difficult to communicate the neighbour.
```

```
(5.6) [MF1]

MEG: an I- (0.3) I really wanted to st- to continue to study i- the
     economics in M…¿·hh but they didn't allow me to enter. (0.2) bicos
     my English; whether it's not (0.5) enough to enter the economic
     department¿
```

In the following excerpt (5.7) Meg encounters both lexical and phonological difficulties as she cannot say *literary texts* (*liture tekies* line 76). In the next turn Fiona produces an other-correction, yet Meg does not repeat it when she overlaps Fiona (line 78). Instead, Meg continues with her explanation[50] because the problematic items, which occasion an other-repair by Fiona, do not threaten intersubjectivity. By providing the correction, Fiona displays her understanding.

```
(5.7) [MF2]

75. MEG:     but the translation's really difficult it's just
76. MEG:     these uhm (1.1) liture tekies, (h)tuh-
77. FIO:     literary tex[ts.
```

[50] The lack of uptake by the novice L2 speaker when being corrected by the L1 speaker has also been observed in other languages (see Brouwer 2000, and Kurhila, 2006).

```
78. MEG:                [five-five or six sentences¿
```

This is a small sample taken from the first two conversations but the fragments are representative of Meg's overall orientation. This orientation becomes obvious in (5.7), as Fiona initiates an other-correction on Meg's non-native pronunciation, but Meg does not orient to the recast. Thus Meg is not directing her attention to accuracy but to the communicative intent of her message. It is clear for Meg that Fiona understood what she was trying to say which is sufficient for her, unlike Akiko who seeks linguistic accuracy.

There are no grammatical self-initiated repairs in these excerpts, which are representative of her behaviour. The repairs occur at different points in time in the first and second interactions with Fiona. Despite her linguistic errors Meg is communicative, as she is still able to convey her meaning across adequately.

5.1.2 Producing Multi-Unit Turns

Maintaining talk-in-interaction over a few turns is a manifestation of the L2 participant's ability to manoeuvre the turn-taking system. In this case, the L2 participant is in momentary control of the interaction, control which is collaboratively relinquished by the L1 speaker.

In this section, in order to illustrate the point the analysis will mainly focus on the types of actions accomplished by Meg. The next excerpt (5.8) shows that Meg is capable of holding the floor for more than a turn in responding to Fiona's question producing an expanded response (cf. Lee et al., 2011). Meg responds after three repair attempts by Fiona on her initial question *so you're studying in Japan* (lines 22, 26, 30). Fiona's question is ambiguous as Meg is studying in Australia, yet the manner in which Fiona phrases her question seems to indicate that Meg is not studying in Australia. It is only when Fiona makes it more

explicit (line 30) as to whether Meg is also enrolled at a university in Japan that Meg can answer the question and provide the second pair part overlapping Fiona (lines 31, 33). After a long delay (line 35), Meg provides an expanded response starting with an expansion in 36, one post expansion (Schegloff, 2007) in 39-43, increments (lines 46, 48) (Ford et al., 2002), and a formulation (line 51). Then, she downgrades Fiona's assessment (line 58) and she initiates a new turn with a compound TCU (Lerner, 1996) in 60-61.

(5.8) [MF1][51]

```
22. FIO:     an so you're studying in Japan?
23.    (0.9)
24. MEG:     ah after I-
25.    (0.8)
26. FIO:     are-are you studying in Japan now or
27.    (0.6)
28. MEG:     now?
29.    (0.4)
30. FIO:     like are you at university in Japan? [or
31. MEG:                                          [yeah
32.    (0.2)
33. MEG:     [yeah;
34. FIO:     [yieah.
35.    (1.3)
36. MEG: →   I'm ackshlly fourth year student [in Japa:n¿] ·hh
37. FIO:                                      [oh  okay ]
38. FIO:     yeh
39. MEG: →   but here in M… I entered the first year;
40.          because of my language problem, an (0.5) ·hhhh
41.          an I- (0.9) an I after I ((noise)) (1.1) I-I (0.6)
42.          >go-go back to Japan¿
43.          [I graduate [straightaway¿<
44. FIO:     [↑mmhm.     [·hhhh
45. FIO:     yeh.
46. MEG: →   because I: finish my degree¿
47. FIO:     ↑m:::m. [ri:ght.
48. MEG:             [already¿
49. FIO:     y:ah.
50.    (0.3)
51. MEG: →   yea:h, (0.2) <so I don't need to get credit here [in M….
52. FIO:                                                     [oh that's
53.          good.
54. MEG:     ↑yeah, m(h)m m(h)m(h)
55. FIO:     you cn juss rela:x;
56. MEG:     ↑m:m.
57.    (1.4)
58. MEG: →   quite difficult to relax; yeah;
59. FIO:     y::eah;
60. MEG: →   <even if-even if I don't need to credit I want to get
61.          $good mark$ [>you know whut I mean;< just:
62. FIO:                 [y::eah;
63.    (0.7)
64. MEG:     <~my~ (0.8) fee:ling;> (…)
```

[51] There is no video recording of this interaction due to technical problems.

In this excerpt, Meg explains that she is studying first year undergraduate subjects in Australia, yet she is in her fourth and final year for her degree in Japan (lines 36, 42-43). In 40-1 her response is interjected with perturbations after she mentions that she has some language problems, and as a result she could only enrol in first year subjects, which may have been disappointing for Meg[52] (cf. Jefferson, 1980, for troubles-talk). She also reveals that although she does not need accreditation for the subjects she is studying in Australia, she still wants to obtain good results for these units (lines 60-61). This indicates her intrinsic motivation to succeed, as there is nothing at stake.

To maintain her turn, Meg uses various devices such as in-breath (lines 36, 40), the appositional *but* (line 39) and the subordinating grammatical conjunction *because* which indicates that she is launching into an explanation (lines 40, 46) or justifying, and presupposes that a certain amount of talk is forthcoming. Meg is very attentive to Fiona's talk as she orients to a TRP to produce an increment in 48 in an overlap, which illustrates Meg's sophisticated interactional skills despite her linguistic difficulties outlined earlier. Sometimes, her turns at talk are produced slowly (lines 40-1, 64) nonetheless she is also capable of sudden speech acceleration to retain the floor, which can be produced at the beginning of a TCU or over a full TCU (lines 60, 42, 51 61). She can also use silence to plan her utterances and her co-conversationalist collaborates in giving her interactional space (cf. Wong, 2004). Meg can therefore manipulate the turn taking system to suit her interactional goals.

This sequence continues (data not shown) and Meg talks about her difficulties studying in Australia. Despite her linguistic inaccuracies, Meg is capable of using actions such as:

- Expanded response
- Orientation to a TRP with an increment (line 48),

[52] Regarding this topic, Meg later made the following comment in this interaction, which points to some affect:
261. MEG: an I- (0.3) I really wanted to st- to continue to study i- the economics in M….ع

- Use of *yeah* signalling incipient speakership,
- Speech acceleration (lines 51 and 60),
- Compound TCU (lines 60-61) that re-introduces the topic, and
- Pragmatic marker (*you know what I mean* line 61).

All these actions indicate sophistication in her L2 interactional competence. The use of the pragmatic marker (*you know what I mean*) shows an orientation toward communication, as Meg is checking Fiona's epistemic stance in relation to her utterance so that intersubjectivity is fully maintained.

The excerpt (5.9) below provides further evidence of Meg's typical interactional pattern throughout the five interactions, as she is still forthcoming with her answers despite her linguistic difficulties.

```
(5.9) [MF1] Intercultural Communication
236. FIO:    an what- so which subject are you studying at Monash
237. MEG:    ehm I'm studying arts;
238. FIO:    mmhm,
239. MEG: →     like in linguistics¿…
((A few lines are omitted where Meg talks about how she got into
linguistics))
272. MEG:    ↑but linguistics is ↓fantastic; it's very interesting.
273. FIO:    ↑m:::m.
274.   (1.0)
275. FIO:    <an is that-d'you think studying in linguistics; d'you think
276.         that helps you with your English ↑et all↑ or,
277. MEG:    yeah of course;
278. FIO:    m:m
279.   (0.6)
280. MEG: →  not only my English but also my ↑thinking
281. FIO:    yeah
282. MEG: →  the culture study like yeah. it's more culture
283.         study not linguis[tic
284. FIO:                     [mmhm
285.   (1.0)
286. MEG: →  yeah the subject name is interculture communication (0.8)
287.         it compare the different culture an how to use language in
288.         a particular situation the same situation like greedings
289.         an (0.8) they say (1.0)
290. FIO:    ↑m::::m so you see how it varies across cultures
291. MEG:    yeah;
292. FIO:    yea:h;
293. MEG: →  that side is very interesting and the student (0.2)
294.         come from the different place like German
295          there's a [German student
```

```
296. FIO:              [yeh
297. MEG: → an Japanese student Korean student they have their own
298.        opinion¿
299. FIO:   ↑m::::m.
300. MEG: → an it's interesting to hear that their opinions;
```

She produces an expanded answer (partially shown at line 239) and an unprompted explanation (from line 280 on), as well as expressing complex ideas. In an expansion and post expansion Meg explains why the subject Intercultural Communication[53] helps her to think (lines 280, 282-283), what it entails (lines 286-289), and that it is an enriching experience as she can also meet students from various countries (lines 293-295 and 297-298). She terminates this topic with an assessment phrase (line 300).

The excerpts above testify that Meg clearly orients toward interactional competence and not linguistic accuracy. Her occasional self-repairs are rarely focused on linguistic accuracy as indicated above. Therefore, for Meg it is the communicative act that is at stake, and not necessarily the precision with which it is realised linguistically as long as she is understood by her co-conversationalist.

5.1.3 Akiko's Orientation to Accuracy

Akiko's language samples are taken from her first interaction, which occurred a few weeks earlier than Meg's, when both were mainly interacting in their L1 with other Japanese speakers.

The interaction starts with the L1 speaker, John, asking Akiko about her last name, which she gives and John repeats it. In this sequence, Akiko's explanation about her unusual surname comes as newsworthy for John, who produces a few newsmarkers (lines 13, 18, 25 and 28) showing his interest in pursuing this topic.

[53] In spite of her language difficulties, in the first semester Meg managed to enrol in a second year linguistics subject called "Intercultural Communication", which she successfully completed.

Akiko mainly produces single unit turns, as she builds on John's utterances to produce hers, and they are both talking quickly, latching onto each other's turns.

```
(5.10) [AJ1]
1. JON:   uh so anyway Akiko ((JON is holding a mug))
2. AKI:   yeah
3. JON:   wes your name; what 'bout your last name
4. AKI:   last name my name my last name is A.. A..
5. JON:   is there a j in there somewhere
6. AKI:   no ((spells the name))
7. JON:   oh ((repeats surname))
8.     (1.3)
10. AKI:  °°yeah°°
11. JON:  oh yea[h, it sounds
12. AKI:        [it's an unaj unusual name for Japanese.=
13. JON:  = rea↑lly, yeah ['t sounds a bit unusual;
14. AKI:                  [(yeah_)
15. AKI:  yea::h, (0.5) [nobody- •hh[hh yeah nobody cannot
16. JON:                [mm         [m↑:::m.
17. AKI:  rea:d my na:me;
18. JON:  r↑ea:↓lly;=
19. AKI:  =kan-gh er you know kanji?
20. JON:  ye[ah yeh yeah I know of ka n j i  y ea h,]
21. AKI:    [japanese character Chi n e se character]
22. AKI:  yeah,
23. JON:  °°↑a:::h.°° they can't-=
24. AKI:  =lepeat it.= ((repeat))
25. JON:  =<really, normally people can't couldn't read
26.       your name;=
27. AKI:  =yeah; after first ti:me;=
28. JON:  =<r↑ea↓lly,>=
29. AKI:  =so I have to explain how to rea:d;
30. JON:  ↑wo:w.
31. AKI:  yeah; it's very unusual name.=
32. JON:  =so that means if you-if you said your name over the
33.       telephone people wouldn't know how to write
34.       [it usually like that.]
35. AKI:  [y e ah y e ah y e ah.] how to write it is
36.       what I have to explain things.
37.    (0.8)
38. JON:  how d'you ex:plain how to write i[t I dunno]
39. AKI:                                  [I : : :  ]huh
40. AKI:  h u h h u h h uh
```

John starts commenting about how her surname sounds (line 11) but Akiko comes in orienting toward a possible turn completion (line 12). She takes over and introduces the topic of how unusual her name is, and she explains that it is difficult for Japanese speakers to read it (lines 15, 17). Then, Akiko initiates a side sequence to check John's knowledge of the kanji system (line 19), which John seems to be familiar with. She maintains a long overlap with John (line 21) where she is still explaining about Kanji despite John indicating that he is

knowledgeable about it (line 20). However, after this attempt she does not go back to the original topic, hence she does not continue her explanation about her surname. Akiko drops out after the overlap and produces a continuer (line 22) thereby handing over the turn to John. John starts his turn but interrupts it (line 23) and it is Akiko who completes it (line 24). In the next turn, John reformulates what Akiko was explaining, stringing a whole sentence together as a confirmation of his understanding (lines 25-26), which Akiko confirms. She also provides additional information through an adverbial increment (*after the first time* line 27). John continues to produce newsmarkers (*really* line 28) thereby requesting Akiko to pursue the explanation, which she completes (line 29). In third position, John utters an assessment (cf. Jefferson, 1981), and Akiko terminates her sequence with an assessment reiterating the unusual character of her surname (line 31). However, John pursues this topic with a formulation (lines 32-34) pushing Akiko to provide more explanation, which she does in the following turn (lines 35-36). In 35 Akiko produces in one intonational unit three *yeahs* overlapping John. In producing this multiple saying Akiko is signalling to John that he does not need to say more on the matter (Stivers, 2004) while providing a confirmation. In her partial repeat of John's TCU (*how to write it*, line 35), Akiko indicates that she is claiming primary epistemic authority (Stivers, 2005) thus re-appropriating knowledge of the Japanese language system, and how her name poses problems for Japanese speakers. The sequence ends with Akiko's laughter which is reciprocated by John (not shown here).

Akiko does not readily expand on her explanation and she accepts John's active co-construction on this topic. This interactional pattern contrasts sharply with Meg's offering of explanations and expanding without prompting even at the beginning of her interaction with Fiona. Although this first interaction with Fiona starts exactly like Akiko's first interaction with John, in that it is the native speaker who takes the initiative of asking questions, Meg takes multi-unit turns and goes beyond simply answering questions by spontaneously providing expanded responses. Note that Meg's pace in the first interaction is much slower

than Akiko's, which may reinforce the point that it may be more difficult for Meg to express herself than for Akiko.

However, later Akiko engages in an unprompted multi-unit turn, which is punctuated by John's receipt tokens. In this sequence she explains the reason why she wanted to meet a NS[54].

```
(5.11) [AJ1]
108. AKI:    °°shoud::°° (0.8)  why I wanted to meet the native speaker.
109.         shoul-I should I (e)x[(p)l(a)i(n), huh huh huh
110. JON:                          [OH Only if you like;
111. JON:    I-I- cn sort of ima:gine [but how you cn- how you ge- hah]
112. AKI:                             [hhhhhhh ah yeah huh huh huh huh]
113.         hah hah hhhhhhhhh yeah because I'm- (0.7) I came
114.         here (0.7) last last month no- (0.6) this is twenty second?
115. JON:    that's right, of [March
116. AKI:                     [ah twenty three twenty third
117. JON:    something like that;
118. AKI:    yeah? (h)uh [(h)h
119. JON:                [huh huh
120. AKI:    an I rivirre-arrive here at the: ↑fifteen ev
121.         February so it has been almost a month. a month and-
122. JON:    m↑:::m.
123. AKI:    but I'm living in I'm sharing with a Japanese friend.
124. JON:    ↑a::h.
125. AKI:    I'm sharing a flat [with Japanese friend,
126. JON:                       [m:m;
127. AKI:    so most of my: (1.6) em so this- language I speak
128.         is Japanese, so:,
129. JON:    ↑m:m I understand completely it's the kind of …
```

In this excerpt, Akiko volunteers the explanation after checking with John whether she needs to go ahead with her explanation. This is the only time that Akiko takes such a long turn at talk in this interaction yet her L2 linguistic and interactional competences are sufficient to communicate effectively. Note that Akiko is more attentive to accuracy than Meg, as she self-corrects a number of times (lines 109, 113, 120, 121, 123, 125, 127)[55]. Her same turn self-initiated self-repairs involve the following: in 109 she initiates a self-correction by repeating the complete form (*shoul-I should I*); in 113 her repair is an abandonment of the previous form replaced with a different verb in the past tense (*because I'm- (0.7) I came*); in 120 she restarts her utterance and corrects the pronunciation (*I rivirre-*

[54] This sequence is studied in detail in chapter 6 from a different perspective.
[55] Note that lines 114-118 show a different repair as she is checking the date.

arrive here); in 121 her repair is a recycling (*so it has been almost a month. a month and-*); in 123 she replaces the verb but keeps the same tense (*but I'm living in I'm sharing with a Japanese friend.);* in 125 she makes an insertion by adding the word flat (*I'm sharing a flat with Japanese friend*); and in 127 she abandons the previous form and replaces the previous utterance with a new sentence (*so most of my: (1.6) em so this-language I speak: is Japanese,*).

That Akiko initially orients to linguistic competence may be due to the fact that she trained as an EFL teacher in Japan where the instruction was more grammar based[56]. Evidence of her self-correction is further provided in the excerpts below, where she produces same turn self-initiated self-repairs. In excerpt (5.12), she inserts the verb *walk:* but she self-corrects the syntax then recycles her TCU beginning:

```
(5.12) [AJ1]

AKI: n in front of the Mannix college >I walks walk in front of the
     Mannix ten minute,
```

In excerpt (5.13), Akiko makes a lexical correction, changing from the verb *came* to the auxiliary *be* and changing the tense after a lengthy pause during which she may have been reflecting on her syntax.

```
(5.13) [AJ2]

71. AKI:  so it's been three months have passed since I came here;
((gazes away))
72.    (1.6) ((Aki is still gazing away from Jon and is looking ahead))
73. AKI:  °been here;°
```

In excerpt (5.14), Akiko self-corrects the superlative form of the adjective *far*, however she still does not produce the correct form.

```
(5.14) [AJ2]

AKI:  the far-farest farest the most far place I went is Canberra¿
```

[56] This was reported by both Japanese participants.

In sum, Akiko, when engaging in longer turns than minimal responses, particularly in the first interaction, often reformulates her utterances as she values formal accuracy (Kasper, 2009). However, she rarely expands on her answers, unlike Meg, who orients to the communicative goal of the interaction, thus to interactional competence. The fact that Meg is less linguistically advanced than Akiko does not prevent her from taking long turns at talk. Therefore the two cases examined above indicate that the relationship between L2 interactional competence and linguistic competence is not straightforward. In other words, a high linguistic competence does not necessarily involve a high L2 interactional competence or vice versa.

5.2 Interactional Resources Used by the Focal L2 Participants

The following sections illustrate some of the various interactional resources employed by the focal L2 participants.

5.2.1 Recipiency - Producing Various Response tokens

The focal participants' behaviour indicates that they are attentive to the talk produced by the L1 and L2 participants through displaying response tokens such as continuers, acknowledgment tokens, newsmarkers, assessments and partial repeats. Samples of these are reproduced in various parts of the study[57] and only some of them will receive special attention.

[57] For additional samples of listener responses produced by the focal participants, for Hle also refer to section 5.2.3, excerpt (5.48); for Akiko refer to chapter 6; and for Carol chapter 7 section 7.3.1.

Particularly in her first interaction[58] (which occurred four months after arrival), Hle overwhelmingly uses *oh* and *ah* as response tokens, which are not necessarily fulfilling the functions known for L1 speakers. This is illustrated in excerpt (5.15) below.

```
(5.15) [OL]
93. LOU:     so yeah; I'm doing Linguistics an German, mainly
94.          (0.3) [subjects now;
95. HLE: →         [↑o::h.
96.    (0.3)
97. HLE: →   ↑a::h.(0.2) <but is that still- (.) final years,
98. LOU:     ·hh I'm going to do; Honours:,
99. HLE:     honours
100. LOU:    next year so I've still got that to go and then I'll
101.         probably do= some; (07) uh- (0.4) a PhD or
102.         a [Masters afterwards;
103 HLE: →     [↑a::h.
104. LOU:    I really don't know but uh- (1.0) an Arts Degree;
105.         (0.3) by itself isn't (0.2) very useful you need
106.         to; .hh do (0.2) <a qualification on top of it to rilly
107.         (1.0) job; get a (0.6) in a specific [area;
108. HLE: →                                       [oh,
109.   (0.4)
110. LOU:    like German teaching or ling-Linguistics research; so (0.3)
111.         I've still got a fair bit of s(h)tudy,=
112. HLE: →  =↑oh, [so d'you like German?
113. LOU:          [but-
114. LOU:    yea:h; no I did. I've been on exchange; an I really love
115.         travelling and meeting people from other places:¿ [so:
116. HLE: →                                                    [↑o:h.
```

Some of the *ohs* appear to function as continuers (line 108) because of their placement, and they are uttered quickly with a slight rising intonation and with a very open and frontal *o*, thus indicating minimal involvement. Others, particularly *ah*, appear to act as acknowledgement tokens[59] (lines 97 and 103). In 95, Hle reacts to the information with what seems to be a news receipt, and in 103 *ah* acknowledges the new information regarding Louisa's plans for further studies. In 112, *oh* does not seem to be a state-of-change token because Hle is responding to old information, so it is difficult to ascertain what function she attributes to it. Hle employs these response tokens as an interactional strategy

[58] It is worth mentioning that Hle was living in shared accommodation with other Vietnamese and had limited interactions in English outside of class.

[59] Hanh Nguyen (2012b) also suggested that they function as such, and both receipt tokens could be a transfer from Vietnamese.

that does not cause any breakdown in communication. It seems that her *ohs* and *ahs* may be a transfer from Vietnamese as indicated by Quỳnh Nguyen (forthcoming). Quỳnh Nguyen conducted a study on Vietnamese response tokens and found that many "continuers are vocal sounds that do not have any semantic meanings such as *ồ/ô(hh)* ("oh") and *à* ("ah")", which have similarities to what Hle produces (forthcoming, p. 10). However, Hle uses fewer of these tokens in her second interaction (which occurred five months later and nine months after arrival) as shown below, and even fewer in the last interaction.

These tokens are gradually replaced by a wider range of listener responses including acknowledgement tokens and continuers, such as *yeah* and *mm*. In excerpt (5.16), Hle interacts with a different L1 speaker, Michelle. This fragment shows some changes in Hle's use of receipt tokens. The intonation on *oh* (lines 234 and 248) bears more resemblance to native phonology than in the previous excerpt, and it is used in conjunction with *okay* indicating a change of state. However, in 238, *ah* has still a distinct sound; it is mid-open, central and closer to a schwa and seems to be a change-of-state token. In 244 the receipt token is associated with *yeah* and uttered as one intonational unit with a falling intonation, and it appears to function as an acknowledgment token. In this excerpt, Hle still produces atypical tokens but to a lesser extent, and at times the *oh* is produced with a response token, which did not occur five months earlier.

```
(5.16) [OM1]

233. MIC:     my sister' s juss (0.5) gone to ↑England.
234. HLE: →   ↑o:h [okay.
235. MIC:          [<to live with her husband there, (0.4) the:y've juss
236.          moved there; ↓fa a coupla yiers;↓ <n she' s five years older
237.          than me;
238. HLE: →   a:h_
239. MIC:     <I'm missing her a lot; heh heh [heh heh heh
240. HLE:                                     [uh huh
241. MIC:     [hhhhh
242. HLE:     [<do you write her or come over to visit her¿=
243. MIC:     = ehr yeah;=I will go over to visit her some time;=
244. HLE: →   =ah yeh;=
245. MIC:     =I'm hoping.=she- they juss went in Ju:ne. <so they
246.          haven't been there very long;
247.    (0.2)
248. HLE: →   ↑o:h okay.
249. MIC:     eh::m
```

```
250. HLE:    juss now?
251. MIC:    <but they' ll prob'bly be there ↓fer a few years;↓ so
252.         hopefully in the next ·hh ↓couple of years↓ <I cn go over an
253. MIC:    heh heh [heh heh heh
254. HLE: →          [↑yea:h↑ heh
```

In the last interaction which is a triad that occurred two months after the previous interaction, Hle uses fewer *ohs* and *ahs*. Further, she employs *yep*, the contracted form of *yeah* as evidenced in 987.

```
(5.17) [OM2+C]
985. CHR:    like if you drive from Melbourne down the west coast of
986.         Victoria¿
987. HLE: →  yep.
988. CHR:    to-to go towards the west_ it's-it's down- about two
989.         hours drive.
990.   (0.4)
991. HLE: →  °okay.° ((nodding))
992. CHR:    an then:: ehr (0.6) yeah. I wes studying so I moved; (0.5) in
993.         ninety …
```

Hle employs a range of response tokens, mainly *oh yeah*, *yeah*, (including *oh* and *ah*), occasionally *mm* and *mmhm* as continuers, sometimes *right* and *okay*. Over time, Hle replaces *oh* and *ah* with a range of tokens such as *mm*, *mmhm, yeah* with rising intonation, and *oh yeah* with falling intonation and the phonology on *oh* and *ah* beomes more native-like. Thus, Hle's deployment of response tokens points towards an interactional progression over seven months whereby the fewer *ohs* and *ahs* she deploys have a more native-like phonology and she employs a wider range of listener responses.

Akiko deploys a different strategy. She uses the newsmarker *(oh) really* five times as many as any of the L1 or L2 participants in this study throughout the five interactions. This interactional strategy only very occasionally causes short interactional trouble. Below are some samples of this strategy. Excerpt (5.18) resembles more the canonical case of *oh really* as reported by Jefferson (1981). In excerpt (5.19), Carol does not respond to Akiko's delayed newsmarker.

(5.18) [AJ1]

```
669. JON:    but they have Romeo 'n Juliet this last- year;
770. AKI: →  r↑eally¿
771. JON:    yeah;
772. AKI:    [↑a:::h.
773. JON:    [yeah heheheh
774.   (0.4)
775. JON:    [yeah.
776. AKI:    [°wonderful.°
777. JON:    how long are you here for.
```

(5.19) [NNS-AC]

```
46. CAR:     e::r (0.7) ackshlly on Saturday or Sunday I promised go to
47.          Chris' house¿
48.    (0.3)
49. AKI: →   oh↑ ri↓lly?
50.    (0.2)
51. CAR:     but the other day I told her (0.8) er I can't
```

In the excerpt below, her use of the newsmarker *really* is infelicitous but it does not cause any communication breakdown. John explains that there are outdoor plays in the Botanical Gardens in summer, however an insect repellent is necessary (line 691) because there are many mosquitoes in the park, which is implied in 691 and explicitly stated in 698 as an upgrade of John's previous statement (line 691). Akiko reacts to the telling with a breathy state-of-change token in 693. John responds to her by playing down the mosquito problem in 694, which could spoil enjoying the play. In 695 in response to John's statement she initiates laughter, which John reciprocates (line 696). Her laughter indicates her comprehension and the humour of the situation. Her understanding is also displayed by the acknowledgement token that she produces afterwards (line 695), that is not closing down the sequence as afterward she produces in overlap the response token *yes* (line 697), which appears to function as a continuer. She may be expecting John to expand on this topic. In this sequence her *really* in 699 is produced late and as such appears redundant, and John does not orient to it in the next turn.

(5.19) [AJ1]

```
691. JON:    yea[:h you-you gotta take just a mosquito repellent.
692. AKI:       [yeah (  )
693. AKI:    (h)oh.
694. JON:    it's okay_
695. AKI: →  huh [huh huh huh hhhhhhhh   hhhhh]hh okay.
696. JON:        [heh heh heh hehhehheh hehheh]
697. AKI:    [yes,
698. JON:    [↓there're so: many mosquitoes:;↓=
699. AKI:    =>↓rilly;↓<
700. JON:    an in fact ↑last year they had to- (0.5) ehm they had to
701.         mo:ve it; I think; because of the ba:ts;
702.   (0.6)
```

In 698 John gives an assessment, in which he stresses the fact that there are many mosquitoes, a fact that was implied in his previous utterance in 691. In the next turn, Akiko quickly produces in low key a newsmarker (line 699), which appears redundant. John treats it like a continuer, as he does not respond to it but engages in an explanation about another situation. During this short sequence, Akiko and John face each other. Akiko maintains her eyegaze on John without producing an eyebrow flash or any other nonverbal behaviour that could indicate a lack of comprehension.

This type of delayed newsmarker, which is produced after Akiko has already displayed a new epistemic stance regarding some newsworthy information, occurs throughout the five interactions. She also uses the newsmarker in its canonical form as well as for other purposes. For instance, Akiko uses *oh really* to mark derision as in the following excerpt (5.20) where she uses humour and irony. In this particular excerpt, her body language accompanying the production of *oh really* needs to also be considered. When Akiko utters *working* she quickly turns her head away looking straight ahead, makes a facial expression, and smiles while producing *$m:m.$* (line 176). She returns her eyegaze to John while she is laughing. In 176, she produces the utterance *pretending*, which is followed by more laughter (line 179), and then she gazes away from John. She returns his gaze as he starts his utterance (line 177). While she utters *↑oh really_* she gazes intently at John (line 181). She maintains her eyegaze on John until she laughs again with him after uttering *oh yeah* in a mocking tone (line 183). The manner in which she

utters *oh really* and her response to John's tag response question (*is it¿* line 184) with *oh yeah* pronounced with the same level intonation contour in low key indicates that Akiko is self-mocking. In this excerpt, *really* does not function as a newsmarker; its intonation, being level[60], is distinct from the more typical newsmarker (Local, 1996), and together with the accompanying body language, its inferential meaning is marking self-mockery, which is receipted as such by John (notice another laughing together sequence, lines 184- 185).

```
(5.20) [AJ2]

174. JON:    <you're often working,> I see;
175.   (0.3)
176. AKI:    working $m:m.$ (h)uh huh [huh huh huh huh hhhh pretending
177. JON:                             [hah hah hah I know how it feels
178.         [huhhuhhuh] if you're in the postgraduate centre you often
179. AKI:    [hhhhhhhhh]
180. JON:    working.
181. AKI: → ↑oh ↓really_=
182. JON:    =is it¿
183. AKI:    [↑oh yea:h_↓ yeh yeh;
184. JON:    [o::kay yeh; (h)uh [huh huh huh huh huh huh
185. AKI:                       [heh heh heh hih hih hih hih hih
```

Akiko uses *(oh) really* in a variety of ways, which are mostly successful as illustrated above. Excerpt (5.20) instantiates how Akiko can manipulate an interactional resource to accomplish a distinctive social action and achieve a particular interactional goal. Thus her use of this newsmarker is versatile but also idiosyncratic (e.g. excerpt 5.19).

Meg and Hle rarely use the newsmarker *(oh) really* and Carol does not use any newsmarker in the five interactions. Meg employs a more grammatically complex newsmark called tag response questions (see Jefferson, 1981). In her first stimulated recall, Akiko reported that she did not use tag response questions, nonetheless she was aware of their existence but found them too difficult to use. In effect, the participant has to closely parse the prior speaker's turn, as the tag

[60] This level intonation on *really* is atypical and there is another case of this type found in this study, which is produced by the L1 speaker, John, when expressing incipient disagreement (data not shown).

response question needs to reflect the grammar used in the prior utterance. Meg, however, despite her linguistic difficulties was able to use tag response questions, and she was the only L2 participant to use them in her first interaction. Even though she did not always succeed in correctly adjusting the grammar to fit the prior utterance, she placed them in a sequentially relevant environment to pursue a response from the L1 participant (cf. Jefferson, 1981).

```
(5.21) [MF1]

923. MEG:    <where is she.>
924. FIO:    ↑we'll-we go ‘n get_↑ we have ter go 'n
925.         get her.
926.   (0.4)
927. MEG: →  °are we,°=
928. FIO:    =yea::h; (.) so we goin‘
```

```
(5.22) [MF3]

260. FIO:    but I think when he finishes he’ll probably work for a
261.         big oil company:,
262. (0.4)
263. MEG: →  ↑oh. °°is he¿°°=
264. FIO:    =he said that’s where the jo[b;
265. MEG:                                [hhhuh[huh
266. FIO:                                      [I don't-
267. FIO:    know that’s where the jobs are¿
```

```
(5.23) [MF3)

403. FIO:    an I ehm .hh I jess (0.2) hope thet cos I had- (0.3) five
404.         years of (0.9) work.
405.   (0.2)
406. MEG:    ↑o[:h. °>↑did you;<°
407. FIO:      [mm.
408. FIO:    ↑yea::h. at- (0.5) not at un(h)I …
```

Tag response questions are highly interactional and it is not surprising that Meg employs them as her orientation is strongly toward the communication goal of the interaction.

Carol shows a different use of some response tokens. In particular, she employs the agreement token *yes* also as a response token to mark emphasis or to fulfil different functions as shown in the fragments below. Carol displays various response tokens, such as the state-of-change token (*oh* and *ah*), continuers (*mm*, *mmhm*, *yeah*) and acknowledgement tokens (*mm*, *yeah*, *okay*) in her five interactions. However, she does not use any newsmarkers. For instance, in excerpt (5.24), she uses *yes* with a high rising intonation contour in an environment that could warrant a newsmarker (line 297). John treats her utterance like a newsmarker, then Carol produces a state-of-change token in 300.

```
(5.24) [CJ1]

296. JON:    ↑oh yeah, Western dragons can;↑ I think.=
297. CAR: →  =↑ye:s?=
298. JON:    =yeh yeh; they'r s'pposed to be able to fly:;
299.   (0.2)
300. CAR:    ↑o↓uh.
301. JON:    I [think so. well it's ↑hard; yeah.]
302. CAR:      [↑a l s o  t h e y  h a v e  a  s t o r y↑] so ehr the dragon …
```

Carol often deploys *yes* with a stretched sound in various positions; turn initial, turn final and free standing. In excerpt (5.25), the *yes* is uttered with a low rise and it is placed like a continuer (line 260), while Damian is giving an explanation about guitars. In excerpt (5.26), it is produced with *ah* and uttered with a terminal fall (line 271), thus it appears to function like an acknowledgement token.

```
(5.25) [CD2]

258. DAM:    with the ba:se; [you only play one string at a ti:me;
259. CAR:                    [mmhm,
260. CAR: →  ye:s,
261. (0.5)
262. DAM:    but with thu guita:r, you cn …
```

```
(5.26) [CD2]

267. CAR:    [<base guitar you can't do that.=
268. DAM:    [(whereas)
269. DAM:    =not- (0.2) NO:. you never do that;
270.   (0.5)
271. CAR: →  ah ye:s.=
272. DAM:    =so it's simpler;
```

In excerpt (5.27), the participants are talking about Western philosophy and Carol introduces the topic of Chinese philosophy without mentioning Confucius. In this context, it seems that her use of *yes* is to display emphasis as it is produced after the mention of *Confucius* and *confuciusnism* (line 451) and it is prosodically marked.

```
(5.27) [CD3+J2]
441. CAR:    but in Hong Kong I studied the Chinese Philosophy?
((A few turns are omitted))
448. JON:    [I KNOW A LIttle bit 'bout Lao Tsu; an
449. CAR:    [(h)hh huh hhh
450. JON:    [Confucius Confuciusnism [Lao Tsu area, it's ehr- <Chinese=
451. CAR: → [↑a:h.                    [ye↑:s.
```

This section has shown how the four focal participants have developed various strategies when they receipt talk. During the duration of the study, Akiko and Carol employ their particular strategy, which may be idiosyncratic or could reflect a transfer from their L1. In contrast, Hle shows some progression in her use of listener responses. It is interesting to note that the focal participants rarely used newsmarkers (except Akiko), and very occasionally the response tokens *right* and *okay*.

5.2.2 Maintaining Intersubjectivity – Other-Repair

5.2.2.1 The Uncertainty Marker as Repair Initiator

Repair constitutes an important resource for maintaining intersubjectivity between the interactants (Schegloff, 1992). There are various ways of repairing and it is through the use of different repair strategies that we can see the degree of interactional competence in the L2 participants. The uncertainty marker, whereby the trouble-source is repeated with rising intonation (Brouwer, 2000), is

useful in that it points to the repairable, but it may also be missed by the trouble-source speaker. In the following excerpt, Akiko first remains silent, which indicates that there may be some trouble related to the L1 speaker's question. Then, she repeats the trouble-source *Moomba?* using the uncertainty marker (line 785). The L1 speaker, John, picks up on the repair strategy and provides an explanation in the next turn (line 786).

```
(5.28) [AJ1]
782. JON:    didju go ter er (0.4) (tsk) (0.3) er yu go ter Moomba or
783.         anything like that?
784.   (0.2)
785. AKI: → Moomba?
786. JON: → it's a sorteva festival they have every year.
787. AKI:    really?
788. JON:    yea::h a:h that's okay;
```

Repairing with the uncertainty marker is not always effective as shown in excerpt (5.29) below. Akiko uses the uncertainty marker on the word *national*. In the stimulated recall that took place after the interaction, Akiko revealed that she did not understand the phrase *national anthem* and that she let it pass. Even though Akiko does not understand the lexical item after the first repair initiation, she does not initiate a more specific repair on the lexical item. It is the second time that John uses the phrase *national anthem* and it is only now that Akiko attempts to initiate a repair on it as she had let it pass after the first mention.

```
(5.29) [AJ3]
134. JON:    the verse [of the Australian national anthem, (1.1) er maybe
135. AKI:              [mmhm
136. JON:    Advance Australia Fair
137. AKI: →  mmhm,
138. JON:    >anyway< (…)
((John continues talking about something else))
150.JON:     you heard the National anthem coming out
151.         of your mouth. (h)uh huh right [nation
152. AKI: →                                 [national,
153. JON:    the national anthem. [yunno ehr  Australians all let
154. AKI:                         [o::h.
155. JON:    us [rejoice for we …
156. AKI:       [oh yeah yeah.
```

Overlapping John Akiko repeats *national* and utters in the clear the end of the word with a low rise (line 152). In 153, John first repeats the trouble-source so he orients to the problematic item. That John has identified the trouble-source indicates that the uncertainty marker seems successful. Then, John repairs it by saying the first lyrics of the Australian national anthem (lines 153, 155), thus assuming shared L2 membership knowledge, which is unlikely to be the case in this instance. John does not recipient-design his repair for a foreigner who is a relative newcomer to Australia and it is improbable that Akiko is familiar with the lyrics. He provides no explanation of the word *anthem*, which was problematic for Akiko, hence she could not repeat it. However, Akiko has not made it explicit what items she does not understand. Moreover, she responds to John's turn with a multiple saying uttering *yeahs* in one intonational unit in 156, thereby indicating to John that he does not need to say all the verses, and implying that she is familiar with the national anthem. John heeds her multiple saying as he discontinues (data not shown). It is through accessing the L2 participant's cognitive process, as revealed by the stimulated recall, that we know that in this case the uncertainty marker is unsuccessful in repairing the trouble-source.

The uncertainty marker is completely successful if the user can repeat the particular troublesome item (here the lexical phrase), and if the repairer provides a recipient-designed solution.

5.2.2.2 Repair – Confirmation Check

In the next excerpt, there is a reasonably lengthy repair sequence, as Akiko requires a confirmation from John on three occasions (lines 495, 498, 500). She needs to check whether she correctly understands the information that she is receiving from John as John's informing seems to contain unusual elements (it is about a play on a beach near a gorge). Akiko wants to ascertain that John is

talking about a play and not a movie. In 495, she produces the first confirmation check that indicates some surprise (*they had the play? a play there?*), which is confirmed by the newsmarker she displays subsequently (line 498). In this segment, she specifically locates the trouble-source by repeating it (*they had the play? a play there* line 495). She is also revising the meaning that she is constructing. She reformulates her own understanding, which she wants to be confirmed (*really not the movie? the play;* line 498) to make sure that it is correct before allowing John to proceed with his telling. In this way she can clarify any misunderstanding.

```
(5.30) [AJ1]
496. JON:    it's on the bea:ch some cliffs: an all that sorta thing;=so
495.         they had the play:, (0.3) they held the play at this sortev-
493.         at this kindev::
494.   (0.9)[61]
495. AKI: →  ↑they had [a play? the play there? ↑
496. JON:              [this gorge;
497. JON:    they put a play on there;=
498. AKI: → =rea↑lly not the movie? the play,
499. JON:    no no the mov- the- sorry the play:;
500. AKI: →  the play,
501. JON:    ↑yeah. actual actors 'n …
```

5.2.2.3 Repair through an Open Class Repair Initiator

Other-repair can be initiated through an open class repair initiator, which does not point to the trouble-source directly and as such it is imprecise in locating the trouble-source. Nonetheless, it is a legitimate strategy that is widely used by L1 speakers, and in this study only Meg and Carol use it. This type of repair initiator may be produced when there is a hearing problem and may not be necessarily due to a misunderstanding. For instance, when intersubjectivity is threatened Meg remedies it by initiating an other-repair with the open class repair initiator *sorry* (line 152). However, in this case, the L1 speaker, Chris, reformulates his

[61] During the silence John continues his hand gesture. The embodied activity combined with silence seems to point to a word search and Akiko may be waiting for more information from John who has produced a sound stretch.

original utterance and slows down his speech, thereby taking Meg's repair as a problem of comprehension.

```
(5.31) [MF4+C]

151. CHR:    I studied in London fer a year. [in England
152. MEG: →                                  [sorry¿
153. CHR:    <I studied in England¿ in London¿ for a year¿>
```

Carol also uses open class repair initiators, and she employs various ones such as *what* and *mm* with an upward pitch, combined with embodied action, as illustrated in the excerpts below. After the repair initiator Damian reformulates his utterance: in excerpt (5.32) he replaces the slang term *telly* with a more standard colloquial term *tv* (line 300), and in excerpt (5.33) he slows down his speech and simplifies his question (249).

```
(5.32) [CD1]

297. DAM:    you're:: not on telly here,
298. (0.5) ((CAR is gazing at DAM))
299. CAR: → [what?] ((moves forward towards DAM))
300. DAM:    [n o t] not on teevee here,
301. (0.2)
302. CAR:    no(h) huh huh no.

(5.33)[CD1]

246. DAM:    >whut did ee think,<
247. CAR: → it ehr- (.) /↑mm?
248.   (0.3)          ((/CAR re-engages gazes with DAM))
249. DAM:    did yer Dad- (0.2) watch it?
250.   (0.4)
251. CAR:    yes he watch. an-
```

5.2.2.4 Clarification Requests

Other repairs used are clarification requests, and the L2 participants employ various repair initiators.

In the next excerpt, which occurred four months after arrival, Akiko uses two repair initiators: the uncertainty marker and a clarification request which

occasions the repairable. In this sequence, John is talking about restaurants in a particular suburb. In 408 and 411, twice John uses colloquialism when he mentions *vegie bar,* which becomes the trouble-source. After its first mention, there is a gap (line 410) and Akiko may be waiting for John to expand his turn because he produces *and* in final position, projecting further talk. Akiko does not initiate a repair immediately after the trouble-source turn, instead producing a continuer in 409, and her first other-repair initiation is also delayed in 413 (cf. Wong, 2000a). The delay may be due to her waiting for more contextual cues to guess its meaning[62]. Her other-repair is accomplished in two steps. First, in 413 orienting to a possible completion point and overlapping John, she repeats the trouble-source using the uncertainty marker after its second mention. Second, following this she produces a clarification request, which she does not quite finish as she now seems to struggle to repeat the trouble-source. In the next turn, John provides the solution by supplying the more formal terms *vegetarian restaurant* (line 414). In 415 she indicates her understanding through the acknowledgement token and the expression *I see*. By conversing with an L1 speaker, Akiko is exposed to colloquialisms and takes action to understand them. Since interacting with John it is the first time that Akiko makes a clarification request, a strategy that she will employ again in this interaction.

```
(5.34) [AJ2]
408. JON:    the rest'rant like there's the vegie ba:r, (.) [an
409. AKI:                                                   [mm,
410.   (0.6)
411. JON:    you wouldn' find a vegie ba:r in South
412.         Yarr[a; I shouldn' think;]
413. AKI: →      [↓ v e g i e  b a r , ↓ ]  ↑what's a veg-vegie_
414. JON:    ↑o:h ↓it's juss a veg'tarian rest'rant.=
415. AKI:    =↑o::↑k okay. [I see.
416. JON:                  [↑yea::h;
```

In the following excerpt, which occurred two months later, Akiko uses a clarification question. She names the troublesome lexical item (*cabin is*-line 749), then adds a clarification request showing some colloquialism (*what kinda thing;*) in

[62] This is a strategy that both Akiko and Meg reported in the stimulated recall.

the same turn in second position without delay. In this turn, Akiko appears to be revising her utterance as she produces a cut-off after naming the trouble-source, which is followed by a micro pause. Then she decides to add a clarification question as a terminal component. In the next turn, John produces an explanation which she receipts with some delay (line 754).

```
(5.35) [AJ3]

747. JON:  so you cn stay in a very simple_ (0.5) cabin or tent or
748.         som'thing like tha:t;
749. AKI: →   cabin is- (.) what kinda thing;
750. JON:    usually it ehr- (0.5) e::hm (0.7) ei- you have sortev
751.         -(thrown) bed on top of anotha; (0.5)  in a fairl-fairly
752.         confined area,=that's rilly jess for sleeping.
753.   (0.4)
754. AKI:    ↑m::m. °°'kay;°°
```

In the excerpt below, Hle uses a different class of clarification question the "do-you-mean X" format in second position. In 199 she clarifies a term used by the L1 speaker, Louisa, by rephrasing Louisa's utterance, thereby proposing her own lexical item to ensure adequate understanding of the prior turn.

```
(5.36) [OL]

197. LOU:    they go_ (.) o:h, that was pret(h)ty stupid of me; but very
198.         funny like-
199. HLE: →  o:h d'you mean hum'rous,
200.   (0.5)
201. LOU:    y:↑eah;
202.   (0.2)
203. HLE:    ↑o::h;
```

The clarification request is an effective repair technique for non-expert L2 speakers as it indicates clearly what the trouble-source is, but it involves more linguistic resources. In her first interaction, Akiko did not use any, but she started using it in her second interaction, which may be indicative of some development in her L2 interactional competence.

5.2.3 Initiating Actions

5.2.3.1 Asking Questions

Asking questions is not an action solely performed by the L1 speakers but also by the L2 speakers even in their first interaction with their L1 co-conversationalist. In this excerpt below, which occurs at the beginning of the interaction, Hle engages in a series of questions.

```
(5.37) [OL]
26. LOU:     but yeah, I went out last night n so I'm juss feeling; ↑not
27.           very awake today; yes but ↑I'll wake up eventually_=
28. HLE: →    =oh what ti- what time did you wake up,
29.    (0.5)
30. LOU:      o::h. (0.8) nine thirty $I thin[k,$
31. HLE:                                     [nine thirty, o[::h_
32. LOU:                                                     [yeah; but
33. LOU:      I didn't go ter bed till 'bout three; so it's my own fault.
34.    (0.5)
35. HLE: →    so- aren't you living near here¿
36. LOU:      ·hh ↑no::; I live in um (0.9) in Croydon? it's about half
37.           [an hour; ]
38. HLE:      [°Clayton,°]
39. LOU:      yeah;
40. HLE: →    is it in Clayton tow:n¿
41. LOU:      uh- ↑no; ↓no. it's ehm yeah Croydon;
```

In this excerpt Louisa makes a comment about not being fully awake and Hle asks her a series of questions. The first question in 28 is related to the topic initiated by Louisa. The next question is a topic proffer (Schegloff, 2007) in 35, and Hle uses the negative interrogative form. Then, in 40 her question is a confirmation check regarding the suburb where Louisa lives. Thus, Hle has established topical talk for the time being until Louisa shifts topic by asking Hle an unrelated question (not shown here).

5.2.3.2 Pursuing a Response and Proffering a Topic

In the excerpt below taken from the triadic interaction, Meg is engaged in two actions: (1) she is pursuing a response from a new participant, Chris, an L1 speaker whom she has never met before, through what Jefferson (1981) calls a partial repeat which belongs to the newsmark category (*you haven't* line 142), and (2) she is initiating self-presentational sequences (Svennevig, 1999) to find out about Chris (line 144). Chris provides an expanded response after supplying the first pair part (data not shown). In this excerpt, Meg is clearly initiating new actions, and discursively she is taking on the role of the questioner.

```
(5.38) [MF4+C]

141. CHR:    I've never been to Japan; heh heh heh
142. MEG: →  ↑you haven't.=
143. CHR:    =↓no I haven't.=but I'd love to go; ↓yeah.↓
144. MEG: →  where're you from; Chris,=
145. CHR:    =I'M A MELBOURNE BOY. heh heh heh…
```

Meg pursues her questioning and elicits more information from Chris and topical talk. She is leading the interaction for the time being.

```
(5.39) [MF4+C]

150. MEG: →  have you ever been t' other country, an study_
151. CHR:    ah yeah;=I studied in London fer a year. [in England
152. MEG:                                             [sorry¿
153. CHR:    <I studied in England¿ in London¿ for a year¿> (0.2) er I
154.         wes: I'm studying a PhD; (0.4) an:: <the second year of
155.         PhD;=my supervisor uhm left; to take a position in London?
156.         (0.3) >so I studied over there for a yier.<
157. MEG: →  so whut're you studying now,
```

Carol very occasionally initiates self-presentational sequences, and when she does her co-conversationalist, Damian, whom she meets for the first time, engages in an expanded response (data partially shown). In 313, Carol asks her first self-presentational question half way through the interaction. Then, she pursues another extended response in 329.

(5.40) [CD1]

```
313. CAR: → <an so what duh- (.) you do,
314. (0.4)
315. DAM:    I'm doing uhm (1.0) my first yier of ei: (0.6) PhD in
316.         Psychology.
317. CAR:    ↑o::h.
318. DAM:    so I've been at …
((A few lines are omitted))
329. CAR: →  ↑o::h.↑ (0.3) why:;
(…)
```

In the next excerpt, Hle pursues the topic proffered by Louisa by returning her question. Initially, Hle produces an expanded response to Louisa's question (lines 68, 72, 74, 76, 78). Then, she starts engaging in a few questions (line 80), so the interaction becomes more symmetrical as the turns are shared amongst the participants. Hle is actively pursuing a response from Louisa, as she is seeking an expanded response. She employs various interactional devices to achieve the expanded response, such as partial repeats in receipting Louisa's turns (line 82, line 84 contains a state-of-change token, and line 100) and making a confirmation check (line 90). Then, Louisa produces an expanded answer (data not shown).

(5.41) [OL]

```
67. LOU:     ehm what you're studying;
68. HLE: →   I'm studyi;ng Bachelor of Economics¿ [in Clayton;
69. LOU:                                          [˚ah˚
70.    (0.5)
71. LOU:     yeah;=
72. HLE:     =first year student and: [many thing chang', very=
73. LOU::                             [hhh
74. HLE:     =difficulty a:::h
75. LOU:     huh huh=
76. HLE:     =environment hah huh [hah
77. LOU:                          [(h)y(h)e(h)a(h)h(h)
78. HLE:     and I have to study here for three years:;
79. LOU:     yeah;
80. HLE: →   yeah, >what bout you,<
81. LOU:     I'm: doing ehm- <third year Arts:;>
82. HLE: →   =third-third year;=
83. LOU:     yeah;
84. HLE: →   ↑o:h in Arts;
85. LOU:     so yeah; I'm doing Linguistics an German,
86.          mainly (0.3) [subjects
87. HLE:                  [oh
88. LOU:     now;
89.    (0.5)
90. HLE: →   ↑o::h. <but is that still final years,
```

```
91. LOU:      ·hh uh- I'm going to do; Honours:, [next year;
100. HLE: →                                     [honours,
101. LOU:     so: I've still got that …
```

In the next excerpt, Hle uses what resembles designedly incomplete utterance (DIU) (Koshik, 2002) as an interactional resource to elicit extended talk from the L1 participant. By producing a prepositional increment fitted to the prior turn, Hle designs her utterance as an unfinished TCU with terminal sound stretch (line 470) to solicit the L1 participant, Michelle, to complete the TCU in order to expand on her response. This technique requires the next speaker to produce a grammatically fitted increment. Thus, Hle displays an orientation to the prior turn and an understanding of the prior speaker's action and grammar. Koshik's DIU is a pedagogical technique that teachers use to get student to complete the teacher's utterance in order to self-correct their errors (Koshik, 2002). In the excerpt below, the DIU is used in an ordinary conversation and for a different purpose; i.e. it is not designed to correct a mistake but to gain more information, which is what Hle is seeking in 470. In the next turn (line 471) Michelle completes the prior turn but also repeats Hle's increment, and then she produces a cut-off to restart her utterance in a slightly different manner to accomplish the requested action.

```
(5.42) [OM1]
469. MIC:     yeah; uhm tsk I work in Biochemistry; which is uhm:
470. HLE: →   <in the:>=
471. MIC:     =in the- it's in the Medical Faculty;=but it's ba[sically
472. HLE:                                                      [↑ah.
473.          scientific research.
474. HLE:     yeh.
```

5.2.3.3 Insertion Sequence to Establish Shared knowledge

In this interaction, the interactants meet for the first time and both engage in self-presentational questions. In this sequence, Michelle asks Hle where she comes from in Vietnam. Before answering Michelle's question, Hle needs to

establish Michelle's knowledge in relation to Vietnam (line 269). Instead of producing a second pair part to Michelle's question (lines 267-268), Hle inserts a request for information thereby initiating another sequence, i.e., an insertion sequence (Schegloff, 2007). The inserted question engenders a sequence that upon completion will lead to Hle responding to the initial question, the base adjacency pair, thus providing the second pair part (line 277). Once Hle has ascertained Michelle's lack of shared knowledge of Vietnam, she prefaces her response informing her co-participant that she has probably not heard of her city (line 275), because it is a small provincial town.

```
(5.43) [OM1]

267. MIC:    so er whereabouts in Vietnam do you;
268. MIC:    [are you from;
269. HLE: →  [do you know a lot about Vietnam¿
270. MIC:    not much./$no.$ ((smiles)) [huh huh huh huh huh] huh huh
271. HLE:            /((smiles))        [huh huh huh huh huh]
272. MIC:    $I know some of the main cities$ heh heh heh [hhh
273. HLE:                                                 [↑ah yeah,
274. MIC:    yeah.
275. HLE:    no. I think you hav-haven't heard about it before.=
276. MIC:    =ri:ght.=
277. HLE: →  =<because Tian- where I live is- ehr juss a small provinc',=
278. MIC:    =↑oh okay; sure. is it the north or the south,=
279. HLE:    =yes is north.=
280. MIC:    =north okay.
281. HLE:    around: (0.3) <two hundred kilometre from Hanoi;
282. MIC:    okay. Hanoi aw[right.
283. HLE:                  [d'you know Hanoi.
284. MIC:    y(h)e(h)a(h) y(h)e(h)a(h)
```

5.2.3.4 Displaying an Authority Stance

This fragment shows a rare interactional strategy in the corpus whereby the L2 speaker uses a question tag to display an authority stance while displaying her non-native status through her linguistic errors. In 277, Carol deploys *right* in terminal position thus functioning as a question tag. She briefly pauses before producing it, then she utters it with a stretched sound and a mid fall intonation. By designing her question tag in this way whereby an agreement is the preferred answer, she is displaying an authority stance regarding her knowledge; that dragons are ugly in the West (i.e., portrayed as evil mythical beasts). In 279, John

confirms her assertion. After abandoning her turn in overlap with John (line 280), and a false start (line 281), she pursues her talk about dragons in 283.

```
(5.44) [CJ1]

276. CAR:    ((says a Chinese word)) is djragon in Australia. is
277.     →    so ugly. (.) ri:ght¿
278.   (0.2)
279. JON:    yea:h, that's true.=<dra[gons °are the-°
280. CAR:                           [↑SO-
281.         sha-she alsho,
282. JON:    mm,
283. CAR:    were- ehr wondering_ (0.5) why: Chinese people like djragon
284.         or djragon is very good, …
```

5.2.4 Orienting Towards Learning

At times in the course of the conversation the L2 participant orients to learning. Learning seems to occur when the L2 participant orients to recasts or negative feedback (Long, 2006) uttered by the L1 participant. In the segment below, Meg talks about her take-home exam. She uptakes the recast and incorporates it in her utterance in the next turn.

```
(5.45) [MF3]

776. MEG:    <b'cause we cn- (0.4) bring it back¿ (0.3) to the
777.         ho[:me.
778. FIO:      [↑o:h okay.=
779. MEG:    =an[: :  t  a  k e- yeh.]
780. FIO:  →    [>take it back ↑ho:me;<]
781. MEG:  → <take it back home, an can work by myself?>
```

Meg's sentence is not quite native-like (lines 776-7) so Fiona recasts it, thus providing the correct version in the next turn (line 780) while Meg overlaps the recast. Nonetheless, during the overlap Meg is still attentive to Fiona's recast (*take it back home*), and in the next turn, Meg incorporates it correctly in her utterance, thereby showing what Long (2006, p. 77) calls "joint attentional focus" (*take it back home an can work by myself* line 781). In this third interaction with Fiona, Meg occasionally orients to language learning without interrupting the

flow of the conversation. This kind of learning is what Firth and Wagner (2007) call learning-in-action.

Other L2 participants also orient to language learning and sometimes they initiate the learning sequence. In this case, learning is made the object of the sequence and the L2 participants are 'doing learning', like in a classroom situation (cf. Firth & Wagner, 2007). In the next excerpt, the L1 participant provides the explanation visually while uttering the troublesome lexical item for the L2 participant. Akiko produces an uncertainty marker on the problematic lexical item (line 720), which she repeats incorrectly (*jabi,*).

```
(5.46) [AJ2]

718. JON:    jab you,
719.   (0.5) ((AKI is gazing at JON))
720. AKI: →  [jabi, ((AKI cocks her head towards JON, raises her eyebrows
and gazes at JON))
721. JON:    [jab
722. (0.2)
723. JON:    ja:b;
```

Videograb 5.1 [AJ2]

```
724. (0.5) ((JON points his right index to his left hand, AKI gazes down
at his hand))
725. JON:    jab you,
```

726. (1.1) ((JON points his index to his left thigh touching each limb repeatedly))

Videograb 5.2 [AJ2]

727. AKI: okay. Yeh.

Akiko initiates a repair sequence by both repeating the troublesome item with a low rising intonation and using nonverbal modality (line 720) while John repeats the trouble-source in overlap having noticed Akiko's silence, intent gaze and postural shift (721). Then John repeats it a second time with emphasis by lengthening the vowel (line 723). In the silence that follows John embodies the action of jabbing through his gesturing. He then repeats the troublesome verb (*jab*) by incorporating the pronoun *jab you* thereby indicating that it is a transitive verb. John continues using gestures pointing to different parts of his body thus mimicking the jab of a needle or injection. Resorting to embodied actions to provide an explanation rather than doing verbally has been reported by other researchers such as Seo (2011) who also shows that learning can occur through other semiotic modalities. In this case, John's strategy proves useful as Akiko provides two acknowledgement tokens (line 727) claiming understanding.

Lexical items seem the more obvious objects of learning. In the following excerpt, Akiko actively pursues the lexical item that she wants to learn through various repair strategies.

```
(5.47) [AJ2]
763. JON:    ↑m::m. ts and calamari's: [°it's okay°
764. AKI: →                            [↑calamari is it;
765. (0.4) ((JON nods))
766. JON:    <at one time I never really liked calamari;=but I had
766.         ackslly once (0.5) 'n it was barbecued; …
((A few lines are omitted as John continues his story))
774. JON:    so: I'm getting to like these things 'n=
775. AKI: →  =↑so you call that-that ↓one calamari? [not the squid,
776. JON:                                           [squid
777. JON:    u:[:h
778. AKI: →    [calamari¿=
779. JON:    =calamari yeah;
780. AKI: →  calamari is Eng-English word,
781. JON:    right; (0.3) it sounds Italian,
((A few lines are omitted as the participants engage in two side sequences
before John provides the explanation as to why it is called calamari when
it is eaten and not squid))
809. JON:    yeah I dunno; we don't call the actual- (0.4) animal itself,
810. AKI:    mmhm;
811.   (0.5)
812. JON:    cal[amari, the animal's: squid.=
813. AKI:       [yeah_
814. AKI:    =squid;
815. JON:    <that you [call when it's [thumped up into the:
816. AKI:              [the-           [yah
817. JON:    [s'veral parts;
818. AKI: →  [·hh ↑a:h. the- the ring is[: calamari; °°you call it.°°
819. JON:                               [↑m:m.
820. JON:    ↑yeah.
```

Akiko's first attempt (line 764) does not produce the expected repair sequence as John provides a nonverbal response to a confirmation but does not explain the term and continues with his telling. Her repair initiation is lost because she has used what could sound like a newsmark (line 764) whose function is to elicit more talk, which is what John does. However, Akiko does not give up. When John has completed his telling in 774, Akiko initiates another repair in the next turn (line 775). She produces a confirmation check to dispel her confusion between *calamari* and *squid*, thus she starts her utterance with a sentence of the type *so you call X not Y* (*so you call that-that one calamari; it's not [the squid*). With this confirmation check Akiko wants to publicly display her understanding and seek

from her co-conversationalist a clarification about the difference between the two items. It is only a few turns later that John provides an explanation for the difference of names between the live animal and when it is eaten (lines 809, 812, 815). Then Akiko gives an example *calamari ring* (line 818) thus showing her understanding of the concept and that she has learnt a new word, which she has repeated five times (lines 764, 775, 778, 780, 818).

It is obvious that Akiko is 'doing learning' in this sequence as she wants to: (1) understand the difference in the usage of the word she already knows (*squid*) and the new lexical item (*calamari*), (2) remember the new lexical item (*calamari*), and (3) incorporate her newly acquired lexis in a sentence to confirm her understanding and its usage. She thereby engages in cognitive work. Her numerous repetitions of the problematic lexical item are reminiscent of a classroom situation where students engage in a drill (Firth & Wagner, 2007). From then on, the sequence about lexical items regarding animals that are eaten by humans continues (data not shown), which shows Akiko's orientation to learning new lexis.

Another strategy employed by an L2 participant in orienting to doing learning not only includes repeating the problematic lexical item with embodied action, but also requests it be spelt, as shown in the next excerpt.

```
(5.48) [OM1]
578. MIC:    but I also work part ti:me;=or casual with a choi:r?
579. (0.3)
580. HLE:    ↑˚ah.˚ ((nods))
581. MIC:    >it's called the Australian Girls' Choir.<
582. HLE: →  <choir,>= ((looks away then gazes back at MIC))
583. MIC:    =yea;h;.
584. (0.5)
585. MIC:    uh::m (0.3) you-[know a choir is? like]=
586. HLE: →                  [I dunno whut's that; ]
587. MIC:    =a group of people singing ↑together,
588. (0.2)
589. HLE:    ↑o::[:h.
590. MIC:        [like yeah¿ uhm /(0.4) °°right°° (0.4)
                                /MIC turns her head away with her hand to
her mouth in a thinking mode
591. MIC:    yea::h; <so if you have uh- (2.0) like a- y::eah:
592. (0.4) ((Mic has her hands up with her fingers splayed))
593. HLE:    heh heh [heh heh
594. MIC:            [<so it doesn' mean- yunno like an /orchestra,
```

((/HLE looks away and then gazes back at MIC))
595. (0.4)
596. HLE: y:eah,
597. MIC: >b'cos there're lots of instruments='n they all play together
598. [↓n stuff like that,↓<] ((MIC is looking down))
599. HLE: [↑ a : : ↓ : : h .]
600. (0.2) ((HLE is gazing at MIC))
601. MIC: <th' choir's like that but singers; so juss a group of
602. singers:;=
603. HLE: → =(how you write it) ((make a quick hand gesture))
604. MIC: cee ee o- cee heich o i arr ((MIC is spelling using her fingers on her armrest while HLE looks down at MIC's fingers then gazes at MIC))
605. HLE: cee eich o i [arr yeah; ((looking away))
606. MIC: [i arr
607. MIC: yeh. >have you seen that word before,<
608. HLE: no. ((still looking away))
609. MIC: no; /yeah. ·hhh so it's like a group- (.) a group of singers.
/((HLE re-engages her gaze with MIC))
610. ↓together;↓
611. (0.7) ((HLE nods))
612. HLE: ↑a:↓huh.
613. (0.3)
614. MIC: <and: this: (0.4) choi:r that I work with eh::m (0.3) is for
615. gi:rls;>
616. (0.7) ((HLE nods))
617. MIC: ei school-school age /girls; an we have classes; music
/((HLE slowly nods gazing at MIC))
618. MIC: classes;for girls from age fi:ve upwards;
619. HLE: ↑a::h.
620. MIC: <and so our top level of our choir, (.) the very top level
621. like the highest the most SENIOR group, ((HLE is looking down))
622. (0.2)
623. HLE: yeh; ((HLE re-engages her gaze with MIC))
624. MIC: ·hhh uhm (0.3) they perform at concerts an things like th[at.
625. HLE: [mm. ((Hle nods))
626. MIC: so they'll go like sometimes to special dinners or
627. per[form on teevee,
628. HLE: → [ah yeh; special events,= ((nodding))
629. MIC: =<yes. special events; yeah. so they'll perform an they'll
630. sing …

Initially, Hle lets pass an opportunity to repair the trouble-source as she deploys *ah* which appears to function as an acknowledgement token (line 580). She may be waiting to get more information to understand the problematic item *choir*. Then, she displays the same strategy as Akiko by using the uncertainty marker accompanied with embodied action (line 582), thus marking her lack of comprehension and pointing to the trouble-source. Michelle realises that the word *choir* causes comprehension problems for Hle because she asks Hle a question checking her knowledge of the term (line 585). Nearly simultaneously,

Hle states her lack of understanding in 586. In the next turn Michelle offers a definition (line 587), which is receipted by Hle with a lengthened state-of-change token *(↑o:::h.* line 589). Then, Michelle searches how to explain it (lines 590-1) and then engages in an explanation over multi turns (from line 594).

When Hle obtains more information she displays another prosodically marked state-of-change token (599), thereby indicating that she has acquired new understanding. It is after the second explanation that Hle requests Michelle to spell the lexical item *choir* (line 603). Michelle complies with the request both verbally and through the use of semiotic resources (line 604). Hle is attentive to Michelle's embodied action as she gazes down at Michelle's hand, gazes at Michelle, then gazes away. In 607 Michelle checks again Hle's state of knowledge regarding the trouble-source as Hle is still looking away. When Hle answers in the negative, in 609, Michelle reiterates the explanation she had given on two other occasions (line 587 and from 594 to 602). Then, in 612 Hle produces another marked receipt token, which however is uttered differently from the previous ones. From line 614, Michelle launches into a lengthy explanation about the work that she is doing with the Australian Girls' Choir. Hle displays her understanding by nodding, acknowledgement tokens (lines 619, 623, 625) and offering a candidate term *special events* (line 628) to characterise the type of events that the choir performs. Michelle quickly accepts this candidate characterisation in the following turn with an agreement token and she also echoes it (line 629). Then, Michelle continues with her explanation.

Hle can display her lack of understanding by locating and repeating the trouble-source, and through embodied action, which reinforces the activity that is taking place: doing non-understanding. In addition, she verbalises her lack of comprehension. On the other hand, Hle can display her new understanding and she can follow Michelle's explanation as Hle co-constructs it with responses tokens, nods and candidate terms. It is apparent that Hle has not only learned new lexis but also L2 membership knowledge in relation to Michelle and her line

of work. This sequence has shown situated social cognition (Schegloff, 1991), and how the interactants negotiate a lack of linguistic and L2 membership knowledge to arrive at an epistemic change, where momentary learning occurs.

5.2.5 Tracking Learning over Time

In the previous section, we examined how the L2 participants oriented to learning language as an object. In this section, like Firth & Wagner (2007) and Brouwer & Wagner (2004, it is possible to show that learning interactional skills has occurred over time based on the development occurring between the first interactions and later interactions, hence acquisition has taken place. For instance, we observed that in Meg's first interaction with Fiona the question about her studies in Japan had initially been problematic as exemplified in excerpt (5.8). However, in Meg's last interaction that took place seven months later, Meg has found a solution, pre-empting the initially problematic question regarding her studies by manoeuvring the turn-taking mechanism.

```
(5.8) [MF1]

22. FIO:     an so you're studying in Japan?
23.    (0.9)
24. MEG:     ah after I-
25.    (0.8)
26. FIO:     are-are you studying in Japan now or
27.    (0.6)
28. MEG:     now?
29.    (0.4)
30. FIO:     like are you at university in Japan? [or
31. MEG:                                          [yeah
32.    (0.2)
33. MEG:     [yeah;
34. FIO:     [yieah.
35.    (1.3)
36. MEG: →   I'm ackshlly fourth year student [in Japa:n¿] ·hh
37. FIO:                                      [oh  okay ]
38. FIO:     yeh
39. MEG: →   but here in M… I entered the first year;


(5.49) [MF4+C]

111. CHR:    >what're ya studyin',<
112. (0.3)
113. MEG: →  I'm studying u::hm <I'm doing economics in Japan¿=
114.      →  =[but here; I'm doing finance.
```

```
115. CHR:     [mm,
116. (0.3)
117. CHR:    fi[nance;
118. MEG:      [I mean- I mean commerce.
119. CHR:    ↑o:h I see.
```

Meg provides a two-part response. In the first part, she states what studies she is doing in Japan, and in the second part what she is studying in Australia. In 113, she reformulates her answer as she is figuring out how to achieve an efficient response, which is slightly delayed. She pre-empts the problematic question by first mentioning her studies in Japan. Then, she uses a rush through to retain the floor and the appositional *but* to also contrast what she is studying in Japan with Australia in addition to the deixis *here* uttered with stress (*but here I'm doing finance* line 114). The first part of her response can serve to preface what could be considered as a second pair part to Chris's question, which does not specify whether it is about her studies in Australia or in Japan, and therefore it can be taken as meaning in Australia. After hearing Chris's first syllable of the term *finance*, Meg initiates a third position repair (Schegloff, 1997) in overlap to rectify her prior utterance, in that she is not studying *finance* but *commerce* (line 118). In the following turn, Chris indicates his new state of knowledge through the state-of-change token and a claim of understanding (*↑o:h I see* line 118). This excerpt therefore shows how Meg has acquired interactional skills in answering potentially troublesome questions about her studies, as she is an exchange student in Australia, by providing a preliminary to her first pair part, contrasting her studies in Japan with Australia.

Hle has also learnt some turn-taking technique skills in response to a potentially problematic question such as: "whereabouts in Vietnam are you from". In the previous excerpt (5.43) shown above, in answering Michelle's question Hle had inserted a sequence to check Michelle's knowledge of Vietnam before providing the second pair part. Two months later in the triadic interaction, Hle is faced with the same question phrased slightly differently by a new L1 participant, Chris. She produces a simple answer over one turn pre-empting the trouble

encountered previously. She has solved the problem of having to explain that she is from a small provincial town, and now she only provides the region where she is from (line 1214). Chris partially repeats Hle's utterance with a low rising intonation (line 1215) thus soliciting more talk from Hle. Hle is building on the indexical knowledge of the L1 participants in her response by providing the kind of information about her town, which will be recognised by her co-participant. In this way, Hle has learnt to recipient-design her utterances. Hence she mentions her town's location by reference to a city well known by Westerners - Hanoi (line 1216). Thus, Hle has learnt to produce a more efficient answer so the conversation can move forward quickly.

```
(5.43) [OM1]

267. MIC:    so er whereabouts in Vietnam do you;
268. MIC:    [are you from;
269. HLE: →  [do you know a lot about Vietnam¿
270. MIC:    not much./$no.$ ((smiles)) [huh huh huh huh huh] huh huh
271. HLE:            /((smiles))        [huh huh huh huh huh]
272. MIC:    $I know some of the main cities$ heh heh heh [hhh
273. HLE:                                                 [↑ah yeah,
274. MIC:    yeah.
275. HLE:    no. I think you hav-haven't heard about it before.=
276. MIC:    =ri:ght.=
277. HLE:  → =<because Tian- where I live is- ehr juss a small provinc',=
278. MIC:    =↑oh okay; sure. is it the north or the south,=
279. HLE:    =yes is north.=
280. MIC:    =north okay.
281. HLE:    around: (0.3) <two hundred kilometre from Hanoi;
282. MIC:    okay. Hanoi aw[right.
283. HLE:                  [d'you know Hanoi.
284. MIC:    y(h)e(h)a(h) y(h)e(h)a(h)


(5.50) [OM2+C]

1212. CHR:   >↑where're ya from in Vietnam anyway¿↑<
1213.  (0.2)
1214. HLE: → uh I'm from the North¿
1215. CHR:   the North,=
1216. HLE: → =juss ehr two hour from the city of Hanoi;
1217. CHR:   near Hanoi¿ [↑m::m. okay.
1218. HLE:               [yes.
```

As with Meg's example, Hle's excerpt shows that she has also acquired some L2 membership knowledge: how Australians construct knowledge about Vietnam.

The next excerpts deal with a different interactional skill, that of using a new newsmark: tag response questions. Akiko reported in her first stimulated recall (one month after her arrival in Australia), that she was aware of tag response questions but found them too difficult to use. Two months later, she produces one tag response question in her second interaction with John (excerpt 5.51) although she probably did not understand the pragmatic import of this newsmark as John pursues his story (refer to excerpt 5.47). Six months later in her third interaction with John, she uses this newsmark a few times (excerpts 5.52, 553, 5.54). These instances reproduced below show that learning is taking place. In excerpt (5.51), she tags the newsmark at the end of her utterance, not to pursue more talk from John but to confirm the name of some seafood, which John confirms nonverbally. In excerpt (5.52) she tentatively deploys it because it is uttered very softly in overlap (line 745); moreover it is redundant as it follows another newsmark (*rilly*). In excerpt (5.53), she employs the same syntactic form uttered with more volume but she deploys it overlapping the prior speaker's mid utterance (line 784). As a result of its placement it is lost and its action is ineffective. In excerpt (5.54), she is more successful with her third attempt (line 976). It is uttered in the clear and John responds to it by producing an agreement token and an extended response. Note that the excerpts are shown in chronological order. In excerpts (5.51) to (5.53), *is it* could appear as aborted attempts at asking questions. However, because in each case the intonation contour is a low fall and it is neither rising nor continuous or produced with a glottal stop, *is it* appears to be produced as a single unit and not as an unfinished fragment.

```
(5.51) [AJ2]

763. JON:    ↑m::m. ts and calamari's: [°it's okay°
764. AKI: →                            [↑calamari is it;
765. (0.4) ((JON is nodding))
```

```
(5.52) [AJ3]

739. JON:    [↓so we did that. it wes very ni[ce↓
740. AKI:    [°°u: : :  : :h°°               [mm. that's ↑great_
```

```
741.          yeah. I should go;
742.   (0.4)
743. AKI:     I have many places to-
744. JON:     rilly, [places ya should go;
745. AKI: →          [°°is it;°°
746. AKI:     yea:h;
```

(5.53) [AJ3]

```
782. JON:     <but anyway they're fairly simple, (0.5) rooms with beds in;
783.          (0.2) that's whut I cn [gather they are;=so you don't have=
784. AKI: →                          [is it;
785. JON:     =to set up a tent. (0.5) <but I don't think they have a
786.          ↓bathroom or anything like that.↓
```

(5.54) [AJ3]

```
973. AKI:     ·hhh >it's been every two months,< (0.3) since of: (.)
974.          since [you last did
975. JON:           [↑really two month[s:↑
976. AKI: →                            [two months are we¿
977.   (0.3)
978. JON:     yeah;= ↑I s'ppose that could be true;↑ ↑yeah;=time is
979.          flyi:ng.
```

In the last two excerpts, Akiko uses them to pursue a response. However, only the last one is sequentially correctly placed and effective, even though the utterance is not native like. This is not an issue for the L1 participant (like in Meg's case) because what counts is their sequential placement and the action they perform. It may be too premature to conclude that Akiko has acquired tag response questions as these represent the only instances of their usage, and none are produced in the last two interactions. Also their syntax is not always correct (excerpts 5.52, 5.53 and 554). Nonetheless, they seem to be indicative of some shift in her cognition in relation to both their syntactic format and their function, thus she may be in the process of acquiring them.

Carol also shows that on some rare occasions, she appeals to the L1 speaker's linguistic knowledge for assistance when searching for a lexical item. In excerpt

(5.55), taken from her first interaction with Damian, she requests his help to provide a new lexical item through a question directed at him (*this; how do you call it.* line 170) and embodied action (line 171). However, in the second excerpt, which occurred two months later, she is engaged in a personal word search and does not appeal for the L1 speaker's assistance.

```
(5.55) [CD1]

170. CAR: → if: uhm (0.2) my: (0.3) >this; how do you call it.< this one,
171.   (0.8) ((CAR bends over to touch her big toe, DAM watches her))
172. DAM:    oh bi[g  to[e.
173. CAR:          [big  [toe huh huh huh $toe$
174. DAM:    hah hah hah
175. CAR:    (h)uh CLEAR ehr the other toe;
176.   (0.2)
177. DAM:    yea:h,
```

Videograb 5.3 [CD1]

```
(5.56) [CD2]

170 CAR: →   in the middle have a gape. I mean, (0.7) the (.)
171      →   ↑how to say, (0.2) the↓ (0.5) the big toe.
160.    (0.5)
161. CAR:    the big toes? or=
162. DAM:    =yea:h; big toe.
163. CAR:    the big toe an the middle one;
```

Videograb 5.4 [CD2]

These excerpts show that Carol (1) is in the process of acquiring a new lexical item (*big toe*), and (2) can employ different word search strategies. In excerpt (5.56), first, she prefaces her word search with the expression *I mean*, which is followed by an intraturn silence and the definite article, which indicates that she is looking for a noun (line 170). She is clearly searching for a word that is part of her repertoire. Then, she verbalises her search through self-talk (*how to say,*), which is followed by a short intraturn silence, the definite article, and another intraturn silence, after which she correctly produces the lexical items. Following the gap in 161, she seeks confirmation regarding the grammatical category; whether it is singular or plural. Once Damian confirms it, she incorporates the correct form in her utterance in 163 to pursue her explanation. Excerpt (5.56) also exemplifies the use of self-repair (*I mean*, *how to say*) which indicates that Carol is no longer appealing to the expert speaker for vocabulary items but searching her own repertoire and finding the item. Thus it is a progression from self-initiated other-repair to self-initiated self-repair.

5.2.6 Using L1 Interactional Competence as a Resource

On a few occasions, Akiko uses a Japanese response token *hai* in place of an English one in sequentially appropriate contexts in overlaps. To illustrate this interactional strategy, two examples taken at different points in time are given below: the first one occurred one month after arrival and the second one five months later. These two excerpts show that L2 speakers can transfer an L1 interactional resource successfully onto L2. The L1 speaker, John, does not orient to the Japanese response token as being odd, as in in each case it is placed in a sequentially appropriate environment, which shows Akiko's listenership (lines 221, 224, 716).

```
(5.57) [AJ1]

218. JON:    ehm an an I visited them (1.4) in Taiwan. b-by that time I'd
219.         forgotten almost all of my- (0.6) almost all of my- (0.3)
220.         chinese; [so it was actually- (0.8) luckily they hadn't
221. AKI: →           [(h)ai
222. JON:    forgotten their English hhhah hah ha:h hhuh hhuh that
223.         would've made things harder hh [huh
224. AKI: →                                 [°hai°
225. JON:    so yeah; but it was hard.
```

```
(5.58) [AJ3]

715. JON:    another- you can't get public transport;=I [guess didju get
716. AKI:  →                                            [hai
717. JON:    the train or something to:_=
718. AKI:    =to Ballarat?=
```

In excerpt (5.57) *hai* is placed at a TRP (lines 221, 224), and in excerpt (5.58) it is placed slightly past a TRP so it is somewhat delayed (line 716). The delayed response token may be due to the fact that John has just accomplished a rush through, therefore he did not pause after *transport* as he was speaking quickly.

5.2.7 Conclusion

This section has documented a range of interactional skills and resources that the focal participants have deployed during the study. However, they do not constitute all the skills that the focal participants can display, as that would involve an enterprise well beyond the scope of this study. In some cases, the resources employed are idiosyncratic to particular L2 participants, such as receipt tokens for Hle, the agreement token *yes* for Carol, and the newsmarker *(oh) really* for Akiko. Meg employs a complex interactional resource like response tag questions, which Akiko seems to be in the process of acquiring, but Carol and Hle do not use them. This section has also demonstrated that the L2 participants are resourceful interactants. They initiate numerous actions, including resorting to L1 interactional competence like Akiko and possibly Hle. They employ embodied action; and they take different discursive roles like primary speaker, questioner, topic profferer and listener. In addition, the focal participants can display various epistemic stances. In some instances, it has been possible to show some language learning and also some development of their turn-taking skills.

5.3 General Conclusions

By contrasting the speech samples from the two Japanese exchange students with differing language abilities, it has been found that the relationship between linguistic competence and interactional competence is not linear. While accuracy may be desirable, particularly in the early stages of SLA, focussing on the communicative goal of the interaction and thus on interactional competence may be facilitative of further language gains. Language learning evidenced in this chapter occurred because the focal participants deployed interactional resources to gain linguistic knowledge.

With more sophisticated L2 interactional competence the L2 participants can accomplish more actions and participate more fully in the interaction. For instance, through questioning, pursuing a response, producing spontaneous expanded responses or turns (e.g. explanation) or proffering topical talk, the L2 participants initiated social actions that are consequential for the interaction. These actions also indicate that they were full actors in the interaction and were able to manoeuvre the turn taking mechanism skilfully.

Interaction involves meaning making that is jointly constructed. The L2 participants shared meaning by displaying claims of understanding through, for instance, acknowledgement tokens and other interactional resources. At the same time, they use response tokens to mask their lack of comprehension (e.g. excerpt 5.29). Moreover, the L2 participants employed embodied action to indicate their understanding such as nodding, smiling, laughter, and gaze. Gaze can also show a lack of understanding, particularly when the L2 participant gazed away, or gazed at the co-participant while remaining silent and/or raising her eyebrows.

Repair mechanism is an important interactional skill, whose main goal is to achieve shared understanding through two functions: (1) resolving misunderstandings, and (2) checking one's own understanding. For instance, Hle employed a clarification request to ensure that her understanding of the L1 speaker's utterance was correct (excerpt 5.36). In addition, using various other-initiated repair mechanisms can help resolve communication problems more efficiently than relying on only one particular repair strategy such as the uncertainty marker, which is not always effective. In relation to pinpointing problematic lexical items, Akiko initially relied on the uncertainty marker, however at later stages she used clarification requests to be more specific. Whether Akiko's sequence of acquisition is representative of other novice L2 speakers would need to be researched further, which is outside the scope of this study. L2 participants come to the interaction with their personality, and in Carol's case, she generally did most of the talking, particularly when interacting

with Damian[63]. As a result, she did not create many opportunities to listen to her co-conversationalists. For instance, she rarely engaged in self-presentational questions, she seldom pursued answers from her co-conversationalists, and hardly initiated other-repairs.

Kasper (2009) reminds us of the importance of active listening that Sacks, et al. (1978) had identified as being a condition for participating in conversation. Therefore, listening-in-interaction and especially for non-expert L2 speakers is an important component in developing L2 interactional competence. Deploying listener responses is the first step in listening-in-interaction. The demonstration of active listening is also accomplished through more involved interactional skills. For instance, both Meg in deploying her tag response questions, and Hle in building onto the prior speaker turn to produce a syntactically fitted increment showed remarkable joint attentional focus (excerpt 5.42). This listening-in-interaction was also revealed through learning-in-action when Meg incorporated Fiona's recast in her utterance, particularly when the recast was accomplished in an overlap (excerpt 5.45).

Of interest is the asynchronous nature of the acquisition of L2 interactional competence, as some L2 participants acquired some interactional skills when others acquired different ones. Nevertheless, they generally presented with comparable linguistic competences, with Akiko being the most advanced and Carol the least advanced. Despite her lower linguistic skills, Carol could engage in long turns at talk and display an authority stance by using a question tag (excerpt 5.44). While Hle could initially produce an overwhelming number of one type of response tokens such as *oh* and *ah*, she could also produce expanded responses spontaneously (e.g. excerpt 5.41), whereas Akiko did not. Yet Akiko displayed a wider range of listener responses and her use of *(oh) really* was creative, as she could accomplish various social actions with this newsmarker (e.g. excerpt 5.20).

[63] John was as talkative as Carol.

Finally, all four focal participants displayed learning-in-interaction. Three types of learning were observed: (1) morpho-syntactic and particularly lexical, (2) turn-taking, and (3) L2 membership knowledge. Akiko, Carol and Hle engaged in learning lexis and Meg oriented to a morpho-syntactic level. These participants also demonstrated their learning over time. Meg and Hle resolved answering questions that were initially problematic in a more interactionally efficient manner. Akiko appeared to be learning to use a new newsmark (tag response questions), which involved an attention to both syntax and turn construction, and Carol leant not only new lexis but also different word search techniques (e.g. excerpts 5.55 and 5.56). In addition, Carol's word search can be viewed as a progression towards a more target like use of preference for self-repair. Hle also demonstrated a more subtle learning in progressively acquiring a wider range of response tokens over time. The focal participants' learning also entailed acquiring L2 membership knowledge, which was accomplished implicitly in talk-in-interaction through: (1) learning interactional skills and NSs' expectations (e.g. question regarding Vietnam), and (2) the information that the L1 speakers displayed about themselves, their job, interests or cultural emblems, which are revealing of the target language community.

Chapter 6

ONE CASE STUDY OF L2 INTERACTIONAL COMPETENCE: RECIPIENCY IN THE FIRST INTERACTION

INTRODUCTION

This chapter sets the scene for the following chapter 7 which examines the development of the second language interactional competence of one particular L2 speaker, Akiko. A progression is gradually observed through the seven month study as she develops from mainly playing the listener role (or being the secondary speaker) to becoming more frequently a primary speaker, i.e., moving from recipiency to speakership. In this chapter attention is directed at understanding Akiko's interactional behaviour with the L1 speaker, John, during the first interaction to fully appreciate the subsequent development in her L2 interactional competence. Therefore this chapter provides an introduction to Akiko's typical interactional behaviour at the start of the seven month observation period. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to study in detail the interactional competence of the other three L2 speakers within a CA framework, given the large amount of data collected, and the particular attention to detail of the methodology used to analyse the data.

The L2 speaker in this case study is the Japanese exchange student, Akiko[64], who displayed a more advanced linguistic competence than the other three L2 speakers. She had completed her first degree in Japan and had qualified as an English teacher. She spoke English with relative fluency, and her English was not very accented. In the interview conducted at the beginning of the data collection, she responded with ease, indicating fine comprehension and listening skills. She showed a good grasp of the English language structure (only making occasional linguistic errors), and displayed a wide vocabulary and knowledge of

[64] For more detail on this L2 speaker refer to chapter four.

some idiomatic expressions. Overall, her speaking ability was largely sufficient for her to conduct a conversation in English.

During the seven month study Akiko participated in five filmed interactions. The intervals between each interaction ranged from one to three months (refer to table 3.3). In the first video recording, Akiko interacted with an L1 speaker, John, whom she had briefly met on campus prior to the commencement of this study, through a friend of hers at the Graduate Centre. Throughout the study Akiko maintained contact with John outside the recorded sessions. John was Australian, and he was also studying at the university where the study was conducted. He was three years older than Akiko. The first interaction was recorded in March, i.e., about a month after Akiko's arrival at the university and in Australia. At that stage, Akiko had not had much contact with local students.

This chapter attempts to gain a thorough understanding of Akiko's interactional behaviour in her first interaction with John to establish a starting point in the development of her L2 interactional competence.

6.1 From Recipiency to Speakership

More often than not, non-expert L2 speakers find themselves in the answering position when interacting with L1 speakers. The L1 speaker initiates actions which are very often in the form of questions (Larsen-Freeman, 1985; Long, 1983). In other words, L2 novice speakers seem to be more in the recipient position rather than a primary speaker. Being a recipient does not mean that s/he is a passive participant. On the contrary, the recipient can be an active listener who shows that s/he is fully engaged in the turn-at-talk by producing minimal answers often called response tokens, which implies that s/he is not taking long multi-unit turns. Hence for a novice L2 speaker to take the next step, i.e., become the primary speaker, and initiate actions such as questioning, elaborating,

etc., indicates a higher interactional competence as the novice L2 speaker places him/herself on an equal footing with the native speaker.

In the case of L1-L2 interaction, there may be occasions in which the native speaker plays the role of the language expert, which implies that the L2 speaker is treated as novice, so the relationship in the conversation then becomes asymmetrical. For instance, this is the case when the L1 speaker initiates other-repairs and overtly corrects the L2 speaker's linguistic errors (see Barraja-Rohan, 2000; Kasper, 2004). However, the fact that one of the conversationalists does not have the same linguistic knowledge as the other party does not necessarily imply that an asymmetrical relationship will develop, as this depends on the participants' orientation to the talk. If the conversationalists orient to the talk as a communicative event, then the need to communicate will take precedence over linguistic accuracy. This is usually the case in L1-L2 ordinary conversations (Wagner & Gardner, 2004) as little repair work has been observed. Wagner & Gardner (2004) found that even though there were numerous linguistic errors in L1-L2 conversations, they indicated that generally it was the L2 speaker who initiated a repair on linguistic errors while the L1 speaker initiated repairs when intersubjectivity was threatened. These observations are also confirmed by the present study.

Therefore for a non-expert L2 speaker, participating in a conversation with a native speaker who has mastery of the language of interaction can be a challenge. Accessing transfer to speakership is important so the non-expert L2 speaker can fully take part in spoken interaction. There are various ways of transferring from recipiency to speakership, or in other words, from being a non current speaker to becoming a primary speaker. One way is to use the same strategies as the L1 speaker: offering extended responses through elaborations and explanations, which can engender expansions and post expansions, changing the topic via topic shift and topic shading (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973), making comments,

expressing opinions, self-disclosing, telling first stories and/or second stories (Sacks, 1992)[65] or past experiences, etc., all of which engender longer turns-at-talk. In ordinary conversation, the turn-taking system has democratic features inasmuch as the interactants who can choose to speak based on the rules of turn-taking (cf. Sacks et al., 1974). By using the resources mentioned earlier non-expert L2 speakers can transfer to speakership, thus occasioning a more equal distribution of turns.

6.2 From Single Unit Turns to Multiple Unit Turns

Based on the examination of the first interaction, the transfer from recipiency to speakership proved to be problematic for Akiko as she mostly provided minimal responses. Therefore, the issue raised is whether Akiko can later change discursive role and produce different turns and extended spates of talk. Examining Akiko's turn taking gives an indication of:

1) What sort of turns Akiko takes, whether she only provides minimal responses such as receipt tokens, or if she can also engage in other types of turn, and
2) How long the turns are, whether they are short, i.e., single unit turns, or long multi-unit turns i.e., more than one turn constructional unit. Taking long turns-at-talk indicates higher level of participation and gives more information regarding how the L2 conversational syntax is used.

As a proficient language user in her L1, Akiko has already acquired L1 interactional competence. However, this L1 interactional competence may not necessarily transfer appropriately into the L2. There are a number of factors

[65] Sacks (1992) in his lectures on Second Stories makes the point that in conversation a story may be followed by another story told by a different conversationalist and this "procedure is interactionally relevant" (p7, Vol.2), as the second story-teller, after having analysed the first story, wants to show that s/he has understood the point made by the first story teller. Therefore in a second story "the similarity is an achieved similarity" (p4, Vol.2), i.e., it indicates that the second storyteller achieves understanding by displaying a similar experience.

which can impact on L2 interactional competence, such as cultural appropriateness (see Schegloff, 2006, on cultural differences in silence). The L1 grammar can also impact on the turn-taking system (see Tanaka, 1999). Tanaka (1999) observed that, for instance, the projectability of a turn is easier in English than in Japanese, which is a postpositional and predicate-final language, as opposed to English being a prepositional and SVO language.

In the first three interactions, Akiko mostly remained in the listener roles producing short utterances over short turns, producing single unit turns such as listener responses (e.g. *mmhm*, *yeah*, *oh*, *oh really*, etc.) in response to the interlocutor who was the primary speaker in most of the interactions. Her case is very similar to the learner who participated in Nguyen's (2011b) longitudinal study. Nguyen examined an adult Vietnamese ESL learner engaging in "small chats" with her ESL teacher before moving to the instructional phase. Nguyen focused particularly on these instances of ordinary conversation and observed that the L1 speaker produced most of the talk in the initial encounters, while the learner initially played the role of the recipient, answering minimally to the teacher's topic proffers. This was also found to be the case with Akiko.

The next sections establish Akiko's interactional pattern in relation to turn taking, whether she takes multi-unit turns at all, and if not, what sort of turns she produces in her first interaction with John. Therefore this first interaction constitutes a baseline, in terms of Akiko's typical interactional behaviour, for the following four interactions.

6.3 Listener Role – First Interaction with John

6.3.1 Introduction to Akiko's Interactional Pattern

Before examining the data in detail, some general comments are necessary in order to give an indication of Akiko's overall interactional pattern, which will be

illustrated with excerpts from the transcript in the next section. In the first interaction Akiko rarely expand on her answers, particularly without prompting and active collaboration from John. Moreover, as mentioned earlier, she does not exhibit the resources necessary to change from the listener role to the speaker role, so in most of this interaction she remains a recipient, with John dominating the conversation, as he plays the role of primary information provider. As a result, her turns are short and more often than not consist of response tokens such as continuers (*yeah*, *mm*, *mmhm*), acknowledgement tokens (*okay* and, rarely, *right*), the newsmarker (*(oh) really*), state-of-change tokens (*oh* and its variant *ah*) and minimal responses, such as assessments. In addition, to show her understanding, she produces formulations, partial repeats of the native speaker' s utterance and the pragmatic marker *I see* in single unit turns.

Akiko occasionally asks John questions, however she does so in a restrictive way, i.e., she gives John his turn-at-talk but she does not ask further questions to encourage John to expand, nor does she ask clarification questions. If she does not understand a word, Akiko uses the uncertainty marker (Brouwer, 2000) through rising intonation on the word she does not understand while gazing intensively at John. Alternatively, she uses silence, and even lets items pass[66]. Occasionally she makes a confirmation request and initiates short questions.

John takes longer turns-at-talk, consistently asks questions, gives lengthy elaborations, or explanations, and offers second stories (Sacks, 1992), all strategies that Akiko does not deploy at this stage. It must be added that Akiko reported in her stimulated recall that she lacked confidence in her English. Note also that when she was initially asked if she objected to talking to a male she responded that it was not an issue. Moreover, since she had already met John in a natural setting prior to the first recording, he was not a stranger to her.

[66] This was reported during a stimulated recall in which Akiko indicated that she let pass some vocabulary items that she did not understand, simply producing a continuer and not initiating a repair. Interestingly, Akiko reported that she also applied this strategy in her first language.

Before we turn to Akiko's speech, below is videograb 6.1 [AJ1] of Akiko and John in their first interaction. In this videograb, Akiko's posture is interesting as she is partially turned toward John; only her upper body slightly faces him, her legs face a different direction and to be able to gaze at him she needs to turn her head toward him so her posture displays a body torque (Schegloff, 1998). On the other hand John's body mostly faces Akiko. She remains in this posture throughout the whole interaction and Schegloff (1998) reports that body torque is a transient phenomenon thus she shows continued discomfort throughout the whole interaction.

Videograb 6.1 [AJ1]

The next section provides the analysis of the excerpts, illustrating Akiko's interactional pattern as discussed so far.

6.3.2 Analysis of the Speech Samples between Akiko and John

In the first interaction between Akiko and John [AJ1], the first few seconds occurring at the beginning of the interaction were used to close down the previous sequence when the researcher was leaving. In the opening shown in excerpt (6.1) below, John begins by asking a question relating to her name at line 3. This seems to be a typical feature of an L1 speaker-non-expert L2 speaker interaction (cf. section 6.1), whereby the non-expert L2 speaker does not initiate many actions. John's question represents a self-presentational question found in first encounters (see Svennevig, 1999, as discussed below). In fact, when John interacted with Carol for the first time he also asked her about her first name. In the next excerpt it is John who starts the conversation.

```
(6.1) [AJ1] Opening of the interaction
1. JON:    uh so anyway Akiko
2. AKI:    yeah
3. JON: → wes your name; what 'bout your last name
```

In this opening it is interesting to observe the type of activity that John is engaged in. He repeats his co-participant's first name as a confirmation of who his co-participant is, which indicates that they are merely acquaintances. As he needs to be reminded about her first name, there does not seem to be an involved interactional history between John and Akiko. In this interaction John, and Akiko to a much lesser extent, engage in activities to find out more about each other, and these include requests for information, i.e., personal questions (not of an intimate nature).

Personal questions of the sort *what do you do?, where do you come from?*, *where do you live*? engender a particular type of sequence that Svennevig (1999) calls the self-presentational sequence. Svennevig has identified three moves in that sequence and the first move is the presentation-eliciting question which concerns biographical information or community membership (1999, p. 100). The second move is self-presentation and the preferred response is to present information

that expands on the initial question. In that way it can generate a topic and give the interactants an opportunity to find common ground. However, minimal responses to the presentation-eliciting question are usually followed by more questions and answers as the questioner pursues a more complete response. The third move is the question-elicitor's response to the self-presentation, which consists of a few possibilities: an acknowledgement token (or a continuer), a continuation elicitor in the form of a topicalizer (e.g. *really?*) or a focused topical question, or a self-oriented comment. Even though Svennevig's observations were made on Scandinavian languages (Swedish and Norwegian), they are applicable to the present study as we find the same pattern in Australian English. Svennevig (1999) found in his research that the question about names constitutes an opening sequence, and is therefore a short sequence. Nonetheless, in the present study the question about Akiko's surname engendered a lengthier sequence which is reproduced below in excerpt (6.2). This was analysed in chapter 5 from a different perspective (section 5.1.3):

```
(6.2) [AJ1] Akiko's unusual surname

1. JON:    uh so anyway Akiko ((JON is holding a mug))
2. AKI:    yeah
3. JON:    wes your name; what 'bout your last name
4. AKI:    last name- my name- my last name is A.. A..
5. JON:    is there a j in there somewhere
6. AKI:    no ((spells the name))
7. JON:    oh ((repeats surname))
8.     (1.3)
10. AKI:      °°yeah°°
11. JON:      oh yea[h, it sounds
12. AKI:            [it's an unaj unusual name for Japanese.=
13. JON:      = rea↑lly, yeah ['t sounds a bit unusual;
14. AKI:                      [(yeah_)
15. AKI: →    yea::h, (0.5) [nobody- •hh[hh yeah nobody cannot
16. JON:                    [mm         [m↑:::m.
17. AKI:      rea:d my na:me;
18. JON:      r↑ea:↓lly;=
19. AKI:      =kan-gh er you know kanji?
20. JON:      ye[ah yeh yeah I know of ka n j i  y ea h,]
21. AKI:        [japanese character Chi n e se character]
22. AKI:      yeah,
23. JON:      °°↑a:::h.°° they can't-=
24. AKI:      =lepeat it.= ((repeat))
25. JON:      =<really, normally people can't couldn't read
26.           your name;=
27. AKI:      =yeah; after first ti:me;=
28. JON:      =<r↑ea↓lly,>=
29. AKI:      =so I have to explain how to rea:d;
30. JON:      ↑wo:w.
```

The fact that this sequence about Akiko's surname is so long shows that another activity is taking place at the same time, i.e., providing a cross-cultural explanation regarding the peculiarity of her surname (lines 15, 17), that Japanese people cannot her read her name written in kanji. Svennevig adds that the initiator of the self-presentational sequence, in this case John, "may connect to the other's self-presentation by presenting their own experiences, knowledge or attitudes that are in some way related to it" (1999, p. 101). This is precisely what John does following Akiko's surname sequence by talking about the peculiarity of his own surname. The sequence (6.2) above is followed by a similar one shown below in excerpt (6.3). In excerpt (6.3) John confides that he has the same problem in English as Akiko inasmuch as when he pronounces his name people do not know how to spell it. In doing so he is affiliating with Akiko. However he indicates that her case is more complicated since she cannot simply spell her name and she needs to show the writing because Japanese uses kanji and not an alphabet like English (*but I cn jess say it's o* line 38; *you can't do that* line 42). While he is showing some common ground he is also implying that there is an added cross-cultural element in Akiko's case, which highlights the differences between the two cultures.

```
(6.3)[AJ1] John's surname (7 turns are omitted between the two
sequences))

36. JON: →   cos it's the same with me;=people ↓usually can't
37.          spell my name first ↑off,
38. JON:     [but I cn jess say it's o
39. AKI:     [yeah yeah;
40. JON:     ((spells his name))
41. AKI:     huh huh hu[h
42. JON:               [hah hah huh you can't do that;
43. JON:     [hah hah hah
44. AKI:     [hhhhhhhhhhh <yeah just do: write the- (0.9)
45.          yeah, ↑that er- (0.3) that ↑each Chinese character …
```

Besides this type of self-presentation, there are other ways of introducing oneself, such as the explanation sequence below. In the next excerpt (6.4), it is

Akiko who initiates the sequence, so in this first interaction it is seen as an unusual action. In this sequence Akiko initiates a few turns-at-talk and is the primary speaker. The explanation sequence is preceded by a pre-sequence. In this pre-sequence Akiko is looking for the go-ahead from John before she can fully launch into an explanation of the reason why she wanted to meet a native/expert speaker:

```
(6.4) [AJ1] Pre-sequence of Akiko's unprompted explanation

108. AKI: → °°shoud::°° (0.8)  why I wanted to meet the native speaker.
109.        shoul-I should I (e)x[(p)l(a)i(n), huh huh huh
110. JON:                         [OH Only if you like;
111. JON:   I-I- cn sortev ima:gine [but how ya cn- how you j- hahhah hah
112. AKI:                           [hhhhhhh ah yeah huh huh huh huh
113.        hhhhhhhhh yeah because I'm- (0.7) I came here (0.7)last
114.        last month no-
```

In this pre-sequence she tentatively offers an explanation: she hedges (°°*should::*°° line 108) speaking softly, self-interrupts by pausing, then restarts a sentence to give an explanation (*why I wanted to meet a native speaker*). She finishes her turn by partially recycling her turn beginning with a stutter (*shoul-I should I*) and ending her utterance with the suggestion whether she should justify this encounter (*should I explain*). Note that the order of her clauses is odd. She starts with *should* (line 108), and instead of finishing her sentence after the pause, she restarts with what should have been the second part of her question i.e., the subordinate clause and not the main clause (*why I wanted to meet a native speaker*).

This tentative pre-sequence, which contains hitches and perturbations, points to some discomfort as it has features of troubles-talk (Barraja-Rohan, 2003b; Jefferson, 1988), and may be an indication of the lack of confidence (or embarrassment) that Akiko mentions in the stimulated recall following the interaction. The laughter initiated by Akiko (line 109) which is not reciprocated by John, could be an indication that the trouble (or embarrassment) is not getting the better of her (Jefferson, 1984b). By not reciprocating this kind of laughter John is displaying the preferred response. Overlapping her utterance and display

of discomfort, John gives Akiko the go-ahead (line 110). He strongly affiliates with her by indicating that she does not have to explain anything if she feels uncomfortable with doing so, and he can figure out what motivates her (*OH Only if you like I-I- cn sort of imagine*). At the next transition relevance place after *imagine* (line 111), Akiko overlaps John who continues with further talk, and she launches into a laughing session (line 112), which John eventually reciprocates (lines 111-112). Then Akiko embarks on her explanation having received "permission" from John in 113. In that way she is disclosing her motivation, and engaging in a self-presentational sequence.

Excerpt (6.5) below is the sequence following the pre-sequence analysed above, and constitutes Akiko's explanation of her desire to interact with native speakers to improve her English. She explains that she is sharing a flat with a Japanese friend, and consequently she speaks Japanese with her and has limited opportunities to speak English outside of class.

```
(6.5) [AJ1] Akiko's explanation

115. AKI: → yeah because I'm- (0.) I came here (0.5)
116.        last last month; no- (0.6) this is twenty second? …
((A repair sequence on the date over 4 turns is omitted))
122. AKI:   an I rivirre arrive here at the: ↑fifteen ev
123.        February so it has been almost a month. a month and-
124. JON:   m↑:::m.
125. AKI:   but I'm living in I'm sharing with a Japanese friend.
126. JON:      ↑a::h.
127. AKI:   I'm sharing a flat [with Japanese friend
128. JON:                      [m:m;
129. AKI:   so most of my: (1.6) em so this- language I speak
130.        is Japanese, so:,
131. JON:   ↑m:m I understand completely it's the kind of …
```

When Akiko is engaged in her explanation, John refrains from taking a long turn and produces receipt tokens (*m↑:::m* lines 124; *a::h* 126; *mm* line128), playing the role of the listener. Once Akiko has produced a formulation indicating that her explanation is completed (line 129), John launches into a multi-unit turn in which he shows his understanding and affiliates with Akiko's situation (line 131). In affiliating with Akiko he provides a further explanation of the situation in which

Akiko finds herself, i.e., having limited opportunities to speak English. Finding common ground is an important aspect of first encounters, and its role is to engender more talk so the co-conversationalists can get to know each other. This sequence is shown in excerpt (6.6) below.

```
(6.6) [AJ1] John's sympathetic explanation

133. JON: → ↑m:m I understand completely it's the kind of
134.        er trap that you get into I think, a [(    )
135. AKI:                                        [a trap?
136. AKI:   huh [huh yeah yeah YEAH $that's right;$ ]
137. JON:       [well er it's a kinda trap fer people]
138. JON:   coming er er [er
139. AKI:                [another coun[try
140. JON:                             [especially for
141.        coming to with the purpose
142         [of  /improving your Engl[ish.
143. AKI:   [mm;/raises eyebrows     [°mmhm,°((nods))
144. JON:   but you often meet people be[cause you're far
145. AKI:                                [hhyea:h,
146. JON:   more comfortable with someone you [learn you-
147. AKI:                                     [yehha:h,
148. JON:   you-you cn- you can speak freely [with, hh
149. AKI:                                    [mmhm,((nods))
150. JON:    right¿ <you wanna look et someone you can
151.      → speak with, otherwise it's terribly lonely
152.      → [or    /↓could get I can imagine. so you're
153. AKI:   [mmhm,/nods
154. JON:   trying- (0.6) ↑yeah an [then: the- but- then- I
155. AKI:                          [(  )
156. JON:   cn then you try 'n- (0.9) see with someone that
157.        you: (0.5) cn speak with you in your
158.         /↑own language. [an then you tend you jess tend
159. AKI:   /((nods))        [mm;
160. JON:   by natural sortev forces to assoc[iate with
161. AKI:                                    [y e↑a: :h;
162. JON:   people [the ↑same way so I cn imagine, it's
163. AKI:          [mm;
164. JON:   hard. [most people have that problem I think.
165. AKI:         [have you-
166.   (0.3)
167. AKI:   oh really,
168. JON:   yea:h yea::h,
169. AKI:   ↑you ever been to- the °countries°
```

From line 133 John aligns with Akiko by showing his understanding of her situation (*I understand completely*), and he provides his own explanation. From this moment on he takes long multi-unit turns and Akiko mainly responds minimally with receipt tokens. She does not offer comments nor does she affiliate with John's attempt to sympathise with her situation, explaining in general terms what it must be like for L2 international students like Akiko, coming to live in

Australia. By talking in general terms John is actually addressing Akiko's own situation and the difficulties that she must be facing. Nonetheless, Akiko is not orienting to the affiliative work that John is doing; she does not overtly display her understanding of what John is trying to achieve, nor does she make any reference to her own situation. Akiko may be struggling to understand John and his Australian accent, as he speaks at a normal speech rate.

Akiko could have made numerous comments throughout this sequence as the topic, which John chose, was so pertinent to her. In doing so, John was trying to find common ground with Akiko, i.e., engaging her through sharing similar experience. Even though she is not showing much engagement, occasionally she displays a more engaged recipiency. For instance, she repeats in overlap the word *trap* (line 135) with a rising intonation then laughs (line 136). Echoing the word *trap* with rising intonation is a strategy that Akiko uses when she does not understand an item, as she reported during the stimulated recall afterwards. She also commented that she understood its meaning after repeating it. However the way she display her new epistemic stance can be This is evidenced by the agreement phrase that she produces (*$that's right;$* line 136) after uttering a series of acknowledgment tokens with the third one louder than the others (*yeah yeah YEAH* line 136*)*, which may be an indication that it was then that she finally understood the problematic lexical item hence her display of merriment. This turn in 136 may be seen as some form of self-talk. As she deploys laughter and a smiling voice, she shows disalignment with John. Thus, she appears completely unconvinced by John's assertion (lines 133-134) that interacting within your own language community can be a trap, as one does not have opportunities to practise L2.

For John it is not clear why Akiko laughs after repeating the word *trap*. He does not reciprocate her laughter; in fact his demeanour is very serious when he states this. He overlaps Akiko's laughter to make a case for his assertion, beginning his utterance with *well* (line 137) followed by a hesitation marker, which could

preface a dispreferred response, i.e., a disagreement with Akiko's seemingly making light of his assertion. He reiterates his prior statement to emphasise his point (lines 137-8). Akiko attempts to collaboratively complete John's utterance (line 139) but John who is on a different tack does not take up her candidate suggestion. Note that during this whole sequence Akiko's gaze is intently directed toward John, which indicates a heightened interest on Akiko's part in the topic[67]. In addition, her contributions up to line 139 show that she is actively engaged. However, from line 143 onward, she primarily utters receipt tokens that are mainly continuers, with some showing more engagement than others, such as *yeah* uttered breathily with elongated vowel *hhyea:h,* (line 145). The breathiness indicates some kind of emphatic reaction, but no more than that. The placements of these response tokens as well as her nods occur at points indicating that Akiko is following John's explanation (at least the gist of it) but they do not claim understanding. This behaviour is typical of her first interaction with John.

Even when John gives Akiko a chance of intervening when he says: *otherwise it's terribly lonely or ↓could get I can imagine* (lines 151, 152), Akiko still refrains from disclosing her opinion on the matter or about her personal experience. John's turn is specifically recipient-designed: he is making an assessment of overseas students' experience, which is affiliative and can be taken as a formulation, and therefore a point when change of speakers could be relevant. In addition, the terminal contour at the end of this utterance (line 152) is grammatically, intonationally and pragmatically complete (Ford & Thompson, 1996), so the end of his turn constructional unit (TCU) can constitute a turn relevance place (TRP) for Akiko. Her timing would need to be accurate as there would be just a split second pause after the completion of this TCU, nonetheless this split second is enough for speaker change in L1 conversations (see Ford & Thompson, 1996). Further on in his turn when he starts a new TCU *(so you're trying- (0.6) ↑yeah* lines

[67] Akiko also revealed during the stimulated recall that she was concentrating very hard on every word that John was saying, and as a result she found it difficult to react quickly and to express herself, so she felt frustrated most of the time.

152, 154), John pauses where again Akiko could come in. However Akiko does not respond to John's suggestion that it could be a lonely experience. She simply indicates that she is following John's talk by producing a continuer (*mmhm,* line 153*)* at a TRP in overlap with John just after he utters the word *lonely*. Thus, twice Akiko misses an opportunity to take the floor. Akiko does not even produce an acknowledgment token, but a very minimal continuer. This continuer seems to show disengagement here, whereas earlier in the sequence she had shown more engagement, as discussed previously. She might be pondering over what he is saying and using the strategy of letting it pass[68] (mentioned previously) or struggling to express her opinion (refer to footnote 61).

Toward the end of the sequence John displays another affiliative assessment when he says *so I cn imagine, it's hard. most people have that problem I think* (lines 162, 164). John is making an evaluation about the type of situation that international students could find themselves in, which could parallel Akiko's own situation. What John means is that associating with people from the same nationality or language background and not being able to mix with local students can make it difficult to learn L2. He is again sympathising with Akiko's own situation since she lives with another Japanese national, and so does not have many opportunities to speak L2 and meet Australians. In making this assessment and formulation he throws the ball back to Akiko as his display of his affiliation and alignment begs for a reaction from Akiko. However, what needs to be noted is that Akiko tries to take the floor at the TRP (*have you-* line 165) after John's utterance (*it's hard.*) and overlaps John's new TCU *most people have that problem I think*. She leans backward then forward when she utters the initial part of what will become her question (line 169). Therefore she treats John's assessment *it's hard* as a formulation, i.e., signalling the end of his sequence. She does not complete her utterance as John's speech rate is very fast. It seems that in this utterance she was already trying to make a topic shift by asking John the question

[68] According to Stanford (2012), who is an expert on Japanese culture, this kind of talk may have been embarrassing for a Japanese because what John said was too close to her own situation, and she may have found this intrusive.

that she formulates later as to whether John had been overseas (line 169). John produces another assessment and formulation (*most people have that problem I think.*). She responds but with a slight delay after a short pause uttering the newsmarker *oh really* (line 167). She does not offer further comments, nor does she give her opinion about her own situation, and whether it is hard for her. In fact, she is closing down the topic with the newsmarker, as she has nothing else to add; *oh really* is topic curtailing and she produces no assessment in the third turn position (Jefferson, 1981). In the following turn John responds with an acknowledgment token *yeah* (line 168) confirming his prior statement *most people have that problem I think*. Then he produces another *yeah* (line 168) uttered with a rising intonation which seems to act more like a continuer. Hence John could have been expecting a longer response in the following turn when he made the assertion. He is expressing an opinion which could be commented on (*most people have that problem I think* line 164). However, Akiko engages in a topic shift (which she had been preparing in line 165) by asking him whether he has travelled overseas (line 169). By posing this question, Akiko may be trying to establish if John is speaking from first-hand experience.

We find out later that John was talking from first-hand experience as he had been to Taiwan where he did not speak much the language and was struggling to communicate with Taiwanese. It is right after this sequence (6.6) that John engages in a second story (data not shown) after being prompted by Akiko's question *(↑you ever been to- the °countries°*), where he talks about his experience as an international student in the United States for one year.

The next excerpt (6.7) shows a short attempt by Akiko to produce a telling, however, this is prompted by John's question (*have you been very far?*). The pragmatic import of this yes/no question implies an expanded response requiring more than an affirmative or a negative answer but naming locations, which may engender a sequence. Akiko initially responds in the affirmative and adds an increment of the adverbial extension type (*from Japan* line 486) (Ford et

al., 2002). This is one of the very few occasions in which Akiko takes a longer turn-at-talk, where she produces three TCUs and an increment, thus playing the role of primary speaker.

```
(6.7) [AJ1] Going on a scenic drive

479. JON:    have you been very far?
480.   (0.8) ((AKI is gazing at JON then raises her eyebrows))
481. JON:    from Clay[ton huh huh I mean;
482. AKI:             [from Clayton
483. AKI: →  ah yeah to the city and- the other day we had a
484.         (.) friend,
485. JON:    mm.
486. AKI:    from Japan; so
487. JON:    °°a::h,°°
488. AKI:    we went to- (0.9) we went to the-the Great Ocean
489.         Road.
490. JON:    ah that's nice. [yeah;
491. AKI:                    [yeah it's very nice;
492. JON:    yeah; was it good- weather?
493. AKI:    yah very good wea[ther;
494. JON:                     [oh that's grea[::t;
495. AKI:                                    [because it-
496. AKI:    the- <the beginning of this month so it's been
497.         good (.) [weather.
498. JON:             [n:i::ce;=
499. AKI:    °°y::ah it's ni:ce;°°
500. JON:    it- it tends to be very windy there. was it
501.         win[dy when you
502. AKI:       [rilly not so windy=
503. JON:    =oh [that's ni:ce;
504. AKI:        [only the- sun-shine hh[hh
505. JON:                               [ah that's so nice
506.         how far did you get along the road.
```

In this excerpt (6.7), Akiko initiates a telling after John asked her if she had seen much of the country (*have you been very far?* line 479), which occasions a repair sequence after a long pause. During this pause Akiko is gazing at John with a blank look then raises her eyebrows. This kinesic activity[69] appears to act as an open class initiator (Seo & Koshik, 2010), so John reformulates his question to make it more specific (*from Clayton* line 481). It is clear from Akiko's expression and body language that she does not understand his question. After John's repair (*from Clayton huh huh I mean* line 481) Akiko gives her answer (line 483), which initially consists of an affirmative reply. Then she adds an adverbial extension (*ah yeah to the city and-*), where she alludes to the fact that she has been to the city. She

[69] This pause is constituted by a specific kinesic activity and, in this context, an eyebrow flash combined with silence - instead of responding and producing a second pair part - could be taken as a repair initiation.

appends this TCU with *and* indicating that another TCU is forthcoming. However, the conjunction *and* is produced with a cut-off which is forward looking and points to a problem not yet produced (Schegloff, 1979). Akiko cuts herself short, abandons her previous utterance and changes tack. In adding another TCU she actually engages in a new activity, that of storytelling, which is prefaced with a time locator *the other day*, then she proceeds to tell the story (*and-the other day we had a friend* lines 483-484). The second TCU constitutes an expansion, since she has already produced the second pair part to John's question, and she is now expanding on her answer, talking about a different outing. Therefore, when Akiko initiates a story about going on a scenic drive "The Great Ocean Road", she produces two TCUs in the expansion: the first TCU (*the other day we had a (.) friend* lines 483-4), one adverbial increment (*from Japan* line 486) and the second TCU (*so we went to- (0.9) we went to the-the Great Ocean Road.* lines 488-9) accomplished over three turns. The *so* produced after the increment is used as a turn holder, indicating that there is more talk to come. However, once Akiko gives the name of the place where they went she does not elaborate on her story, i.e., how far they went on the scenic drive, whether they enjoyed it, what they did, what sort of weather they had, etc. It is John who, through his questions, enables Akiko to expand on her two single-unit turns to produce a longer narrative. John gives an assessment (*ah that's nice yeah* line 490), which Akiko upgrades by adding the intensifier *very* (*[yeah it's very nice;* line 491) (Pomerantz, 1984a). This is achieved through a terminal overlap on John's resumptive *yeah*. Then, John engages in finding out more about her trip (line 492) and asking her questions (*was it good- weather?*). It is through this active co-constructive work that John obtains more information about Akiko's trip.

The next excerpt (6.8) is a continuation of the same sequence and shows that John is seeking some additional information relating to Akiko's trip. First, he asks Akiko how far they went on the road as it stretches for a few hundred kilometres (*how far did you get along the road* line 506). In the next turn, Akiko

produces what seems an inappropriate second pair part as she responds that they rented a car (*uh we hired a ca::r,* line 50).

```
(6.8) [AJ1] The Great Ocean Road (continued)

506. JON:    how far did you get along the road
507. AKI: →  uh we hired a ca:r;
508. JON:    oh yeah
509. AKI:    °yeah°
510.   (0.3)
511. AKI:    °°and: to,°°
512. JON: →  'bout there,='cos there are a lot of cities an
513.         little towns on the ↓way;=
514. AKI:    =↑yeah ye[ah,↑
515. JON:             [an you cn go: (0.3) to the en:d; [well
516. AKI:                                               [(  )
517. JON:    you cn jess go through half way an then turn
518.         back 'n °°(do [smthing like that)°°
519. AKI: →                [↑ah we- we went to the-
520. AKI:    to Port ↓Campbell;
```

Her response (line 507) may have been a preface (i.e., a pre-sequence) to her second pair part and John aligns as a recipient (line 508). Further on she starts an utterance but she aborts it (°°*and: to,*°° line 511), thus she fails to give the second pair part to John's question. Her attempt (°°*and: to,*°°) could have been the start of an appropriate response to John's initial question (*how far did you get along the road* line 506). Her utterance (line 511) is spoken very softly and not clearly, which may not have been heard or understood by John as he continues to pursue an adequate response. It is difficult to ascertain what Akiko was actually trying to do in this instance, as her utterance is unfinished and unclear. Nonetheless it appears as though she was beginning to give a second pair part as she was using the preposition *to* which could be pointing to a location. This turn is preceded by a short pause and prior to that Akiko repeats *yeah* (line 509) but does not add anything else. The pause and the very soft voice may be an indication of some hesitancy on Akiko's part as to what sort of answer or town John is requiring. This becomes clearer in 519 as Akiko produces the state-of-change token *ah* indicating a new understanding and she produces the required response.

It is interesting to observe that John, after posing his question (line 506), treats Akiko's response (*uh we hired a car*) as sequentially appropriate[70] by saying *oh yeah*, thus accepting it instead of initiating a third position repair. John may be interpreting it as a preface to her response and, as mentioned above, may not have heard °°*and: to,*°° as it is uttered very softly. Subsequently, when no second pair part is forthcoming, he pursues the topic (*'bout there 'cos there are a lot of cities an little towns on the way* line 512). He does not drop the topic, contrary to Long's (1996) claim that in ordinary L1-L2 conversations topics are dropped by the NS if there are any linguistic or comprehension problems. Instead, John pursues the topic explaining that there are various towns on the way, which may be viewed as some form of embedded repair[71] (Jefferson, 1987), as intersubjectivity seems to be threatened.

In this way, John does not make the repair overt as he is explaining his initial question by providing additional information (*'bout there,='cos there are a lot of cities an little towns on the ↓way* line 512). He is scaffolding through an insertion sequence, building on Akiko's own understanding and not interrupting the flow. For instance, he gives her different possibilities as to where one can go on the Great Ocean Road: *an you cn go: (0.3) to the en:d* (line 515) and *you cn jess go through half way an then turn back 'n °° (do [smthing like that)*°° (lines 517-8). It is after John's utterance (*you cn jess go through half way an then turn back* line 518), overlapping the last part of his utterance that finally Akiko gives the second pair part (lines 519-520) to John's initial question (*how far did you go along the road*). In terminal overlap, Akiko gives the appropriate response after producing a receipt token *(↑ah*) indicating her sudden realisation of what it is that John was asking: *↑ah we- we went to the- to Port ↓Campbell*. Now it appears that she had misunderstood John's initial question and what she was trying to do in 511 (°°*and: to,*°°) can be taken as

[70] John behaves in a similar way to what Wagner (2003) found in his NS-NNS data, in that in some instances misunderstandings are not repaired so that the flow of the conversation is not interrupted.
[71] An embedded repair is a covert type of repair which is made in passing without interrupting the ongoing trajectory of the sequence.

speculative. The sequence on the Great Ocean scenic drive continues as shown in the following excerpt (6.9):

```
(6.9) [AJ1] The Great Ocean Road (continued)

521.   (0.4)
522. JON:    a::[:h yeh yeh yeh yeh;
523. AKI:       [Port Campbell the town of Port Campbell is
524.         it a-(0.5) final [town.
525. JON:                     [it's not quite [the end.
526. AKI:                                     [not quite
527. JON:    Port Campbell is a- (1.5) so that's sortev-
528.         that's sortev jess past the twelve apostles.
529. (0.2)
530. AKI:    y:[a : : s;
531. JON:      [>is that right?<=
532. AKI:    =ye[ah that's right. mm.
533. JON:       [yeah it's not too far then. that's not
534.         quite the end; it goes still fer a while yeah;=
535. AKI:    =I see;
```

Akiko initiates a repair in the form of a confirmation request (*Port Campbell the town of Port Campbell is it a- (0.5) final [town* lines 523-4): she produces a cut-off with an intraturn pause marking something as not being the best possible form she can produce. Note that *uhms* are backward looking to a problem and cut-offs are forward looking to a problem (Schegloff, 1979). She wants to know if Port Campbell is the last town on the Great Ocean Road, however she formulates it in a non-native fashion by saying *is it a final town*. John produces an embedded repair (line 525) as he does not simply reply with a yes, even though Akiko's question requires a yes or no answer, but responds with a complete sentence which gives the native-like form: *it's not quite the end*. In an overlap Akiko partially repeats the first part of John's utterance (*not quite* line 526) but she does not repeat *the end*. That she does not quite express herself like a native speaker here is not an issue for her and nor is it for John.

Then, John continues in his role of information provider as in the next turn, he states that Port Campbell is not the end of the Great Ocean Road (lines 527-8), information which is confirmed by Akiko following a brief pause with an emphatic and elongated *yeah* (*y:[a : : s;* line 530), which is overlapped by a confirmation request by John (line 531). Thus John is checking that the

information he is supplying is correct, i.e., that Port Campbell is past the Twelve Apostles (>*is that right?*<=), which is confirmed by Akiko in the following turn (line 532). However, this information has already been confirmed by Akiko (line 530) and when John overlaps Akiko's confirmation regarding the location of Port Campbell in relation to the Twelve Apostles, John has already heard the first sound of *yeah* to project what Akiko is doing. Therefore on the surface, his request for confirmation (line 531) appears redundant. As soon as John hears the first part of the confirmation *yeah*, which is all he needs, he jumps in, overlapping Akiko's second confirmation produced as a full sentence (*ye[ah that's right. mm.* line 532), and he adds that their road trip was not too long (*yeah it's not too far then*)[72]. After that, John mostly recycles his prior utterance *that's not quite the end*, to emphasise that Akiko and her friend did not reach the end of the Great Ocean Road, then he reiterates in a different manner what he previously said *it goes still fer a while yeah* (line 534).

It is through an analysis of the entire sequence that one can grasp a better understanding of what the conversationalists are orienting to and how they solve potential threats to intersubjectivity, as it was the case in this particular sequence. Once the problem has been resolved John takes on the role of primary speaker once again, resuming his role of information provider, giving a lengthy explanation about that scenic drive. Akiko's role is again confined to that of the listener, i.e., information receiver, as evidenced in the sequence below (6.10), which is more typical of the whole interaction, where she overwhelmingly produces receipt tokens to John's informing (lines 580, 584, 586, 588, 592, 596). At times, John asks Akiko some questions (*d'yunno the Shakespeare play the Tempest?* line 595), checking her knowledge in order to be able to continue with the description of other attractions that the Great Ocean Road offers.

```
(6.10) [AJ1] John's explanation about the Ocean Road and Loch-Ard
Gorge

576. JON:     °I can't remember.° er they had er- it's er-
577.          (0.6) er yunno the other pass where you cn
```

[72] In Australia road trips can be very lengthy.

```
578.          sortev walk down: walk down to the: beach; well
579.          not really beach.
580. AKI: →   mmhm,
581. JON:     er there-there pass thet have a kinda: the
582.          cliff sortev: instead of jess going straight
583.          along it goes turns in like this,
584. AKI: →   oh yeah;
585. JON:     like that? an [and you can actually go down an
586. AKI: →                 [yeah,
587. JON:     there's a kinda a little beach,
588. AKI: →   ↑o::::[::h.
589. JON:           [and er they have er- <anyway they have
590.          they have few of these things. = so one ev'em
591.          which is called Loch-Ard Gorge;
592. AKI: →   Loch-Ard Gorge. [mm.
593. JON:                     [they have er er last over the
594.          summer; they had er- er d'yunno the Shakespeare
595.          play the Tempest?
596. AKI: →   yeah; I know;
597. JON:     <they had that there¿>
598.    (0.3)
599. AKI: →   ah↓ r↑ea↓ll[y;
600. JON:                [cos it's often windy, an I think …
```

The next excerpt (6.11) exemplifies that on some occasions Akiko shows more engagement besides simply producing response tokens (lines 620, 624, 626). In an overlap she produces a more engaged listener response in the form of the newsmarker (*really* line 618) together with an assessment (*it's interesting* line 618) still in overlap, and a terminal assessment in a sentential form (°*sounds very interesting*° line 629).

```
(6.11) [AJ1] John's continued explanation (some lines have been
omitted).
616. JON:     yeah actual actors 'n (0.3)
617.          [an that kinda thing [ye↑a:::h;
618. AKI: →   [r↑eally;            [it's interesting
619. JON:     y↑ea:h; it woulda been so interesti[ng to go
620. AKI:                                        [ah yeah;
621. JON:     but I- yeah I couldn't go cos it'll-it'll take
622.          a bit of organising, I think the best thing
623.          you'll have to stay there overnight
624. AKI:     yah;
625. JON:     I think so
626. AKI:     yeah;
627.    (1.1)
628. JON:     °I think so yeah°
629. AKI: →   °sounds very interesting.°
```

Moving from recipiency to speakership requires the conversationalist to take the floor over multiple turns. This could be achieved by making lengthy comments, explanations or by offering a second story in response to the primary speaker's first story (Sacks, 1992), or by proposing topic shading or simply changing the topic, etc. In the case at hand it requires the non-expert L2 speaker not only to take on the role of questioner and storyteller like John, but to also express her views to expand on her responses. Akiko is able to do this occasionally when she asks John where he lives, after a long sequence initiated by John who has just asked Akiko that same question. However in asking John that question, Akiko places herself in the recipient's role again as she does not continue the questioning. Then John launches into lengthy multi-unit turns to respond to her question. This sequence is illustrated below in excerpt (6.12) where Akiko reproduces her typical interactional pattern of a listener, mainly providing minimal responses and short single-unit turns. At times, Akiko asks John a question and makes short comments (assessments) as in the example below:

```
 (6.12) [AJ1] Akiko's typical interactional pattern

337. AKI: →  where-where do you live.
338. JON:    I live in South Yarra
339.   (0.4)
340. AKI:    (   )
341. JON:    South Yarra so [it's near the city
342. AKI: →                 [a:::h.
343. JON:    so I catch the tra[in and [bus. yeah yeah
344. AKI: →                    [oh     [and bus.
345. AKI: →  a:::h a little bit far from [the university •
346. JON:                                [it's a- yeah it's
347. JON:    a bit far yea:h b't it's okay I find that cos
348.         most of the travel (1.8) usually most of the
349.         travel is on- train
350. AKI: →  mm,
351. JON:    so I can do a lot of reading I find
352.         tr[ains are jess easy too,
353. AKI: →    [ah.
354. JON:    an because luckily em it's in the morning but
355.         er all the people er so it is rush hour
356. AKI: →  ye[ah,
357. JON:      [usually round when I go but most people are
358.         travelling into the city
359. AKI: →  I [see;
360. JON:      [but I'm travelling the other way
361. AKI: →  yeah,
```

In sum, we have seen that in some rare instances, Akiko takes on the role of primary speaker, such as engaging in storytelling or an explanation, where she produces more than one single unit turn, even producing multi-unit turns with complex clauses as in excerpts (6.3) and (6.4) where she explained the reason why she wanted to meet a native speaker. However, she remains in the listener role for the majority of the time. She actively co-constructs this recipiency and passes up opportunities to expand on her answers or express her viewpoint as discussed previously (e.g. excerpt 6.6). This recipiency involves little talk, producing minimal responses, i.e., short single unit turns such as response tokens (continuers, acknowledgment tokens, assessments, newsmarker, news receipts) as illustrated in excerpts (6.10) and (6.12). Occasionally, Akiko asks John a question such as *have you been to- the countries* (excerpt 6.6), and *where-where do you live* (excerpt 6.12), thereby making a full sentence, but these questions remain exceptional in this interaction.

In sum, the first interaction with John shows Akiko as mostly playing the listener role, but this does not mean that she is disengaged from the interaction. On the contrary, she is an engaged recipient as illustrated by her laughing, maintaining her gaze on John, making claims of understanding (*I see*), initiating some repairs (confirmation request, e.g. excerpt 6.9) or expressing her lack of understanding nonverbally as in excerpt (6.7). That Akiko is an engaged listener indicates her overall comprehension. She follows John's talk, even if she does not understand every word, which is testified by the placement of her response tokens, her collaborative completions, which are sometimes accepted, and her partial repetitions of John's utterances. Nonetheless, she generally produces minimal responses often in the form of single utterance turns, and takes few initiatives. From that perspective, this interaction with John is asymmetrical in that the turns are not equally distributed, even though both participants have equal rights to the turn-taking system. Overall, John engages in multi-unit turns and in long turns-at-talk, whereas Akiko engages in short turns. The asymmetry in turn sequences

that dominates this interaction is actively co-constructed by Akiko for the reasons given above.

The last excerpt (6.13) illustrates a more equal turn taking. Both participants have discovered that they have common friends or acquaintances, so they engage in a very different social activity. In this short sequence, which occurs at the end of the interaction, the turns are more equally shared and there are no interturn pauses:

```
(6.13) [AJ1] Common friends

808. JON: →  who-who d'you- who d'you ↑live with; I mean iz this someone
809.         you knew while you were in Japan?
810. AKI: →  yeah [yeah yeah yunno ↑Komi,
811. JON:         [okay; right;
812. JON:    oh that's [true (h)ohhhhh heh heh heh hehheh
813. AKI:              [(h)u(h)(h)uhhuhuh hih hih hih (s)(h)(e)
814. AKI:    [hhh ↓she is the person I live wi]th. I live with↓
815. JON:    [↑a::h okay. ah I didn't realise.]
816.         >oh I'm glad.=there's a ↓little community the:re;↓<
817. AKI:    yea:h,
818. JON:    an Erisa jess down the road,
819. AKI:    *yeah;*
820. JON:    yeah; [°wow°
821. AKI:          [and the Emily? Emily Be.
822. JON:    ↑a::h okay.
823. AKI:    we are sha[ring with (her)
824. JON:              [also Emily is with you.
825. AKI:    yeah;
826. JON:    ↑a:wright.↑ (0.6) ↑okay;
827. AKI:    ↑so I have a chance to speak (.) English
828.         with Emily; [↓but not so much now.
829. JON:                [mm
830. JON:    [yeh yeh; she-she's sortev qui:et; [as well isn't she.
831. AKI:    [so;                               [yeah ↑yeah;
832. AKI:    a little quiet.
833. JON:    yeah; °'though I dunn-dunno her well;°
834. AKI:    (h)uh huh
835. JON:    °bu'° yeh yeh ↑mm [yea::h (h)u[huh
836. AKI:                      [yes        [so
837. AKI:    <with Erisa we speak in Japanes:(h)e;>
838. JON:    ah o' cour:se [yea:h; bcos she iz so goo:d; heh hahahahah
839. AKI:                  [hhhhhhhhhhhhh (h)eh heh heh heh (s)(h)(e)
840. AKI:    she's ve:ry good at Japanese I was surprised;
841. JON:    I've heard that she's sortev fluent;
842. AKI:    yeah; <very fluent;>
843. JON:    yeah; wow she spent quite a while in Japan
844.         what- [with her dad.
845. AKI:          [yeah
846. JON:    ↓when ee goes 'er father's there;↓ ↑iz ee still there?
847. AKI:    yep. ther- er yeah her parents are still in- [Japan;
848. JON:                                                [°mmhm.°
849. JON:    °yeah° that-that must be odd; heh [heh heh hehheh (h)eh (h)eh
850. AKI:                                      [heh heh heh (h)eh(h)eh
851. JON:    (h)eh
852. AKI:    hhhhhhh
```

```
853. JON:     °°mm true;°° [but-
854. AKI:                  [°she's great;°
```

After quite a few attempts, it is finally toward the end of the interaction that the participants are able to find some common ground. By asking questions, John pursues his agenda related to first encounters in wanting to get to know Akiko better (see Svennevig, 1999), questions that Akiko seldom reciprocates. John initiates a new sequence with the question *who-who d'you- who d'you live with* (line 808), which he reformulates and formats as a confirmation request (*I mean iz this someone you knew while you were in Japan?* lines 808-9). The reformulation is relevant here, as earlier in the interaction in excerpt (6.5), Akiko had mentioned that she was living with another Japanese student. Through this sequence both participants establish their common social network and co-construct each other's information. For instance, Akiko provides more than a *yes* in her answer to John's confirmation check (*yeah [yeah yeah yunno ↑Komi,* line 810) and she reminds John that he actually knows her housemate called Komi, a fact she reiterates (*[↓she is the person I live with. I live with↓]* line 814). However, it takes John some time to realise this fact, and when he does, he overlaps with Akiko (*[↑a::h okay. ah I didn't realise.]* line 815).

After that, John is able to establish the social community that Akiko is involved with. Thus he expands on Akiko's answer (line 818) and provides the name of another person they both know who belongs to the Japanese community. They build on each other's knowledge to work out their common social network. For instance, John says: *an Erisa jess down the road,* (line 818), then Akiko adds *and the Emily? Emily Be* (line 821). John comes to the realisation a little later that there is someone else he knows, Emily, who also lives with Akiko *also Emily is with you* (line 824) as he overlaps Akiko mid utterance. What they are actually doing here is establishing their membership and categorising the people they know (Svennevig, 1999). For example, Emily is a quiet type of person, thus John makes an assessment regarding Emily (*she-she's sortev qui:et* line 830) which is downgraded

by Akiko, who nonetheless agrees with the categorisation of Emily (*a little quiet* line 832). Erisa, who appears to be an acquaintance of John's and Akiko's housemate, is categorised as being non Japanese, yet speaks Japanese fluently and her linguistic ability is treated as remarkable. Hence she becomes the object of their talk, and John and Akiko comment on her (lines 840-49). Because of Erisa's proficiency in Japanese, Akiko can speak Japanese with her (<*with Erisa we speak in Japanes:(h)e;*> line 837), which is regarded as practical and easy, a stance that Akiko is making while speaking slowing.

However, this is only a short sequence and yet again Akiko does not elaborate much on her answers, nor does she ask John questions (e.g. where did he meet Erisa or Emily, what is his connection to the Japanese community? etc.). Yet it is a familiar topic, and John actively seeks more information from Akiko as she is very not forthcoming with it. For instance, Akiko could have elaborated on the fact that Erisa is fluent in Japanese instead of responding to John's assertion (*bcos she iz so goo:d;* line 838) since Akiko knows this information (*she's very good at Japanese I was surprised* line 839); instead it is John who expands on this topic (lines 840, 842-3, 846). It is obvious from this sequence that both John and Akiko already have an (albeit short) interactional history. Indeed, at the beginning of the sequence in 810 Akiko reminds John that he knows a Japanese student: *yunno Komi*, which he admits *oh that's true* in 812. The laughing together sequences (lines 811-2, 837-8, 849-50) occur as a result of talking about particular people that they both know. This shows some complicity between the interactants who are having a good time together.

All the excerpts shown in this section indicate that this is a burgeoning relationship. Since Akiko and John meet socially on campus, their relationship will evolve over time beyond the state of acquaintanceship and Akiko will feel more and more at ease with John, and vice-versa.

6.3.3 Comparing Interactional Styles between Akiko-John's Interaction with Carol-John's Interaction

At this point it is useful to compare Akiko-John's interaction with that of another L2 speaker interacting with John, as one could argue that John is very talkative and does not give interactional space to his co-participant, and the participants are having difficulty finding common ground. In first encounters, by asking each other questions, participants endeavour to find common ground so they can engage in topical talk. The situation could potentially be even more difficult for the second L2 speaker, Carol, who meeting John for the first time is not as linguistically advanced as Akiko. However, we find that this is not the case. Carol had never met John before, so in her case it is a completely new encounter. It seems appropriate to make a comparison between Carol and Akiko in their first interaction with John to gauge whether John's interactional style has any bearing on Akiko's participation[73]. We need to establish whether Carol orients toward linguistic accuracy and minimises her answers, or whether she orients toward interactional competence. Below is table 6.1 comparing Carol's first interaction with John with Akiko's first interaction using the MLT (Mean Length of Turns) analysis from CLAN.

Interactions	Number of Utterances	Number of turns	Number of words
[AJ1] Akiko John Date: 23 March Duration: 23:26 mn	 313 (35%) 568 (65%)	 317 (49%) 325 (51%	 788 (21%) 2965 (79%)
[CJ1] Carol John Date: 4 April Duration: 18:07 mn	 368 (50%) 367 (50%)	 338 (53%) 304 (47%)	 2057 (50.5%) 2013 (49.5%)

Table 6.1 MLT[74] of Akiko-John and Carol-John

[73] Other factors may be at play that account for the differences in interactional style between Carol and Akiko such as L1 culture and personality.

[74] The Clan program includes in utterances unintelligible talk as well as morphemes. Interturn pauses are not considered as turns. According to the Clan manual (2010, p. 100): "The MLT program computes the mean number of

Through this crude analysis one can infer to some degree the level of participation in relation to speakership and recipiency. If we compare both interactions - Akiko-John [AJ1] and Carol-John [CJ1] in relation to their mean length of turns, we find that the figures for John and Carol are very similar, thus there is symmetry in Carol-John's turn-taking. Even though Carol-John's interaction is seven minutes shorter than that of Akiko-John, Carol manages to produce as many utterances as John, and even slightly more words and turns than John. The figures for both interactants are very balanced: they approximate 50% for each in relation to utterances, turns and number of words. Carol takes nearly as many turns (47%) as John (53%), and utters about the same number of words per turns as John (Carol 49.5% and John 50.5%). In contrast, Akiko utters far fewer words per turns (21%) than John (79%), but takes nearly as many turns as him (49% as opposed to 51% for John).

Therefore, it can be concluded that Carol-John's first interaction appears much more symmetrical than Akiko-John's first interaction. The discrepancy between the two L2 speakers is striking; with Carol talking as much as John whereas Akiko talks minimally only taking short turns. However, it does need to be pointed out that Carol had already spent a semester in Australia, thus she had more time to adjust to the Australian accent and to speaking L2. Even though during that time she was mainly interacting with other Cantonese speakers, she had still had more exposure to L1 through her foundation study course, which involved interacting to some degree with her lecturers (this would have mostly involved institutional talk). Nonetheless, Carol did not socialise with L1 speakers.

What transpires throughout her interaction with John is that, like John, Carol can engage in storytelling and explanations, and she expands on her answers despite

---

utterances in a turn, the mean number of words per utterance, and the mean number of words per turn. A turn is defined as a sequence of utterances spoken by a single speaker. Overlaps are not taken into account in this computation. Instead, the program simply looks for sequences of repeated speaker ID codes at the beginning of the main line. These computations are provided for each speaker separately."

her linguistic difficulties. Thus like Meg, the communicative goal of the interaction takes precedence over accuracy (refer to chapter 5). Unlike Akiko, Carol orients to interactional competence and not linguistic competence.

To illustrate the points made above, a small sample of Carol's language taken from her first interaction with John is shown in excerpt (6.14) below. Carol starts her story with the past tense *I was child* (omitting the indefinite article before *child* line 215) but she does not maintain the tense concordance throughout her story, in fact most of her verbs are produced in the present tense. Then, she omits the verb altogether *and because when I child* (line 224). Further, she talks about her *parent* in the singular form when it should be plural, as Carol refers to her parents as *they* (then using the past tense *didn't* line 220). Nonetheless, at line 215 the verb-subject agreement is correct (*my parent is so busy¿*), nonetheless it is not native-like. However, note the lack of agreement between the verb and the subject (*my sister (0.3)[e:r] take care of me* line 221). In the same turn Carol starts her sentence with *is my sister* instead *it was my sister*; moreover the subordinate clause is not linked by a relative pronoun (*is my sister take care of me* line 221). Yet she is not deterred by her linguistic inaccuracies as they do not impede comprehension, and John does not correct her grammar. In this segment, Carol hardly pauses (e.g. line 221), and uses few hesitation markers (lines 218, 226), which on some occasions can be turn holders (line 221). However, her pausing and hesitation are more obvious in the speech samples taken from the interaction between Carol and Akiko (as illustrated in chapter 7 section 7.2). This disfluency may be due to the fact that Carol may need more time to formulate her utterances, although at times her speech rate can be very fast (see line 232).

```
(6.14) [CJ1] Storytelling about her childhood

215. CAR: → [but-but when I was child my-my parent is so busy¿
216. JON:    [(I thought you were) heh heh
217.   (0.2)
218. CAR:    so [eh-
219. JON:       [↑a:::h.
220. CAR:    they didn't take care of me so mu:ch;=
221.         [=is my ↑sister](0.3)[e:r] take care of me every day;
222. JON:    [so yer older_ ] ↑a::[:h.]
223. JON:    <↑o::h righ[t;> cos she wes et home with you]
```

```
224. CAR:                [and because when I chil:d we-]
225. CAR:    we have the handbook, ·hh every day we need
226.         ehr give to parents to sign it in,
227. JON:    ↑o:::h.
228. CAR:    but my sister signed it in [$for me:,$
229. JON:                               [↓really,
230. CAR:    yeah;
231. JON:    o:kay; [a hand book like a] homework kinda
232. CAR:           [>it's not my parent;<]
233. JON:    thing;
234. CAR:    yeah yeah;
```

In this excerpt taken from [CJ1] Carol engages in storytelling and therefore becomes the primary speaker and John the listener, aligning as the storytelling recipient. Prior to this excerpt Carol and John had been discussing Carol's siblings, so John had established that Carol was the youngest. When John overlaps Carol (line 216) he is referring to the previous sequence about Carol being the youngest in her family. What can be observed in this short excerpt is that despite the fact that John is actively collaborating with Carol, Carol does not take up John's offers of contributions and collaboration which overlap with Carol's talk, until she has finished her telling (line 228). Once her telling is completed, she responds to John's reaction (lines 230, 232, 234).

Both participants are competing for the floor. For instance, in 222, John starts a turn overlapping with Carol offering a candidate deduction that it was her older sister who looked after Carol (*[so yer older*). However, Carol continues her turn (notice the rush through in 220-221) dismissing John's contribution, and by the same token seemingly completing John's unfinished utterance in partial overlap with John (*[=is my ↑sister](0.3)[e:r] take care of me every day;*). She thereby confirms what John seemed to have started to formulate, that it was her sister who looked after her.

After hearing the first part of Carol's utterance (*[is my sister-* line 222) John acknowledges Carol's informing that it was her older sister who looked after her, thus terminating his turn with an acknowledgment token (*↑a::h*), which Carol overlaps in terminal position as she continues her turn. The same interactional

strategy occurs in 223 and John continues his turn beyond the receipt token after acknowledging Carol's information (*↑o::h ri[ght cos she wes et home with you]*). However, Carol does not wait for the end of John's utterance and jumps in, overlapping his acknowledgement token (*right* line 224) orienting toward a possible transition relevance place on the last sound of *right*. She pursues her story with the turn initial *and* to make sure she regains the floor (*[and because when I child we-] we have a*) and she recycles *we* in the clear to pursue her story (line 225). In the overlap John prolongs his talk to complete his utterance (*[because she wes et home with you]*) thereby offering a candidate explanation for the reason why Carol's sister could look after her. However, this candidate explanation is rejected by Carol who goes on a different tack explaining that as a child she had a handbook (*we have the handbook, ·hh every day we need* line 225), which John takes to mean a diary, therefore the topic is no longer related to her sister. At this point, John abandons any further offer of collaboration and lets Carol complete her turn in the clear before producing a receipt token (line 227) at a TRP.

Carol completes her story with what sounds like a coda (line 228), explaining with a smiley voice at the end of her turn, that it was her sister and not her parents who actually signed the handbook. In a terminal overlap, John produces a newsmarker (line 229), indicating that the telling is newsworthy. Carol receipts this with an acknowledgement token in the next turn (line 230). Then, John produces an acknowledgement token *okay* (line 231) that could also signal a change of activity, given its turn initial position, and it is followed by a repair initiation regarding the handbook (*[a hand book like a] homework kinda thing;* lines 231, 233). John offers a clarification for what the handbook was, i.e., a sort of diary where homework was written and which had to be signed by the parents. John needs confirmation of his understanding, as it is not clear what this handbook is. It is surprising that it is only now that John seeks clarification, as this lexical item, which is crucial to the story, could have threatened intersubjectivity, and thwarted the point of the story.

John's repair initiation is overlapped by Carol (line 232), who comes in once *okay* has been produced, therefore at a possible TRP (*[>it's not my parent;<]*). Her utterance is produced quickly and she wants to emphasise that it was not her parents who signed the handbook, a fact important to the story, which is further elaborated (not shown here). What she is doing with that utterance is orienting John's stance toward that fact (Schegloff, 2007), that it was her sister not her parents who signed the handbook, a stance that John has not shown yet as he needs more information about the handbook. Carol does not continue beyond her utterance *[>it's not my parent;<]* and lets John finish his turn in the clear while he is producing a confirmation check about the handbook. It is interesting to observe that once Carol has completed her story, she lets John finish his turn and responds to his confirmation check in the affirmative (*yeah yeah;* line 234).

A brief analysis of this short excerpt has been able to shed light on John's unsuccessful strategy at co-constructing Carol's story. Despite her linguistic inaccuracies Carol can elaborate on her talk, and expands her story over a number of turns, thereby taking extended turns-at-talk and multi-unit turns. She is not deterred by John's persistent overlaps at co-constructing her story and manages to pursue her story in the clear while John abandons his active co-construction, and restricts himself to producing response tokens. Carol's turn-taking skills are sophisticated as she orients more toward interactional competence, and she accomplishes precision timing when accessing the floor (Carroll, 2005). Further, she shows determination in telling her story and remaining the primary speaker, and uses her interactional skills and resources to achieve her goal. This excerpt is representative of her entire interaction with John, where both participants equally share interactional roles of primary speaker and recipient. Therefore Carol's interactional style is very different from that of Akiko's. Despite John's verbosity and Carol's linguistic inaccuracies, she can grab the floor, take long turns and sustain her talk.

6.4 Conclusion - Akiko's First Interaction with John

The main feature that distinguished Akiko from Carol in their first interactions with John was their interactional goals: Carol's objective was to communicate her stories and ideas, whereas Akiko's objective was to listen, and being a listener is part of developing her L2 interactional competence. The excerpts shown in this chapter testify to her focus on listening, which is corroborated by her comment in the stimulated recall. She reported that she was trying to understand every word that John uttered and as a result her attention was directed to listening.

In excerpt (6.14) Carol had a precise social goal, that of storytelling, and was intent on taking every opportunity to pursue it and bring it to completion despite John's attempts at co-construction. Carol was able to deploy sophisticated interactional skills in order to accomplish her social activity by overlapping to secure the floor. In contrast, Akiko provided minimal information when she did launch into a story in excerpt (6.7), which was in response to a question. It seems that the three TCUs she produced were sufficient for Akiko, hence her social goal was accomplished. She quite readily relinquished the floor and let John do the talking, preferring to sit in the recipient seat as numerous excerpts shown here have demonstrated. Akiko's linguistic ability was more advanced than Carol's, yet Akiko readily accepted John's active co-construction, as in excerpt (6.2) when she gave an explanation about her surname. In that sequence, Akiko was able to sustain a long overlap while she was competing for the floor with John to pursue her turn (line 19). Therefore she displayed enough interactional competence to accomplish what Carol did in excerpt (6.14). Nonetheless she refrained from engaging in a similar behaviour. The only time when Akiko took multi-unit turns without John's active co-construction was during her explanation regarding meeting a native speaker (excerpts 6.4 and 6.5). During that sequence, Akiko accomplished a number of same turn self-repairs (discussed in detail in chapter 5), indicating an orientation towards linguistic competence. Carol or the other focal participants rarely used this kind of strategy.

Topical talk may have been a problem for Akiko, as she may have been struggling to find common ground with John, whereas Carol was quite at ease with John even though, unlike Akiko, she had never met him before. Although common knowledge still needed to be established, when given the opportunity to share information as in excerpt (6.13), Akiko was not forthcoming. This is evidenced on a number of occasions. For instance, in excerpt (6.6) when John displayed an affiliative stance toward international students (which constituted topical talk), Akiko did not offer any comments or opinion. Thus she missed opportunities to produce extended talk. Akiko did reveal in the stimulated recall after this interaction that she lacked confidence in English. Carol also disclosed that she was very self-conscious about her pronunciation, yet when interacting with John it did not stop her from producing extended talk. It seems that Carol was willing to take more risks than Akiko, who at that stage was still focusing on accuracy. Accuracy was not an issue for Carol and neither was it for Meg or Hle (refer to chapter 5).

Different exposures to the host country may have played a role in the contrasting interactional styles between Akiko and Carol. Akiko had been in Australia for only five weeks when the first interaction with John took place. Akiko produced Japanese response tokens (*hai*) on two occasions (refer to chapter 5), which could indicate that she had not yet adjusted to the new culture and language. On the other hand, the other focal participants had already spent more time in Australia when they first interacted with their L1 co-conversationalist: Carol had already spent nine months in Australia, and two months at the university where the research took place, and both Meg and Hle had been in Australia for about three months. Hence the other L2 participants had an advantage compared to Akiko in relation to sociocultural adjustment and language use.

Akiko's behaviour, as illustrated in the excerpts shown in this chapter, typifies her first interaction with John where she minimally participated in the exchange. In contrast with the other three focal participants, Akiko did not initiate many

actions. For instance, Hle[75] pursued her questioning in her first interaction and similarly to Meg[76] and Carol expanded on her responses without active co-construction.

[75] Refer to chapter 5.
[76] Refer to chapter 5.

Chapter 7

THE DEVELOPMENT OF AKIKO'S L2 INTERACTIONAL COMPETENCE: FROM RECIPIENCY TO SPEAKERSHIP

INTRODUCTION

This chapter follows on from chapter 6, which looks at the first interaction between Akiko and John. It examines in more detail the development of Akiko's L2 interactional competence, and the remaining four interactions which took place over a period of five months. There is a marked progression in the development of Akiko's L2 interactional competence, and deep changes occur between the first interaction and the fifth one in relation to her interactional work and language, which become more complex at the end of the seven month study. This study parallels Hanh Nguyen's (2011b) research in that Akiko also moves from initially providing minimal responses to questions in her first interaction to expanding on her responses in the second, third and fifth interactions.

Unlike Nguyen's research however, this study also focuses on the development of Akiko's storytelling which involves producing multi-unit turns. This activity was initiated by Akiko even though it was usually in response to a question. In this study, Akiko gradually produces longer storytelling, although she does not provide a second story unlike the participant in Ishida's (2011) study. Further, this study will demonstrate how developing L2 interactional competence has a direct effect on Akiko's conversational syntax. In addition, this study will show that the development of an interpersonal relationship, particularly with an L1 speaker, will contribute to the positive changes that occur in her L2 interactional competence. Hellermann's (2008b) study on storytelling also confirms that storytelling contributes to interpersonal relationship work.

The main activities chosen to illustrate the development of Akiko's L2 interactional competence comprise responses to questions requiring an expanded response (Lee et al., 2011, p. 88)[77], including responding to self-presentational questions (Svennevig, 1999), storytelling and list construction. These particular activities were selected because they normally engender expansions that involve taking multi-unit turns. Thus, the speaker takes longer turns at talk producing extensive talk. Increased language practice and production (or 'output' in SLA terms) over a period of time is deemed to have a positive effect on the acquisition of a second language and, particularly, participation in ordinary conversation (Kasper, 2004).

This chapter presents in chronological order the four remaining interactions which took place from May to September. These interactions include the second and third interactions with John, the fourth interaction with Carol, whom Akiko selected as an L2 speaker as they were friends, and the fifth interaction involves a triad with John and a new Australian L1 speaker, Hassanah[78]. Presenting the four interactions in this way helps to contrast the development observed when Akiko interacts with the L1 speaker(s) with that of the L2 speaker, and the different activities that took place in these interactions.

Even though the chapter focuses on the development of Akiko's L2 interactional competence over time, the fourth interaction with Carol does not reveal any changes as far as her speakership is concerned. However, this interaction is viewed as remarkable from the perspective of active engagement as a listener and as such Akiko's contributions are not negligible. This interaction also contrasts with Akiko's third interaction with John. In this third interaction, Akiko shows significant development regarding turn expansion and expanded storytelling, changes which are even more striking in the triadic interaction.

[77] Lee, Park and Sohn (2011) define expanded responses " responses that provide information beyond what was projected by the form of the question" (p. 88).
[78]For further details, refer to chapter 3.

The chapter is organised in the following way: section 1 deals with the second interaction between Akiko and John – [AJ2], section 2 with the third interaction between Akiko and John– [AJ3], section 3 with the fourth interaction between Akiko and Carol – [NNS-AC], and section 4 with the last interaction between Akiko, John and Hassanah – [AJ4+H]. Findings from the five interactions are summarised in the general conclusion.

7.1 Gradual Developmental Changes in Accessing Speakership

7.1.1 Akiko's Second Interaction with the L1 Speaker, John

In chapter 6, we examined in depth the interactional behaviour of Akiko in the first interaction with John, particularly in relation to turn expansion and speakership. We noticed that overall, apart from a few exceptions, Akiko mostly played the listener role producing short single unit turns. The changes in Akiko's turn taking skills occurred incrementally over the seven month observation period. In her second interaction with John, which occurred two months later, Akiko showed some changes in her interactional behaviour.

Videograb 7.1 [AJ2]

The opening of the second interaction is different from the first one, as both participants know what to expect and try to figure out how many months have elapsed between the two recordings (sequence not shown here). In order to examine the development of Akiko's L2 interactional competence, it is important to understand the participants' interactional history. The action sequences involving self-presentational questions, questions requiring an expanded response and storytelling that will be investigated, relate to the participants' evolving relationship. During their first encounters, John and Akiko try to establish knowledge about each other which will be used in later encounters and this knowledge represents joint membership (Brouwer & Wagner, 2004, p. 41).

At the end of the sequence shown in the following excerpt (7.1) John remarks that they have not spoken to each other much since their first interaction (*yeah so we haven't talked very much since last time* line 122). This comment is pertinent to the interaction inasmuch as it reveals that their social relationship is developing and self-presentation questions are therefore relevant. It indicates that they have had limited contact outside the recorded sessions, so they still need to get to know each other by asking self-presentational questions. Thus, John resumes asking Akiko those questions (Svennevig, 1999). His first question concerns Akiko's length of stay (*how long are you here for*), which is self-repaired within the same turn and reformulated as a confirmation check at line 99. The way that the question has been reframed implies some prior knowledge on John's part, hence some prior discussion on this topic. This topic had been discussed in their first conversation [AJ1] and Akiko had specified that she was staying ten months after a self-initiated self-repair (lines 106, 108). To highlight the similarities between the two exchanges, excerpt (7.2) from [AJ1] is also reproduced below excerpt (7.1) taken from [AJ2].

```
(7.1) [AJ2]

98. JON: →   tsk how long are you here for;=you probably told
99.          me.='re you here fer a yier;
100.   (0.4)
101. AKI:    o[ h yes yeh mm.]
102. JON:     [right? fer a yier;] okay. so you've stayed fer the first
```

```
103.          three months.
104. AKI:     mmhm.
105.   (0.7)
106. AKI:     °°about [three months°° but it's not exactly a yier about
107. JON:             [mm.
108. AKI:     ↑ten months;
109. JON:     oh ok[ay;
110. AKI:          [cos I'm going back,
111. JON:     mmhm.
112. AKI:     (0.5) December?
113. JON:     mmhm; so you're here fer both semesters ba[sically yeah;
114. AKI:                                               [mm.
115. JON:     I went to America once an it wes like that fer ['bout ten
116. AKI:                                                    [ah really,
117. JON:     months or two semesters;
118. AKI:     okay.
119. JON:     yeah_ so it wes less than a yier (0.2) yea:h ↑oh (h)uh
120. AKI:     yeah;
121.   (2.6) ((both AKI and JON are drinking out of a mug, then JON puts
the mug down and clears his throat))
122. JON:     yeah so we haven't talked very much since
123.          l[ast time (h)uh huh huh huh (h)uhuh]
124. AKI:      [no yes since last time yeah]
125. JON:     even though_
```

```
(7.2) [AJ1]

666. JON:     how long are you here for.
667.   (0.7)
668. AKI:     one year.
669. JON:     so unti[l_
670. AKI:            [actually-actually ten months.
671. JON:     a::h okay until
672. AKI:     until December or November I'm not [sure yet (  )
673. JON:                                        [ah okay jess fer these
674.          semesters
675. AKI:     yes yeah;
676. JON:     oh okay
```

The point of showing excerpt (7.1) which occurs 2 minutes into the conversation is to indicate that self-presentational questions (as discussed in chapter 6) are still relevant in the second interaction with John. Even though the duration of Akiko's stay in Australia had already been discussed in the previous interaction (as illustrated in excerpt 7.2), two months had elapsed since that conversation so John needed to be reminded as he is not sure (*you probably told me.='re you here fer a yier;* lines 98-99). The excerpt (7.1) above aims to show that the interactants are still only acquaintances, and they have not been interacting regularly with each other since the first session thus common knowledge still needs to be established to engage in topical talk.

Excerpt (7.3) below illustrates how Akiko still misses opportunities to expand in answer to a self-presentational question, and responds minimally to John's questioning about her classes. It is clear that John is looking for a more elaborate response from the way he pursues it (lines 180-181, 184, 186-187) and after the side sequence (omitted here) he continues his questioning (line 203). Svennevig (1999, p. 59) states that strangers look for clues in their search for common ground and studying is an important topic for both interactants, who are students at the same university.

```
(7.3) [AJ2]
180. JON:    ((clears throat)) an what've you been doing,
181.         you- as far ez- [you-you'r]e doing cla-cla:sses,
182. AKI:                    [°°I ss-°°] ((AKI and JON are mutually
gazing))
183. AKI:    yes [classes;((AKI disengages her gaze and looks away))
184. JON:        [having classes,
185. AKI:    yes. some cl[asses;
186. JON:                [what are they-what are they in, I can't- I- it's
187.         terrible but I can't remem[ber what you're doing ]with-
188. AKI:                              [ah it's no- no need to]
((Side sequence of 9 turns omitted))[79]
203. JON: → /mm ah bu'-bu' what are you s-studying,=
           /JON and AKI are mutually gazing
204. AKI:    /=·hh I'm studying ehm (0.8) English? it's a: (0.4)
           /AKI disengages her gaze
205. AKI:    subject called English in use of [the kind of
206. JON:                                     [oh okay yeah;
207. AKI:    lan-linguistic? (0.8) subject.
208.   (1.2)
209. AKI:    °in addition to that I'm studying French now°,
210. JON:    ↑really,↑
211. AKI:    yeah;
212. JON:    ↑French?↑
213. AKI:    yeah; $French$
214.   (0.5)
215. JON:    ↑m[:::m.
216. AKI:      [so
217. JON:    that sounds hard; while you're in one- while
218.         you're here- I (…)
```

John's pursuit of the expanded response bears similarities to those found by Hanh Nguyen (2011) even though the context is different. In Nguyen's study, in

[79]This is a side sequence during which John jokes about the fact that he does not remember what subjects Akiko is doing. Jestingly he suggests that they could repeat the same conversation so the researcher could compare the two conversations. They must have met between the recorded sessions, as in the first interaction there is no mention of the classes or subjects that Akiko was doing.

the initial sessions during their casual chats, the ESL teacher (the L1 speaker) also makes a few follow-up tries in the form of questions, like John, to get the ESL student to expand on her response after his topic proffer (Nguyen, 2011, p. 32).

In the same turn John initiates two self-repairs and in between the two questions he cuts himself short following his initial open-ended question (*an what've you been doing, you-as far ez-* lines 180-1*)*. He abandons his initial clarification request requiring a full response and reformulates it to a yes/no question, which can be taken as a confirmation check (*you-you're doing cla-classes?*), however its pragmatic import implies a longer response (Svennevig, 1999). In doing this repair, John is sharpening the focus of his question (Gardner, 2004), to specify that it is about the classes that Akiko is attending. His initial question is more general and John's production of two cut-offs indicates his epistemic stance; that he is unsure about what type of studies Akiko is undertaking as she could also be a research student[80]. However, in 182 while overlapping John's turn, Akiko produces a pre-beginning turn (Schegloff, 1996), which may be an attempt to respond to John's initial clarification question (lines 180-1). In uttering *I ss-*, albeit very softly, the *s* could be the beginning of the verb *study*, but she gives up her turn while John is trying pursue his questioning by recycling *you* in the overlap. While this is happening John and Akiko are mutually gazing.

In 181 it appears that John is simply making a confirmation check. However, the fact that he repeats it in 184, overlapping Akiko with rising intonation immediately after her confirmation indicates his pursuit of an expanded answer (*[having classes,* line 184). Akiko takes the first confirmation check at face value, responding with an agreement token (line 183). Following the second confirmation check by John (line 184) she continues to confirm the now established information, minimising the information exchange and remaining

[80]This could have been a possibility given that Akiko used to meet John at the Research Graduate Centre, which is a centre designed for research students. Moreover, Akiko was enrolled in a Masters program in Japan.

vague by adding the determiner (*yes. some cl[asses;* line 185). In other words, she produces a minimal turn but not the expected action.

As Akiko still orients to the question as a confirmation check in 185, John overlaps her utterance once again because Akiko is not producing the action that he is seeking here. He wants more information regarding what she is studying. Hence he reiterates his initial question (*what are they-what are they in,* line 186) and then appears to apologise for not remembering what she is studying: *I can't-I- it's terrible but I can't remember what you're doing;*. While he is pursuing the expanded answer from Akiko, she overlaps in the middle of his turn orienting toward a possible TRP after John's utterance (*but I can't remem[ber*), and provides the second pair part to the apology (*ah it's no- no need to* line 188). She obviously realises by the number of John's tries with his questioning that he is finding himself in an embarrassing situation, as he confesses that he cannot remember what she is studying. It is possible that Akiko did not want to provide the expanded response, treating it as an uninteresting topic because they had already discussed it in a previous conversation. During this expanded question sequence, she disengages her gaze from John and only returns his eye gaze when John engages in a side sequence with an unexpected next action. Her lack of gaze and engagement during this sequence could be an indication of some dispreferred response on her part. Nonetheless, John returns to his initial question after the side sequence, which lasted for 17 seconds.

Even after the side sequence, which included a laughing together sequence and topic attrition, John continues to pursue an expanded answer and clarifies again his initial question produced at the beginning of the expanded question sequence (Pomerantz, 1984b). He repairs his initial question, rephrasing it to sharpen its focus and thus making it more explicit and less general from *what are you doing* to *bu'-bu' what are you s-studying,* (line 203). Then in 204 Akiko finally provides a more comprehensive response, which is expanded and comprises two TCUs (lines 204-5, 207). Following this, she takes a long pause (line 208) and then continues

her response in 209, producing a third TCU (°*in addition to that I'm studying French now*°) beginning her utterance with *in addition* to indicate that she is expanding on her response. John refrains from taking longer turns at talk after line 204. He overlaps Akiko to produce an acknowledgment token indicating that he is satisfied with the response that Akiko has given (*oh okay yeah;* line 206) and relinquishes his turn. In 210 John treats Akiko's studying French as a topic of interest as he produces a newsmarker (*really*), indicating that the information is new and newsworthy, and closes that sub-sequence with an assessment (↑*m:::m.* line 215). From then on (line 217), studying French while studying English in Australia becomes the topic and the conversation continues in much the same way as in the opening of their first interaction [AJ1], whereby John is actively co-constructing talk with Akiko.

In the self-presentational sequence just examined, John repeated his question by reformulating his initial question four times before he managed to formulate his question in such a way as to obtain the pursued response, i.e., the expanded response regarding the subjects that Akiko was studying. As we have seen, studying is a relevant topic for both interactants, which explains why John was keen to pursue it. However, Akiko was not forthcoming with the information, which led John to self-repairing four times. When the expanded response was achieved John was able to exploit this mentionable – studying French while studying English in Australia - for topical talk (Svennevig, 1999, p. 116). This expanded question sequence has some congruence with what Gardner (2004) observed in his data, in that the L1 speaker pursues the expanded response even though the L2 speaker seems reluctant to provide it, indicating a dispreferred.

Even though Akiko appears reluctant to provide an expanded response, as shown above, there are times when she initiates longer turns-at-talk. She takes multi-unit turns involving slightly more complex sentences by using discourse connectives (*but*, *and*, and *so*) and connecting clauses in a continuous flow as shown in excerpt (7.4). It is obvious that she is becoming more comfortable in

this interaction as the conversation unfolds 16 minutes later. The excerpt shows an expanded response after a polarity question from John. This turn-at-talk by Akiko is much longer than the story she initiated in her first interaction [AJ1], discussed in chapter 6 (excerpt 6.7), which spanned over three TCUs. Before the next sequence the participants had been talking about food.

```
(7.4) [AJ2] Buying fish

851. JON:    so you eat lotta seafood; still is it-is it hard to buy here,
852. AKI:    ·hh I::: (0.6) just (0.2) mm n::ots ↑not hard; they hav[e
853. JON:                                                           [m:m
854. AKI:    lots of thing[s but; I'm jess a little bit afraid of=
855. JON:                 [mm
856. AKI:    =buying fish here, I'm not su-I'm not sure why but ·hh
857. JON:    u::[:h
858. AKI:       [but last time, (0.6) the Erisa's brother was cooking
859.         fish,
860. JON:    mmhm,
861. AKI:    an I saw it an I really felt like eating fish;
862. JON:    [↑m:::m.
863. AKI:    [so I tried buy some,
864. JON:    ↑m:::m
865. AKI:    an cooked it;
866. JON:    they had er (0.6) ↑m:::m they they have in-in Clayton
867.         they have er (0.4) a fish: …
```

First, Akiko responds to the yes/no question in 852 after producing a broken start (Gardner, 2007): *.hh I::: (0.6) just (0.2) mm n::ots ↑not hard;*. Then she accomplishes multi TCUs in response to the polarity question. She produces an expansion (lines 852, 854), where she starts explaining that there is a wide choice in the suburb where she lives. This is followed by a post expansion (lines 854, 856). To accomplish it she employs the appositional *but* which is used not only to contrast two clauses but also to expand her turn as a turn holder *(but; I'm jess a little bit afraid of=buying fish here, I'm not su-I'm not sure why)*. She produces a second an audible inbreath as a turn holder (*·hh* lines 852 and 856) preceded by *but* again to retain the floor and pursue her telling.

In this third TCU in the post expansion, she sustains her turn by not pausing between *afraid of* and *buying* (shown by the latching), indicating that she is intent on retaining the floor. She uses an interactional device called 'rush through'

(Schegloff, 1987), to prevent the co-conversationalist to take the floor at a possible point of completion. To achieve a 'rush through' Akiko needs to accelerate her speech rate and avoid pausing between possible points of completion or units. This technique implies that a multi-unit turn is underway. In 856 she admits that she cannot explain her fear, then she ends her utterance with the same appositional (*but*), indicating that she has not yet finished her turn. Not only does she complete her post expansion but she also initiates another activity, which is storytelling (line 858). She uses a temporal locator (Jefferson, 1978) *last time* to indicate that she is about to embark on a storytelling, thus John continues to relinquish the floor, remaining in the listener role. The purpose of the story is to illustrate a point: that seeing someone else cooking fish had given her a strong desire to eat fish and enabled her to overcome her fear of buying fish. Hence the story has sequential implicativeness (Jefferson, 1978). The story spans five TCUs and terminates with a resolution (line 865) in which she reveals that could buy and cook fish. To pursue her story Akiko uses discourse connectives such as *but* (lines 854, 856, and it is recycled at line 858), *and* (lines 861 and 865) and *so* (line 863).

After her story has been completed John takes the floor to ask Akiko a question as to whether there is a fishmonger in the suburb - Clayton - where she lives (line 866). Then he engages in various long sequences moving from one topic to another. Thus he resumes his role of information provider and becomes the primary speaker again.

In sum, in excerpt (7.4) Akiko not only expanded on John's yes/no question engaging in multi-unit turns, but she also initiated a story to illustrate a point related to her initial answer. Therefore, in this excerpt (7.4) Akiko is showing some development in responding to a yes/no question, whose upshot required an expanded response. She not only produced the second pair part, but also an expansion, and a post-expansion, as well as embedding a story that contained five TCUs. To accomplish her storytelling Akiko used various discourse

connectives for coherence and for interactional purposes (such as turn-holders). In addition, she employed the interactional device of rushing through to hold the floor uninterrupted. Therefore, as the primary speaker she sustained much longer turns-at-talk (without active co-construction from John) than the telling she had produced in the first recording that only contained three TCUs (excerpt (6.7) – [AJ1]).

This section ends with another excerpt (7.5) where Akiko engages in a different activity to that of answering questions, but initiates another storytelling. In doing so she also initiates a topic shade and engages in longer turns-at-talk with multi-units turns beyond the three TCUs analysed in the first conversation. She starts her multi-unit turn with two TCUs: a sequence closing TCU with a terminal assessment (line 454) linking back to the prior speaker's talk, and a sequence initiating one in 454-5 (see Schegloff, 1996).

```
(7.5) [AJ2] Greek style seafood restaurant

453. JON:    yeah; it's rilly youth culture in (.) in South Yarra ↑mm.
454. AKI:    >↓yeah; it's very interesting;↓ < ·hh la:st week-end↓ we
455.         went to South Yarra?
456. JON:    ↑m:[m.
457. AKI:       [thet I-I ask you about the restaurant?=you
458.         [(remember) yeah_
459. JON:    [↑AH YEAH;↑ WHICH one ↓di-didchug[o-
460. AKI:                                     [↑y:es I-↑ (.) we went
461.         to a:: (0.4) <seafood rest'rant which is in_=
462. JON:    =↑m::↓::m.
463. AKI:    Greece? (0.4) Greece style?
464.   (0.8)
465. JON:    tsk [Greece ↑ah yeah¿
466. AKI:        [Greece,
467. AKI:    Greek?
468. JON:    Greek style [seafood.
469. AKI:                [<Greek style seafood restaurant;
470. JON:    ↑a:o:h.=
471. AKI:    =>that's pretty good;<
472. JON:    ↑yeh yeh, whereabouts wez it;↑
473. AKI:    ↑mm?↑
474. JON:    <where waz it.>
475. AKI:    u:::h it's on the Chapel street?
476. JON:    mmhm,
477. AKI:    an then:: mm. (1.0) right side;
478.   (1.4)
479. JON:    going dow:n;=
480. AKI:    =>going down.< yea:h;=
481. JON:    =°↑m::m.° ['kay
482. AKI:              [from the station¿ [(  )
483. JON:                                 [past the Jam factory¿
484.   (0.8)
```

```
485. AKI:    °Jam factory I don't remember,=°
486. JON:    =a::[::h okay. yeah that's awright;
487. AKI:        [°°(I don't)°°
488.         °yeah;° [NOT so far from the sta:tion;
489. JON:            [oh ri↑::ght;↑     (      )
490. JON:    o::h okay; >probably the (food) of the Jam factory then;<
491. AKI:    m::m.
492.   (0.4)
493. JON:    ↑m::::m. >oh w'll that's good. [I'm glad it was;<
494. AKI:                                   [yeah;
495. JON:    I don't eat very much seafood so (…)
```

Akiko closes the preceding topic with a terminal assessment (>↓*yeah; it's very interesting;*↓< line 454), which is uttered with a quickened pace so that she can launch into her own story and become the primary speaker. Prior to this John had been informing her about interesting suburbs and particularly South Yarra, which now becomes a link to the next topic, and Akiko initiates a topic shade (lines 454-5). Now, she has moved the topic from the suburb South Yarra to a seafood restaurant in that suburb. Note that her second TCU (·*hh la:st week-end*↓ *we went to South Yarra?* lines 454-5) starts with a turn holder (inbreath), and the temporal locator (*la:st week-end*↓*)* projects a storytelling cast in the past, which is indeed the case (*we went*). Then she alludes to a previous conversation (*thet I-I ask you about the restaurant?=you [(remember) yeah_* lines 457-8)[81],which must have taken place outside the recorded sessions, when they seemingly discussed restaurants and suburbs, with John making some recommendations. The beginning of her utterance with a relative pronoun is not grammatically aligned to her prior TCU, and appears disjunctive. She is thus engaging in a side sequence, a type of parenthesis, which involves a new social action, that of joint remembering. Its turn format is recipient-fdesigned inasmuch as this utterance is clearly added onto the last one, and its interactional aim is to involve John in joint remembering (=*you [(remember) yeah_*), which now becomes topical for her story. The joint remembering is relevant as it is an interactional device (Norrick, 2005) used to draw John into the narrative, because the storytelling directly concerns

[81] In the two recorded sessions [AJ1] and [AJ2] there is no sequence involving Akiko requesting information about restaurants.

him, as it appears that Akiko went to a restaurant in that suburb based on John's advice.

In 460 Akiko projects the end of John's utterance and replies with an emphatic agreement token overlapping what John has started formulating as a question (*[↑y:es I-↑*). The projection of what John was about to say is contingent on her having started the joint remembering activity and thus knowing the content of that prior conversation. The beginning of this TCU is then revised as the agreement token is followed by *I-* in one intonational unit. However, she interrupts herself to self-repair and replaces the first person singular pronoun with a plural form (*(.) we went*) after a micro pause. The replacement of the pronoun is in continuation with what she had formulated earlier when she had initiated the storytelling (line 454). However, in her telling she does not mention who she went with, as she orients the topic toward the activity that took place, i.e., going to a restaurant in a particular suburb (South Yarra), which is relevant to John and their common interactional history. She produces a compound TCU (lines 460-1), which she does not complete in her turn as it has projectable elements to it such as *which is in*, so John can anticipate its possible completion (Lerner, 1996) referring to a location. John produces an assessment (*=↑m::↓::m.* line 462) by latching onto Akiko's incomplete utterance, displaying an appreciative stance to the type of restaurant she went to (seafood). However, Akiko had not finished her TCU, and what her TCU had projected with the relative pronoun produced with the copula and the preposition *in* orients to a location. The location is topical but it does not need to be mentioned again, as John already knows about it. Thus, when Akiko ends her TCU referring to a type of cuisine she produces a grammatically and semantically unexpected TCU completion (*Greece? (0.4) Greece style?* line 463), which is followed by a rather long silence.

Grammar becomes relevant at this point as the incorrect syntax threatens intersubjectivity. In this TCU ending the syntax is incorrect as she appositions

the substantive form (*Greece*) to *style* when an adjective should be used instead. She repeats *Greece* twice after an interturn pause and a rising intonation pointing to an uncertainty marker (Brouwer, 2000), indicating that she is unsure about her utterance. Retrospectively it appears that she was uncertain about its grammaticality because she engages in a repair sequence. Then, John responds after the interturn silence (*tsk [Greece ↑ah yeah¿* line 465) with a click of the tongue, then echoes *Greece*, and ends his TCU with an acknowledgement token produced with rising intonation, thus requiring more information from Akiko. The interturn silence may be due to either the fact that John is attempting to understand what Akiko is trying to say or he is giving her interactional space to self-repair - being the preferred option (Schegloff et al., 1977). While overlapping with John, Akiko repeats the trouble source *Greece* (line 466) with a low rising intonation contour. She then self-repairs in the following turn with the correct form, the adjective (*Greek?* line 467) again with a high rise. John endorses the self-correction (line 468) and incorporates it into Akiko's compound TCU ending (*Greek style [seafood.*). As soon as Akiko hears the correct form, she jumps in overlapping John to formulate herself the now syntactic and semantically accurate TCU ending (*[<Greek style seafood restaurant;* line 469).

Having resolved the grammatical trouble, she can go back to the business at hand, i.e., storytelling, and terminate her telling with a positive assessment of the restaurant (=>*that's pretty good;*< line 471). She utters it quickly latching onto John's response token. In reconstructing the repair sequence, it now appears that John did not know what Akiko had been attempting to do (lines 463, 466, 467) because he produces a state-of-change token *(↑a:o:h.*= line 470) after Akiko's repair, indicating that he now realises what Akiko was trying to say. After Akiko's terminal assessment (line 471), John engages in the different activity of finding out the location of the Greek restaurant in South Yarra. From then on, the turns are more equally distributed as they are both engaged in establishing common knowledge regarding the precise location of this restaurant. However John is

unable to gain the exact information from Akiko because she is not familiar with that suburb, her only point of reference being the railway station.

This sequence shown in excerpt (7.5) has demonstrated some changes in Akiko's interactional behaviour regarding taking multi-unit turns and even engaging in turns-in-a-series. Not only has Akiko's use of grammar in this excerpt become more complex, as she uses subordinate clauses with relative pronouns (*that* and *which*), but also her interactional competence is more sophisticated. This excerpt has illustrated how she employs interactional devices such as terminal assessments uttered with accelerated speech to move to other business, either in order to close a sequence, and/or to take the floor as the primary speaker. She is also able to use a compound TCU, rush through, and joint remembering. The joint remembering provides evidence that they have had conversations outside the recorded sessions (lines 457-9). Therefore, the relationship is progressively evolving and Akiko starts to engage more with John as demonstrated above.

7.1.2 Conclusion – Akiko's Second Interaction with John

Even though Akiko still misses opportunities to expand in self-presentational questions as illustrated in excerpt (7.3), and still remains for the most part a listener, some changes have been observed in Akiko's interactional behaviour regarding taking multi-unit turns in both self-presentational sequences and storytelling. Akiko seems more confident and at ease in this interaction, as evidenced by excerpt (7.4), the last excerpt occurring much later in the interaction. Excerpts (7.4) and (7.5) provide convincing examples of Akiko's progression in her interactional behaviour. She engages in multi-unit turns expanding beyond the three TCUs observed in the first interaction with John (excerpt (6.7) – [AJ1]). She can now employ various interactional devices to achieve her multi-unit turns, and become the primary speaker, which is an accomplishment.

As noted by Schegloff (1996), it takes practice to take multi-unit turns. Lerner (1991) also commented that: "the business of the turn unit is not specifically taken up with the job of claiming or proposing an expanded turn" (1991, p. 451). Therefore, to produce a multi-unit turn requires additional work on the speaker's part. As Lerner pointed out, turn expansion is not necessarily projected at the outset and needs interactional work to be accomplished, which Akiko was able to achieve. Akiko demonstrated that she could use a variety of interactional devices to sustain multi-unit turns and even accomplish turns-in-a-series, as exemplified by excerpt (7.5). These include:

- Producing an expansion and post-expansion,
- Deploying turn holders such as inbreath, and discourse connectives like *and*, *so*, and *but*,
- Embedding a story in a response to a question, which occasioned turns-in-a-series,
- Employing a compound TCU,
- Using multi TCUs: four TCUs in an expanded response followed by five TCUs in an embedded storytelling, totalling nine TCUs in a sequence,
- Accomplishing rush through,
- Utilising speech acceleration in terminal assessment to close down a sequence and to move to other business, and
- Doing joint remembering.

As a result, Akiko was able to form sentences that were grammatically more complex. These changes also point to a relationship that is developing during the course of the same interaction. Akiko mentioned in the stimulated recall following the interaction that she was feeling at ease with John. It seems that feeling comfortable with her L1 co-participant may have played a role in her

being more engaged interactionally. Further, the social actions that Akiko accomplished contributed to developing a social affiliation with John, which is an important factor in developing L2 interactional competence, a point endorsed by Brouwer & Wagner (2004). Within this interaction, we can observe some changes in that Akiko was gradually able to accomplish a few actions without John's active co-construction. If at the commencement of the interaction, Akiko was reluctant to produce an expanded response in excerpt (7.3), as the interaction progressed Akiko willingly engaged in multi-unit turns: nine minutes into the conversation she produced the story about the Greek restaurant (excerpt 7.5), and seven minutes later she gave an expanded response with an embedded story (excerpt 7.4). It is worth noting that two months had passed between the first and second interaction, hence Akiko would have been more immersed in the L2 language and culture. The changes observed are substantial enough to warrant further investigation in the following interactions, particularly with John and the other L1 speaker in the last recording.

7.2 Akiko's Third Interaction with the L1 Speaker, John

7.2.1 Akiko's Extended Storytelling

This section examines the third interaction between Akiko and John [AJ3], which took place five months after their first interaction. In this interaction, although Akiko still utters only two thirds as many words as John, she takes fewer turns, which indicates that her turns are getting longer. Further, the quality of her English changes, showing colloquial and idiomatic features, with expressions such as *it was hell* in excerpt (7.6) below.

```
(7.6) [AJ3]

397. AKI:    but I'm still confused which is which;
398.   (0.2)
399. JON:    yea:h
400. AKI: →  the first time it was hell the first time
```

Her speech rate is increasing and her phonology has become more native like: her vowels are reduced, for instance she says *gonna* instead of *going*, or *rilly* instead of *really*. In addition, to retain the floor after producing a single TCU at a TRP, she makes more use of speech acceleration which became apparent in her second interaction [AJ2]. This technique requires precision timing and an ability to think and speak quickly in the L2.

In this third interaction, Akiko displays a more confident posture with her body oriented toward John. This shows a more active engagement and alignment (cf. Goodwin, 1981) as shown in the videograb 7.2 below . She maintains an open palm gesture with her left hand, pointing her fingers towards John. Her legs are aligned with her upper body to face him, and she is leaning forward and not sitting back. This contrasts with Akiko's posture in videograb 6.1 (reproduced below), where she displays a more passive posture, with her hands in a closed gesture on top of each other and resting on her lap.

Videograb 7.2 [AJ3]

Videograb 6.1 [AJ1]

This interaction [AJ3] begins with the participants talking about a poster outside the room where they sit for their recorded interaction. The poster is about the story of Little Red Riding Hood but written phonetically in English in the Roman alphabet to convey a German accent. After this discussion, it is Akiko who this time initiates the first personal question by asking John about his work (*so- (0.8) ↑are you-are you going somewhere to work¿↑*). This is a type of question found when a social relationship has been established. This engenders a long sequence where John is the primary speaker and talks about a conference he is attending in Sweden. Then John returns the question to Akiko in a modified version, which is less specific and is shown in excerpt (7.7) below. This excerpt shows that the relationship has developed further from what had been observed in [AJ2], as both participants ask about each other, where there is reciprocity.

Before examining excerpt (7.7) in detail, we need to consider the interactional work that is commenced in this excerpt, and achieved later over a few sequences. In the following excerpts (7.7), (7.8), (7.9) and (7.10), Akiko accomplishes an extended series of turns at talk, as she engages in storytelling about a trip in the countryside. However, the story emerges very gradually and in a fragmented manner, as it is disrupted by three intervening sequences, and its structure is revealed retrospectively upon analysis. Akiko does not abandon the story and despite occasioning its temporary suspension she pursues it, sometimes with John's collaboration. It is Akiko who suspends the story on three occasions and self-interrupts twice.

Firstly, early in the telling (excerpt 7.7) she initiates tangential talk via a side sequence co-constructed with John about the pronunciation of the town she visited. Secondly, instead of completing her story about her next destination being Hepburn Springs, she self-repairs, and abandons the sequential ordering of her story. She engages in a new action by asking John a few questions about whether he has been to that place etc., thereby interrupting her telling (excerpt 7.8). In doing so she initiates a topic shift and engages in a different activity.

However, John understands the upshot of her first question in that she actually went to Hepburn Springs before she provides that information. Thus, John, after responding to her questions, makes some information requests regarding her trip to Hepburn Springs. This is followed by subsequent talk initiated by John about spas (not shown). Thirdly, it is after that sequence that Akiko explains the reason for her trip to Hepburn Springs but discontinues her story (excerpt 7.9). The account that Akiko gives could function as a story ending, hence John initiates a long subsequent talk, resuming his role of information provider (data not shown). After this long sequence, Akiko returns to the story and gives its climax (excerpt 7.10), after providing a great deal of background information.

Therefore, not only is the progressivity of the story interrupted but the order of the telling is somewhat incongruous. In discussing rules related to storytelling organisation, Sacks (1974) states that: "A joke's or a story's telling having been properly prefaced, its teller should proceed to tell it to its completion" (1974, p. 344). Yet the completion of the present story is not achieved sequentially as Akiko, introduces other elements in her telling resulting in a sequence engendered by John. The story is told and structured in a fragmented way, hence it is reproduced in four separate excerpts below (7.7-7.10). It involves a few components: announcement of the trip (excerpt 7.7), background information with an embedded parenthesis (excerpt 7.8), event and account (excerpt 7.9), and a climax with background information (excerpt 7.10). Moreover, Akiko uses humour and direct reported speech as interactional devices (illustrated in excerpts 7.8 & 7.10) - two devices not observed so far. Bringing the whole story to completion involves much interactional work on the part of Akiko as it is recounted in fragmented stages. It is apparent that Akiko is accountable for fragmenting the story, although so is John to some extent, since it is a joint accomplishment (Goodwin, 1984). This storytelling is an illustration of the social actions that the participants are now engaging in.

The storytelling commences with excerpt (7.7) below, which contains the announcement of the trip. John has stopped asking self-presentational questions. Instead he produces questions that friends would ask each other, such as: *what have you been doing;* (line 354). Akiko's answer is interesting in that it is colloquial (*ah these days¿*), which is framed as a confirmation check (line 356), but it also gives her time to think about a reportable event. She continues this strategy of searching for a reportable event by starting her turn with a hesitation marker, then pauses considerably before completing her utterance with another colloquial phrase *like what¿* (line 358). A long silence follows where she is in thinking mode. Then she begins her utterance with a story entry token, indicating that she remembers some memorable event (*oh yes* line 360), and announces her story (*I went to (.)/Ballarat ba-*). During this search for a newsworthy reportable event, John refrains from intervening. He produces a confirmation token (*↑mm* line 357), thereby aligning as a story recipient. In 354 the preface to his question (>*ah I wes gonna ask that;*<) indicates that this question had been on his mind for some time during this interaction. This type of question is usually asked at the beginning of an interaction since it is a ritual question that acquaintances, friends or colleagues habitually pose in the opening of a conversation.

```
(7.7) [AJ3] Announcement of the trip

354. JON:    >ah I wes gonna ask that;< ↑yea:h what have you
355.         been doing;
356. AKI:    ah these days¿
357. JON:    ↑mm.
358. AKI:    like ehm:: (1.5) ((background noise)) like what¿
359.   (2.4) ((same background noise))((AKI is gazing away in a thinking
mode))
360. AKI:    oh yes; I went to (.)/Ballarat ba- but it's it's
                                 /AKI realigns her gaze with JON
361.         very hard to ex- pronounce it …
```

This storytelling is triggered by John's question which is open-ended, and John orients to an expanded response from Akiko after formulating his question because he refrains from taking longer turns, and the long silences that ensue (line 358 (1.5) and line 359 (2.4)) are designed to leave the floor to Akiko. Akiko provides an expanded response, i.e., a story. Akiko announces a trip to a town

called Ballarat (line 360), but she leaves the reporting aside for a while. In her second TCU she changes tack after a cut-off and makes a commentary, which renders her non-nativeness salient. After attempting to say it again (*ba-*) she points out that the name *Ballarat* is difficult to pronounce (*but it's it's very hard to ex- pronounce it*). A long side sequence follows (not shown here) where both comment about how hard it is for Japanese speakers to pronounce the lateral approximant [l] and the non-lateral approximant [r] in English, especially when combined together as in *Ballarat*. During that sequence, John talks about a common Japanese friend who has difficulty pronouncing the two phonemes: *ehr yunno Mio (0.4) >she's hopeless addit< °huh huh*. This is followed by a laughing together sequence initiated by John, which shows complicity between the interactants, as they are both laughing at the expense of a non-attending participant. After laughing together regarding the pronunciation of *Ballarat*, Akiko resumes her telling (line 401), where she reports that she had not gone on her own but with a friend. The re-entry into the story is done through the acknowledgement token *yeah* which signals incipient talk (Jefferson, 1984a).

```
(7.8) [AJ3] Background information

401. AKI:    y:eah I went to there with my friend¿
402. JON:    ↑a::h okay;
403. AKI:    and=
404. JON:    =is that where they have the Sovereign:,(.) [Sovereign Hill,
405. AKI:                                                 [Sovereign Hill,
406. AKI:     yeah;
407. JON:    didja go the:re¿/while you were ova ther',[no 'kay; jess Ballarat]
                              /((AKI closes her eyes while shaking her head))
408. AKI:                                                [>no. we didn' go ther';<]
409. AKI:    jess ter Ballarat.
410. JON:    ↑m:m. okay;
411.AKI:     <the peo:ple ask: (0.2) when-when I: tell,> <↓when I talk to
412.         people,↓ [that I-we went to Ballarat,
413. JON:             [mm.
414. JON:    mmhm,
415.AKI:     then:: (0.3) they asked me- <they ask me about. (1.0) >"oh
416.         you should go ter Sovereign Hill then?"<
417. JON:    hah hah hah [hah huh huh h]ah hah[ hah hah hah hah]
418. AKI:                [an: (t)h(e)n]      [so we answered; ]"↑oh no:.
419.         ↑oh why;↑ (.) ↑why you should [go huh huh huh (h)go th(h)en"] [↑yep;]
420. JON:                                  [hah hah hah hah hah hah ] [↑yep,]
421. JON:    $ye[ah,$ huh] [(h)uh
422. AKI:       [hhhhhhhh] [they say so.
423. JON:    huh huh [huh
424. AKI:            [jess- ↓yeah from Ballarat, we went to- ↓have you
425.         >↑have you ever:-< ↓ghh:ave you (.)hearrd about this ehm
426.         (0.3)<↑Hepban Spring[s?↑>
```

```
427. JON:                        [oh yeah; ri[lly¿ I've been in there]
428. AKI:                                    [it's been there yeh;]
429. JON:    I've been [there a couple of times [↓yea::h yea:h;=
430. AKI:              [>oh ↑rilly?<            [↓okay:,
431.         =d'you like [hot springs¿
432. JON:                [wo::w
433. AKI:    (h)uh
434. JON:    M:::M_
435. AKI:    (h)uh [huh
436. JON:          [e::hr yeah they're okay; we went asklly- they're not
437.         hot↓springs though; (0.2)
438. AKI:    ↑oh rilly [it's not?↑
439. JON:              [↓at Hepburn Spring ↑I think, they're
440.         mineral springs but they're not hot.
```

A storytelling is a collaborative achievement, whereby the co-participant aligns as a storytelling recipient but can also actively participate in the telling (Goodwin, 1984), and even derail the story (Mandelbaum, 1989). Sacks (1974) points out that once the storyteller is engaged in the telling there is no provision for recipients to talk, however if they do they do so interruptedly and usually "very close to points of possible transition in non-story constructional terms" (1974, p. 344). This is what John does; he does not let Akiko complete her turn in 403, and he initiates a confirmation check regarding background information about the story (*is that where they have the Sovereign [Sovereign Hill* line 404). John's question has sequential implicativeness for the trajectory of the telling as Akiko may not have mentioned Sovereign Hill otherwise, and it occasions a sequence. This question is interesting as he is asking Akiko about a famous local outdoor museum. This is a role reversal in that John is no longer the information provider, but in this case he is checking information with Akiko about the region where he lives. Hence Akiko becomes the information provider, displaying some expert knowledge, particularly L2 membership knowledge. She overlaps with John as soon as she hears the first part of the museum's name, and in unison with John provides the whole name (*[Sovereign Hill;* line 405) as a choral co-production (Lerner, 2002), which is followed in the same turn by a confirmation token (*yeah* line 406). The projectability of John's turn is facilitated by his micro pause after *Sovereign*: the trail-off and rising intonation contour appealing for confirmation from Akiko, as well as the addition of the definite article *the*,

indicating hesitancy on John's part, since it is unrelated to the proper noun. In the choral co-production both participants achieve similar intonation, pronunciation and voicing of the museum's name. This is an indication of a heightened alignment on the part of both participants and Akiko's increased L2 interactional and linguistic skills.

Then John asks Akiko if she had been to that museum (line 407), which is a well-known tourist destination but contrary to expectation she replies in the negative. Her next turns are recipient-designed in that she employs this counter-expectation as an interactional device as well as direct reported speech (lines 411-1, 415-6, 418-9) to trigger laughter in her recipient. Thus, she engages in what could be called a parenthesis (Goodwin, 1984), as it is disjunctive and embedded yet it is designed to be humorous. However, this is not the climax of the story as revealed later in excerpt (7.10) although it could be taken as such by the recipient at that moment. For a non-expert L2 user to achieve humour is quite an interactional accomplishment (Trachtenberg, 1979). This is not the first time that Akiko has used humour when interacting with John, nonetheless this is the first time that she embeds it in an extended spate of talk.

What is remarkable here is how she achieves humour, and that she succeeds in producing laughter in her recipient. She accomplishes this humour over a series of five multi-unit turns containing complex sentences, such as adverbial clauses (*the people as:k when-when I: tell when I talk ter people*, lines 410-1, *then they asked me-they ask me ehm* line 414), and a relative clause (*that I-we went to Ballarat,* line 411). Her use of direct reported speech is employed specifically to achieve a more vivid rendering, hence humorous, of people's reaction at their not visiting the famous museum. To achieve that effect, Akiko employs various resources (cf. Holt, 1996), such as speech verbs to announce the direct quote (*they ask me about*, line 414 and *we answered;* line 417). Other resources deployed to set the first quote apart include the token *oh* (*oh you should go*, line 414; *↑oh no*, line 417; *↑oh why↑* line 418); paralinguistic features such as prosody - high pitch - (*↑oh why;↑; ↑why you*

should [go then line 418) and the intraturn pause (line 414). She also delivers the direct reported speech at a fast rate (*>oh you should go ter Sovereign Hill then?<,* line 414-5). She continues her quote (*[an: (t)h(e)n so we answered]* line 417) overlapped by John's laughter, which is a typical feature of a funny story (Sacks, 1974). Laughing is a response to the humour and a display of the recipient's appreciation of the story. Other features of her direct reported speech include the particular use of personal pronouns (*you* and *we*), which are co-referential with the reported speaker (Holt, 1996); both referring to Akiko and her friend. She closes down the sequence with a formulation (*they say so;* line 421).

Once John finishes laughing Akiko resumes her telling (line 423). However this telling is truncated as she self-repairs and changes tack. Akiko self-interrupts (*jess-↓yeah from Ballarat, we went to↓* line 423) and instead of bringing the story to completion she asks John some questions engaging in a turn-by-turn talk (lines 423-5, 430) and producing a newsmarker to his telling (*[>oh ↑rilly?<* line 429). She indicates her next destination in an impersonal way by using the pronoun *it* instead of *we* and in the form of an announcement (*[it's been there yeh*;] line 427), which makes her non-nativeness salient. Moreover she does not utter it in the clear as she overlaps John's response to her question. All her actions contribute to derail her own story. John has a very delayed reaction to this announcement having just realised the import of her utterance (line 427), by producing two assessments over two turns (*wo::w* line 431, and *M:::M_* line 433). Then subsequent talk follows where they discuss spas and engage in turn-by-turn talk (data not shown).

Between the last excerpt (7.8) and the next one (7.9) a few turns have been omitted, as John continues to explain about the spa. He describes that the water is artificially heated, and therefore technically it is not a hot spring. This explanation sequence ends at line 466 in excerpt (7.9) with John's reiteration that it is not a hot spring. Excerpt (7.9) shows the end of Akiko's story initiated in the previous excerpt. In terminating the story, Akiko explains the reason why they

decided to go to Daylesford, where they have heated spas with mineral spring water.

```
(7.9) [AJ3] Event and account
466. JON:    yea:h so it's not- it's not a hot springs. huhhuhhu[h
467. AKI:                                                       [okay,
468. JON:    bicoz-
469. AKI:    oh [yes; r(i)(g)(h)(t) [huh huh huh
470. JON:       [mm,                [huh huh huh heh huh
471. AKI:    hhhhhh[hhhhh ↑yes↑ ↑bicoz ehm we Japanese take a ↓bath¿
472. JON:          [mm,
473.   (0.9)
474. AKI:    I mean er (0.8) not only a shower; we take a bath in
475.         the (0.4) bathtub¿
476. (0.3)
477. JON:    oh yeah I know that. [>yea:h] that's right. yeh ye[h yeh;<]
478. AKI:                         [yunno ( t h e n   w e - ) s o : : ]
479.         ·hh we miss the:: Ja[panese style of bath (h)uh >so we]
480. JON:                        [↑ a : : : h .   o k a y ;   w o w ]
481. AKI:    wantid ter go t' the ↑hot spa:;
482. JON:    ↑m:::m.. hah [hah hah hah
483. AKI:                 [heh heh heh so we went to Ballarat¿ an
484.         then go to_
485. JON:    ri::[:ght
486. AKI:        [Dilesferd. (Daylesford)
487. JON:    ↑o:h okay;
488.   (0.7)
489. JON:    there's a- >ah that's right. yeah cos I knew it;<
490.         usually you take a sho:wa;
491. AKI:    mmhm,
492. JON:    an then a bath.
493. AKI:    °yeah; a bat[h.°
494. JON:                [an then; have a champagne this afternoon;
495.         go to bath. ↑yeah that's right;↑ ↑m::m,↑…
((Then John engages in a long sequence where he explains about Daylesford,
once more taking on the role of information provider))
```

Akiko starts giving an account (*↑yes↑ bicoz ehm we Japanese take a bath¿* line 471) where her nationality and cultural customs become topical talk and part of her story. In other words, she explains the reason for going to Hepburn Springs, and that Akiko and her Japanese friend miss the Japanese style bath. Following her turn, a rather long silence occurs. As her story has been interrupted, Akiko is under the obligation to provide a clarification (*I mean er not only a shower we take a bath in the (0.4) bath tub¿* lines 474-5), because John is not necessarily making the link between this sequence and the prior one in excerpt (7.8). John receipts her clarification after a short pause with an acknowledgement token (*oh yeah I know that. [>yea:h] that's right. yeh ye[h yeh;<* line 477), indicating that he is knowledgeable

about the Japanese style bath. After overlapping John, Akiko completes her account over two TCUs, first explaining that they miss the Japanese bath (*·hh we miss the:: Ja[panese style of bath (h)uh >so we]* line 479) then justifying their trip there (*(h)uh so we wanted to go to the hot spring* line 481). She finishes her telling here by naming the two locations they visited: Ballarat then Daylesford[82] (*so we went to Ballarat¿ an then to* lines 483-4, 486). However, before she can complete her utterance John produces an acknowledgement token in overlap (*ri::[:ght* line 485), as he has now put all the information together, thereby projecting the end of her turn (*Dilesferd* line 486). The reiteration of the places where she travelled acts a topic-exit device, and from then on John asks clarification questions about the Japanese style bath. This gradually leads to another long subsequent talk about Daylesford where John becomes the information provider (data not shown).

The next excerpt (7.10) is the completion of the story initiated in excerpt (7.7) above. It contains background information, a climax and a response sequence (Sacks, 1974). Akiko recounts some mishap related to their trip to Ballarat. She uses direct reported speech as an interactional device to bring authenticity and drama to her story. She re-enters the story after a pause following topic attrition which signals the end of the previous sequence, and any speaker can self-select. She takes the floor by producing an inbreath and the acknowledgement token *yeah* indicating incipient talk. Then she rushes through with the appositional *but* to introduce an assessment (=*but the funny thing was that: er* line 553) as a re-entry device into the story (Jefferson, 1978), framing the story and its climax as an amusing telling. John aligns as a storytelling recipient, producing a continuer in the next turn (*mmhm,* line 555). She thereby engages in turns in a series with multi TCUs and increments.

```
(7.10) [AJ3] Climax

552.   (0.9)
553. AKI:    ·hh y:eah=but the funny thing was that: er my
554.         friend; (0.7) give me a ca:ll,
555. JON:    mmhm,
556. AKI:    on Wednesday night >or something, an then she said; (0.6)
```

[82] Daylesford is the closest town to the mineral spring located at Hepburn Springs, and where most visitors stay.

```
557.          <"d'you wanna go ter (   ) or d'you wanna go t'
558. AKI:     Ballarat¿" [so I said; (0.3) "OH YES; let's go; (0.3) then
559. JON:                [right¿
560. AKI:     SO::; (0.4) tomo↑rrow. (0.3) meet ↓tomorrow;"
561. JON:     uh [right;
562. AKI:        [an then_ (0.7) the next day we-we met at the Spencer
563.          Street Station¿ (0.2) >et eleven o'clock or something¿<=
564. JON:     =mmhm,
565. AKI:     and::; ↑I wes not going ter stay over::;
566.   (1.3)((AKI and JON are mutually gazing, then AKI makes a circular
hand gesture with a finger pointing down before uttering the night))
567. JON:     u:[:h,
568. AKI:       [the night, ((AKI disengages her gaze from JON))
569. JON:     ri:ght¿
570. AKI:     so I wez going to come back;
571. JON:     yea[:h¿
572. AKI:        [>cos we didn't come back in a day;< but she:- when she
573.          appears; at the Spencer Street Station; she wes
574.          carrying a big back pack;=
575. JON:     =↑m:::↓::m.
576. AKI:     (h)uh heh heh
577. JON:     ah [↑no:. hah hah hah hah hah
578. AKI:        [(co-) huh huh huh
579. AKI:     ↑so I had- [>I: di'n't have anything;↑< to:=
580. JON:                [a:::h
581. JON:     =jess fer the day[: u↑::h.
582. AKI:                      [yeah jess fer the day; so[:;
583. JON:                                                 [so not
584. JON:      even- no toiletries or anything like that.
585.          [=no] toothbrush er_=
586. AKI:     [mm,]
587. AKI:      =>no n[o. I didn't have anything so;<
588. JON:            [↑a:::h.
589. AKI:     ·hh we went back to: (.) m[y house again¿
590. JON:                               [↑m: : : : : m. an back_
591. AKI:     (h)b(h)e(h)c(h)o(h)s hh [stops an,]
592. JON:                             [↑m : : : m . ] ↑so you
593.          sta↑yed overnight;.
594. AKI:     y[::es
595. JON:      [when you went there [↑u: : :h
596. AKI:                           [two nights; [(h)ih [(h)ih
597. JON:                                                [↑so where abouts
598           did you stay:¿↑
599. AKI:     ↑u:::h in Ballarat,↑ (0.3) ↓rilly we stayed; …
((Then John continues asking a few questions in relation to their
accommodation, so the turns are co-constructed and the participants are
engaged in turn-by-turn talk))
```

In this excerpt, Akiko's speech rate is fast at times, and she employs pragmatic markers, such as *or something*, which enhance interactional coherence and are a feature of advanced L2 users (Wei, 2011). After framing the story as amusing with the colloquial expression *but the funny thing was that*, she begins the telling by giving background information as to what happened before the trip (*my friend; (0.7) give me a ca:ll,* lines 553-4) and mentions her friend. In this excerpt, her focus

is on interactional competence as she does not initiate repairs on her syntax, and as a result she deploys a number of interactional devices. She gives a chronology of the events and re-enacts the discussion she had with her friend about her trip to Ballarat and Daylesford using direct reported speech. In developing her story, she uses a mixture of past and present tenses, generally using the past tense to narrate -although she is inconsistent in its use - and the present tense as a device to quote direct speech. In general, she uses the same features for direct reported speech as examined in excerpt (7.8): pausing, pitch, loudness, co-referential pronouns, speech verbs in the past tense (*an then she said;* line 556; *so I said;* line 558) and colloquial language with marked reduced vowels (*<d'you wanna go ter ( ) or d'you wanna go t' Ballarat¿*, lines 557-8; *OH YES; let's go*, line 558; *SO::; (0.4) tomo↑rrow. (0.3) meet ↓tomorrow;* line 560).

In 565 she gives crucial information regarding her trip; i.e., that she had not planned to stay beyond one day (*and::; ↑I wes not going ter stay over::;*), which is marked prosodically indicating emphasis. At that point, she gazes at John to secure his gaze, which John reciprocates, and they are mutually gazing during the silence that follows. As the silence continues, she makes a hand gesture to further engage John, prefacing her next utterance. Once John finally utters the continuer (*u:[:h,* line 567) which she seemingly was waiting for, she quickly overlaps it with an increment (i.e., an NP extension), to clarify that she had no intention of going away for a few nights (*[the night,* line 568). The production of her extension in 568 results from the lack of a more engaged recipient (Ford et al., 2002). For Akiko to proceed with her story, she needs John to understand this crucial information. When John produces an acknowledgment token (*ri:ght¿* line 569) indicating his alignment and that he is following her story, she disengages her gaze and pursues her story. She uses emphasis to build up the surprising element that will be delivered as a punchline (cf. Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 2006). She states that she intended to come back to Melbourne that day (*so I wez going to come back;* line 570), which is juxtaposed with the next turn with a counter statement delivered very quickly (*[>cos we didn't come back in a day;<*

line 572), as she is about to launch into the climax of her story. Having done all this preparatory work, she can now deliver the punchline over two TCUS: *but she:- when she appears; at the Spencer Street Station; she wes carrying a big back pack;=* (lines 572-4). However, John responds to the punchline with an assessment (=*↑m:::↓::m.* line 575) but not with laughter. To minimise any silence she produces laughter in the next turn (line 576). Then John realises the irony of her situation and after uttering an expletive (*ah ↑no:.* line 577), he responds with laughter, thus affiliating with her, and Akiko joins in. This is part of what Sacks (1974) called the response sequence where storytelling recipients respond to the punchline or climax of the story. This sequence can simply consist of laughing and can also be expanded through talk. Following this, Akiko produces a formulation (*↑so I had- [>I: di'n't have anything;↑< to:=* line 579) to reiterate the predicament she found herself in, with no luggage when she was expected to go away for two days. Then, from line 580 on, the two participants engage in a turn-by-turn talk, and finally Akiko brings her story to completion in 596. In this telling Akiko sustained a long spate of talk to accomplish a complex story, deploying various interactional devices to create both a climax and humour involving the production of complex clauses with various tenses.

7.2.2 Conclusion –Akiko's Third Interaction with John

The excerpts shown in this section clearly demonstrate that Akiko is moving from recipiency to speakership. Further, they illustrate that her focus has markedly started to change from accuracy, or linguistic competence, to communication, or L2 interactional competence, as evidenced by her lack of self-correction. Both excerpts (7.8) and (7.10) in particular, demonstrate the complexity of the interactional resources that Akiko was able to deploy. She has gained in fluency and confidence. As well as this, her phonology and linguistic resources are more varied and her clauses more complex. She was able to employ a much greater range of interactional devices such as choral co-production (also

achieved with *yep* in lines 418-419), humour, storytelling, direct reported speech, rush-through, multi TCUs and increments, thus sustaining long multi-unit turns at talk. Even though her story was suspended and deployed over various separate sequences, she was able to bring it to completion and produce the expected response from her recipient, which was laughter on two occasions (excerpts 7.8 and 7.10). In producing storytelling and particularly sharing personal experiences, Akiko engaged in a specific social action, which resulted in interpersonal outcomes as her social relationship with John evolved from mere acquaintanceship to some form of friendship. Moreover, as John was involved in the Japanese community through personal relationships, he showed special interest in Japanese culture and displayed some knowledge about it. It is apparent that Akiko and John now have a historical interaction, as they not only share common friends but also common knowledge, and when they do not, they take steps to explain it, e.g. Japanese style bath. Their evolving friendship has direct consequences for the development of Akiko's L2 interactional competence. Akiko commented in the stimulated recall that she felt comfortable and relaxed with John, an ease which was reflected in her storytelling. Further, in the focus group she added that she could more readily join in a conversation with close friends and L1 speaker friends were more tolerant of her mistakes than in tutorials, a comment also made by Carol and Meg. More importantly, Akiko stated that her English improved because she had friends and would not have improved otherwise (this is equally true for Meg and Carol).

7.3 Akiko's Fourth Interaction with an L2 Speaker, Carol

7.3.1 Akiko's Engaged Listenership

In the fourth interaction with her L2 speaker friend Carol, Akiko did not initiate many actions nor did she take multi-unit turns. She uttered about a quarter of the total numbers of words but took nearly the same number of turns as Carol. This

suggests that Akiko took short turns and mostly remained in the listener role, which was the case.

Initially both participants produce very short turns consisting of single unit turns as they are making arrangements to go somewhere together. They decide to bring food for the trip, so the turns are more equally distributed but are also shorter. This equal distribution of turns also occurs when the participants move into closing, as they are reiterating arrangements, an activity usually found in L1 closings (Button, 1987). Thus there is only symmetry in the turn taking in the opening and in the closing sequences. It is not always easy to follow the conversation, as there is tacit understanding between the interactants who know each other well.

The next excerpt (7.11) occurs a few seconds after the interactants have settled down and could be taken as part of the opening; they are making arrangements for their trip. Carol makes a topic proffer by suggesting their trip (*we can talk abou' my- (0.4) my tri' on Saturday.* lines 10-11), which Akiko accepts in the next turn, changing the pronoun to its plural form to include herself (*okay our trip okay.* line 13). In 21 Carol explains that she came to this session to explicitly talk about their trip (*but that's why I came here.*), revealing a set agenda for this conversation.

```
(7.11) [NNS-AC] Making arrangements for their trip

10. CAR:     we can talk abou' my- (0.4) my tri' ((trip))
11.          on Saturday. (0.9) trip
12.          or some ↑more [I mean huh huh huh hih
13. AKI:                   [okay our trip okay.
14. AKI:      so huhhuhhuh are you- sh- are you sure¿
15.          i:-[i- are you sure I can't-
16. CAR:        [I'll have my sandwich
17. AKI:     hey?
18. (1.4)    ((CAR is rummaging in her bag))
19. CAR:     I check my timing. ((CAR is eating her sandwich))
20. AKI:     yeah.
21. CAR:     but that's why I came here.
22. AKI:     mm mm mm.
((A few lines are omitted as Carol has temporarily shifted topic))
47. CAR:     so I can go.
48. AKI:     mm mm mm.
49.    (0.3)
50. AKI:     that's good.
51.    (0.3)
52. CAR:     so on Tuesday?
53. AKI:     on:
```

```
54. (0.5) ((CAR is looking at her diary turning pages))
55. AKI:     no no no o[n Saturday huh huh huh today is also
56. CAR:               [on Saturday
57. AKI:     Tuesday
58. CAR:     yeah;
((A few lines are omitted as Carol has temporarily shifted topic))
73. CAR:     but Sunday what time we come back,
74. AKI:     around- not-not so late I-I think;
75. CAR:     mm¿
76. AKI:     around [around aft-afternoo:n,
77. CAR:            [mm.
78. CAR:     mm [mm mm.
79. AKI:        [something.
80.    (1.2)
81. AKI:     four or five or:
82.    (0.5)
83. CAR:     maybe we can make something;
84. AKI:     mm.
85. CAR:     ((making some noise with her mouth)) hah hah
86. AKI:     make-mak[e what¿
87. CAR:             [cook something
88. AKI:     cook fo:r,
89. CAR:     huh huh
90. AKI:     the driving
91. ???:     ·hhhhh
92. CAR:     everyon[e,
93. AKI:            [<I (think yeah [°(can be) very fun,°>
94. CAR:                            [yeah huh huh
95. CAR:     mmhm,
96.    (0.9) ((CAR is writing in her diary))
97. CAR:     yeah hh this week,
98. AKI:     mm.
((CAR shifts topic))
```

In this excerpt (7.11) the two L2 participants are organising a car trip and trying to agree upon which day to leave. Carol consults her diary to check when she is available (line 54), then both agree to go on a Saturday (lines 55, 56). In this sequence the turns are short mostly consisting of one single TCU, and they do not always involve sentential TCUs. At times, the responses to questions provide minimal information, which is deemed sufficient for the interactants. For instance, Akiko provides a prepositional phrase that is a vague answer to Carol's question regarding the time of their return (*around [around aft-afternoo:n,* line 76). Then Akiko, in pursuing agreement from Carol, adds two increments to her answer over two turns, as Carol does not openly accept Akiko's response (*[something* lines 79). However, when Akiko provides a more specific time in her second increment in 81 (*four or five or*), Carol seems to accept it because she moves to another topic related to their trip (line 83). During this brief

subsequence no overt negotiation is taking place. Carol does not offer any suggestion for a suitable time to return, rather she seems to rely on Akiko for an answer.

Then Carol suggests they cook something for their trip (*maybe we can make something;* line 83). After this turn both participants build on each other's turns as they are trying to decide what they are going to do. Akiko seeks clarification in relation to cooking for the trip (*make-mak[e what¿* line 86), but Carol produces a vague answer (*[cook something* line 87) overlapping Akiko. Akiko partially recycles Carol's turn, simply adding a preposition (*cook fo:r,* line 88), but it is Akiko who completes her own turn with an increment (*the driving* line 90) as Carol responds with laughter (line 89). Carol confirms Akiko's preceding guess candidate by being slightly more specific (*everyon[e]* line 92). This response seems to satisfy Akiko as she produces a terminal assessment (line 93) which prefaces the closing of this sequence.

Carol's strategy is to let Akiko provide candidate suggestions and guesses instead of engaging in open negotiations about the time of their return or what sort of cooking to do. As Carol does not volunteer information Akiko pursues an answer by either adding increments or questioning. Even though Akiko never obtains a proper response to her clarification request made in 86, she seems satisfied with Carol's last answer (line 92). In the next excerpt (7.12) these arrangements are reintroduced at the closing of their conversation as they are leaving the room, so Carol and Akiko made genuine arrangements for their trip. Carol uses a similar strategy as previously and she lets Akiko reiterate the arrangements, simply confirming each assertion with a response token (*mmhm*). It is Akiko who clarifies *everyone* mentioned earlier (line 92, excerpt 7.11) as she is more precise (*four* line 1047).

```
(7.12) [NNS-AC] Closing of the conversation

1047. AKI: → four people yeah;
1048. CAR:   mmhm.
1049. AKI: → in one car ((opening door))
1050. CAR:   mmhm.
```

There is obviously tacit understanding and shared knowledge that the interactants do not need to display to make sense of each other's actions. These turns-in-a-series, which contain minimal language using basic spoken grammar[83], contrast with those that Akiko and John had engaged in at the end of their first interaction [AJ1] in excerpt (6.14) where the turns were longer and involved more language, pointing to a possible trend whereby Akiko produces more complex turns and language when interacting with L1 speakers (refer to [Aj2] and [AJ3]). Akiko may be calibrating her interactional and linguistic competences to match those of Carol's (Firth, 2009).

Making arrangements for their trip is the only time when Akiko shares equal access to the turn-taking system because throughout the rest of the interaction, Akiko plays the listener role and relinquishes the role of primary speaker, co-constructing her recipiency. Hence she produces listener responses, particularly *mm mmhm*, *yeah*, occasionally news receipts *oh* and *oh really* and assessments (e.g. *I think it's very interesting↑ huh huh*, *cute*,) as well as laughter. At times she produces formulations, offers collaborative completions and short candidate explanations, makes assertions, asks questions, and initiates other-repairs when intersubjectivity is threatened (e.g. mispronunciation), or when seeking clarification. These actions are mostly exemplified in excerpts (7.13) and (7.14) shown below. Unlike in her preceding interactions with John, in this interaction Akiko does not produce any multi-unit turns at all. Moreover, apart from storytelling most of the social activities occurring differ from those found when Akiko interacts with John. Here Carol engages in gossiping about her friend's housemate and complaining about her housemates, as well as in storytelling (regarding her new house and landlady). Thus, Carol becomes the primary speaker while Akiko plays the listener role. The excerpt below is a typical sample of the vast majority of the interaction with Carol.

[83] Spoken grammar, which has been described for English by Carter & McCarthy (cf. Carter & McCarthy, 2006), is not limited to English but is applicable to any spoken language.

(7.13) [NNS-AC] Gossip

```
218. CAR:    an after that I tol' with her; (0.3) ehm (1.3)
219.         on Sunday night (.) so I teach her how to tol'
220. CAR:    with her housema' (0.5)
221. AKI: →   huh huh
222. CAR:    <an anyway is- (0.4) finishe' but- er sh-she
223.         already, (0.4) tol' with her; (0.4) and  (0.5)
224. CAR:    her housema' at the time said
225. AKI: →  mm,
226. CAR:    (0.3) e::r ab- (0.6) ah the problem is (0.4)
227.         °°er be-°° er bicos I take your mum the
228.         sh- tee-shirt¿ (0.3) tsk but [THEY DIDN'
229. AKI:                                 [ss t-
230. CAR:    SAY about ne- (.) °°uh°° Chris didn'
231          say about that.
232.   (0.4)
233. AKI: →  oh but-but SHE-SHE-she noticed it,
234. CAR:    no bicos at [the time they- they are in the
235. AKI: →              [yeah
236. CAR:    laundry¿ [an then (0.2) in the dryer, (0.6) er
237. AKI:             [yeah_
238. CAR:    Chris find her mom tee-shirt, (0.7) but
239. AKI: →  o:[:h
240. CAR:      [already lost abou' one month;
241.   (0.4)
242. AKI: →  ↑o:::[:::h.
243. CAR:         [so
244. CAR:    an tha' time (0.3) <her housema' is sayin' oh
245.         maybe someone lost that tee-shirt in the dryer …
```

The next excerpt shows that Akiko has taken part in another conversation with Carol that occurred prior to this interaction as she offers a collaborative completion in 307 on an item not mentioned in the preceding talk.

(7.14) [NNS-AC]

```
305. CAR:    so: but she also confess that so is her mom
306.         tee-shirt an
307. AKI: →  the magazine
308. CAR:    the magazine;
```

Hence Akiko must have heard some part of the gossip prior to this conversation, as she offers a collaborative completion for the noun *the magazine* (line 307), which Carol accepts as she repeats it in 308. In the previous excerpt (7.13), Carol had talked about her friend Chris and her housemate who had taken the tee-shirt of Chris's mum, but there was no mention of a magazine being stolen. Thus Akiko must have known about that part of the story to be able to supply the

correct item. This collaborative completion is an indication that Akiko and Carol have an interactional history.

The following excerpt (7.15) exemplifies how Akiko relinquishes her turn to become a recipient. In this excerpt, Carol does not seem to have any more to say on the topic, as she utters *mmhm* (line 420) with a falling intonation followed by some suppressed short laughter. In the following turn, Akiko makes a formulation (line 421) concluding the topic regarding difficult housemates, a topic initiated by Carol who had talked about it at length.

```
(7.15) [NNS-AC] Difficult housemates

417. CAR:    that's why I say [otherwise yeah,
418. AKI:                     [yeah;
419. AKI:    (h)uh
420. CAR:    mmhm; (h)(m)(h)m
421. AKI: →  may:be: yeah i- sometimes it's very difficult to have
422.         a good relationship with your-
423.   (0.5)
424. CAR:    house[ma'¿
425. AKI:         [housemate. °was she angry.° ((raises her eyebrows))
426. CAR:    hhhh I don't kno::w,
427. AKI:    °°maybe.°°
428. CAR:    bico- e::r before I live' with er (0.5) one Ang-
429.         (0.3) British¿ …
```

There is a brief word search in 422 followed by a pause and it is Carol who supplies the item (line 424), which Akiko picks up in an overlap before it is completed in 425. Then, she asks Carol a question thereby handing the floor back to her. Carol gives an indeterminate answer (*I don't know* line 426), so Akiko tentatively suggests a candidate answer in the following turn (*maybe*), which is brief as it consists of one word, opening the possibility that her housemate may be angry with Carol. However Akiko does not elaborate on her answer, which is taken as constituting a turn in itself having a terminal contour and being pragmatically complete, thus creating a transition relevance place. Therefore an opportunity for a next speaker to take the floor has been created. Carol takes the floor and initiates another story (line 428), with Akiko aligning as a story

recipient (not shown here). This excerpt clearly shows that Akiko only momentarily takes the floor to relinquish it later for long periods of time while Carol engages in gossiping, complaining and storytelling.

Throughout the whole interaction Akiko displays an affiliative stance towards Carol through offering sympathetic comments but also through teasing, which indicates active recipiency and also an established social relationship. These particular activities did not occur when Akiko interacted with John although she used humour with him. In excerpt (7.16), in 514 Akiko offers a candidate explanation after laughing, so it could be taken as teasing Carol. She pursues her teasing in reaffirming her assertion by uttering *oh yes* in 517 and a declarative *I can tell* making an epistemic stance, which is reinforced by her simultaneous circular hand gesture pointing at herself.

```
(7.16) [NNS-AC]
511. CAR:    so: (0.4) but if I tal' abou' tha' with Ingrid I feel
512.         sure she become crazy;
513.   (0.2)
514. AKI: →  (h)hh huh [huh huh huh maybe she ]↓loves you very much; ((AKI
is smiling))
515. CAR:              [(h)I-I don't know uhuh]
516. CAR:     [YEAH first time,]
517. AKI:     [·hh /oh(.)>yes;] I can tell,</
                  /AKI makes a circular hand gesture/
```

In excerpt (7.17), Akiko displays her affiliation towards Carol's situation by offering a formulation. She summarises Carol's situation that living in shared rented accommodation can sometimes be very difficult (line 775), and rephrases the adverbial phrase as *very hard* (line 777) in an increment after Carol's turn, to emphasise the difficulty of Carol's situation. This kind of social action is what friends do, i.e., show that they care about each other. Carol aligns with her (line 779). This excerpt comes after a long sequence in which Carol had been talking about her problems. Akiko responds in a similar fashion to how John did when he affiliated with her situation as an international student and not having opportunities to speak English in excerpt (6.7 - [AJ1]).

```
(7.17) [NNS-AC]

774. CAR:    yah¿ [yeah;
775. AKI: →        [u::h sometimes it's very, very difficult;=
776. CAR:    =↑m:m.=
777. AKI: →   =very hard;
778. (0.5)
779. CAR:    yes;
```

Below is a short segment of that excerpt (6.6) which shows some similarity between John's affiliative stance and Akiko's. However, in this excerpt Akiko does not align with John as she produces a newsmarker (line 166), indicating surprise and/or disbelief (Heritage, 1984).

```
(6.6) [AJ1]

162. JON: →  so I cn imagine, it's hard. [most people have that problem I
163. AKI:                                [have you-
164. JON:    think.
165. (0.3)
166. AKI:    oh really,
167. JON:    yea:h yea::h,
```

In excerpt (7.18), it becomes clear that through her eyegaze Akiko is selecting Carol as next speaker, thereby maintaining the recipient role. The excerpt starts with Carol concluding the topic about housemates by saying that it is okay where she is living in relation to her housemates (lines 441-443). In 442 Akiko attempts to take the floor overlapping Carol but she gives up so Carol continues and completes her turn. In 444, Akiko responds by producing first a newsmarker (*ah rilly*) with a rising intonation, which seems to indicate some surprise (and disbelief), then an acknowledgment token (*okay*) with a terminal intonation. In the next turn in 445, Carol reiterates her response provided earlier (lines 441-3) confirming that it is fine for her to live with her present housemates, by producing and repeating the acknowledgement token *yeah* (*a::h yea:h yea[:h.*), an action which appears to dispel any doubt that Akiko's newsmarker may have raised. However, Akiko does not seem convinced as while she is producing *↑yeah¿* in terminal overlap with rising intonation (line 446), thus functioning as a confirmation check, she is also looking away, which is a disaffiliative move

(Steensig & Drew, 2008). That she is not gazing at Carol while uttering *yeah* seems to reinforce Akiko's disbelief regarding Carol's assertion that her situation is acceptable. This is followed by a long pause (line 447) allowing anyone to self-select and take a turn. This long silence prefaces a dispreferred response from Carol who contradicts Akiko's inference that Carol's situation is unacceptable.

```
(7.18) [NNS-AC]

441. CAR:    but i[s compare Ingrid is ↓Ingrid much more
442. AKI:         [is (talking)
443. CAR:    better.
444. AKI:    ↑ah rilly¿↑ °okay;°  ((gazes at CAR and smiles))
445. CAR:    a::h yea:h /yea[:h.
                        /((AKI is looking down))
((AKI is following CAR's action as CAR leans down to scratch her calf))
446. AKI:                   [/↑yeah¿ ((CAR is still scratching herself but
gazing at AKI))
                           /AKI is looking away
447.   (1.6) ((CAR is still gazing at AKI but AKI is looking down))
448. CAR:    ye:s./(0.2) ↓but I /dunno.↓
                 /((AKI returns CAR's gaze))
                                /CAR is looking down but AKI is gazing at
CAR
449. AKI:    °(  )° ↑yeah; ((looks away briefly at the door then gazes
back at CAR))
450.   (1.0) ((CAR is looking down while AKI is gazing at her))
451. CAR:     m↑:/:m.
                /CAR moves her head to face AKI and realigns her gaze with
AKI
452. (1.0) ((CAR is now looking down while AKI is gazing at her))
453. CAR:    yeah if the end of semester /I can put I want. …
                                         /CAR returns AKI's gaze
```

Below is the videograb 7.3 capturing Akiko's and Carol's gaze during the pause (line 450).

Videograb 7.3 [NNS-AC]

By examining the gaze from both participants from this point on, Akiko's gaze becomes very revealing. During the long pause in 447, Akiko is looking down while Carol is gazing at her. Carol finally responds to Akiko's confirmation check in the affirmative in 448, thus giving her a very delayed second pair part, produced emphatically with an elongated sound and a terminal contour (*ye:s.*). Then in the same turn after this emphatic answer, Carol mitigates her response after a brief pause by saying *but I dunno* (line 448).

At this point, it is worth noticing the significance of the rule of the adjacency pair for both participants. The conditional relevance of the second pair part is made a priority and talk is suspended until that second pair part is produced. Even though Akiko does not verbally pursue the second pair part, she does it through her non-verbal stance (silence and not gazing at Carol) because Akiko re-engages her gaze with Carol immediately after hearing Carol's second pair part. After this, Akiko mostly maintains her gaze on Carol while the latter is looking down.

During this time it is clear that the participants have closed down the topic: acknowledgment token *yeah* in terminal position in 449, a long pause (line 450), another acknowledgment token in terminal position uttered by Carol (*m↑::m.* line 451) and another long pause (line 452). Therefore any speaker could self-select to take the floor and start a new topic. While Carol is looking down, Akiko for the most part is intently gazing[84] at Carol and refraining from taking the floor, thereby selecting Carol as the next speaker (Sacks et al., 1974). In this instance again, Akiko is actively participating at being a recipient. By maintaining her gaze on Carol, Akiko encourages her to expand as she is pursuing a response (Rossano et al., 2009). Regarding the role of gaze, Schegloff (2007) states that: "maintaining gaze at co-participant can promote sequence expansion; and withdrawing gaze can discourage it" (2007 pp. 118). Then, Carol embarks on a new topic in 453.

More importantly, Akiko continued to remain a listener, therefore interacting with a good friend did not appear to change Akiko's discursive role, at least in that instance. The discursive role of a recipient was produced with John, particularly in her first interaction with him. Nonetheless, regardless of playing this role, Akiko still showed great engagement in the interaction through her actions and her body language as discussed above. As she attended to Carol's talk with keen interest she sat in a relaxed manner with her upper body turned towards Carol, often gazing at Carol, and she frequently smiled or laughed as evidenced in videograb 7.4 below:

[84]Akiko briefly looks away when something external to the conversation may have momentarily caught her attention as she looked at the door behind her (line 449).

Videograb 7.4 [NNS-AC]

7.3.2 Conclusion – Akiko's Interaction with an L2 Speaker, Carol

Despite mostly playing the role of the listener in this interaction, Akiko still displayed a high degree of involvement and generally was affiliative towards Carol by empathising with her situation. That she could empathise with Carol in a similar fashion to John in [AJ1] may possibly point to some learning of interactional skills as five months have elapsed between the two interactions, although it is difficult to know for certain. It is clear that social affiliation played a significant part in this interaction, as for most of the interaction Akiko and Carol engaged in different social activities which reinforced their social bond. Akiko may have felt that she needed to support her friend by listening and making supportive comments. Gossiping and complaining may have been a way for Carol to vent her problems dealing with her housemates and living in shared rented accommodation. However, it is interesting to observe that when the topic moved on to housemates or landlords, Akiko did not produce a second story although she too was living in shared rented accommodation. A second story is a

way to express similarity and understanding through the display of a similar experience (Sacks, 1992, pp. 4, Vol. 2).

From a second language acquisition perspective, Akiko's performance with Carol did not show the range of interactional skills that she had deployed in her previous interactions with the L1 speaker, John, particularly the third one [AJ3], which showed more advanced L2 interactional competence and linguistic skills. In her interaction with Carol, she refrained from taking long turns at talk and produced little talk, compared to her previous interactions and compared to Carol. This interaction therefore provides strong evidence that L2 interactional competence is co-constructed and socially situated, as well as language being socially distributed. Akiko calibrated her linguistic and interactional competences to match those of Carol's (cf. Firth, 2009). It may be argued that interacting with an expert speaker, such as John, may have been an influential factor in Akiko's display of more sophisticated interactional competence in the previous interactions. Interestingly both Carol and Akiko (and Meg) had expressed the view in the focus group that they preferred interacting with an L1 speaker because they could learn new expressions and improve their English.

7.4 Akiko's Fifth Interaction with Two L1 Speakers, John and Hassanah

This section examines Akiko's last interaction [AJ4+H], which is more complex as it is a three party conversation involving John and a newcomer to the study, another L1 speaker, Hassanah, a female in her early fifties. Moreover, the two L1 speakers have an already established social relationship, which adds to the complexity of the interaction. In this interaction, Hassanah and Akiko are meeting for the first time and self-presentational questions resurface as both need to get to know each other to some extent to establish some common ground and topical talk. Note that the recording did not capture the moment

when Hassanah and Akiko were introduced to each other and had an initial exchange as there are allusions to some prior talk in the conversation.

A three party interaction is more challenging, particularly for a non-expert L2 speaker like Akiko, as taking the floor is more competitive (Sacks et al., 1978). Sacks et al. (1978) clearly affirm that a three party conversation is conducted differently from a two party conversation. In a multi party conversation turns tend to become smaller and a "next turn is no longer guaranteed to (or obliged for) any current nonspeaker" (Sacks et al., 1978, p. 23). Further, they note that "therefore a current nonspeaker interested in speaking first will be under constraint to self-select at first possible transition point, and each successive such point (p. 23)." Hence taking a turn at talk in such an environment requires a higher level of interactional competence. Interestingly, in this interaction Akiko takes just about as many turns as Hassanah and produces nearly as many utterances and words as Hassanah and John. This implies that Akiko's performance in relation to turn-taking skills approximates that of an L1 speaker. Overall, Akiko provides more than minimal responses, which she had tended to do in her previous interactions, particularly in the first two recordings. Akiko can now make full contributions as she interjects while the two L1 speakers are speaking to each other. In other words, she is able to produce sentential overlaps, initiate other repairs such as clarification questions and confirmation checks, make information requests in terminal overlap, ask self-presentational questions to Hassanah, self-disclose information, initiate topic shift, and make comments, as well as take multi-unit turns. This performance is a significant achievement given the turn-taking constraints operating in this environment. In this interaction it is worth noting that there is only one brief storytelling produced by John in the early part of the interaction.

Therefore we can clearly see a progression in Akiko's L2 interactional competence from her first interaction to this last one. Even though she is also interacting with a stranger, she now contributes more readily and uses more

language and interactional strategies to take or keep the floor She is able to launch into multi-unit turns with confidence as evidenced by her ability to overlap to take the floor, her fast speech rate, her increased fluency and more native-like phonology, traits that were emerging in the previous interaction with John [AJ3]. Her body language also shows that she is at ease in this interaction with both John and Hassanah, as shown in the videograbs 7.5 and 7.6 below.

Videograb 7.5 [AJ4+H]

Videograb 7.6 [AJ4+H]

The two videograbs show Akiko moving from John to Hassanah with ease as she is engaged in talk with them; she regularly turns her head and upper body to face each of them as she is addressing one or the other.

7.4.1 Response to Self-Presentational Questions

For most of the interaction the participants mainly engaged in turn-by-turn talk. The sequence below comes 23 minutes into the interaction. During the conversation, Hassanah asks Akiko a few self-presentational questions, however she does not always give Akiko enough interactional space to respond as in the following excerpt (7.19). Since Hassanah does not obtain straightaway the answer that she is pursuing (*what was it thet you studied in Japan¿* line 720), after a pause (line 721) she reformulates her initial question after making a confirmation check (line 723). Hassanah's behaviour is similar to Pomerantz's (1984b) findings regarding the pursuit of a response in NS interactions. A gap after an assertion or a question can indicate a lack of understanding, which seems to be the case

here. The misunderstanding occurs from an incongruous topic shift initiated by Hassanah, given the sequential organisation (Drew, 1997).

Prior to Hassanah's topic proffer, John was talking about the teaching of Japanese in schools in Australia, which was followed by a pause, signalling topic attrition. During that pause, John is smiling while Akiko is in the thinking mode: her right hand is tucked under her chin and her left arm crossed under it, and she is looking straight ahead nodding a few times (see videograb 7.7 below).

Videograb 7.7 [AJ4+H]

Hassanah markedly cocks her head towards Akiko to grab her attention and starts uttering her question while Akiko is still in a pensive mode and is not yet gazing at Hassanah (see videograb 7.6). Hassanah does not call Akiko's name to get her attention but does it nonverbally, which is seen as an unexpected action because Akiko shows surprise. She indicates surprise by raising her eyebrows and

moving her upper body backward with her head tilting backward. Then she starts to respond as shown in videograb 7.8 below.

Videograb 7.8 [AJ4+H]

Hassanah's new topic appears unmarked, thus creating some trouble. She overlaps Akiko a few times and what ensues is a series of confirmation checks made by both parties – Hassanah and Akiko. That Hassanah does not give Akiko enough interactional space creates more confusion for Akiko who is trying to ascertain what information Hassanah is requesting, which explains the delayed response. However, here Akiko initiates repairs unlike in excerpt (7.3) [AJ2], which showed John pursuing an expanded response about her studies.

```
(7.19) [AJ4+H] Akiko's undergraduate studies in Japan

720. HAS:    whut was it thet you studied in Japan¿ ((HAS cocked her head
towards AKI before talking to AKI to catch AKI's attention))
721.    (0.5) ((AKI is now gazing at HAS))
722. AKI:    [/a:h (in Japan)]
             /eyebrow flash from AKI
723. HAS:    [you said you're] a graduate;
```

```
724. AKI:    ee [yes
725. HAS:       [ye:s¿
726. AKI:    ah in-in under°graduate¿ lev[el¿°
727. HAS:                                [you're-you're a graduate now. =
728.         <so yes. what didju study in your undergraduate (.) [degree.
729. AKI: →                                                      [↑a:h. it
730. AKI:    was $English.$ .hhhhh [huh huh E(h)n(h)[g(h)l(h)i(h)s(h)hhhh
731. HAS:                          [↑ri::ght,       [↓right;
732.   (0.4)
733. HAS:    unh,
734.   (0.4)
735. HAS:    e:::hm yes.=so English as a foreign language.
736. AKI:    mmhm,
737.    (0.5)
738. AKI:    >ah you mean-[(foreign) AS-AS a foreign] lan[guage th]en;
739. HAS:                 [as a foreign language.]    [yes;
740. JON:                                              [language]
741. AKI:    ah yeah;
742. JON:    >whut dya mean ez ehr <huh huh[huh maybe yeah;
743. HAS:                                  [no that's right. ·hh[ss
744. JON:                                                       [but
745. JON:    literature an all that kinda thing.
746.         I s[uppose;
747. AKI: →     [a k s h l l y   y e s   e : : h r  ]
748. HAS:       [didju jess what didju askshlly::_]
749.   (0.2)
750. AKI:    <akshlly I did wes er (0.4) international
751.         relationship¿ in [Southeast Asian countries¿=
752. JON:                     [↑m::m.
753. HAS:    =<uh huh,>
754. AKI:    my department was er (1.1) English department¿
755. HAS:    ye:s,
756. AKI:    it was er faculty of foleign language an departmental
757.         English¿ >I'm still on it;< e::r I belong to the department¿
758. HAS:    yea[:h;
759. AKI:       [an:d (1.0) if I was asked what is your major I will
760.         answer indonesian-inter- international relationship,
761. JON:    >right,<
762. HAS:    ↑a[:↓:h.
763. AKI:      [so it's very c(h)onfusing that;=
764. HAS:    =ri↑ght;
```

It is relevant to note that the same question posed by Fiona to Meg also caused Meg some interactional trouble (see chapter 5). It is evident that, after the initial pause and when Akiko produces no satisfactory answer in 721, Hassanah unrelentingly pursues the answer to her question without orienting to what Akiko is trying to do. She makes an assertion regarding Akiko being a graduate student (*[you said you're] a graduate;* line 723) overlapping Akiko after a pause. In the overlap, Akiko partially echoes Hassanah (*a:h (in Japan)* line 722) after a receipt token. The mentioning of Akiko being a graduate student does not appear anywhere in this interaction. Therefore this information must have been

disclosed when Hassanah was introduced to Akiko prior to the start of the recording. Akiko confirms the information that indeed she is a graduate student in 724 (*ee [yes*), but Hassanah overlaps her answer with the same response token formulated as a continuer, indicating that she is requesting a longer response (*[ye:s¿* line 725). Then Akiko, after producing a state-of-change token (*ah* line 726), seems to realise what response Hassanah is looking for, but she needs to verify it first, so she initiates a confirmation check (*in-in under°graduate¿ lev[el¿*) because in Japan she is postgraduate student. Thus, Hassanah's question is not straightforward as far as Akiko is concerned. Hassanah overlaps Akiko again and only provides a confirmation to Akiko late into her turn after recycling her previous assertion (*you're-you're a graduate now.=<so yes.* lines 727-8). Then in 728, she reformulates her initial question by sharpening its focus to make it more specific (Gardner, 2004) *what didju study in your undergraduate (.) degree.*

Following Hassanah's reformulation, Akiko produces a short answer in a terminal overlap (lines 729-30) with a smiling voice and then laughs[85]. However, Hassanah requires Akiko to clarify her answer *English.* In 735 Hassanah, looking for precise information, wants to verify if Akiko studied English as a Foreign Language. In the next turn, Akiko seems to confirm this information in 736. However, Akiko produces a delayed other initiation of repair (OI) after a gap in 738, when she had appeared to confirm it earlier with what emerges to be a continuer (*mmhm,* line 736). What Akiko is doing is revising her understanding. Hassanah provides a confirmation in 739 overlapping Akiko, thus treating Akiko's turn as sequentially appropriate, and Akiko responds with a claim of understanding (*ah yeah;* line 741) confirming Hassanah's definition. Akiko's delayed OI bears strong similarities to what Wong (2000a) found in her data with

[85] Note that early in the interaction, Akiko had siad that she felt frustrated when speaking in English, so the laughter may be due to an embarrassing situation (see Jefferson, 1984b) whereby despite the fact that she graduated in English she is still not quite proficient.

her Mandarin L2 speakers of English. She observed that at times the OI would take five turns to be resolved instead of the canonical three turns as in this case[86].

Meanwhile John is trying to get a turn overlapping both Hassanah and Akiko in 740. However, John does not align with Hassanah's definition of EFL thus he initiates an OI (>*whut dya mean ez er* line 742) and indicates incipient disagreement (*huh huh[huh maybe yeah;*). Overlapping John's turn, Hassanah does not reciprocate his laughter. Instead she asserts that her definition is accurate (*[no that's right.* line 743) thereby taking a strong stance regarding the definition of English as EFL and displaying expert knowledge. Nevertheless John begins to dispute Hassanah's definition, using the appositional *but* to introduce other elements in the definition of English studies such as literature in 744-5, which is later dismissed by his co-participants who do not orient to his counter claim.

In such a competitive environment to supply the expected response Akiko needs to jump in (line 747) and overlaps Hassanah who is still pursuing an expanded response. After having secured the floor, Akiko can then produce the expanded response with an expansion (having given the first pair part in 730) and post expansion. Note that now her co-participants are orienting toward her expanded response and align as recipients. Akiko's expanded response aims to clarify any confusion that has emerged for her co-participants in relation to her previous response *it was English*. She reintroduces the topic with the discourse marker *actually* in 747, overlapping Hassanah. In the next turn after a short pause, she recycles it in the clear, in what could be called a compound TCU as the missing *what* could be considered elliptical (*akshlly I did wes er (0.4) international relationship¿* line 750). Then she adds an adverbial phrase (*in Southeast Asian countries¿* line 751). In her post expansion in 754, she names the department where she studied (*my department was er (1.1) English department¿*). Further, she explains what type of department it was, thereby providing a better reference for the term *English,* which had been problematic (*it was er faculty of foleign language an departmental >I'm*

[86] Refer to the literature review in chapter 2.

still on it;< e::r I belong to the department¿ line 756-7). Thus she produces three TCUs in a row, containing a parenthesis (*>I'm still on it;<* line 757), which is uttered at a quick pace.

Note that her intonation contours are mid-rise, which indicate that she has not completed her turn at talk, therefore her co-participants continue to relinquish a full turn and produce response tokens. In a terminal overlap she produces in initial position the turn holder *an:d* with elongation to make sure that she retains the floor, projecting further talk (line 759). She then pauses for a long time and none of her co-participants take the floor during this intraturn as she is using the silence to plan her next utterance. In her next TCU she starts with an *if* construction (Lerner, 1996) which projects a compound TCU (*if I was asked what is your major I will answer indonesian-inter- international relationship,* lines 759-760). Grammatically this is a complex sentence, though she makes a syntactic error in the tense of the dependent clause (which should have been in the conditional and not the future tense). In this compound TCU, she explains what her major is, which is receipted by her co-participants in the next turns (lines 761, 762) as the appropriate response. Hassanah's receipt token is overlapped by Akiko who completes her expanded response with a terminal assessment and conclusion (*so it's very c(h)onfusing that;* line 763). Her assessment explains the reason why she had initially found it difficult to explain what kind of English studies she had undertaken because it demands more than a simple answer.

It is interesting to note that in this sequence Akiko does not self-correct as she used to, particularly in the first two interactions. She lets pass a slight mispronunciation on the adjective *foreign* confusing the non-lateral approximant [r] with [l]; since on other occasions she was able to pronounce it correctly. The slight mispronunciation may not be an issue any more now that she has gained more confidence (as reported in the focus group).

That her expanded response is delayed is due to three factors: (1) Hassanah produced an unexpected topic shift without directly addressing Akiko by name,

which took Akiko by surprise, (2) Hassanah did not give Akiko enough interactional space to provide a response, thus Akiko was unsure about Hassanah's question, and they had to engage in a series of repairs before Akiko provided the first pair part, and (3) Akiko found it problematic to give a straightforward answer, as she majored in International Relations in addition to having studied English. Nevertheless she belonged to the English department. Hence to simplify her answer, Akiko opted for a short response summarising her studies to English, which turned out to be problematic for Hassanah. Akiko resolved the second misunderstanding related to EFL by producing the expanded response which was not actively co-constructed by the L1 speakers.

This sequence provides evidence of Akiko's ability to accomplish a self-presentational sequence, employing various interactional devices to grab and retain the floor. These included: competing for the floor through sustaining a long overlap and recycling its turn beginning, using rising intonation to project more talk, producing a compound TCU with a turn format and grammar not seen in other interactions, and finally verbal and nonverbal turn holders. It is clear that, although her grammar is mostly accurate and her lexis advanced, in this sequence Akiko is orienting toward interactional competence and communication takes precedence over accuracy. In sum, this sequence is a testimony to the development of Akiko's L2 interactional competence regarding turn-taking skills and her spoken grammar.

7.4.2 Multi-Unit Turns – List Construction

The next sequence involves a new activity, list construction involving multi-unit turns, which had not occurred in any of the previous interactions. Examining list construction is relevant in that it is initiated by Akiko and engenders a long sequence. Moreover, it is an additional social accomplishment for Akiko and clearly illustrates further development in her L2 interactional competence (cf.

Pekarek Doehler & Pochon-Berger, 2011). Lerner (1991) points out that there is no grammatical limit to the size of a list and that "list construction, as a situated social achievement in conversation, is shaped by the social coordination that organizes conversational interaction (1991, p. 448)." However, a list construction often contains a three-part component (Jefferson, 1990), which is the case here and this will be addressed later.

Prior to the excerpt (7.20) below, the participants have been talking about the Japanese language in general, and Akiko has mentioned that Japanese does not have many sounds. In excerpt (7.20) after Akiko responds to John nonverbally, Hassanah makes a topic shade and talks about the Japanese writing system.

Below is videograb 7.9 showing Hassanah's gesture to interrupt Akiko's TCU in progress.

Videograb 7.9 [AJ4+H]

In videograb 7.9 below, after confirming Hassanah's statement, Akiko announces a list using co-gestures, and gazes away.

Videograb 7.10 [AJ4+H]

The openings in both sequences (7.19) and (7.20) have striking similarities, in that Hassanah does not provide Akiko with sufficient interactional space using the same technique. She introduces her topic without any marker and with an assertion in 535. Hassanah's turn contains two TCUs: in the first one she makes a confirmation request (*you have letters,* line 535), then her second TCU is overlapped at a TRP by Akiko who confirms the question in 536, however, Hassanah continues and makes an assertion (*[you have an ↓alphabet;*). This is followed by a pause which signals a dispreferred and in the next turn, Akiko refutes Hassanah's assertion, starting her utterance with a sound stretch as if to mitigate the dispreferred (*n::ot a[n alpha[bet;* line 538). Nonetheless, Hassanah jumps in the middle of Akiko's TCU, first with a request for confirmation, and then an explanatory statement invoking an expert status (line 539)[87].

```
(7.20) [AJ4+H] Talking about Japanese language

535. HAS:    you have letters, [you have an ↓alphabet;
536. AKI:                      [yes yes;
537.   (0.5)((AKI looks away then gazes back at HAS))
538. AKI:    n::ot a[n alpha[bet;
539. HAS:           [no¿    [bicos cos the writing is [different.]
540. AKI:                                              [y e a : h ; ]
541. AKI:    is very different [(/so we-)
542. HAS:                      [/<so you have ↑sounds;=
                               /HAS points her raised arm with her palm
open toward AKI
543. AKI:    =yeh. (0.5) /we   have   /three types of letters¿=
                        /AKI gazes ahead/AKI in an upward sweeping movement
raises her left hand up with her fingers splayed, which she lowers at the
end of *letters* with her right hand pointing to her three raised left
fingers in a counting pose
544. HAS:    =uh huh,=
545. AKI:    =an which is- (/0.8) one-what- the simplest method is called;
                           /AKI raises her left hand with her thumb and
little finger in contact thus indicating the number three with the rest of
her fingers. She leaves her hand up until she utters *one-what-* then lowers
it.
546. AKI:    >hiragana_< which is ehr(/0.8) (h)u (0.4)
                                        /AKI is looking ahead and making a
facial expression pressing her lips together, while both her hands are
raised and her fingers half bent
547. AKI:    it's er- exactly the /same as the sound;=
                                 /AKI realigns her gaze with HAS, and
lowers both hands to midriff.
548. HAS:    =mmhm,=
549. JON:    =mmh[m,
550. AKI:        [not-not like alphabet. <only one letter can
551. AKI:    po-produce [one sound,=
552. JON:               [(  )
553. HAS:    =mmhm, mmhm;
```

[87] It is worth noting that earlier in the conversation Hassanah had mentioned that she did not know Japanese.

```
554. AKI:    and: the other one is er er:: (0.6) s:ame-same as the first
555.         one¿=
556. HAS:    =mmh[m,
557. AKI:        [an::d (0.5) which:: (0.7) we-we use those (.) letters,
558.         when we (0.6) want to er ↑write, (0.4) the wor:ds
559.         from foreign countries.=
560. HAS:    =uh huh,
561. AKI:    and:=
562. HAS:    =↑right;
563. (0.6)
564. AKI:    <the third one is the Chinese character¿
565.   (0.2)
566. HAS:    ye:[s¿
567. AKI:       [it's imported from China¿=
568. JON:    =mm↑hm,
569.   (0.3)
570. AKI:    yeh yeh. it's very complicated; which- ehr those
571. AKI:    chara-characters express the /meaning not the ↑sound;
                                          /AKI aligns her gaze with HAS
572.   (1.7) ((AKI still gazes at HAS, lowers her hands, then in an upward
and downward sweeping movement she brushes the side of her face with her
hands and smiles just before taking a turn))
573. AKI:    there [it is¿ huh huh [it's very- [so we have three types
574. HAS:          [uh huh,        [uh huh,    [uh huh,
575. AKI:    of sounds.=three types of letters¿ so:
576. HAS:    ·hhh I think am I right¿ thet Japanese is a syllabic
577.         language …
```

Akiko produces a token indicating incipient speakership (line 540 *yea:h;)* and pursues her turn with an upgraded assessment that the Japanese writing system is very different from English. Again Hassanah interrupts Akiko who drops out after uttering *[/(so we-* line 541*)*, and this utterance seems to indicate that Akiko has started launching into an explanation. Hassanah's interruption is achieved in two ways: verbally and nonverbally as Hassanah uses gesture to stop Akiko from continuing (see transcript and videograb 7.9 below). Hassanah uses a *so* + sentence to pursue her turn and makes another statement, which is redundant as it had been discussed prior to this sequence (*[/<so you have ↑sounds;=* line 542).

The list-initiating marker (Schegloff, 1982) that Akiko produces (*we have three types of letters¿=* line 543) combined with gesture (see transcript and videograb 7.9), constitutes an efficient way to secure the floor and project further turn-units. It is worth noting Akiko's body language during her list construction and explanation about the Japanese writing system. Throughout this sequence she raises both hands which she uses as an iconic gesture synchronising them with sentence

stress and intonation. In addition, her hand gestures have a pragmatic import in her talk as they can also project further talk (lines 543, 545, 546). During this long turn at talk Akiko generally gazes at Hassanah but also at John by turning her head in his direction.

In the excerpt (7.20) above, what is of interest is the new activity that is taking place, which involves list construction that usually comprises a three-part component. Jefferson (1990) states that:

> (…) the programmatic relevance of three-part list construction can serve as a basic sequential resource. Specifically, a completed list can constitute a completed turn at talk, and the projectability of third-as-final component permits a recipient to monitor for turn completion.
>
> (Jefferson, 1990, p. 77)

Therefore with a three-part list, a recipient can project the end of the list after item number two has been produced. Jefferson also observes that the items are linked by the conjunctions *and* and *or*, which she refers to as 'link terms', and each link term prefaces the next item on the list. This is the technique that Akiko employs throughout her list construction: in 554 she says for item number two *and: the other one*, and to project item number three she uses the same link term *and:*= in 561. With item number two Akiko produces two TCUs in her turn, which is latched by Hassanah who receipts it with an acknowledgement token in 562. Then a silence ensues (line 563) and neither Hassanah nor John take the floor as they are waiting for item number three, which Akiko produces with initial speech acceleration (<*the third one is the Chinese character*¿ line 564). Following each list item, Akiko engages in an explanation about the Japanese writing system that she frames with the relative pronoun *which* (lines 545, 546, 557, 570), thereby projecting a subordinate clause, hence another TCU. Her co-participants understand the upshot of her utterances, as they both refrain from taking long

turns at talk. By simply producing response tokens both are aligning as list recipients.

In this sequence, Akiko produces numerous TCUs employing complex language. It is also apparent that her use of lexis and syntax is more sophisticated than in the preceding interactions. She compares the different systems in Japanese writing: she uses a superlative combined with the passive form (*the simplest method is called;* line 545), and employs a different structure to draw comparisons (*it's er-exactly the same as the sound;* line 547). In addition, she utilises a complex sentence (*we-we use those (.) letters when we (0.6) want to er ↑write, (0.4) the wor:ds from foreign countries.=* lines 557-8) with the subordinating conjunction *when*, as well as compound sentences with demonstrative adjectives or deixis (*only one letter can po-produce [one sound,= and: the other one is er er:: (0.6) s:ame-same as the first one¿=* lines 550-1 and 554-5*; it's very complicated; which- er those chara-characters express the meaning not the ↑sound*; lines 570-1). Throughout her explanation she maintains coherence through the use of link terms and the passive voice, as she foregrounds the theme of the main verb (*the simplest method is called*, line 545; *it's imported from China¿* line 567, when talking about *the Chinese character¿* line 564). She completes her explanation with a conclusion followed by a summary: *there it is¿ huh huh it's very-so we have three types of sounds.=three types of letters¿* (lines 573, 575).

In this list construction and explanation, Akiko expresses complex ideas in describing the three scripts of the Japanese writing system. None of the participants initiate any other-repair and seem to follow her list and explanation. This is a remarkable interactional and linguistic accomplishment given that she initially had to gain the floor to engage in multi-units turns, construct a list and maintain coherence, as well as providing an explanation for each list item using long grammatically complex sentences. She initiates a same turn self-repair only once as it could potentially threaten intersubjectivity (*po-produce one sound* line 551). Though she produces a few cut-offs none is related to correcting her grammar,

rather they show progressivity (Schegloff, 1979), i.e., an orientation toward communicating her message.

Once Akiko has completed the list, the sequence continues with questions from Hassanah. Then, Akiko in response to one of Hassanah's questions engages again in long turns at talk explaining the difficulty of the Japanese language comparing it with English (sequence not shown here).

7.4.3 Conclusion – Akiko's Fifth Interaction with Two L1 speakers, John and Hassanah

In this last triadic interaction [AJ4+H], Akiko's interactional accomplishments are more striking given the highly competitive nature of turn-taking in a three party conversation. The excerpts selected are representative of Akiko's general interactional accomplishments, however due to space constraints it is not possible to show all her achievements. In the two excerpts (7.19) and (7.20) examined above the sequences analysed dealt with one self-presentational sequence with the newcomer, Hassanah, and a new social activity; list construction combined with explanation. In excerpt (7.19) Akiko was able to grab the floor by sustaining a long overlap to engage in long turns at talk, thereby engendering a self-presentational sequence after initiating OI repairs on Hassanah's self-presentational question. In providing the expanded response with expansion and post expansion, Akiko did not need active co-construction from the L1 speakers. In sum, Akiko demonstrated that she could recognise the pragmatic import of self-presentational questions and provide the expected expanded response. In excerpt (7.20) Akiko used list construction to explain the Japanese writing system in response to questions posed by Hassanah. In doing so, Akiko could secure the floor to launch into a multi-units talk over several turns despite interruptions, and maintain coherence throughout her list construction and explanation using link terms and the passive voice.

The interactional devices that Akiko deployed in the two sequences are as follows:

- Pragmatic marker *actually* to re-introduce the topic of her studies in Japan,
- Long overlap to grab the floor,
- Recycle of the initial turn component *actually* to engage in a multi-unit turn,
- Compound TCU (*if* construction),
- Rising intonation contour to project further talk,
- Verbal and nonverbal turn holders, and
- List construction using the interactional resources of list-initiating marker, link terms, and list completer (summary) as well as gestures.

7.5 General Conclusions

At the end of the seven month observation period, Akiko's L2 interactional competence developed in the area of turn-taking, as she produced more expanded responses, and her linguistic skills improved. The third and fifth interactions indicate that Akiko is now orienting toward interactional competence, as she is intent on communicating her message. This is evidenced by her lack of self-correction on her syntax, her increased speech rate, her embodied action, and her long multi-unit turns. In her first interaction with John, she mainly played the listener role, whereas at the end of the study she took long turns at talk, engaging in expanded sequences involving multi TCUs which became more grammatically and lexically complex. This outcome is consistent with Hanh Nguyen's (2011) findings.

Akiko's social relationship with John evolved over the observation period from initially being acquaintances to some form of friendship. This had sequential implicativeness on the interaction, as both John and Akiko had established common knowledge and membership. Friendship, and particularly with an expert speaker, has been found in the ethnographic study[88] to have a significant influence on the L2 participants' improvement in English. This point is also supported by the literature as outlined in chapter 2. It is obvious that in this case friendship/ongoing social interaction (which also occurred outside the recorded sessions) with John played a role in the development of Akiko's L2 interactional competence. In the first two interactions, John initially asked self-presentational questions to establish common ground with Akiko so they could engage in topical talk. As the interactants socialised more regularly the social activities changed from self-presentational sequences to storytelling, both activities involving multi-units turns. Storytelling is a social action that plays an important role in developing interpersonal relationships (Hellermann, 2008b), and Akiko progressively produced more stories[89] which became quite extensive in the third interaction.

In addition, the study shows that interacting with an L1 speaker (including the triadic interaction) had a positive impact on the development of Akiko's L2 interactional competence, since she engaged in new social actions as well as significantly expanding her turns, using multi and complex TCUs. By contrast, she mostly produced single TCUs when she interacted with her L2 speaker friend, Carol. Akiko produced more talk involving complex spoken grammar when interacting with L1 speakers, and initiated numerous actions, particularly in the third and fifth interactions. Hence, her interactions with the L1 speaker(s) yielded richer data.

Over seven months, Akiko acquired a range of L2 interactional skills (see below), which gradually became increasingly sophisticated, as she was able to become the

[88] Refer to chapter 4.
[89] Not all storytelling sequences were shown due to space constraints.

primary speaker for longer sequences and more frequently, thus accomplishing expansions and post expansions. That she eventually produced extended spates of talk enabled her to use her L2 more extensively.

Table 7.1[90] below gives a summary of Akiko's interactional achievements observed in the five interactions over the seven month observation period.

[90] Table 7.1 is not exhaustive as not all extended spates of talk and interactional accomplishments could be shown due to space constraints.

[AJ1]	[AJ2]	[AJ3]	[NNS-AC]	[AJ4+H]
▪ Did not expand on responses to self-presentational questions. ▪ Mainly produced response tokens, newsmarkers, assessments, and rarely collaborative completions	▪ Active co-construction from John to get Akiko to expand on self-presentational questions ▪ Produced expanded response to question with expansion and post expansion (4 TCUs)	Took long turns at talk involving multi-units: Used more than 9 TCUs (18 in a row)	Did not produce expanded responses, or sequences, no multi-unit turns	Engendered self-presentational sequence without active co-construction from L1 speakers (after initiating OIs using various repair initiators)
Storytelling over 3 TCUs after responding to a question Active co-construction from L1 speaker to get Akiko to expand on storytelling	Embedded storytelling in response to question (5 TCUs). Thus produced a total of 9 TCUs in one sequence (expanded response with embedded story)	Storytelling over a few sequences and involving various components: event, background information, parenthesis, account, climax, story completion	Short turn-by-turn talk: making trip arrangements	Produced extended spates of talk in a triadic situation, engaging in various long sequences with multi TCUs
▪ Initiated one explanation with a pre-sequence involving 6 TCUs ▪ Occasionally initiated short questions	▪ Initiated a story and joint remembering as a side sequence ▪ Initiated other telling (data not shown)	▪ Initiated direct reported speech to create drama and authenticity. ▪ Initiated humour within storytelling, triggering laughter in her recipient	Occasionally initiated short questions and formulations	▪ Initiated list construction with explanation, using list-initiating marker, link terms and list completer ▪ Initiated many other actions (data not shown)
Mostly single unit turns, produced an increment in two different sequences	Compound TCU	Compound TCUs, and increments	Single unit turns	Compound TCUs (*if* construction and others)
Did not produce a second story	▪ Speech acceleration in terminal assessment to close down a sequence and to move to other business and used rush through	▪ Choral co-production ▪ Used incipient speakership *yeah* ▪ Pragmatic markers such as *or something*	Missed opportunity to produce a second story	▪ Extended overlap to grab the floor, recycling turn initial component *actually* ▪ Using gestures and intonation to project list construction
Mostly a listener producing minimal responses	Occasionally moved from recipiency to speakership	Moved from recipiency to speakership, producing some extended talk	Active listenership throughout the interaction	Active speakership, initiated many actions including self-presentational questions (data not shown)

Table 7.1 Summary of Akiko's L2 interactional achievements over seven months

Firstly, table 7.1 clearly shows that Akiko's L2 interactional competence developed over time, as she gradually engaged in a variety of socially situated actions and deployed an increasing range of interactional devices. Secondly, her L2 interactional competence was extended when she was interacting with the L1 speaker(s) in dyadic and triadic situations. Thirdly, having an ongoing social relationship with the L1 speaker, John, enabled her to produce other social activities such as storytelling, joint remembering, choral co-production, producing humour and dramatising situations through direct reported speech.

The triadic interaction was particularly remarkable as it is the only interaction where Akiko produced nearly as much talk as the L1 speakers and numerous action sequences in a highly demanding interactional environment. Conversely, she did not produce multi-unit turns nor did she engage in an extended spate of talk when she interacted with her L2 speaker friend. In a sense, Akiko calibrated her competence to the contingencies of her L2 co-participant's interaction, a behaviour which bears some similarities to Firth's (2009) L2 speakers.

Not only did Akiko's interactional competence develop incrementally over time but so did her linguistic competence. Her speech rate increased, her phonology and her expressions became more native-like. Equally, her lexis and her sentence structure became more sophisticated, as progressively she produced more complex clauses and compound sentences. Towards the end of the study, she produced compound TCUs involving complex sentences with subordinating conjunctions, and the passive form. In sum, by the end of the seven month study, Akiko had moved from recipiency to speakership, particularly in a challenging environment. Her L2 interactional competence had developed to a more advanced level and her turn-taking skills had become highly sophisticated. The diversity of methods, such as joint remembering, humorous story, direct reported speech, and list construction that she accomplished provides evidence of the development in her L2 interactional competence (cf. Pekarek Doehler &

Pochon-Berger, 2011), Further, she deployed embodied action, and adapted to different situations.

Akiko's participation increased as she moved from being a (mostly passive) recipient to an engaged conversationalist, as evidenced in the triadic interaction. The observable changes in her behaviour from the first interaction to the last testify that learning occurred over time, which is corroborated by Hanh Nguyen's (2011) findings. Finally, changing her focus to communication, hence to interactional competence, helped Akiko to produce more complex turns and spoken grammar, thus taking more risks as her confidence increased.

Chapter 8

DISCUSSION AND GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

8.1 Combining Conversation Analysis and Ethnographic Research

The study showed that combining ethnographic research with conversation analysis was achievable and did not prejudice in any way the conversation analysis of the videoed interactions (cf. Heath & Hindmarsh, 2002). The information gleaned from the stimulated recalls was occasionally used to: (1) supplement the analyses of the interactions when it was deemed necessary as advocated by Pomerantz & Ende (1997), and (2) to help to understand aspects of cognitive processes of L2 learning. However, it is worth pointing out that the stimulated reports added limited information to the CA analysis. The ethnographic study of the L2 participants was conducted separately to the conversation analysis of the videoed interactions. It proved to be powerful in highlighting features that would not have otherwise been identified such as some aspects of cognitive processes, the L2 participants' perspectives regarding the importance of their speaking skills in academia and their social networks.

On the whole, the L1 participants' speech rate did not reflect an orientation to teaching L2 to their L2 co-conversationalists as they generally spoke fast, except during the repair sequences, which occasionally occurred. Even though these interactions were "conversations-for-practising L2" and meeting a local student, the participants engaged in many different social actions and constructed their social reality rather than simply focussing on language learning. In fact, the interactions reveal few instances of language teaching and learning. Nonetheless, as Kasper (2004) described in her study, these interactions were category-bound events in that at the outset the L1 participant was considered the expert speaker as well as a member of the Australian community, and the L2 participant a non-

expert L2 speaker. Nonetheless, the interactions also indicated that these categories did not always apply even in the first interaction (e.g. [AJ1] and [CJ1]). When a relationship developed between the participants these interactions became less category-bound in that way, and reflected the evolving relationship to a greater extent. Because these interactions yielded ordinary conversation, it was more difficult to track recurrent interactional practices than would be the case with classroom interactions or tutor-tutee interactions, which are more institutional and routinised.

The five aims of the study (refer to chapter 3) were achieved through a thorough analysis of both the videoed interactions and the ethnographic data. The conversation analysis chapters provided evidence to further develop our understanding of the construct of L2 interactional competence and the relationship between linguistic competence and interactional competence. The interactional data also permitted to track over time and illustrate the developmental changes of L2 interactional competence, particularly in one focal participant, Akiko. The study was also able to show linguistic changes as Akiko's L2 interactional competence developed by producing expanded answers and extended storytelling. Lastly, the thick ethnographic description of the L2 participants confirmed the CA findings in relation to the importance of ongoing social relationships for developing L2 interactional competence. The results are discussed in the sections below.

6.4. Findings

8.2.1 Ethnographic research

The focal participants were not passive students but social agents, (Marginson et al., 2010) as they sought and achieved interactional situations that suited and fulfilled their needs. The recorded conversations reveal that Akiko, in particular,

but also Carol and Meg, occasionally met their L1 co-participant on campus and had conversations with them outside the recorded sessions. The focal participants (and Rosanna) endeavoured to have social interactions with expert speakers because they considered that socialising with L1 speakers helped them in two ways: (1) to improve their L2, and (2) to learn about the host culture, i.e., gain L2 membership knowledge. In addition, having expert speakers as friends boosted their self-confidence, as they did not feel anxious about making mistakes in their presence.

Another important finding that emerges from this study is the fact that the vast majority of the L2 participants viewed speaking skills as (very) important and contributing to succeeding in their studies. Therefore oral communication skills were identified as a major need, which is consistent with what the literature reports (cf. chapter 2). Indeed, university life for L2 students centres around having effective L2 interactional competence, which is paramount to successful participation in tutorials, working with other students, and communicating with academic and non academic staff.

An additional significant finding, which is related to L2 interactional competence, concerns the positive value of friendship and its impact on speaking skills. The focal participants (and Rosanna) reported that having friends was paramount to their learning and to improving their speaking skills (which also implies their L2 interactional competence). Thus improving their oral communication skills helped them boost their self-confidence. In referring to friends they included speakers of their home language, other L2 speakers and some expert speakers. The focal participants thereby gained a balance in their life by combining a social life with their academic studies (as mentioned by Burns, 1991). This produced positive academic outcomes,[91] particularly for Akiko, Meg and Carol[92].

[91]Marginson et al. noted that international "[s]tudents who found their academic progress better than expected mixed with Australians more" (2010, p. 415).

The focal participants remarked in the focus group interviews that taking part in this research project had had a positive impact on their English. It could be argued that this was due to the fact that they had regularly conversed with L1 participants and the researcher, as participating in ordinary conversation is conducive to learning (Kasper, 2004). In addition, this research project gave the focal participants an opportunity to interact with local students, which international NESB students seek as it does not often happen (Marginson et al., 2010). Having direct access to the L2 community may have contributed to a better adjustment to the new culture. Moreover, it may have helped boost their confidence in English, which is a key factor in promoting participation in life on and off campus (Marginson et al., 2010; Sawir et al., 2012). Thus, contrary to reports from a number of NESB international students, the focal participants' (and Rosanna's) experience at the university and in Australia was positive.

These findings corroborate to some extent those of Marginson et al. (2010) and Sawir (2012)[93]. A higher L2 interactional competence enables L2 international students to better engage with other L2 and local students, as well as university staff. It is understood that social interaction in the target language is considered a key factor in promoting SLA processes (Kasper & Kim, 2007; Marginson et al., 2010). Language being a social phenomenon, interacting in L2 also involves developing L2 interactional competence besides linguistic competence. Acquiring L2 interactional competence certainly plays an important role in being able to socialise in L2 and adjust positively to the host culture.

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[92] The three focal participants reported in the focus group that they had succeeded in their subjects. Hle did not participate regularly in the study and missed the focus group, but she mentioned in her last interaction that she had not obtained satisfactory academic results.

[93] The authors refer to communicative competence rather than interactional competence, which bears a strong relation to communicative competence (Hymes, 2001).

8.2.2 Conversation Analyses of the Focal Participants

8.2.2.1 Linguistic Competence and Interactional Competence

Chapter 5 showed a difference in orientation to the interactional event between Meg and Akiko: Meg oriented towards interactional competence whereas Akiko oriented towards linguistic competence. By comparing their interactional styles based on excerpts (representative of their overall pattern of interaction) taken from their first interaction, it was evident that Akiko, in performing numerous same turn self-initiated self-repairs, focussed on accuracy, whereas Meg focussed on communicating her ideas and self-disclosing through expanded answers and initiating explanations. Even though in her first interaction Meg's linguistic competence was less advanced than Akiko's, Meg did not perform linguistically focussed self-initiated self-repairs, taking more risks in producing long multi TCU turns. It seems that Akiko's focus on accuracy in some way prevented her from fully engaging with John.

In chapter 5, the relationship between linguistic competence and interactional competence was demonstrated, however this relationship is not linear. In other words, a more advanced linguistic competence does not equate with an equally advanced interactional competence, a finding that corroborates Kasper's (2004) and Carroll's (2005) studies. This point was further reinforced in chapter 7 when Akiko was compared with Carol as both conversed with John in their first interaction. Carol's linguistic competence was much less advanced than Akiko's, yet Carol's L2 interactional competence[94] was more sophisticated in relation to taking long turns at talk. Like Meg, Carol took risks as she was determined to recount her story no matter how many linguistic errors she made. She manoeuvred the turn taking mechanism to reach her social goal, ignoring John's active co-construction. Both Meg and Carol concentrated on the communicative act of the interaction, taking momentary control of the turn-taking mechanism.

[94]Regarding the first interaction, it is interesting to have the L1 participant's perspective. John commented to the researcher that conversing with Carol had been easier than with Akiko, as the latter participated minimally in the conversation.

This study shows that solely focusing on accuracy does not necessarily lead to a higher L2 interactional competence, and correlates with other CA-for-SLA studies such as Ishida (2011) and Hanh Nguyen (2011b). It is not argued that linguistic competence and accuracy are not necessary, but once an L2 speaker has reached a sufficient linguistic competence to conduct a basic[95] conversation, L2 interactional competence may supersede the importance of the former. It is arguable that L2 interactional competence may then become more important to gain access to more complex language. L2 participants are resourceful language users and they do not need to have mastery of the L2 grammar to be interactionally effective. A number of studies discussed in chapter 2 demonstrated that non-expert L2 speakers are active participants who use interactional (verbal and nonverbal) resources in a creative manner to get their meaning across and accomplish actions with determination, even if that takes longer to achieve (e.g. Egbert et al., 2004).

8.2.2.2 Implications of the Interactional Resources Displayed by the Focal Participants

L2 interactional competence may involve sequences of acquisition for some interactional practices, such as deploying a range of response tokens and resorting to diverse repair mechanisms to better target the trouble-source. Conversely, the acquisition of L2 interactional competence may not be linear, as novice L2 speakers may focus on different aspects of the interaction and acquire the tools that they need at particular points in time, regardless, to some extent, of their levels of linguistic competence.

Like in L1 acquisition, the acquisition of L2 interactional competence involves creativity on the part of the novice L2 speakers who have to be resourceful participants to move the conversation forward. This may include drawing on L1

[95] Basic is understood to mean that the L2 speaker can express simple ideas with limited vocabulary and syntax and can understand familiar topics.

interactional competence. By being exposed to ordinary conversation on a regular basis, novice L2 speakers can explore various interactional resources and expand their repertoire to accomplish an increasing number of social actions. Using non-standard English does not necessarily slow down the conversation through repair sequences. This study and other research (Wagner & Gardner, 2004) demonstrate that such sequences only happen occasionally.

Interactional competence involves talk-in-interaction, listening-in-interaction and embodied action. Active listening is an important aspect of L2 interactional competence. This listening involves more than deploying response tokens at TRPs or at a possible completion point. It also requires employing more intricate interactional devices and turn constructions whose format can display a close attention to the grammar of the prior speaker turn, as illustrated in chapter 5. Repairing to check one's understanding is another indication of active listening and socially situated cognition. In addition, it shows an orientation to problem solving, as demonstrated by the focal participants in chapter 5. Similarly, learning-in-interaction requires active listening. Learning can also occur at more subtle levels than lexico-syntactical; it can take place over time, as novice L2 speakers refine their turn-taking skills and acquire L2 membership knowledge to become more efficient interactants (cf. chapter 5).

Meaning making can take many forms, as it can be accomplished verbally and through embodied action and semiotics. Thus, L2 interactional competence comprises multimodality. Indicating a lack of comprehension, in other words, doing non-understanding is equally important and this is where embodied action is often deployed through silence, gaze, eyebrow flash, facial expression and body posture.

Akiko's and Meg's L2 interactional competence markedly improved as the year progressed, and this development is evidenced in their last interaction[96], which involved a more challenging interactional environment. In the other triadic

[96] It is not possible to show Meg's last interaction due to space constraints.

interactions[97], Carol and Hle did not participate much when the two L1 speakers talked to each other, as the latter spoke very fast and expressed complex ideas. Carol and Hle, in particular, did not follow their conversation, and both focal participants displayed a lack of engagement. For instance, Hle's nonverbal behaviour is revealing: she rarely nodded when the L1 speakers interacted with each other, she did not smile and she did not maintain her gaze on the primary speaker after a speaker change. In addition, she hardly produced any listener responses. Thus she appeared at a loss.

At the end of the study, Carol had not progressed interactionally and linguistically as much as Meg and Akiko, although she had become more fluent. She spoke faster, rushed through her TCUs to maintain the floor and did not produce many intraturn pauses. However, she did not initiate as many actions as the other three L2 participants throughout her five interactions, because she often engaged in long turns talking about herself or her culture. She did not demonstrate much active listening and reciprocity in her interactions, i.e., alignment and affiliation towards her co-participants. Thus taking long turns at talk is not sufficient to improve L2 interactional competence. It appears that initiating actions to align with the co-participant(s), engaging in a variety of social actions and closely monitoring co-participants' talk as well as orientating to learning are equally important.

8.2.2.3 The Development of L2 Interactional Competence

The study has presented changes in Akiko's L2 interactional behaviour from being a mostly passive recipient to a more engaged participant, particularly in her last two interactions with the L1 speaker(s). The fine-grained analyses of the various excerpts shown in chapters 6 and 7 taken from the five interactions provide sufficient empirical evidence of the development in Akiko's L2

[97] Not shown in this study due to space constraints.

interactional competence. It is through repeated social actions such as responding to questions requiring an expanded response, which initially involved self-presentational questions, and story-telling that Akiko could progressively produce longer turns at talk, moving from recipiency to speakership, as her relationship with John evolved.

While interacting with the L1 speaker(s) in dyadic and triadic situations, Akiko produced multi-unit turns with expansions and post expansions, and she also deployed increments and compound TCUs (as evidenced in [AJ2], and particularly in [AJ3] and [AJ4+h]). As time progressed she deployed an increasing array of sophisticated interactional devices. For instance, she employed various turn holders and discourse markers to hold the floor, coupled with gesture, as evidenced in the triad. Conversely, with her L2 friend, Akiko displayed active recipiency but not speakership. This seems to indicate that interacting with an L1 speaker may have had a positive effect on her L2 interactional competence, or in interactionist terms, provided pushed output. Therefore the present study confirms He and Young's (1998) contention that L2 interactional competence is acquired by interacting with expert speakers. This was also the view held by the L2 participants as revealed by the ethnographic study.

Only one instance of Akiko's L2 interactional competence with Carol was captured, which does not permit to extrapolate that performance to Akiko's overall L2 interactional competence with her L2 friend, Carol. One needs to be cautious in drawing general conclusions about Akiko's L2 interactional competence because one is limited by the recorded interactions which only represent samples of her overall L2 interactional competence in a particular environment, and are limited to particular situations and interactants. Since L2 interactional competence is fluid, process oriented, based on a moment-by-moment basis, and dependent on the co-conversationalists' interactional competence, it would be improper to deduce that the behaviours observed are

representative of Akiko's overall L2 interactional competence, nonetheless they are indicative of what Akiko was able to achieve.

As chapter 7 testifies, it is obvious that a social relationship had developed between John and Akiko, and this social affiliation had an impact on Akiko's L2 interactional development. Her storytelling in [AJ2] and [AJ3] provides a convincing testimony that more than just conversation-for-learning was taking place. In telling her story, Akiko affiliated with John and further developed her relationship with him by disclosing personal stories, a social activity that was reciprocated by John. Chapter 7 showed that storytelling became more and more extensive by the end of the study. It promoted not only language development but also L2 interactional development, as Akiko deployed an array of interactional devices that became more sophisticated. Storytelling accomplishes interpersonal relationship work (Hellermann, 2008b, p. 87), and as such plays an important role in socialising. Firth & Wagner (2007) advocate linking social relations with language learning. Kasper & Wagner (2011) go further, associating social relations with the development of L2 interactional competence, and showing its centrality for L2 development:

> Social affiliation is reflexively related to the development of interactional competence: Marking affiliative stance through the resources of an L2 is a central objective for L2 development, while affiliative relations serve as the matrix for continued and future participation in social activities and thereby for further occasions for L2 learning.
>
> (Kasper & Wagner, 2011, p. 168)

Repair has been the focus of much research, particularly in mainstream SLA (cf. Braidi, 2002; Kasper, 2009)[98], and in a number of CA-for-SLA studies (Chiang,

[98] Kasper (2009) criticises the interactionists' narrow focus on repairs instead of looking at other interactional actions and procedures.

2011 ; Egbert et al., 2004; Hellermann, 2011; Markee, 2000; Wagner, 2003; Wong, 2000a). SLA researchers argue that repair represents a locus where language learning occurs, specifically when repair is form focussed and results in self-corrections (Wong & Waring, 2010). Hellermann (2009) points out that other interactional mechanisms can also provide language learning opportunities.

The present study found that engaging in action sequences which produced multi-unit turns provided opportunities to improve L2 interactional competence and language. Turn expansion represents a significant interactional resource, allowing non-expert L2 speakers to employ grammatically intricate language as they engage in complex situated social activities. Through ongoing social relations, non-expert L2 speakers are exposed to central social activities: self-presentational sequences, questions requiring expanded responses, storytelling and being humorous.

In the first interaction when Akiko focussed more on accuracy, she initiated numerous same turn self-repairs, and she mostly produced minimal responses. She participated only minimally in the interaction, unlike the other focal participants. Listening-in-interaction and initially focussing on accuracy may have provided Akiko with an opportunity to learn to interact in L2 and acquire self-confidence. Over time Akiko focussed more on the communicative goal of the interaction and less on accuracy, which is evidenced by the subsequent paucity of self-initiated self-repairs. It was then that her L2 interactional competence began to develop as her confidence grew. She was able to produce extended responses and stories (and other actions), thereby furthering the development of her L2 interactional skills (e.g. [AJ2] and [AJ3]). In addition, when she achieved a more sophisticated L2 interactional competence, Akiko produced more complex language and grammar (including spoken grammar), as she engaged in new social activities. These included joint remembering, a humorous story with a punch line, direct reported speech and list construction. This expansion of her repertoire was evidenced in the last two interactions with the L1 speaker(s). The

change of focus enabled Akiko to participate more fully in the interactions, thus her orientation toward L2 interactional competence had two positive outcomes:

- Producing extended spates of talk by moving from recipiency to speakership and initiating new social actions, and
- Producing more grammatically complex sentences.

The development of Akiko's L2 interactional competence indicates that learning had taken place (cf. H. Nguyen, 2011b). The study endorses the notion that language learning is a social process (Brouwer & Wagner, 2004), as it happens through ongoing social interactions, and involves progressive change whereby new interactional and language resources are gradually learned and deployed.

Although instances of learning did not represent a central focus in the overall study, development was particularly observed in Akiko, and to a lesser extent in Meg and Hle. CA provided a robust framework for identifying the interactional and linguistic changes that occurred during the observation period. The author subscribes to Hauser's (2011) views that CA does not need an exogenous theory to track learning behaviour or behavioural changes. Resorting to an exogenous theory to explicate the changes observed is considered unnecessary, since CA is dedicated to unravelling members' interactional competence.

6.5. Conceptualising Second Language Interactional Competence

In the literature on interactional competence the construct is mostly examined from an L1 perspective (cf. chapter 2); however, as we are dealing with adult SLA we shall refer to it as second language interactional competence.

Interactional competence depends on the context of the interaction, the participants and the discursive role(s) they play. This study reveals that in some instances an L2 speaker can display a higher interactional competence than at other times (e.g. [NNS-AC]). Therefore, L2 interactional competence cannot be captured in a single instance of interaction but needs to be tracked over a period of time and with different interlocutors in a variety of situations. The goal of showing L2 participants' L2 interactional competence interacting in ordinary conversation in various situations (dyadic versus triadic) and with various co-conversationalists (L1 and L2 speakers, new encounter versus ongoing relation) was successfully achieved within the limitations of the study.

8.2.3 Definition of Second Language Interactional Competence

Based on the findings of the present study and on the previous work on interactional competence discussed in chapter 2, the construct of second language interactional competence can be defined as follows:

L2 interactional competence has its foundations in L1 interactional competence, but it also necessitates the acquisition of a new set of L2 interactional skills that are implicitly learned through social actions, e.g. asking presentational questions, and action sequences involving multi-unit turns, such as expanded responses to questions, storytelling, etc. It is co-dependent with linguistic competence to some degree, but its relationship is not linear. The development of L2 interactional competence may bring about a higher linguistic competence, as there is reflexivity between grammar and interaction. L2 interactional competence involves pragmatic competence[99], as the novice L2 interactant needs to project an upcoming action, and to orient to a TRP or a possible completion point. This

[99] Pragmatic competence has been described by Kasper & Rose (2001) as the ability to (1) understand and produce a communicative action, which implies speech acts; (2) engage in various discourse-types and speech events, (3) be able to attain social goals, and (4) relate appropriately in interpersonal situations; which involves the use and comprehension of politeness strategies in an appropriate context.

requires grammatical, pragmatic and/or intonational completion, as well as an understanding of the co-conversationalists' social actions and the local context. Thus, L2 interactional competence requires close monitoring of the prior talk, which involves active listening that is conveyed verbally (deploying response tokens, claims of understanding, collaborative completion, etc.), and through embodied action (nodding, gaze, smiling, laughter, facial expressions, silence, etc.).

L2 interactional competence is the result of a transformative and fluid process as social identities [100] are invoked, reassessed and recreated. L2 interactional competence involves the gradual acquisition of L2 membership knowledge which is displayed through interactional resources (as shown in chapters 5 and 7), spoken grammar, such as more native-like phonology (e.g. *d'you wanna go ter*), idiomatic expressions (e.g. *it was hell*), and pragmatic markers (e.g. *or something*), as well as cultural knowledge. Part of this L2 membership knowledge, which is related to language, is the ability to observe, understand, use or negotiate sociocultural norms of interaction. L2 interactional competence implies that the L2 speaker has intercultural competence as s/he needs to navigate between cultures (Barraja-Rohan, 1999). This intercultural competence is a shared competence involving reciprocity on the part of the co-conversationalist(s).

L2 interactional competence also presupposes that learning-in-interaction is taking place (Markee 2008) and oriented to, either explicitly as an object (see chapter 5) or implicitly, as there is a linguistic (Markee, 2008) and/or sequential progression (as evidenced by the data shown in chapters 5 & 7). In addition, it involves a diversification of interactional procedures (Pekarek Doehler & Pochon-Berger, 2011) such as direct reported speech and list construction (see chapter 7). Therefore L2 interactional competence entails shared cognition, particularly socially situated and embodied cognition. This socially situated cognition occurs when interactants engage in overt and embedded learning

[100] Enacting particular identity or identities can be procedurally consequential for the interaction, as demonstrated by Barraja-Rohan (2000).

activities, in meaning making that is collaboratively accomplished, and in repair when intersubjectivity is threatened. Intersubjectivity can involve an epistemic change when new understanding is acquired, as participants jointly create meaning. To develop L2 interactional competence, the novice L2 speaker needs to engage in a process of epistemic change.

L2 interactional competence is developed through recurrent speech exchange systems and a socialising process involving ongoing interpersonal relationships occurring in L2, in which shared knowledge is progressively acquired (e.g. via self-presentational sequences) and displayed. L2 interactional competence is co-constructed and co-dependent on the co-conversationalist(s) and their social and/or institutional goals, therefore it is locally managed. Thus, its complexity cannot be captured in one single interaction.

Developing L2 interactional competence requires the novice L2 speaker to increasingly recognise: (1) new social actions or activities their co-participant(s) are engaged in through L2 spoken language, embodied action and semiotics, (2) how social actions are conducted in L2, and (3) how to project these social actions, and respond to them in a sequentially fitted manner. The need to adapt to the local contingencies of the talk is reflexively accomplished by the interactants, and the novice L2 speaker needs to be prepared for unpredictability. By participating in diverse social situations the novice speaker can expand his/her interactional resources to accomplish talk-in-interaction. This also means initiating social actions and action sequences by orienting to the co-participant and achieving mutual orientation, as well as being able to engage in a dispreferred, showing sensitivity to the local context. In addition, doing recipient-design work mutually involves the interactants, and it is through increasing participation in talk-in-interaction that the novice L2 speaker will learn to be sensitive to the details of the talk and gradually acquire spoken grammar. Lastly, L2 interactional competence is on a dynamic continuum where novice L2 speakers move in a nonlinear and fluid way, from not yet fully accomplished

competent L2 speakers to expert L2 speakers. In the course of this creative process, they may produce nonstandard talk to achieve their social goal. This nonstandard talk may be inconsequential to intersubjectivity.

L2 interactional competence may involve sequences of acquisition in various practices as shown by past research (cf. chapter 2) and this study (cf. chapter 5).

8.2.4 Illustration of Some Concepts of L2 Interactional Competence

Some of the concepts included in the definition above need further illustration and others have not been demonstrated so far in the data presented in chapters 5-7. Therefore, additional data from the corpus is shown below to explain and substantiate these concepts.

The study shows evidence that some L2 participants draw from their L1 interactional competence (see chapter 5, excerpts 5.57 and 5.58) when interacting in L2, without threatening intersubjectivity. For example, Akiko successfully incorporates a Japanese response token *hai* in sequentially relevant contexts. The concept of listenership and providing response tokens, along with others such as storytelling (Hellermann, 2008a), silence (see Schegloff, 2006), TCU beginnings (Carroll, 2005), gaze (Carroll, 2005), laughter, body movements, gestures, facial expressions (e.g. eyebrow flash), are arguably universal. Nonetheless, these behaviours may be used in differing contexts and/or to differing degrees in the L1 as compared with the L2. However, Barraja-Rohan (2011) noticed that her ESL beginners did not transfer continuers (*mmhm*) onto English, and they had to be explicitly taught, pointing to the fact that, in this case, the L2 learners did not transfer L1 interactional practices onto L2 interactional competence. Thus, the question to what extent the novice L2 speaker transfers his/her knowledge of L1 interactional competence onto L2 remains.

Regarding identity, Kasper & Wagner note that it not a "stable internal trait" (2011, p. 154). This thesis goes a step further in that it argues that there is a transformative process in identity formation when acquiring an additional language. The following excerpt demonstrates this concept of a transformative process where identities can be recreated (cf. section 8.2.3). The excerpt below illustrates how Akiko invokes her new identity of a bilingual speaker, as she appropriates English as her legitimate language in addition to Japanese, thus displaying expert status in the L2.

```
(8.1) [AJ4+H] Akiko is comparing Japanese with English

597. AKI: →  what's difficult is the: we ((in Japanese)) have many
598.         characters an ehr many letters¿
599. HAS:    yes¿
600. AKI:    Chinese character is unlimited, (0.5) bicoz- (0.2)
601. HAS:    yes
602. AKI: →  [an in- [in-in theoretical; [in-in English we have to- (0.5)
602. HAS:    [the ore_                   [right
603. JON:            [huh huh
604. AKI: →  all=we have to: <k n o w> is the: er: only the alphabet¿
```

In this excerpt, which took place in the triad at the end of the study, Akiko uses the personal pronoun *we* when she contrasts the Japanese writing system (lines 597), with the English alphabet (line 602). That she deliberately employs *we* in relation to her L2 indicates her appropriation of English. In that way she invokes a bilingual identity: Japanese and English speaker. This is the first time that Akiko invokes an English speaking identity in the corpus, which indicates a shift in her identity construction, i.e., a transformation. Drawing on a particular identity or identities can have an impact on the interaction and how the interaction is conducted (Block, 2007). In [AJ3] Akiko talked about the Japanese style bath and used the personal pronoun + nationality (*we Japanese*) thereby clearly invoking her Japanese identity in relation to the Japanese cultural practice as reproduced below:

```
(8.2) [AJ3]

471. AKI: →  ↑yes↑ ↑bicoz ehm we Japanese take a ↓bath¿
```

Furthermore, L2 membership knowledge is gradually acquired and this is exemplified in the following excerpt analysed in chapter 7:

```
(8.3) [AJ3] Trip to Ballarat
404. JON:    =is that where they have the Sovereign:,(.) [Sovereign Hill,
405. AKI: →                                              [Sovereign Hill,
406. AKI: →  yeah;
```

It is John, the Australian L1 speaker, who is unsure about a famous museum, Sovereign Hill, thus requesting Akiko to confirm the information. In doing so, Akiko aligns as an L2 member (lines 405-406). She thereby displays her L2 membership knowledge in relation to the culture as well as displaying it interactionally (choral co-production of the full name of the museum, see chapter 7, excerpt 7.8).

An important consideration for the conceptualisation of L2 interactional competence is that there is joint negotiation and activity in the unfolding turns-at-talk, therefore interactional competence is socially shared amongst the participants as each one builds their TCU on the talk of the prior speaker and the next speaker will continue this process (Sacks et al., 1974). The focal L2 participants have shown that they can recognise pragmatic, intonational and grammatical completion of a turn. Interactional competence therefore results from a process where interactional resources are deployed on a moment-by-moment basis, and where these resources are built upon those of the prior speaker and so forth during the course of any given interaction.

It seems that universals operate in relation to interactional organisation across languages. However differences appear in the way that resources (which include grammar and semiotics) of a given language are employed and their specificity (Sidnell, 2009). Since culture is built into the turn-taking system (refer to chapter 2), L2 novice speakers may be confronted with similar interactional resources, displayed either with varying frequencies from their L1 and/or in a different manner. For instance, Maynard (1990) and White (1989) observed that there is a

higher frequency of receipt tokens and nodding in Japanese than in English. Other L1 interactional resources may be at odds with L2. An example of this is Zhu's (1997) study where he analysed from a conversation analytic perspective Mandarin NS interactions and found that, unlike in English, topic shift occurs suddenly in Mandarin. Other aspects such as grammar may have an impact on the turn taking organisation as in the case of Japanese (cf. Tanaka, 1999).

Sociocultural norms are the embodiment of the nexus between language and culture, and as such can be a problematic area for newcomers to the L2 community. For instance, Meg and Akiko reported in the focus group that they noticed the differences in the cultural practice of closing a telephone conversation between L1 and L2. They noted that the closing was accomplished more quickly than in Japanese, and that made them feel uncomfortable. However, Meg indicated that at the end of the study she felt comfortable with the Australian sociocultural norm of telephone closing, and she even adopted it in Japanese with her mother. Hence, Meg had adjusted to the Australian culture and acquired some L2 membership knowledge, which in turn had some implications for her social identity construction in the L2 (and supposedly L1). Other cultural behaviours or knowledge can also pose problems for the L2 newcomers, and these may be related to general culture, such as Meg not knowing about the 'Big Brother' reality television show, to which a lecturer had referred in his lecture. Akiko, Meg and Carol commented in the focus group that they were struck by the fact that local students could put their feet up on chairs or even on the desk in tutorials, a behaviour considered rude in both Japanese and Chinese cultures. The two Japanese nationals felt irritated by this behaviour, whereas Carol did not.

Thus L2 interactional competence is a complex competence, which involves a number of concepts as indicated above and summarised below.

8.2.5 Concept Map of L2 Interactional Competence

Based on the definition given above, a concept map of L2 interactional competence is proposed which encapsulates the different notions described above and in the literature (cf. chapter 2).

In this concept map, there is an interface between the different factors (indicated by the purple arrows) and they all impact on L2 interactional competence (indicated by the green arrows). L1 interactional competence can influence intercultural competence (indicated by the unidirectional purple arrow), which in turn will have an effect on L2 interactional competence.

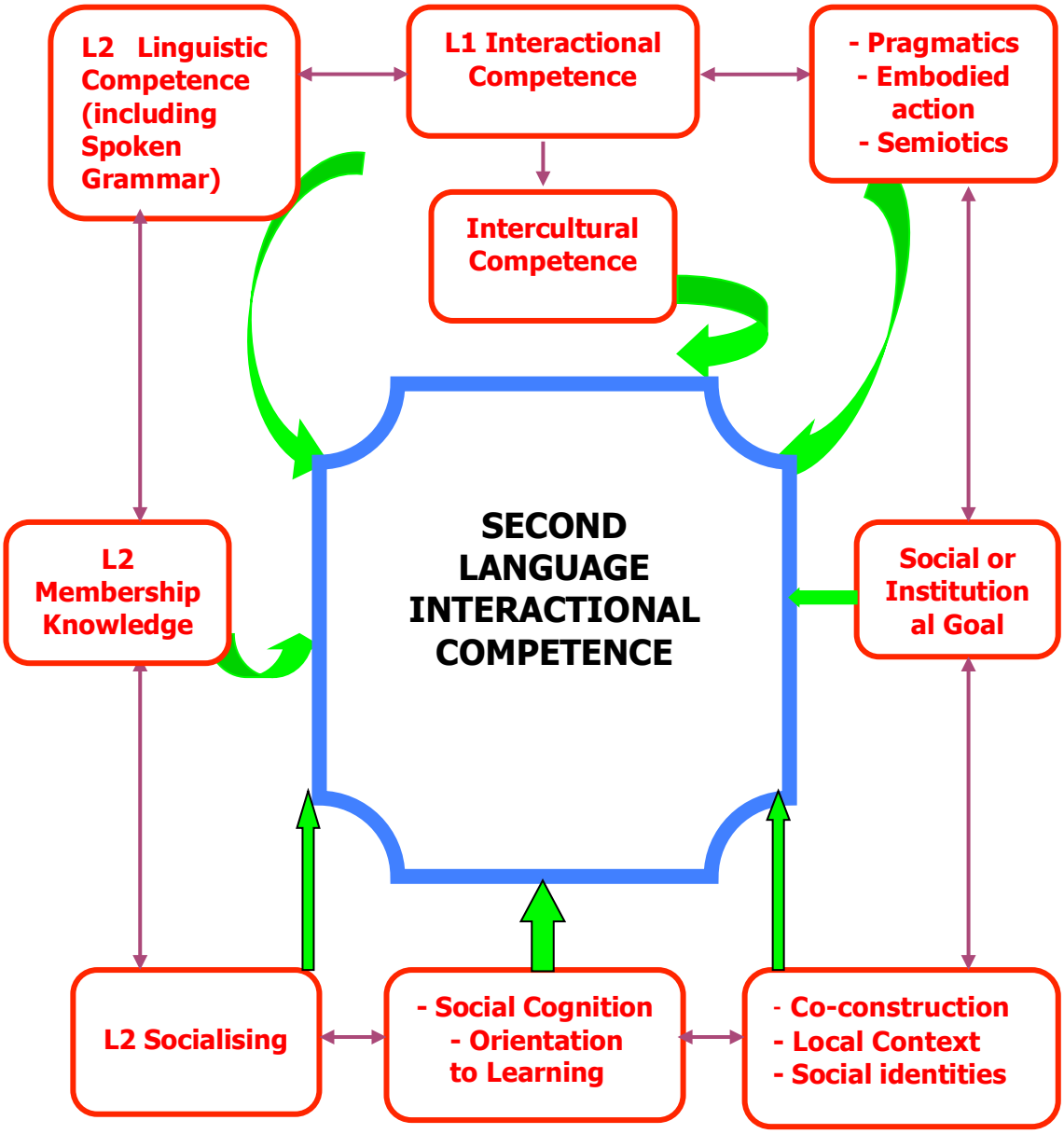

Figure 8.1 Concept Map of L2 Interactional Competence

Schegloff (1996) in particular has made the significant observation that there is a reflexive relationship between grammar and interaction as they are co-dependent, which has implications for conceptualising interactional competence. In other words, it is the interaction that takes precedence over grammar, and grammar serves the purpose of the interaction. Schegloff remarked that: "Rather than starting with propositional forms and overlaying action operators, our primary characterizations need to capture the action(s) embodied in a burst of language" (1996, p. 113). Thus Schegloff directs our attention towards analysing language as action in talk-in-interaction rather than looking at propositional forms. This needs to be taken into consideration when conceptualising L2 interactional competence as it implies that language must be viewed as embodying social actions, and grammar alone is insufficient for an L2 speaker to be competent interactionally. In other words, there are a range of resources and skills other than linguistics that are at play. Charles Goodwin (1995, 2006, 2007) has shown that embodied actions and semiotics are part of L1 interactional competence, and Seo (2011) and Olsher (2004) have demonstrated that they are also part of L2 interactional competence.

The present study hopes to deepen our understanding of the complexity of L2 interactional competence and show that linguistic competence is one of its underlying competences.

6.6. Pedagogical Outcomes

It is hoped that the discussion of the construct of L2 interactional competence together with the segments taken from the focal L2 participants will help L2 teachers gain a better understanding of what L2 interactional competence entails. As social interactions are central to human activities, this study also seeks to emphasise the importance of developing interactional skills for pedagogical purposes. It is the author's view that NESB international (and ESL) students

should not be alienated through a curriculum that does not provide them with the tools necessary for conducting ordinary conversation. Ordinary conversation forms the basis of institutional talk (Drew & Heritage, 1992b), and it is essential for engaging in social relations, which this study (together with the literature) has demonstrated to be fundamental to the L2 learning experience of NESB international (and ESL) students. Thus, ordinary conversation should be taught as a major component in the English for Academic Purposes curriculum, along with other academic skills. Developing storytelling in L2 may also be a desirable outcome for novice L2 speakers and could be integrated in the ESL classroom. CA presents a suitable framework for teaching and learning ordinary conversation[101] (comprising both listening and speaking skills), which could be contrasted with institutional talk. This is one way of teaching L2 interactional competence. This kind of teaching would help L2 students gain more confidence and participate more successfully in tutorials, seminars, group work, and acquire more effective presentation skills. Furthermore, overseas NESB students would be able to interact more efficiently with staff. They would also lead a less isolated life, as they would have the tools to interact better with domestic students and the host community.

Lastly, Clark et al. (2011) have shown that L2 learners can be assisted by setting up a program to 'learn in the wild' by interacting with L1 speakers outside the confines of the classroom. Such programs create meaningful interactions to enhance their learning experience and L2 interactional competence. Regular and on-going conversations for practising could also be arranged as part of the university program for NESB internationals along with the existing mentoring program.[102]

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[101] Wong & Waring (2010) wrote a textbook designed to instruct ESL/EFL teachers how to teach using CA, and Barraja-Rohan & Pritchard (1997) developed a multimedia course book to teach L2 interactional competence to ESL/EFL intermediate students. In addition, CA has been used to unveil interactions occurring in a number of languages.

[102] The mentoring program consists of pairing a domestic student, who receives cross-cultural training, with an international student for six few weeks (or less) to help the latter adjust more easily to the university and the Australian culture.

6.7. Limitations of this study

This study can document that learning occurred but it cannot account for how that learning happened; partly because the study was conducted outside the classroom, and partly because it relied on ordinary conversation, which is more complex than institutional talk found in classroom interactions and tutor-tutee interactions (H. Nguyen, 2011b). Some focal participants also interacted in L2 outside the recorded sessions with the main L1 participant, and other members of the community (on and off campus). Thus, other unknown factors and actors have to be taken into consideration regarding the changes that occurred.

According to Markee (2008), to be able to account for any learning that takes place, the analysis needs to show how the L2 participant orients toward a learning object, which has been instantiated in some cases in chapter 5. Learning linguistic items occurs more readily in classroom settings, such as in Markee's study. However, in interactions occurring outside a pedagogical environment, as is the case with this study, L2 participants are rarely seen to display a public orientation to 'learning' as such. Nonetheless, learning is taking place, but at a more subtle level. Thus, showing how a novice L2 speaker orients to learning interactional skills, such as the action sequences demonstrated in this study, is not feasible, as this kind of learning is probably implicit, and may therefore not be a conscious process.

In addition, the study relied on interactions arranged by the researcher, which nonetheless yielded interactional data that displayed a social reality for the interactants, who did not view the interactions as a language game or a task. When investigating SLA, it is very difficult to obtain naturally occurring data outside of class, particularly when the data was collected over many months using obtrusive methods such as a video camera and a microphone. Even in a natural setting such as Ishida's (2011) study abroad program, the L2 speaker had

to modify her practice to fit in with the researcher's agenda. This problematises the notion of 'naturalness', a point also reinforced by Carroll (2005) who organised conversations-for-learning for his study.

6.8. Recommendations for Further Studies

Preliminary interactional sequences of acquisition have been shown in Ohta's (2001) and Barraja-Rohan's (2011) longitudinal studies and in cross-sectional studies conducted by Pekarek Doelher & Pochon-Berger (2011) and Hellermann (2008b). However, more longitudinal and cross-sectional studies of this kind are needed to gather more evidence before reaching any firm conclusion regarding mapping out various developmental stages of L2 interactional competence.

There is a need for more CA longitudinal studies to be conducted in order to investigate how other non-expert L2 speakers, and from other languages, manage topic proffer, or self-presentational questions, or other action sequences over time. Moreover, the construct of L2 interactional competence needs to be further investigated, and more CA studies, whether longitudinal, cross-sectional or otherwise, are needed to discover other intricacies of L2 interactional competence.

Microanalytic examinations of novice/non-expert L2 speakers learning and acquiring language through talk-in-interaction outside of class can capture and reveal aspects of their L2 interactional competence (Ishida, 2011; H. Nguyen, 2011b). CA analyses of institutional interactions can also uncover features of L2 interactional competence in a variety of settings (Barraja-Rohan, 2011; Lee et al., 2011; Markee, 2007; Pekarek Doehler & Pochon-Berger, 2011; Pinnow, 2011). Since L2 interactional competence is the object of study in CA-for-SLA (Kasper & Wagner, 2011), CA can make substantial contributions to the field of SLA in tracking socially situated learning of both linguistic items, as grammar results

from a co-constructed effort (Markee, 2008, p. 409), and, notably, interactional practices for accomplishing social actions. Lastly, given that CA is capable of showing how socially distributed cognition is displayed in interaction, through the accumulated body of knowledge gained from past and future CA studies, CA-for-SLA will eventually be able to develop its own theory of learning as advocated by Hauser (2011).

APPENDIX 1

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

OPENING

Thanks for coming for this interview. This interview is for my own research so any information you will give me will be treated as confidential. For this interview, I will ask you a number of questions related to your language and education background, the course you're doing, the reason for choosing to study here and other topics related to studying at the university. As I am looking at second language acquisition, I will also ask you questions related to the people you mix with as I would like to know how much English you speak outside class. If for any reason, you feel uncomfortable, let me know and I will stop the interview.

RECORD KEEPING

DATE: _____

Name: _____ Pseudonym: _____ Male/Female

Phone: _____ Mob: _____ Email: _____

Religion:_____

QUESTIONS

As I have discussed with you previously, your name will not be disclosed so I propose that you choose a name for this project and I will refer to it instead of your real name. So what name would you like to choose?

1) For my records, I'll have to ask you a personal question. Let me know if you mind. When is your date of birth? (How old are you?)

2) Now, I'd like to confirm some information. Where are you from?

3) Is this where you've spent most of your life?

4) Have you lived overseas before?

   a) (If yes) Where did you live?

   b) How long was that for?

   c) What sort of memory do you have from there: good, bad or so-so?

5) What is your mother tongue?

6) Sometimes, we speak a language at home and use a different one at school. Is this your case or did you study in your first language?

7) Do you speak another language apart from English?

   a) Which one?

   b) Who do you speak this language with?

c) How well do you think you speak it?

d) How did you learn it?

8) Can you tell me what course you're doing at the university?

9) Can you describe to me in detail what you're studying?

10) What subject(s) do you like best? Can you tell me what it is about?

11) How do you feel in tutorials and lectures?

12) In tutorials, do you understand the tutor?

13) Do you respond to his/her questions?

14) Describe what you do in tutorials:

a) What do you say?

b) Do you initiate questions?

c) Who do you sit next to?

d) Do you approach lecturer/tutor?

e) Do you initiate contact with local students?

f) Do you work in groups with NSs?

15) Australia is far from your country, why did you choose to study here?

16) Any reason for choosing this university in particular?

17) How long do you think you'll be staying here?

18) For my records, I need to know when you first arrived in Australia. Do you remember the date?

19) Now that you've been at this university for some weeks, you must have some impressions of the place. Can you talk about them?

20) How would you qualify your first impressions of Australia: positive, negative, so-so?

21) Can you explain to me how you gained those impressions?

22) Do you feel lonely?

23) Do you usually make friends easily or are you shy?

24) The next questions are related to your educational background. What level of study did you complete in your country?

25) Did you study at university or did you do some sort of university preparation course before coming here?

a) (If yes) Can you tell me about it?

26) Since I'm going to look at your English, I'd like to know if you have you passed the IELTS test or TOEFL?

a) (If yes) What score did you get?

b) Do you know what you got for each language skill: listening, speaking, reading and writing?

c) In which country did you sit for the test?

27) Regardless of the score you got (if relevant), how good do you think your English is?

28) How confident do you feel when you speak English? Do you feel comfortable when you speak English?

29) English is not your first language so can you tell me about learning it? What's the reason you learnt English?

30) What about now, has your reason changed or is it the same?

a) (If different) Can you explain what it is?

31) When did you first start to learn English?

32) How long would you say you have studied English for?

33) What sort of place did you study English, like was it a school, university, private language centre?

34) Do you roughly remember how many hours a week you studied English?

35) What about your teachers: were they native speakers of English?

a) (If yes) Do you know where they were from?

b) Were you able to socialise with them or wasn't this possible?

c) (if yes) Can you describe to what extent you did?

36) What was it like studying English; did you enjoy it?

37) So do you think that this English course was helpful?

38) Can you describe how it helped or didn't help you?

39) In relation to your studies here at this university, what qualities or skills do you think are important for you to succeed in an Australian university?

a) Do you think you've got those skills?

b) (If no) How do you think you will learn them?

c) Do you know where to go to get help?

d) Can you tell me about it?

40) You must have thought about studying in a foreign environment like this university. What do you think is going to be difficult for you at uni?

41) How do you plan to overcome this difficulty (if any)?

42) Being so far from your parents, family and culture, do you miss your country?

Can you tell more about it?

43) I presume that the cost of living in Australia is more expensive than in your own country. Do you have a part-time job to help you financially or do you intend working?

44) (If yes) What type of work are you doing or looking for?

36) Do you enjoy it?

37) You may be aware that at this university you can join a club like chess or any kind of sport or leisure activity you like; are you enrolled in any or do you intend enrolling?

a) (If yes) Can you tell me about it?

b) (If no) Why not join a club?

38) As I'm interested in whether you speak English or not outside class, I'm going to ask you a few questions about the sort of people you mix with, if you don't mind. Do you have any relatives in Melbourne?

a) (If yes) Could you tell me how many you have?

b) What kind of relation are they to you: are they brothers or sisters, cousins, etc.?

c) How often do you see them?

d) Would you like to see them more often or are you happy as it is? *(optional)*

39) You haven't been at this university for very long, have you managed to make any friends at all?

a) (If yes) Could you tell me about them: what nationality are they?

b) What language do you speak with them?

c) How close would you say these friends are to you?

d) How often do you see them?

e) Do you think that's enough or do you miss them?

40) Since you're living in Australia, would you like to make friends with

Australian students?

41) How important is it to you to get to know Australians? Why/why not?

42) Since you're living in Australia, in your opinion is it necessary to learn about the Australian culture? Why do you say that?

43) We've nearly there. These few questions concern your accommodation because it's related to the people you mix with. Can you tell me where you are staying while you're studying at this university: is it on campus or off campus?

44) Can you describe the sort of accommodation you have: are you staying in a residential college, a private house, a unit or a flat?

45) Do you share it?

a) (If yes) How many people do you share it with?

b) Can I ask you who these people are in terms of their nationality?

c) What language do you speak with them?

d) What sort of relationship do you have with them: are they classmates, friends or relatives?

46) Finally, we've come to the last question. Can you tell me why you have chosen to participate in this project?

Thank you very much for your cooperation. You have been most helpful.

APPENDIX 2

DIARY KEEPING

GUIDELINES

You have been given a diary, which you have been asked to keep for one week. In this diary, you will record everyday all the interactions that you've had and the language you've used. Below is a list of points you need to cover. Write in your diary at the end of the day. It's preferable that you don't leave it till the next day as you may not remember what happened the day before.

1) Who did you talk to today?
2) What are these people to you: friends, classmates, compatriots, relatives, strangers, landlord/landlady, sales-assistant, etc.?
3) What gender are these people: male or female?
4) How old are they? Give an approximate age.
5) What nationality are they: Australian, same as yours, etc.?
6) What language did you use with each of them: English, your mother tongue, etc.?
7) Approximately how long did you talk to each of them: a few minutes, ½ hour, 1 hour, etc.?
8) Where did you talk to them?
9) Why did you talk to them?
10) Did you participate in tutorials?

It will take you about 15 minutes to write this information in your diary everyday.

Thank you for being so cooperative.

APPENDIX 3

FOCUS GROUP GUIDELINES

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1) How do newly arrived overseas international students from a non English speaking background manage socialising through conversation in L2?

2) Can L2 interactional competence assist ESL students to succeed in their mainstream studies? For instance, what impact can such a competence have in tutorial participation, dealings with university staff and students' overall learning?

PURPOSE

1) To develop a more in-depth understanding of how these international students perceive their experience in an Australian university as foreign students, and understand what mechanisms they use to cope with their difficulties.

2) To help identify key issues in adjusting to a new culture and a university environment.

3) To capture an overall picture of the students' social networks and understand the role that L2 socialising may have had in their lives and studies.

4) To obtain an overall picture of the difficulties the L2 participants may experience, particularly in relation to tutorials.

5) To assess the importance they attribute to speaking skills and to ascertain their perception of their speaking ability now.

6) To solicit their opinion on what qualities are most important to succeed in a foreign university such as this one.

7) To gauge whether they use the Language Learning Support Services and gain their assessment of these services.

QUESTIONS:

University experience

- Did you enjoy your first year at this university?
  - Probe: what did you enjoy? (The response to this question will infer whether the L2 participants have adapted well to this university and Australia)
  - Probe: why not?

Summarise: would you say it's been a positive/negative experience?

Cultural Adjustment

1) Did you have any cultural problems?
2) Probe: what makes you feel uncomfortable?
3) Do you still have cultural problems? If yes, explain.
4) How can/did you overcome these cultural problems?
5) What other difficulties did you come across?
6) Are you experiencing any difficulties at the moment?
7) What do you find most difficult? Why?

8) What did you find easy to do? Can you explain?

Summarise difficulties/experience

Social Networks

1) What about friends, did you make good friends here at the university or outside the university?
2) How important is it to have friends around you?
3) How do you choose your friends? Do they need to have the same nationality as you? Why, why not?

Summarise how a social network is important

Tutorials & Lectures

1) What about your studies? Earlier on you mentioned to me that you had some communication problems in tutorials. Can we talk about this? (*class participation, discussion, following the discussion, asking questions, making comments*)?
2) What about lectures, what was your experience like with lectures?
3) What did you find most difficult: participating in tutorials or lectures? Explain.
4) In terms of talking to your tutor or lecturer outside of class: how easy has it been for you? Explain.

Speaking & Progress in English

1) Have you noticed any difference between the first and second semester in terms of relating to people and your confidence level? Explain.
2) What about your English, can you perceive any progress and if so, what?
3) To what do you attribute your progress?

4) Now that it's the end of the year, what qualities do you think were most important for you as a person living in a foreign environment? And to succeed in your studies?

5) How do you rate your speaking? How important do you think speaking is now that you've reached the end of the year? Explain.

Summarise progress and confidence level

CONCLUSION

1) What advice would you give the university staff so that other international students might adjust more easily and succeed in their studies?

2) Finally, have you gained anything from taking part in this research? Explain.

WRAP-UP

Now, let's sum up your general feeling about your experience and opinion and let's summarise the issues that have come up.

- Do you have any more questions?

I want to thank you very much for your participation, your very valuable contribution and your time! It is thanks to people like you that research of this kind has been made possible.

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