Second Language Pedagogy and Use in an English Village: Interactional Practices and Sequential Structure

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博士論文

Second Language Pedagogy and Use in an English Village:

Interactional Practices and Sequential Structure

（英語村に起きる第二言語学習と用法

–連鎖構成及び相互行為活動–）

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所属専攻・コース：グローバル文化専攻・外国語教育コンテンツ論コース

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Abstract

There is increased awareness by both language scholars and educators that using a second language (L2) outside of the classroom is essential for learners to improve their communicative ability. In countries like Japan, where such opportunities can be difficult to come by, the establishment of 'English Villages' that aim to simulate the experience of using L2 in non-pedagogical situations are becoming an increasingly common manifestation of this perceived need. However, despite English Villages being relatively common educational institutions (particularly throughout Asia), very little research exists to document the actual interactions occurring within these sites and how they may relate to L2 use and pedagogy.

Adopting a conversation-analytic (CA) approach, the current study examines roughly 30 hours of video data to provide a bottom-up micro-detailed description of the interaction at Tokyo Global Gateway (TGG), a large-scale publicly funded language facility that specializes in providing realistic simulation experiences for second language use. By analyzing collections of conversational phenomena, the study provides a participant-sensitive, praxiological account that reveals the mundane methods (Garfinkel, 1967) employed by the interactants to make sense of one another in and through talk-in-interaction.

In particular, it shows how participants work to (1) (re)produce preferred turn-taking practices via increments, (2) create expanded opportunities for L2 use through the design of obstacles to progressivity, (3) embodily construct lists for various interactional contingencies and (4) encourage student participation through language play. The findings further suggest that while the simulated activities at TGG are not necessarily accurate reproductions of their real-world counterparts, they nevertheless provide the learners with beneficial opportunities to practice using their L2 in a way that is pedagogically supportive and treated by the participants as enjoyable.

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（要旨）

学習者の第二言語（L2）によるコミュニケーション能力の向上は、教室外における L2 使用が重要であることは自明である。そのような機会を得ることが難しい日本のような国では、日常的な環境で L2 を使用する擬似体験ができる「英語村」の設立は、教室外での L2 使用を必要としている人が多く存在していることを証明している。しかしながら、そのように必要とされている「英語村」にも関わらず、この施設内で起きている相互作用と、それらが L2 の使用と学習にどのように関連するかを明らかにした研究は、私の知る限りほとんどない。

そこで本研究では、言語学習目的の現実的なシミュレーション体験を提供する大規模な語学学習施設である東京グローバルゲートウェイという英語村での約 30 時間のビデオデータを会話分析（CA）アプローチにより、ボトムアップアプローチ

で相互行為を微細に分析した。CA を用いてしてデータ分析をすることにより、相互作用について非常に微細でエミックな解釈を行った。トーク・イン・インタラクションを通じて、対話者が互いを理解するために使用した方法（Garfinkel, 1967）を明らかにする。特に、参加者がどのように(1)添加によって好ましいターンテイクの方法を構築するのか、(2)プログレシビティーに障害を与えることが、学習者の L2 を使用する機会をどのように促すのか、(3)身体的リストの協調的達成がどのように行われるのか、および(4)ランゲージプレイがどのように学習者の会話への参加を促すのか、に着目して会話分析を用いて記述していく。「英語村」の模擬会話は必ずしも実世界の会話を正確に再現しているわけではないが、学習者が楽しいと感じる方法で L2 を使用する有益な機会や教育的支援を提供していることが示唆された。

Acknowledgements

Somehow, after one of the most physically and mentally demanding years of my entire life, I finally find myself 'ready' to submit my dissertation. This manuscript is the product of three years of intense work amidst many profound life changes: a bankruptcy, a house foreclosure, and the birth of a child to name a few! (...how's that for a 3-part list?). While the perfectionist in me wants to keep writing and refining, I believe it is time to let it go, but not before thanking those that helped me along the way as this journey would have been impossible for me to accomplish alone. I would like to start by thanking my advisor, mentor, and friend Tim Greer for all of his invaluable help and advice, not only with my research and dissertation but with life in general. Being a member of the SWELL project has been a fantastic opportunity and I can't express how grateful I am to Tim for inviting me to be a part of it. I would also like to thank Eric Hauser and Rue Burch for all of the encouragement, motivation, and analytic insight they have given me throughout this process. Thanks is also due to Jan Svennevig, Søren Eskildsen, and Simona Pekarek Doehler for allowing me to participate in their 2020 workshop on Interactional Competence; your talks were as illuminating as they were inspiring and this workshop was a fantastic shot of motivation during the height of the pandemic. Thank you as well to all of the sensei at Kobe University who have given me useful feedback during shudan shidou, which has helped drive my work in interesting directions. Finally, I would like to thank my beautiful wife Hitomi for all of the emotional support and for being the best mom to our daughter Kaylee that I could ask for. To Kaylee, you have been the number one motivation for me to push this dissertation across the finish line. When I drop you off at school every morning, you are always so happy and ready to give it your all. You inspired me to give it my best everyday too! I love you both more than I can express.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Rationale and significance of the study

As evidenced by an ever-growing body of research on language learning in the wild (see Greer, 2013; Hellerman et al., 2019; Ishida, 2011; Kurhila, 2006; Theodórsdóttir, 2011; Theodórsdóttir & Eskildsen, 2011; Kasper & Burch, 2016; Wagner, 2015) there is increased recognition that second language (L2) use outside the classroom is inextricably linked to becoming a more competent L2 user. However, from a practical standpoint, such opportunities can be difficult for educators to furnish, particularly when dealing with an EFL setting where the language beyond the classroom is not the target L2. This is precisely the challenge faced by language teachers in Asia, and to address this need businesses called "English Villages" have emerged offering learners the opportunity to use their L2 in immersive ways that more closely resemble everyday interaction. Tokyo Global Gateway (TGG), the focal site of this study, is one such place, describing itself as an *experience-oriented English education facility* that provides opportunities to practice using English in low-stakes simulated environments. According to the TGG creators' initial proposal documents, the goals of the facility are to help address growing concerns about Japanese student's inability to communicate in English as evidenced by poor global rankings in both the TOEFL and TOEIC English proficiency tests (Bourke, 2018). However, despite the proliferation of similar "English villages" throughout Asia, there exists very little research that documents what L2 use and pedagogy at these sites actually looks like.

Within conversation-analysis-for-second-language-acquisition research (henceforth, CA-SLA), studies exploring the intersection of non-pedagogical interaction and second language use (language learning in the wild) have recently become a point of increased analytic attention. To my knowledge, however, no previous CA studies have taken place at a site like TGG where the boundary between the classroom and the wild is deliberately blurred and difficult to delineate. Utilizing a conversation-analytic approach, in this dissertation, I will empirically document the specific features of interactions captured at TGG and describe in micro-detail the interactional practices used by both site staff and language learners to achieve and manage intersubjectivity as they go through language-related tasks during their time in the TGG facility. With CA as an emic lens through which to view the interaction, I will provide a highly context-sensitive analysis that reveals the participants' own orientations towards one another's behavior, language use, learning, and identity, rather than eticly imposing exogenous categories, models or viewpoints on the data (Kasper, 2004). In doing so, the study will provide a bottom-up, data-driven description of the unique learning context that TGG represents. Specifically, I will show how participants co-construct L2 interactional competence (Hall et al., 2011) through the use of increments, how spaces for L2 use are created through the design of obstacles to progressivity, and how participants mobilize embodied resources in their co-construction of lists for interactive purposes. I also explore how educators work to frame both TGG's institutional goals and specific tasks in ways that works to promote language play and encourage sequential expansion and participation from the learners.

1.2   Guiding questions

Conversation analysis as an approach does not typically rely on research questions, at least at the outset of a study. However, by repeatedly observing my data I was able to isolate some points of analytic interest which then guided the direction of the study in a way that is still consistent with CA's bottom-up style of inquiry. Some guiding questions for my study are as follows:

1. What specific interactional practices are deployed by the interactants to manage and maintain smooth turn-taking?
2. Through what mundane methods do the educators encourage and occasion more talk from the learners?
3. How do the participants deploy lists as interactional resources?
4. How do the participants orient to, occasion, and co-construct playful moments in the talk?
5. How do the above practices contribute to the *in situ* accomplishment of TGG's institutional aims?

By exploring these questions, this study will provide valuable data-driven, emicly grounded insights into the interactional characteristics of Tokyo Global Gateway and by extension other similar English village style sites. These findings will address a current lack of CA-SLA literature on facilities of this kind and will describe some practical implications that may be used to inform the improvement and design of such sites going forward.

1.3   Scope

While the study aims to provide some important insights into L2 interaction and pedagogy in a simulated wild, no data from actual wild settings will be collected or analyzed.

This is therefore not a comparative study between 'real world' and 'simulated' learning

contexts, but simply a deep exploration of the latter. While my analysis explores the notion of

interactional competence (IC), the data examined does not lend itself to a longitudinal study

examining IC development over time. I instead use a collection-based style of analysis to

provide a praxiological account of recurrent interactional phenomena throughout the dataset.

The interactional practices I analyze are both *context-free,* in that as generic meaning-making

methods, they may appear in other settings, and *context-sensitive*, insofar as the specific uses

and turn-by-turn unfoldings of the practices are inextricable from their embedded sequential

environments (Sacks et. al, 1978).

1.4   Organization of the dissertation

This dissertation is organized as follows: In Chapter 2, I discuss the background of

theories and approaches that underpin the investigation. Section 2.1 focuses on experiential

education including experiential learning theory (2.1.1), service learning (2.1.2), and situated

learning (2.1.3). I then explain how these approaches have impacted SLA research relating to

role-plays, simulations, and games (2.1.4) and the design of the target language-learning

facility of this study (2.1.5). In Section 2.2, I discuss developments in the burgeoning body of

studies within CA-SLA on language learning in the wild while drawing further connections

to the current data set.

In Chapter 3, I provide information regarding my research approach, Conversation

Analysis, discussing several key concepts, including turn-taking (3.1.1), adjacency pairs

(3.1.2), repair (3.1.3) pre-sequences (3.1.4), and post-expansion sequences (3.1.5), before

providing a comprehensive explication of the CA approach to data analysis. In Section 3.2, I

sketch the historical bifurcation between cognitive and socially oriented approaches within the second language acquisition field before discussing how CA-SLA studies have contributed to turning SLA into a field that acknowledges the importance of language use, context, and sociality (3.3). I go on to describe CA-SLA's positions on interactional competence (3.4) and the consideration of multiple modalities when analyzing talk-in-interaction (3.5).

Chapter 4 contains pertinent background information on the dataset, including general information on the research site (Section 4.1) the study participants (4.2), and site materials (4.3) before talking about the procedures used for data collection (4.4) and transcription (4.5).

Chapter 5 marks the beginning of my analysis chapters and centers around how an expert English speaker working at TGG uses grammatically parasitic post-possible completions called increments in order to co-accomplish the interactional competence of the learners as they undertake designated language tasks. Increments are found to be powerful resources that allow expert speakers to reconfigure gaps in the conversation into their own intra-turn pauses, momentarily releasing the tension of response relevancy and giving the learner another chance at no-gap no overlap speaker transition. Increments are also shown to be used as a means of pre-empting understanding issues by raising the explicitness of the expert speaker's questions and task expectations.

In Chapter 6, I explicate the interactional practices used by site staff that see them creating obstacles to progressivity to expand role-play task sequences. I focus on two interactional practices used for encouraging learners to contribute more to the interaction: disaligning with a learner's response via complication (6.4.1) and feigning a non-understanding (6.4.3).

Chapter 7 meanwhile, attempts to expand the interactional knowledge base regarding list construction by focusing on participants' coordinated embodied practices during list

sequences. Adopting Goodwinian notions like co-operative action and lamination (Goodwin, 2013, 2018), I show how the participants go about constructing lists together by decomposing and reconfiguring substrates of multimodal gestalts. I show how embodied listing practices are used by learners to build complex extended turns (Sections 7.4.1, 7.4.2) and how educators can exploit certain list mechanisms to reshape the trajectory of learner responses and expand opportunities for interaction.

The final analysis chapter, Chapter 8, discusses how humor and language play shape the interaction at TGG. In Section 8.1, I first review some relevant CA-SLA literature on language play. I then discuss how TGG staff locally define words and explain tasks using absurd exemplars (8.2). Such practices allow TGG staff to overlay tasks with humor, indexing for the learners the acceptability of language play in the pursuant sequences. In Section 8.3, I then explore some of the ways that participants align or disalign with proposed playful trajectories for the interaction.

I conclude in Chapter 9 by drawing connections between the findings in each of my analysis chapters and linking them to relevant findings in the literature before providing a summary of the findings and some practical implications for second language learning.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Background

In this section, I will provide relevant background information on concepts comprising the theoretical backbone of TGG, the focal institution in my dataset. These connections are not explicitly stated in any of the facility's literature; however, by closely analyzing their task design, stated objectives and the data itself, I inductively arrive at several through-lines that connect TGG's approach to various concepts from experiential education approaches. As a purely CA study, I will not be applying exogenous theories or models in my analysis chapters. Instead, this information is presented as background to provide insight as to why TGG was implemented in its current form. I begin by reviewing literature relating to experiential education approaches, with a particular focus on David Kolb's experiential learning theory (ELT) and to a lesser degree Service Learning (Section 2.1.2) and Situated Learning (2.1.3) before describing how these ideas have seemingly impacted SLA research on Role-play, Simulation, and games (2.1.4) as well as facets of TGG's design (2.1.5).

2.1   Experiential education

On its website, TGG refers to itself as "an experience-oriented English-education facility" that aims to provide students with the opportunity to take part in various programs that can improve English proficiency, "including simulated experiences of speaking English in daily life situations overseas in such places as airports and restaurants" (ELEC, n.d.). This they argue, is intended to address the lack of such opportunities for English learners in Japan.

In a policy document produced by the council behind TGG, they outline the situation as follows:

"...the reality is that children [in Japan] do not have many opportunities in their daily lives to use English outside of school...study abroad and homestay programs are excellent opportunities in this respect, but it is difficult to provide such opportunities to a wide range of children and students due to the financial burden and the relationship with school education... For this reason, [TGG] should be a place where students can try various experiences using English and test their English skills." (Tokyo English Village Committee, 2015, pp. 8-12)

From these statements, we can ascertain several important epistemological assumptions that went into the design and implementation of the facility, the most pertinent being that (a) using language in everyday situations outside the classroom is beneficial for students' linguistic development and (b) that closely simulating such experiences would have similarly beneficial effects. Intuitively, these seem to be sensible suppositions, but are they built upon a solid theoretical foundation?

The notion of experiential learning in education is most commonly associated with researcher David Kolb, who wrote a seminal study on the subject, Experiential Learning (1984). In many ways, however, Kolb's approach can be considered a synthesis of other prominent learning theorists. Kolb (1984) for example frequently acknowledges the work of Vygotsky (1978), who argued that experience was fundamental to the process of human development. Similar ideas were articulated even earlier by the prominent educator John Dewey, whose education philosophy revolved around the interplay of experience and knowledge acquisition. He also cites the work of Kurt Lewin, who is widely considered to be

the founder of American social psychology (Adelman, 1993). Lewin's work on group dynamics and action research methodology led him to several assertions regarding the role of experience and learning, including that "learning is best facilitated in an environment of concrete experience and analytic development" (Kemp, 2010 , p. 9). Finally, Jean Piaget also espoused similar views regarding the relationship between development and experience. His work, first published in the 1920s, did not gain widespread traction until the 1960s, at which point his cognitive-development theory became the basis for the design of experience-based educational programs. Drawing from these numerous and seemingly disparate sources, Kolb crafted a highly influential theory that purports to describe the relationship between experience and learning, which I will detail in the following section.

2.1.1 Experiential learning theory

In this section, I will describe Kolb's experiential learning theory (1984) which, as alluded to in the previous section, borrows heavily from prior explications of the learning process by thinkers from an eclectic range of disciplines. Kolb's theory is in many ways an elaboration of Lewin's four-part experiential learning model, which is often incorrectly attributed to Kolb (Kemp, 2010). The model (see Figure 2.1 below) begins with (1) a person having some kind of concrete experience which they then (2) observe and reflect upon before (3) forming some abstract concepts and generalizations. These concepts are then (4) taken into new concrete experiences where they are tested, and the cycle repeats itself.

Figure 2.1

Kolb's Experiential Learning Theory
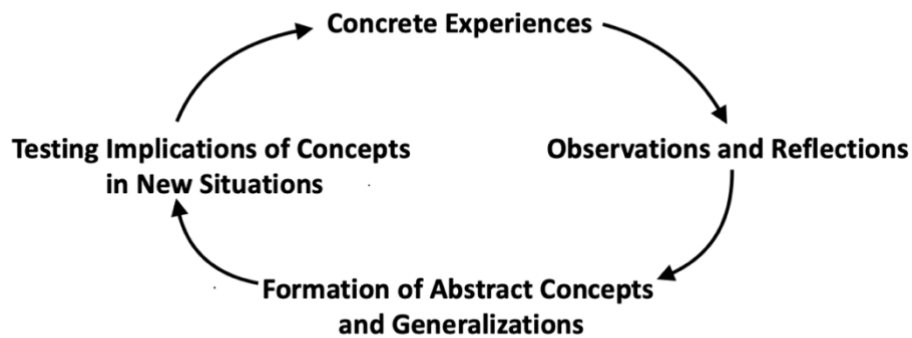
It is also significant that learners do not need to begin with concrete experience but instead may enter into the cycle at any of these four stages (McLeod, 2013). Kolb also outlines six epistemological assertions regarding the relationship between experience and learning that he argues are shared between all of his major influences:

1. Learning is best conceived as a process, not in terms of outcomes - Under this model the learning process is cyclical, thus Kolb emphasizes that it is counter-intuitive to think in terms of learning outcomes i.e., that there are end-states that a learner should achieve to be considered *successful.*

2. All learning is re-learning - Educators should work to expose learners' ideas and beliefs on a given topic so that they can be subject to critical examination, "tested and integrated with new, more refined ideas" (Kolb & Kolb, 2009, p. 5).

3. Learning requires the resolution of conflicts between dialectically opposed modes of adaptation to the world - Disagreement, differences, and conflicts fuel the engine of the learning process under which learners must continually "move between opposing modes of reflection and action and feeling and thinking" (Kolb & Kolb, 2009, p. 5).

4. Learning is a holistic process of adaptation - Rather than honing in on cognition alone, consideration of the entire person is necessary to adequately account for processes involved in the transformation of concrete experience into knowledge.

5. Learning results from synergetic transactions between the person and the environment - How a person processes the possibilities presented by a new experience directly impacts our decisions, which in turn influences the events we live through and the things that we experience.

6. Learning is the process of creating knowledge - Rather than considering learning to be a unidirectional transmission of ideas from the educator to the learner, experiential learning theory takes a constructivist stance, maintaining that knowledge is a highly situated object (re)created via the transformation of learner specific experiences.

After establishing Lewin's model and these six assertions as an ideological basis, Kolb elaborates a much more complex framework that describes learning as a process "driven by the resolution of the dual dialectics of action/reflection and experience/abstraction," (Kolb & Kolb, 2018) as represented in Figure 2.2 below.

Figure 2.2

ELT's model with opposing dialectics on the x and y axis (Kolb & Kolb, 2018, p. 11)
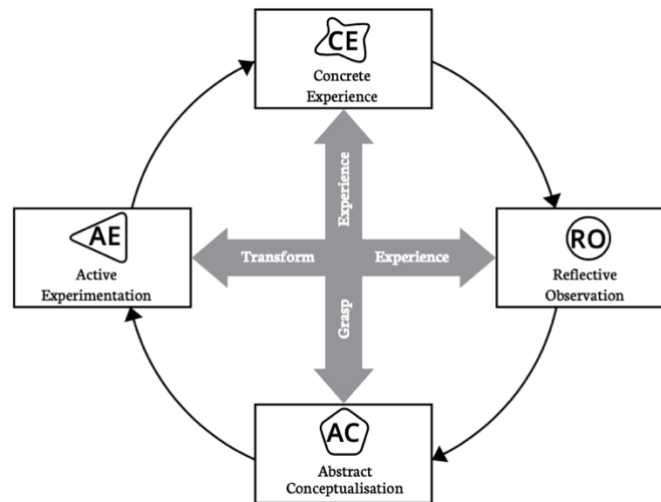
The *action/reflection dialectic* involves two different and opposed processes of transformation: Intention and Extension, the former referring to internal reflection and the latter, concrete experience and manipulation of the external world. In simple terms, the action/reflection dialectic describes the reflexive relationship shared by reflection and active experimentation. Reflection is necessary for a learner to arrive at new testable concepts but conversely, such reflection is predicated by prior experience. The *abstract/concrete dialectic* meanwhile involves two different and opposed processes of prehension: Comprehension and Apprehension. Comprehension (Abstract knowing) refers to the reliance on conceptual interpretation, symbolic/linguistic representation, and "objective interpretation of the world" (Baker et al., 2002, p.8). Apprehension (Concrete Knowing) meanwhile refers to the tangible, felt qualities of immediate experience i.e., a *subjective* interpretation of the world. In short, according to Kolb, our abstract understanding of the world profoundly shapes how we experience it, and how those experiences likewise shape the abstraction process. He maintains that it is through the constant conflict and resolution of these dialectics that learning occurs.

One of the strengths of ELT, as opposed to more traditional learning models, is that the elaborate interplay between the learner and learning context is accounted for, or as one author writes, "the overriding strength of the philosophy of experiential education is that it counters the distancing of the learner from the subject of instruction by placing the knowledge in context with real-life nuances" (McElhaney, 1998, pp. 24-25).

Two other prominent schools of thought that place heavy emphasis on the role of experience and learning will also be briefly covered in Sections 2.1.2 and 2.1.3 respectively.

2.1.2 Service learning

Service learning, a term coined by Robert Sigmon and William Ramsey (1967), refers to a pedagogical model that integrates academic learning and community service. Those taking part in a service learning program work to "address human and community needs together with structured opportunities intentionally designed to promote student learning and development" (Jacoby, 1996, p.5). It is the focus on learning and development that differentiates service learning from standard community service, which does not necessarily have a deliberately pedagogical design. Similar to ELT, service learning can be thought of as directly building on Dewey's assertion that learning hinges on the interaction of knowledge and skills with experience (Ehrlich, 1996), but with a distinct focus on civic welfare and developing learners' personal values and a greater sense of community involvement (Bringle et al., 2006).

2.1.3 Situated learning

Situated learning has roots in social psychology and is considered a constructivist educational approach that takes into account social context as foundational for an individual's

development of knowledge (Kemp, 2010, Wolfson, 1999), considers mental function to be an aggregate of contextually situated processes (Wertch, 1985), is characterized by dialogue, context and participation (Goodale, 2001) and shifts the analytic focus from the individual to their participation in the social world (Lave & Wenger, 1991). Learning and doing are treated as inseparably intertwined processes and similar to experiential learning, situated learning as a field of inquiry has roots in the work of Vygotsky (1978), who argued that humans passed through a number of developmental stages that render them sensitive to the influence of particular socio-cultural influences thereby allowing learning to take place. His approach emphasized the importance of social interaction by observing that people are able to accomplish things with guidance that they would otherwise be unable to do, a concept that he called the *zone of proximal development*. He also argued that socially distributed cognitive systems of people working in concert are more successful than individuals working in isolation. Building on these observations, Lave and Wenger (1991) were instrumental in developing situated learning as an approach. Their study provided an ethnographic explication of various apprenticeships around the world, conceptualizing learning as the product of something they call "legitimate peripheral participation", which describes the way in which new members to a community of practice move from less to more critical participatory roles as they gain more experience in the group. Communities of practice themselves are described as groups of people with a common sense of purpose stemming from their activities and group dynamics (Isenhour, 2000) that seek to reproduce themselves to preserve group knowledge and identity over time (Lave & Wenger, 1991). The authors further argue that despite being treated as synonymous, situated learning is wider encompassing than "learning *in situ*" or "learning by doing" and stress that it is "an integral and inseparable aspect of social practice" (p. 31).

2.1.4   SLA Research on role-play, simulation, and games

Within second language education, many concepts from Kolb's model have been adopted thanks to their easy compatibility with the field's ideological shift beginning in the 1980s and 1990s away from teacher-fronted, grammar-translation focused classrooms towards more communicative, learner-centric approaches. Instrumental to this shift were the ideas of Del Hymes (1966), who argued that existing models of linguistic competence (see Chomsky, 1965) could not adequately explain what it meant to be proficient in a second language. Formulating his ideas under the banner of *communicative competence*, Hymes argued that in addition to grammatical knowledge, learners must be able to use their L2 appropriately in a variety of settings. This was later developed into a formal definition by Canale and Swain (1980).

In communicative classrooms, learners are given opportunities to take an active role in their language acquisition and activities that allow for increased learner autonomy (Arnold, 1998) are preferred. There is less focus on prescriptive grammatical form and more on communication, less focus on providing input and more on providing opportunities for output/L2 usage. Due to their close dates of publication direct influence is perhaps unlikely, but we can see many parallels between ELT and Swain's highly influential comprehensible output hypothesis (1985). I adumbrate these similarities below:

 Noticing Function – In the course of using the target language (experience), the learner notices a gap in their linguistic ability and seeks out a solution. This can be considered a consolidation of Kolb's concrete experience and abstract conceptualization phases.

Hypothesis-testing Function – The learner tests the solution formed in the noticing function in new situations. This is comparable to the testing phase in ELT.

The Metalinguistic/Reflective Function – The learner reflects on their own L2 use through further L2 output and this reflection further facilitates learning. Reflection is of course another key tenet of the ELT model.

One way in which an emphasis on experience and output is evident in EFL pedagogy is the common inclusion of activities designed to provide opportunities to interact in L2. Study abroad programs are a ubiquitous example, but due to the complex logistics and high cost of such experiences, it is readily apparent that they are not feasible for all learners. Additionally, teachers have little ability to control or manipulate such interactions to ensure their pedagogical goals are met (Thornton & Cleveland, 1990).

Role-plays, simulations, and games are common tools utilized by language teachers that aim to provide students with similar experiences while addressing many of these concerns (Kasper & Youn, 2018). However, one issue that quickly becomes clear is that these terms are often conflated and used inconsistently in the literature (Blaga, 1978; Crookall, 2010; Tompkins, 1998; Wright-Maley, 2015). As Blaga (1978) pointed out 42 years ago, "many terms, such as educational game, role-playing, social simulation, and simulation game are commonly associated with and used interchangeably for the term simulation" (p. 9) with Wright-Maley (2015) remarking recently that "the work of scholars in the intervening decades has hardly helped to clarify the term[s], nor has it contributed to consolidating the nomenclature" (p 65). In an attempt to add some clarity in this regard, I will provide a review of the literature on role-plays, simulations, and games that highlights points of agreement on the meanings of these terms.

Simulations are designed to provide experiences that accurately reflect reality in a structured but necessarily limited way. Fidelity to reality is a priority, but as Baudrillard (1994) and Aldrich (2006) note, simulations that become too realistic risk obscuring the objects meant to be of pedagogical focus. A well-designed simulation should therefore capture important relevant features of the setting it emulates while discarding the inconveniences of reality (Hess, 1998). Another key feature of simulations is that they illustrate significant dynamic events, processes, or phenomena since the largely unscripted nature of simulated activities allows them to unfold in unexpected ways, which learners must adapt to through *in situ* decision-making (Wright-Maley, 2015). Learners are placed in central participatory roles where "the actual doing by students is the important element" (Butler, 1988, p. 23). Finally, simulations are pedagogically mediated with experts overseeing the participants to provide guidance and ensure that the intended instructional goals of the activity are met.

Unlike simulations, role-plays do not always involve the approximation or inclusion of real-world phenomena or events. The primary pedagogical goal of role-plays is not to understand systems or processes but to explore alternate perspectives by adopting them as their own (Cruz & Murthy, 2006) and thus typically involve an "as-if" framing where the learners are tasked with performing "as if" they are a character in a given scenario (Feinstein et al., 2002, Yardley-Matqiejuczuk, 1997,). Role-plays can be further sub-categorized into two kinds: active or passive. In passive role-plays, participants must act in highly specified ways (such as reading a script) and there is thus a lowered risk of making mistakes, but also very little room for learner autonomy. In active role-plays, participants are given more autonomy to improvise within the confines of their role/scenario leading to the potential for dynamic, unexpected trajectories of interaction. Active role-plays are thus closer to

simulation, but not confined to realism (e.g., a fantasy setting is perfectly acceptable for role-play but not simulation).

When it comes to what constitutes a game, formal definitions typically cite three distinct features: (1) Games contain defined outcomes that determine winners and losers, success, and failure (Abt, 1987; Gee, 2012; Klopfer, Osterweil, & Salen, 2009; Salen & Zimmerman, 2004; Wright-Maley, 2015), (2) They provide players with specific goals to achieve paired with feedback that informs them of their progress such as points or levels (Gee, 2012; McGonigal, 2011; Squire, 2011; Wright-Maley, 2015), and (3) Games emphasize entertainment over realism (Lin & Sun, 2003; Squire, 2011; Wright-Maley, 2015).

It is worth stressing, however, that simulations, role-plays, and games are often combined into hybrid activities that take only some key features from each type while excluding others. For example, role-playing games typically see players adopting character roles, but in many cases have no defined outcomes or competitive elements. Simulation games, meanwhile, take the idea of realistic recreation of situations or events from the real-world while also exaggerating them and including game-like point systems for entertainment purposes.

2.1.5   Connections to TGG

Connections between ELT and the design of TGG can be characterized as falling under two categories: direct and indirect. Again, I stress that while evidence-based, all of these connections are primarily arrived at inductively via observation of the data, and the TGG creators themselves may disagree with these assertions.

When it comes to direct implementation of ELT's model, one need not look further than how the simulation role-play tasks are designed, which can be described as being

divided into three phases: a before-activity preparation, the actual role-play/simulation task, and a post-task discussion. In the before-activity preparation, an agent or specialist teacher speaks to all of the learners as a group, explains the goals of the task, and provides examples of language they might encounter when they begin the simulation. This can be seen as corresponding to the *abstract conceptualization* phase of Kolb's model, where the learners can preconceive the experience they are about to undertake. The doing of the role-play task itself provides learners with the opportunity to take those abstract ideas and test them by interacting with the agent in the task (corresponding to ELT's *active experimentation* phase) and at the completion of the task have a *concrete experience* using L2.

Finally, when the learners finish the task they return to their group where they ostensibly have the opportunity to unpack the experience with an agent, facilitating *reflective observation*, the final unaccounted-for phase of the ELT model. Here learners may reflect on how the task went and form new abstract ideas to test when they move into the next simulation task. On a more meta-scale, the entire 1-day agenda at TGG seems to have a structure mappable to ELT, beginning with a morning preparation/warm-up session, before moving into the role-play and CLIL activities and concluding with an end-of-the-day review session.

Looking at the definitions I have outlined for simulations, games, and role-plays in the previous section, it is clear that the design of TGG is a hybrid of these terms taking features from each. Simulation seems to have been the strongest influence, in that the situations and settings of the activities are meant to be fairly realistic. That being said, the confines imposed by many of the task designs mean that the interaction can sometimes play out in highly scripted ways consistent with role-plays. Lastly, there seem to be clear signs of gamification in that attention has been put into making the experience entertaining, and

learners are given explicit task goals with their progress tracked via a road-map completion system (see Chapter 4).

These observable parallels, however, need to be bolstered by grounded analysis of what participants are actually doing in each of these phases, and this is something I will provide in my later analysis and discussion chapters.

2.2   Language learning 'in the wild'

Borrowing a term from Hutchins (1995) who explored the idea of cognition as a socially distributed phenomenon, CA-SLA studies exploring language learning 'in the wild' (to be held in contrast with those examining interaction in classrooms) seek to explicate L2 learning as a highly accountable social activity linked to participants' methods for making sense of the world.

As Eskildsen and Theodorsdottir (2015) effectively argue, this distinction is not one made for arbitrary purposes; learners draw on different resources to navigate the high-stakes real world than they do in relatively sheltered language classrooms. Their study clearly illustrates this point through an effective juxtaposition of two datasets: 'wild' data, tracking Anna, an L2 Icelandic speaker, and classroom data looking at the repair practices between an L1 English speaker and three L2 English learners. In their analysis of the wild data, the authors argue that through the negotiation of a contract stipulating that her interlocutor, would speak Icelandic with her, Anna was able to control the medium of the interaction while also ensuring that it was highly embedded in the business at hand (the doing of a service encounter). Meanwhile, in the classroom data, interactants used locally emergent co-constructed gestures to maintain intersubjectivity and accomplish word searches and make sense of newly occasioned and challenging vocabulary items. Inscription procedures were oriented to as a means of learning and teaching and Eskildsen and Theodorsdottir argue that

the classroom setting allows for the topic of the conversation and therefore sequential progressivity to be put on hold for considerable amounts of time to address emergent trouble and afford language learning. Reference to repair work done earlier in the interaction also became a resource to occasion further pedagogical attention from the expert speaker; by saying some of the earlier troublesome words, the learners prompted the expert to write them down for their inspection, and they were shown to orient to the inscriptions by modifying their pronunciation to match the vocabulary's orthographic representations more closely. As this study shows, participants in the wild and in language classrooms orient to very different but overlapping concerns relating to intersubjectivity and progressivity. Participants in the wild tend to prioritize the accomplishment of the institutional business at hand (see also Theodorsdottir, 2011), whereas in classrooms, where language learning and teaching are the overarching institutional purpose, task and topical development can (and often are) put on hold in order to address language-related matters.[1]

2.2.1 Connections to TGG

As a facility that places a significant emphasis on simulating the kinds of situations L2 English speakers might face outside the classroom, English villages like TGG occupy a unique place on the spectrum of wild vs. classroom interaction. On the one hand, there has clearly been effort on making the physical surround as analogous to the real world as possible (such as going as to use actual airline equipment to simulate a plane's cabin for flight role-plays). The tasks the learners must carry out are also seemingly realistic, like ordering some

---

[1] It is perhaps worth noting that I speak in terms of tendency only, as there are documented exceptions, such as the findings of Kasper & Burch (2016) and Wagner (2016), which both document cases of wild interactions where the participants showed clear and deliberate attention to linguistic form despite being embedded within a larger business at hand.

food at a restaurant or getting some medicine at a pharmacy. On the other hand, unlike the real world, TGG's involve no major stakes for their participants who are encouraged to "have fun" with the tasks. An interesting question this raises then, is: how do the participants at TGG accomplish keeping things realistic while at the same time ensuring that attention is given to pedagogically related concerns? Do participants focus on getting through the tasks or on the language that is used to do so? These questions will be explored throughout the dissertation.

Chapter 3: Methodology

In this chapter, I will present the methodological background for the approach I utilize as the primary analytic apparatus in this study, namely Conversation Analysis (CA). I begin by giving a general overview of CA as a research approach for analyzing talk-in-interaction (3.1) before discussing the bifurcation between cognitive and social perspectives in SLA (3.2) as highlighted in Firth and Wagner's (1997) call for a reconceptualization of the field. In Section 3.3, I then discuss how the numerous contributions that CA has made to making SLA a highly emic (Kasper, 2004), socially oriented endeavor. Finally, in Sections 3.4 and 3.5 I discuss the notion of interactional competence (IC) before reviewing the CA-SLA perspective on multimodality.

3.1   Conversation Analysis

Conversation Analysis examines the everyday, mundane, and naturally occurring interaction of people in an effort to describe the complex practices by which social life is co-constructed and the methods (Garfinkel, 1967) through which people make sense of the social world. In the 1960s, cognitivist/positivist perspectives were pervasive within the social sciences and within the field of linguistics, Chomskian explanations about language acquisition and production were dominant and were built primarily around unobservable cognitive phenomenon, e.g., the language acquisition device (LAD), generative grammar and so on (Chomsky, 1968, 1986). Chomsky further argued that actual language use was too

problematic to be analyzed, and that linguistic theory was "concerned with discovering a mental reality underlying actual behavior" gleaned through examining "ideal" grammatical constructions (Chomsky, 1969. p. 4).

Where Chomsky saw impenetrable chaos, Harvey Sacks, one of the founders of CA, saw "orderliness at all points," (Sacks, 1995, p. 484). Sacks was highly influenced by the ideas of ethnomethodologist Harold Garfinkel, who maintained that through interaction and the production and recognition of contextually situated social practices, people accomplished social order. Through his breaching experiments (Garfinkel, 1967), he showed that in their reactions to the deliberate subversion of social norms, participants revealed the unspoken "rules" of social conduct, concluding that social organization was a highly reportable phenomenon. Sacks similarly observed that there was, until then, an undescribed organization in the way talk-in-interaction unfolds and together with Emmanuel Schegloff and Gail Jefferson sought to reveal the underlying machinery of conversation. Many of these concepts were detailed in their seminal paper on the simplest systematics of turn-taking (1974), ideas that, along with several other relevant CA concepts, I will briefly review here.

3.1.1 Turn taking

Turn construction units (TCUs) are the building blocks of turns and may consist of "sentential, clausal, phrasal, and lexical constructions" (Sacks et. al, 1974). Every TCU has a point of possible completion called a transition-relevance place (TRP), at which speakership change can occur. The authors outline four rules for turn taking in conversation:

1) At the end of a TCU, the first speaker selects the next speaker. The selected person has rights and obligations to take the next turn.

2) If no speaker has been selected, then a person may self-select and take the next turn.

3) The current speaker has the right to continue speaking unless another speaker self-selects.

The above rules re-apply at every TRP.

The authors also point out that in order for speaker transition to occur smoothly, recipients of some turn-at-talk must be monitoring and projecting when a TRP is incumbent, and speakers meanwhile utilize certain resources to signal possible completion of a TCU. Further information on possible completion is available in Section 5, where I analyze the use of increments (post-possible completion talk that is grammatically parasitic on an earlier TCU).

3.1.2 Adjacency pairs

According to Sacks et al. (1973), the most ubiquitous and fundamental organization of turns is the adjacency pair. As the name implies, adjacency pairs consist of two parts: a first utterance called a first pair part (FPP) that makes conditionally relevant the production of a second utterance called a second pair part (SPP) in response.

The production of the FPP marks the beginning of a sequence and like every turn at talk, is achieving some kind of action (greeting, requesting, questioning, etc.). The SPP is then fitted to conform to the action type made relevant by the FPP, e.g., greetings are responded to with greetings, and invitations with acceptances. This structure means that interactants must routinely display their understanding of one another's conduct by providing aligned or misaligned responses and thus provides a built-in grounding for intersubjectivity (Schegloff, 1992). In Extract 1 below, for example, Rin says "hello" to Tom, (a worker at TGG) who reciprocates with a "hello" of his own, displaying his understanding of Rin's turn as a greeting and evidencing intersubjectivity between interactants.

Excerpt 3.1

```
01 RIN    ha::llo    FPP Greeting
```

```
02 TOM    hello      SPP Greeting
```

On the other hand, responses that are misaligned make publicly available and sequentially contingent understanding issues which in most cases become the subject of repair, the subject of section 3.1.3.

3.1.3   Repair

How interactants deal with problems of hearing, speaking or understanding falls under the domain of repair (Bolden, 2014; Kitzinger, 2012; Sacks et al., 1977), and at the root of any repair sequence is the trouble source or repairable, i.e., something that was treated as problematic enough that the progressivity of talk is put on hold in order to resolve it. Due to CA's emic perspective, participants' orientations, rather than prescriptive notions of correctness, are used to determine what constitutes a trouble source. This means that at times, technically "correct" utterances can be treated by participants as trouble sources and "incorrect" ones as non-problematic, and we as analysts also treat them as such.

Repair is generally described via the specification of two factors: who initiated the repair (self or other) and who carried out the repair. For example, if a speaker orients to their own turn at talk as problematic in some way and attempts to correct themselves, it is classified as a self-initiated self-repair (SISR). If instead another party were to request a

clarification occasioning an explanation from the speaker, it would be considered an example of other-initiated self-repair (OISR).

Self-initiated self-repair within the same TCU is considered to be the most common type of repair (Kitzinger, 2012). This is when a current speaker halts progressivity before their turn has reached a possible completion point to deal with a repairable, and there are two reasons for its profusion in talk; the first, is the fact that the turn-taking machinery makes it difficult for another party to begin speaking until a possible TRP has occurred and the second is that often only the speaker has access to the fact that a repair is necessary. As alluded to earlier, while repairs may target 'incorrect' language use like grammatical errors, word selections, or pronunciation issues, what appears to be 'correct' language is also commonly subject to repair (Schegloff, 2007) and the trouble-source only becomes apparent to the recipient after the fact (Kitzinger, 2012). Importantly, repairs do not exclusively target intersubjectivity-related matters and may also be carried out for the purpose of modifying the implemented action.

Although most of the literature on repair discusses how participants deal with an issue that has already come up and become problematic to the progressivity of the conversation, research on forward-oriented repair (Greer, 2013; Schegloff, 1979) instead looks at how participants deal with yet-to-have-occurred problems. Practices that participants use to display that they are searching for words (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1986; Greer & Nanbu, 2022) are one such example. By using precisely timed gaze shifts and movements of the hand, interactants shift word retrieval out of the domain of cognitive inquiry and into an interactionally salient public realm where others can observe or even assist.

3.1.4   Pre-sequences

Pre-sequences (Sacks, 1992a, pp. 685-92 *et passim*) are adjacency pairs that are recognizably preliminary to and project a yet-to-be-produced *base sequence* (Schegloff, 2007). Pre-sequences are often very specific in the kind of base sequence that they project. Pre-offers, for example, occur before an offer base sequence, pre-requests before a request base sequence, etc. The work of pre-sequences is to create a basis (the kind of which varies) for the imminent FPP of the base sequence. In the following example, Nelson uses a pre-invitation to secure a "go-ahead" response (Schegloff, 2007) before formulating his invitation.

Excerpt 3.2 (Schegloff, 2007, p. 30)

```
(4.01) JG 3:1 (Nelson is the caller; Clara is called to the phone)
1   Cla:          Hello
2   Nel:          Hi.
3   Cla:          Hi.
4   Nel: F_pre→    Whatcha doin'.
5   Cla: S_pre→    Not much.
6   Nel: F_b  →    Y'wanna drink?
7   Cla: S_b  →    Yeah.
8   Nel:          Okay.
```

Line 4 marks the beginning of the pre-sequence, an FPP asking Clara what she is doing. This receives an SPP from Clara ("not much." line 5) indicating that she is currently free, and this thus works as a "go-ahead" to the projectable invitation from Nelson, which is eventually produced in line 6 and is accepted by Clara in the next turn.

The production of the base sequence is thus contingent on the kind of response that is produced in the pre-sequence and Sacks (1994) provides several pertinent observations of relevant implications this has for the talk.

Now one of the features of many of these pre-sequences is that there's not going to be a case of a sequence unless the right return is gotten to the pre-sequence. So, if, e.g., you do a pre-invitation, then, unless you get the right return you don't do an invitation. That's nice in the case of an invitation, since you haven't wasted an invitation. In the case of pre-requests, one thing a pre-request regularly elicits is an offer. If you get an offer you need not make a request. (p. 685)

Just as Sacks writes, if the type of response elicited by the pre-sequence is not "right" the base-sequence never comes to fruition, as in the following extract.

Excerpt 3.3 (Schegloff, 2007, pg. 31)

```
11  Joh: F_pre→   Ha you doin-<say what 'r you doing.
12  Jud: S_pre→   Well, we're going out.
```

John's pre-invitation (similar in formulation to Nelson's in Extract 2) does not receive a "go-ahead" but instead what Schegloff (2007) calls a "blocking response" that is designed to discourage the invitation. He argues that the general purpose of pre-sequences themselves is to avoid rejection of some kind:

One key thing which pre-sequences are designed to do is to help prospective speakers of base first pair parts avoid rejection, or, to put it more interactionally, to help the interaction avoid a sequence with a rejected base FPP. (p. 31)

3.1.5   Post-expansion sequences

Just as base-sequences can have pre-sequences that precede them, they may also have sequences that follow and expand them or make closure relevant. According to Schegloff

(2007), post-expansion sequences can take one of two forms: *minimal post-expansion* or *non-minimal post-expansion.* Minimal post-expansions are single-turn additions to a base-pair that are designed to set the talk on a trajectory for sequence closure and are thus also referred to as "sequence-closing thirds" (p. 118). Sequence-closing thirds can take a number of forms including assessments (good, nice, etc.), change-of-state tokens (oh, ah), and receipts like "okay". *Non-minimal post-expansions* meanwhile are conversely designed to draw out the sequence rather than close it down. Other-initiated repair like that in Excerpt 3.4, is a common form of non-minimal post-expansion.

Excerpt 3.4: Other Initiated Repair via 3rd Position Open-Class Repair Initiation

```
01 TOM    and ↑what size pizza


02        (.)


03        would you [like.]


04 RIN             [giant] size.


05   →    |(0.4)
   t-hd   |leans in eyebrows raised->to line 27


06 RIN    GIant SIze.=


07 TOM    [=GIant] SIze!=
```

40

```
08 MEI    [ eheh ]


09 RIN    =yes.
```

After Rin says "giant size" to complete the adjacency pair, Tom uses an open-class repair initiator to draw the sequence out further in order to deal with an emergent threat to progressivity. As an open-class repair initiator, it is not clear what it targets, but once Rin notices Tom's displays, she treats his repair initiation as due to a hearing issue as evidenced by her repeating the same turn formulation as before but more loudly (line 6). In the next turn, Tom repeats the referent, treating the repair solution as adequate and the trouble is resolved.

3.1.6   CA methodology

Conversation Analysis is a bottom-up, data-first approach. Rather than formulating a hypothesis, carrying out an experiment, and then gathering data, we instead start with naturally occurring data and transcribe it using a specialized notation that takes into account minute details including intonation, the duration of pauses/gaps, and embodied features such as gesture and gaze (see transcription conventions in Appendix 1). During and after this transcription process, the data are observed until recurring interactional phenomena of interest are discovered. Once documented, similar cases are made into collections and compared in order to better understand the sequential structure, the action the practice achieves, and how it does so.

Because CA takes a "radically emic" stance (Markee & Kasper, 2004) based on the Garfinkelian notion of indexicality (see Garfinkel, 1967), its analytic concerns are with the local establishment of meaning and how participants themselves orient to one another during talk-in-interaction. This has several pertinent analytic implications. For one thing, CA does not deal with outside, objective notions of "correctness". If the participants in the data index an orientation to something as incorrect, only then would it become relevant to our analysis. Further, *a priori* knowledge of the interactants (e.g., identity, profession, etc.) does not factor into our analysis unless it is "demonstrably relevant to the participants and at the moment that whatever we are trying to provide an account of occurs" (Schegloff, 1992, p. 109).

CA research also avoids theoretical and intent-based presupposition. Rather than ascribing interactants' utterances to an outside theory or accounting for them in terms of in-the-head constructs like feelings or intentions, CA can only discuss what interactants make publicly available through their utterances, gestures or other multi-modal resources.

3.2   The cognitive/social divide in SLA research

Given the current status that qualitative studies have achieved within the second language acquisition (SLA) field, it is easy to overlook the fact that not long ago cognitivism unilaterally dominated the ideological landscape for nearly three decades spanning from the 1960s well into the late 1990s. Chomskian views, particularly those relating to grammatical competence, the competence/performance paradigm, and the existence of an unseeable black box within the brain called the language acquisition device (LAD), left a persistent imprint on the entire field. Viewed as fundamentally a matter of internal cognitive processes (Ellis, 1997), language was excised from what were considered irrelevant social contexts, to be placed within sterile laboratories for experimentation as part of Chomsky's context-free

formalistic program for linguistics (Firth & Wagner, 1997). This focus on internal cognition

was by no means a covert agenda, but rather considered to be the logical progression and

overtly held position of the field at large. For instance, Long (1996), one of the most

prominent and influential SLA researchers of this school of thought, said of the field at the

time:

> Most SLA researchers view the object of inquiry as in large part an internal mental
>
> process: the acquisition of new (linguistic) knowledge. And I would say, with good
>
> reason. SLA is a process that (often) takes place in a social setting, of course, but then
>
> so do most internal processes... (p. 319)

This unbalanced tipping of the scales towards cognitivism did not go without some,

albeit largely neglected at the time, early critique. Hymes (1961, 1962, 1974) was also

particularly vocal about the field's disregard of what he viewed as vital contextual elements

of language development, arguing that the field of anthropology, with its awareness of the

potential pitfalls of ethnocentrism and eticism, could contribute to making the study of SLA a

more well-rounded endeavor that took social and cultural matters into consideration (see also

Oschner, 1979). It would, however, be quite some time before evidence of receptivity to his

concerns would become apparent. Firth and Wagner (1997) is widely regarded as a watershed

moment in this regard and its impact is discussed in section 3.3.

3.3 The impact of Firth and Wagner (1997)

Firth and Wagner's (1997) seminal critique of the direction of SLA research at the

time played a significant role in upheaving the entrenched cognitivist hegemony and

galvanizing the neglected voices of those in opposition to the cognitivist status quo (Lafford, 2007). In a relatively unrestrained rebuke of dominant cognitivist perspectives within SLA, Firth and Wagner echoed many of Hyme's earlier referenced concerns while adding effective and nuanced criticisms of their own. For one thing, they argued that certain identity categories, like *native speaker, nonnative speaker,* and *learner* "are applied and understood in an oversimplified manner" that "obviates insight into the nature of language" (p. 285). This can be seen as part of their larger critique that going forward, the SLA field must take a more emic stance that properly takes into consideration the participants' own orientations towards identity and language as is apparent in the data, rather than applying labels and categories in a haphazardly *a priori* fashion. Put simply, the authors took strong issue with mainstream SLA research's broad assumption that any time an L2 speaker spoke in their second language, the identity category *non-native speaker* was considered omnirelevant, even when seemingly irrelevant to the participants themselves. This, Firth and Wagner argue, problematically led to the elevation of an idealized native speaker that is viewed as inherently superior to nonnative speakers, who conversely are typically characterized as "defective communicator[s], limited by an underdeveloped communicative competence" (p. 285). The authors also took particular issue with a call from Long (1990, 1993) for "theory culling" within the field to promote a distillation of available research down to an "ample body" of "accepted findings" and to prevent a "wild-flowering" of disparate rivaling theories (p. 285). Coming at a time of largely unchallenged cognitive homogeneity in the SLA field, Long's call to cull does (particularly in hindsight) seems at least questionable.

While on the one hand, Firth and Wagner (1997) is a rejection of the direction of SLA, the authors clearly express that they do not find cognitive methodologies or theoretical underpinnings in themselves to be erroneous or flawed nor do they downplay the important contributions such research has made. They instead argue that the dominance of cognitivist

thought led to the problematic neglect of and biases against investigations of language acquisition as a social, interactive endeavor. They specifically outline three negative consequences of such neglect: 1) Studies take the identity category of "learner" to be an omnirelevant identity category without considering other more relevant alternatives or an emic consideration for the participant's own displayed orientations toward identity. 2) Research centered around difficulties, problems, and failures rather than communicative successes, and a tendency to treat learners' L1 usage as evidence of communicative deficiency rather than artful resourcefulness. 3) Predetermined interpretations of social processes which are seen as resultant of (or hindered by) demands of L2 use. Firth and Wagner thus conclude SLA's "own presuppositions, methods, and fundamental (and implicitly accepted) concepts" (p. 286) must be critically dissected and challenged with these biases in mind, writing:

> ...by examining critically theoretical assumptions and methodological practices, our ultimate goal is to argue for a reconceptualization of SLA as a more balanced enterprise that endeavors to attend to, explicate, and explore, in integrated ways, both the *social* and *cognitive* dimensions of S/FL use and acquisition. (p. 286)

To this end, the authors intimate three vitally necessary reconceptualizations:

1. A significantly enhanced awareness of the contextual and interactional dimensions of language use.
2. An increased emic (i.e., participant-relevant) sensitivity toward fundamental concepts
3. The broadening of traditional SLA data sources.

In the wake of this controversial and influential paper, Conversation Analysis emerged as a powerful instrument for addressing many of Firth and Wagner's concerns and in the next section, I discuss some of the many contributions CA has made to SLA in this regard.

3.4 CA-SLA

Realizing many of the changes sought by Firth and Wagner, within the last two decades, a significant portion of SLA research has shifted from treating language learning as an exclusively intra-psychological process to one firmly situated in the social world. Conversation Analysis for second language acquisition (henceforth CA-SLA) has been a major force in actualizing this shift (Pekarek Doehler, 2010). Stated briefly, CA-SLA views language learning as a recurrent process of gaining, recalibrating, and refining the necessary social practices to participate as a member of the community the target language inhabits. Kasper and Wagner (2014) articulate CA-SLA's views toward L2 learning as follows:

> [l]anguage, culture, and interaction are learnable because they are on constant public exhibition in the "objective production and objective display of commonsense knowledge of everyday activities as observable and reportable phenomena" (Garfinkel & Sacks, 1970, p. 342) and the "inferential visibility of moral conduct" (Edwards, 1997). (p.194)

As EMCA studies have revealed, participants in mundane interaction demonstrably orient to one another's interactional rights and obligations and treat breaches of norms (see Garfinkel, 1967) as highly accountable events. CA-SLA thus views learning as a process that is "rooted in the moment-by-moment deployment of socioculturally elaborated, locally accomplished

and – most typically – interactionally organized courses of practical activities..." (Pekarek Doehler, 2010, p. 3). Stated simply, learning is conceived of as a jointly, contingently, and publicly produced phenomenon with participants' displayed methods for making sense of the world emphasized as more relevant than individual cognitive (and therefore inaccessible) factors (Firth & Wagner 1997, 2007; Kasper 2004; 2009; Kasper & Wagner, 2014; Pekarek Doehler, 2010).

Additionally, CA-SLA studies have done much to address Firth and Wagner's (1997) critique that SLA research at the time tended to elevate native speakers while labeling novice learners 'defective communicators' as well as a tendency to focus on communicative failures. Conversation Analysis comes from the Ethnomethodological tradition, where adherence to indexicality renders many of these concerns moot as such practices are dissonant with its basic ideology. CA-SLA does not refer to outside notions of 'correct' language use and instead roots its analytic loci in what the participants themselves are orienting to from moment to moment. This inherently bypasses the issue of the *a priori* ascription of external categories like 'native speaker' or 'non-native' speaker, since unless the interactants are publicly making these categories relevant, CA-SLA research would refrain from treating them as analytically salient. When it comes to the issue of focusing on communicative failures, CA-SLA studies instead converge around how participants deploy interactional practices to accomplish actions (and on a larger scale social life) in and through talk-in-interaction. The very fact that interactants are able to create intersubjective spaces for communication is treated as an achievement and should intersubjectivity lapse, the way that they go about addressing the trouble i.e., *do repair work*, is also regarded as an artful communicative accomplishment that itself can afford the learning process. Hauser (2017), for example, analyzes longitudinal data of conversations-for-learning between L1 and L2 English speakers and finds that repair provides important opportunities for the L2 speaker to notice

and learn new words. Examining classroom data, Markee (2008) similarly highlights how, by initiating other-repair on students' unusual word choices, a teacher in a second language classroom created opportunities for learning.

3.5 Interactional competence

Another major contribution that CA has made to SLA is a reconceptualization of what it means to be a *competent* language user. Unlike Chomsky's (1965) notion of competence, which holds that a language speaker's competence can only be properly examined in an idealized setting free of distractions or other issues, CA-SLA instead situates competence firmly in the social realm by discussing it in terms of Interactional competence (IC). IC can be described as the ability to (re)produce the systematic moral order underlying mundane social interaction, or what Goffman (1983) referred to as *interaction order*. A key difference between IC and other conceptions of competence is that IC is not treated exclusively as a matter of individual/innate ability. It is instead understood as dually faceted, involving both the interactional resources each interactant brings to the table and the notion of competence as a jointly-constructed phenomenon existing within the intersubjective space between participants during talk-in-interaction (see Mehan, 1979). When it comes to L2 learning, IC is considered "both a fundamental condition for and object of learning" (Kasper & Wagner, 2014, p. 119). Participation in language learning and social interaction at all is predicated upon a learner's IC and through such experiences, L2 users develop and refine their methods over time to participate more effectively (Kasper & Wagner, 2014). Under this view, the Chomskian paradigm between "performance" and "competence" also must be rejected since they are considered inseparable, and it is only through the micro-level analysis of actual interaction that IC can be properly observed.

3.6   Multimodality

In recent years, CA-SLA studies have also made substantial contributions to SLA by providing empirical accounts of the role of multimodal resources like gestures, gaze, and artifactual resources in L2 communication. It has long been clear that communication involves not just talk, but rather the confluence of a multitude of resources that participants draw upon to achieve action. Due in part to technological constraints at the time, early CA studies almost exclusively utilized audio recordings of conversations in their analysis. However, as Mondada (2019) points out, from the beginning there was an interest in participants' embodied practices made possible by video-recording technology (notably Goodwin, 1981; Heath, 1983, 1986). These investigations built on the established field of gesture studies (Kendon, 1970; McNeill, 1985), which had long advocated for increased recognition and examination of the critical connections between cognition, language, and embodiment (Mondada, 2019).

The current widespread availability of video data has led to its systematic use throughout Ethnomethodological Conversation Analytic (EMCA) studies (see Broth, Laurier, & Mondada, 2014; Heath, Hindmarsh, & Luff, 2010; Mondada, 2006, 2019;) in what some have turned an *embodied turn* (Nevile, 2015) within the field. By allowing for repeated observations of not only the participants themselves but also the complex material environments they inhabit and the multitude of resources they deploy in talk-in-interaction. Where analysts' descriptions were once limited to describing what was audibly available, video data has now allowed for the repeated examination and explication of the complex interplay between multiple modalities and situated ecology.

As such, a plethora of recent CA-SLA work has provided detailed, empirical, and micro-attentive accounts of participants' mobilization of embodied, artefactual, and linguistic

resources to achieve interactional practices. Mori and Hasegawa (2009) for example, show how learners in a second language classroom deploy language, embodiment, and artefactual resources like textbooks, to display that they are engaged in word search during pair work tasks. Even more recently, Watanabe (2017), longitudinally examines data of young learners participating in an after-school English program in Japan to provide many important insights regarding the intersection of multimodality and interactional competence. One major finding of her study is how the teacher deploys a recurrent *microphone gesture* as a resource for turn management and how the learners' responses to this gesture change over time, providing a multimodal window through which to view their developing IC.

Chapter 4: Background to the Data

In this chapter, I will provide an overview of the dataset for the current study. In Section 4.1, I provide detailed information about the data collection site, Tokyo Global Gateway (TGG), before describing the participants (4.2), site materials (4.3), the procedures used for data collection (4.4), and transcription procedures (4.5).

4.1   Research site

The dataset for the current study was collected at Tokyo Global Gateway (TGG),[2] a public-private partnership between the Tokyo Metropolitan Board of Education and five private sector companies. Founded in 2018, TGG aims to provide students (elementary through high school) with opportunities to use English outside their usual language classrooms in a way that is experiential and entertaining (Mori & Takizawa, 2019). The large multi-floor complex (see Figure 4.1) contains realistic recreations of airports, restaurants, and so on, referred to institutionally as "attractions". Staffed by trained language "agents" (see 4.2), these specially devised classrooms serve as the setting for language-based tasks and role-play activities that are meant to simulate the real world while at the same time providing scaffolded and entertaining opportunities for the novice learners to practice interacting using

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[2] According to their initial proposal documents, TGG was originally to be called the Tokyo English Village which was abandoned in favor of the current name (Tokyo English Village Committee, 2015). One author suggests that this may have been in response to increasingly negative public perceptions towards English Villages in South Korea (Bourke, 2018).

their L2. As Figure 4.1 illustrates, a significant amount of time and funding has gone into crafting settings for the simulations that resemble their real-world counterparts.

Figure 4.1

A sampling of the role-play settings available at TGG taken from https://tokyo-global-gateway.com/school/programs/
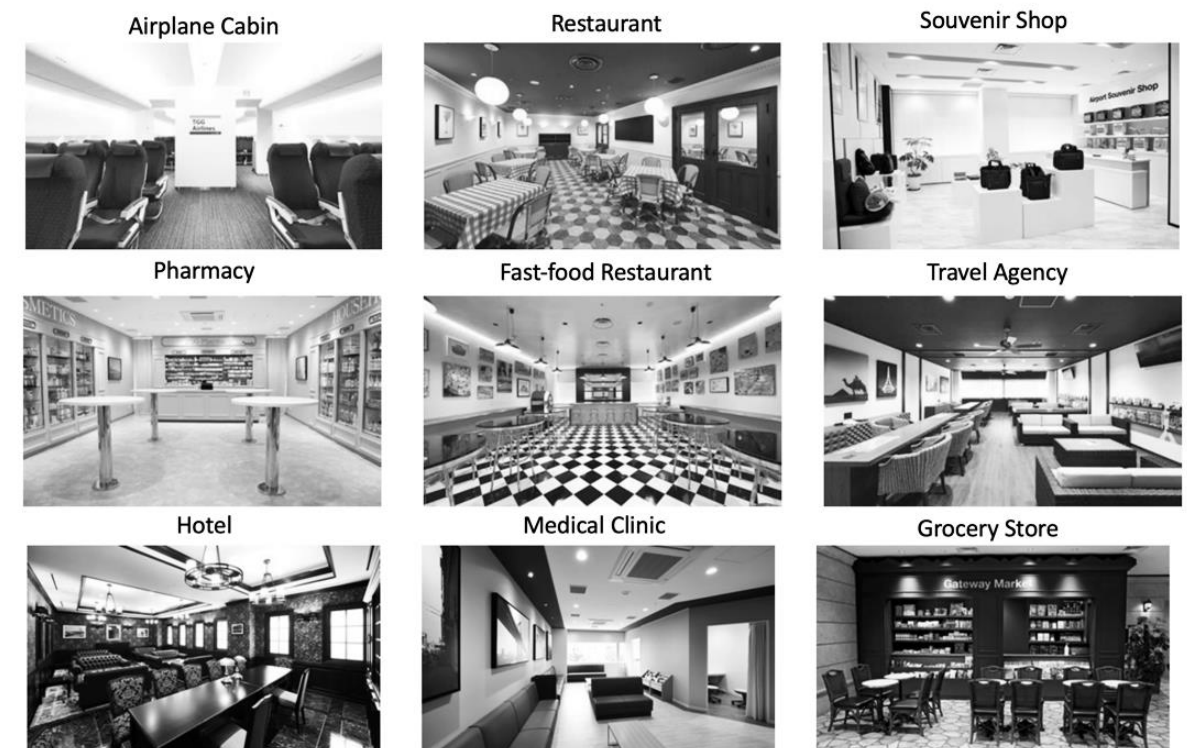
However, the tasks for the learners are not solely comprised of these role-play enactments: they also include things like a simulation of an overseas-style CLIL classroom in collaboration with the government of Queensland, Australia, where the students learn STEM concepts from a visiting Queensland state educator.

Interested schools can book visits to the facility as an educational field trip activity and schools from across Japan have participated, often as part of school trips that predicated travel to the Kanto region. This is potentially consequential, as to my knowledge, visits are

intended to be limited in duration (1-2 days) rather than a recurrent part of a language learning program.

4.2 Participants

There are three institutionally established categories for participants at TGG: learners, "specialists" and "agents". Visitors range from fifth-year elementary school students to third-year high school students[3], and thus staff must be prepared to interact with learners of varying English proficiency levels. The term "Specialist" describes trained teachers at TGG who oversee specific sections, such as the STEM classroom or media room. Within these sections they act as the primary instructors, teaching the students everything necessary to accomplish their designated tasks. However, beyond these sections "specialists" have less interaction with the students. AGENTs (an acronym for "Assistant Guide ENtertainer Teacher) meanwhile, occupy a unique and focal role at TGG. One of their responsibilities is to act as chaperones for the learners for the duration of their visit, guiding them through the facility and ensuring everyone moves smoothly from section to section at the scheduled times. During the morning session, each agent is assigned a group of roughly eight students that they accompany for the rest of the day, allowing them to build familiarity and rapport. In the role-play sections, the agents are sometimes also responsible for enacting the role of relevant staff (e.g., acting as a fast-food worker in the burger shop, a pharmacist in the pharmacy, etc. along with other staff members who are officially designated as "clerks"). During these role-plays, agents are trained to view themselves as actors and entertainers rather than as language teachers (Gibson, 2019).

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[3] Although no such data will be examined in the current study, TGG also offers small classes for adult learners who have already entered the workforce.

Sections with a specialist see the agents shift into a relatively peripheral role where they act as teaching assistants, mediating the interaction between the specialists and learners ensuring that the tasks are achieved smoothly. The participation framework of these sections is thus quite novel, in that there is one central teacher (the specialist) addressing the entire class while the agents simultaneously provide support to their smaller designated groups of learners by doing things like re-iterating the task goals or acting as brokers (Bolden, 2012) during repair sequences.

Table 4.1 below provides details on TGG staff who appear in the current study.

Table 4.1

Details on TGG staff that appear in my analysis

Pseudonym	Nationality	Photo	Role in the Data
TOM	Australia		**Agent** - Guided learners throughout the entire day - Participated as a "clerk" in the fast-food roleplay - Prepared learners for the travel and pharmacy roleplay - Acted as a teaching assistant in STEM classroom.
KIM	Philippines		**Agent** - Guided learners throughout the entire day - Participated as a "pharmacist" in the pharmacy roleplay - Prepared learners for the travel and fast-food roleplay - Acted as a teaching assistant in STEM classroom.

BEN	Philippines		**Agent** - Guided learners throughout the entire day - Participated as a "travel agent" in the travel agency roleplay - Prepared learners for the fast-food and pharmacy roleplay - Acted as a teaching assistant in STEM classroom.
PAM	India		**Specialist** - Participated as a "travel agent" in the travel agency roleplay
FAY	Philippines		**Specialist** - Participated as a "clerk" in the fast food role-play

All of the agents received three months of intensive training on TGG's aims and approach prior to the facility's opening. This training included modules on linguistic theory, language policy, and educational philosophy as well as practical training in which the agents workshopped and rehearsed the role-plays based around the mission cards (see Section 4.3). By the time of the initial data collection in July 2019, the agents had over one year of experience working at TGG and interacting with a wide range of Japanese learners of English (See Section 4.4 for a detailed breakdown of the dataset).

4.3 Site materials: 'Passports' and 'Mission Cards'

When the learners first enter TGG they receive a *passport* (Figure 4.2) that contains their names and sections for each area of the facility that they will visit. Upon successful completion of specific tasks, the learners are given stamps in their passports, which serve, as a material representation of their progress throughout the day.

Figure 4.2

Cover of the TGG passport

Upon entering one of the role-play zones, learners are each given a *mission card* that specifies a goal they have to complete in order to receive a stamp. This might be viewed as one example of TGG adding game-like elements to their task design, since a key aspect of games is that they provide players with specific goals to achieve paired with feedback that informs them of their progress such as points or levels (Gee, 2012; McGonigal, 2011; Squire, 2011; Wright-Maley, 2015). Mission cards were designed by TGG's partner education companies in consultation with the Tokyo Board of Education. Mission cards are divided into three levels (pre-A1, A1+A2, B1) that correspond to the Common European Framework of Reference-Japan (CEFR-J) proficiency scale (Fukue, 2019).

Pictured in Figure 4.3 are some examples of the beginner-level cards given to the learners during the simulated fast-food restaurant. One thing that is apparent at first glance is

that the task description is quite simple: a single sentence "you can customize your x" where x represents one of four food options: a hotdog, burger, pizza, or sandwich. No written details regarding any order specifics like toppings or size are provided, nor is there any mention of order add-ons like drinks or side-menu items.

Figure 4.3

Fast-food mission cards (beginner level)
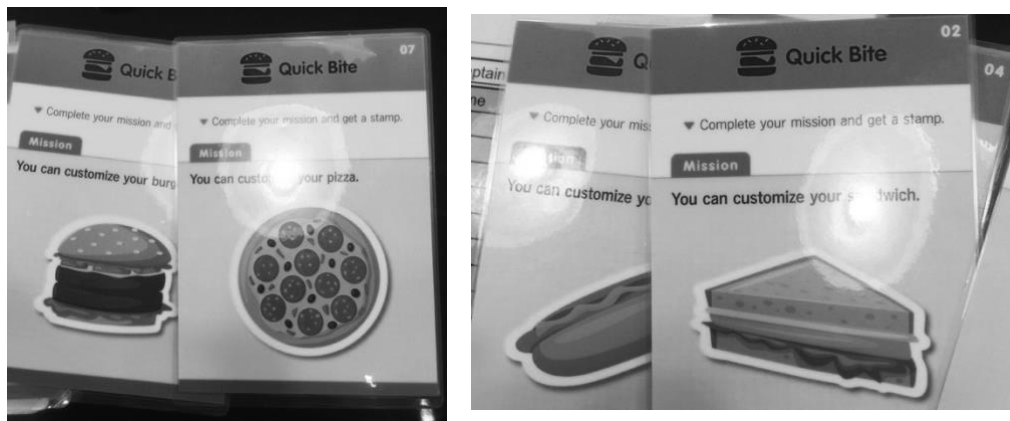
Despite this fact, these additional details are consistently major elements of the enacted service encounters and because there is no written script to constrain these choices, the enactments often end up going very differently for each new participant. The participants in our subsequent rounds of data collection were given higher-level cards with a lot more language written on them (see Figure 4.4).

Figure 4.4

Fast-food mission cards (advanced level)

Unlike the beginner-level cards, where simply placing an order is sufficient for task completion, these higher-level cards all specify various complications that the learner must negotiate with the agent in order to clear the task. The card on the lower right, for example, reads:

> *"Tell the clerk that you didn't get enough juice. You ordered a medium-sized orange juice, but the orange juice is only half-full in the cup. A different kind of drink is okay, but you cannot drink soda."*

Although there are no complications on the beginner-level cards, my analysis will show that there are times when the agents will devise similar obstacles for even the novice learners to overcome if they display either a relatively higher level of English proficiency or a willingness to joke/play while participating in the task. This might suggest that the design of the cards has led to the development of highly situated interactional repertoires (Markee, 2008) that the agents can draw upon to modify the tasks to better suit the learners on the fly.

4.4   Data collection procedures

As of the time of writing, the dataset used for the current study was gathered over five different collection dates and contains learners of three different education levels: junior high school students, high school students, and university students. Due to concerns relating to COVID-19, no data were collected in 2020 or 2021, meaning that a large bulk of my analysis will focus on the roughly 10.5 hours of data collected in 2019 (see Table 4.3). However, similar interactional practices from the later data collections (see Appendix 3) were observed and analyzed and have also been incorporated where relevant.

Table 4.2

Summary of collected data collected in 2019

Location/Activity	Collected Video Duration
Morning Warm-up	Source A: 26 minutes
Media Classroom	Source A: 1 hour Source B: 20 minutes
Fast-food Restaurant	Source A: 19 minutes Source B: 19 minutes Source C: 19 minutes
Pharmacy	Source A: 20 minutes Source B: 34 minutes
Travel Agency	Source A: 23 minutes Source B: 19 minutes Source C: 26 minutes
Immersion STEM Classroom	Source A: 2 hours Source B: 2 hours Source C: 29 minutes Source D: 20 minutes
Afternoon Cool-down	Source A: 37 minutes Source B: 46 minutes

All (Total)	10.46 hours

In accordance with CA data collection procedures, the researchers refrained from exerting any deliberate influence on the conduct of the participants, opting instead for naturalistic observation. At no time was any direction provided by the researchers to either TGG staff or students on what to say or how to otherwise conduct themselves. Collecting data at TGG is a dynamic enterprise, in that at the conclusion of each task, the students and agents must quickly move to the next task site. This necessitates the added practical complication of having to reconfigure the locations of cameras and microphones to adequately capture the interaction in each area as well as the consistent presence of the researchers in the periphery to verify that everything was operating properly. As with any study, it is possible that the researcher's presence influenced the data in unknowable ways (see Labov, 1972), but visible orientation to either the cameras or researchers is rarely evident in the collected data.

4.5   Transcription procedures

All of the transcripts follow the conventions specified in Jefferson (2004) in conjunction with a modified version of Mondada's (2018) notation for rendering embodiment (see Transcription Conventions in Appendix 1). Because of the amount of data, I focused my initial efforts on the transcription of the fast-food service encounter simulations which was later expanded in a bottom-up fashion as I observed recurrent interactional practices of interest. This process involved rewatching the data numerous times in order to transcribe the participants' talk and embodiment in as much detail as possible. During this process, I began to identify consistent interactional phenomena which were organized into collections that became the basis of my analysis chapters. After homing in on some interactional practices of

interest, I then began to branch out into other sections of the dataset looking for similar occurrences in order to suggest the generic applicability of the practices to other contexts. These cases were then selectively transcribed and added to my collections also undergoing sequential analysis.

Chapter 5: Incrementally Co-constructing L2 Interactional Competence

The current chapter will examine two complementary interactional practices used by agents to address gaps in conversation and thereby contribute to the learners' interactional competence (Hall et al., 2012). The first practice involves the use of a short query format that pre-emptively (Svennevig, 2018; Svennevig, et al., 2019) addresses gaps of silence by distilling a question formulation into semantically salient elements important for formulating a response and providing a possible completion point where the learner can respond. If the response appears slightly delayed, the expert speaker then often deploys a second interactional practice: the use of post-possible completions, i.e., increments, to reframe *inter*-turn gaps as *intra*-turn pauses thereby refreshing response relevancy while also claiming that silence is his or her own rather than the learner's. In short, the increments are used to subtly provide some additional time for learners to formulate their answers and therefore offer a second chance for the recipient to respond on time. Using these practices, the L1 speaker contributes to the learners' ability to competently participate in turn-taking and the accomplishment of the task.

The study begins by first sketching some relevant conversation analytic concepts, namely possible turn completion, increments, and hearable silences. It then explores some previously documented practices relating to the design of talk for L2 users and positions the study within the CA-SLA literature on L2 interactional competence. Background to the dataset and research methodology is also provided. The chapter then presents a collection-based analysis of twenty exemplary cases in which increments are deployed to address and reconfigure silences in the talk. The study closes with a discussion contrasting its findings to

previous research on increments and suggests implications for applied linguistic practice and research.

5.1 Increments, possible completion, and hearable silences

As discussed in my methodology section (Chapter 3), one primary focus of CA research is to explore participants' turn-taking practices and the sequential organization of talk. Central to the study in this chapter is the notion of possible turn completion: when a participant builds a turn constructional unit (TCU) to a point that speaker transition becomes a hearably relevant potentiality for their recipient(s). Schegloff (2016) adumbrates three criteria for a turn-at-talk to be hearable as possibly complete: 1) The turn has been brought to possible grammatical completion for its TCU type (lexical, phrasal, clausal, or sentential); 2) it constitutes some contextually situated possible action, i.e., it is possibly pragmatically complete; and 3) the turn is delivered with a *possibly final* intonational contour. While possible completion marks a point where speaker transition is a hearably relevant sequential contingency, it is not a set-in-stone inevitability, as the current speaker may opt to add further talk before speaker change has occurred. If such post-possible completion talk is designed by the speaker as a grammatically dependent extension of the prior *host* TCU, that talk is referred to as an *increment* (Couper-Kuhlen & Ono, 2007; Ford, Fox & Thompson, 2002; Schegloff, 1996, 2016).

According to Schegloff (2016), increments have been shown to inhabit three distinct sequential positions: in the beat following possible TCU completion, post transition relevance i.e., after a gap in the conversation, or post other-talk. A number of distinct interactional uses for increments have been documented, such as extending the action implemented in the host

TCU (Ford, Fox, & Thompson, 2002), intensifying the action (Kim, 2001; Schegloff, 2016), avoiding accountability and exposure during self-correction (Mandelbaum, 2016) or mitigating a projectable failure or dispreferred trajectory of an interactional project underway (Schegloff, 2016), such as by masking a response pursuit (Bolden et al., 2012). This last practice is closely tied to the current analysis and operates via features built into the turn-taking machinery that allow for participants in talk-in-interaction to hear silences as belonging to one party or another. This is perhaps most simply illustrated by examining adjacency pair organization; when a speaker selects someone via a first pair part (FPP), they project and constrain the next turn to a conditionally relevant (Schegloff, 1968) second pair part (SPP) from the recipient that exhibits an understanding of what was said prior.[4] If an FPP is instead met with silence, the non-occurrence of the second pair part "...is as much an event as its occurrence would have been. It is, so to speak, noticeably, officially, consequentially, absent" (Schegloff, 2007 p. 20). Sacks (1995) was one of the earliest to remark on how these features afford the attribution of silence to one person or another saying, *"*when I've asked a question, the pause between my talk and yours is *your silence*" (p.310, italics added). He points out this is highly consequential, as it affords the hearability of someone not answering or evading a question, which is mundanely oriented to as a highly accountable action in both mundane and institutional settings:

 Suppose you're engaged in questioning a witness in a law court, congressional hearing, or your spouse. And what you want to show is that something you figure they're not going to tell you is something they know the answer to. One way you can go about it is, you ask them a series of very routine questions. When you do that you get a 'normative

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[4] For further elaboration see Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson's (1978) seminal paper.

pause' on their part. "What day is it?," "Saturday," etc., etc. At some point, then, you

introduce your question and watch the pause. The size of the pause, and their own

response to the fact that they see that they're now 'avoiding,' is sometimes perfectly

obvious, e.g., they'll turn red as they see the length of the pause go, and it's perfectly

clear to whoever is watching that they're not telling something, if there's something it's

been proposed they know. That could only be, of course, if it were the case that one

could assign whose the pause was. (pp. 310-311)

Increments constitute a powerful conversational resource in part because of their ability to

reconfigure whom silences are heard to belong to, as Schegloff (2016) convincingly argues in

his analysis of the following extract, a phone call conversation in which Donny is attempting

to solicit help from Marcia after having some car trouble.

Excerpt 5.1: Stalled, 1:07-23 (I9, I34) (Schegloff, 2016, p. 243)

01	Don:	Guess what.hh
02	Mar:	What.
03	Don:	˙hh My ca̲:r is sta̲::lled.
04		(0.2)
05	Don:	("n) I'm up here in the Glen?
06	Mar:	Oh::.
07	Don:	{ ˙hhh/(0.4)}
08	Don:	A:nd.hh

```
09                    (0.2)


10      Don:          I don' know if it's po:ssible, but { ʰhh}/(0.2)} see

11                    I haveta open up the ba:nk.hh


12                    (0.3)


13      Don:➔         a:t uh: (·) in Brentwood?hh=
```

After Donny's pre-telling in line 1 receives a go-ahead response from Marcia in line 2, he begins to inform her of his current predicament (line 3) which projects a yet-to-be-produced request for assistance. According to Schegloff, Marcia passes on three chances to offer help (lines 4, 6, 9) each moment "resonating with incipient rejection" (Schegloff, 2016 p. 244). The 0.3-sec silence in line 12, if left unattended, would further amplify such dispreferred resonances insofar as it would be yet another moment hearable as Marcia *not offering* to help, further accentuating the offer's noticeable absence. However, it is here in line 13 that Donny chooses to not let the possible gap develop any further, deploying a grammatically parasitic increment ("at uh in Brentwood") that structurally transforms the would-be inter-turn gap into an intra-turn pause falling within what he retroactively packages as his own *not-yet-completed* turn. In other words, a silence that was once hearable as Marcia not offering to help becomes instead hearable as Donny pausing during his own turn.

It is this capacity of increments to reconfigure the responsibility for silences in conversation that I will build upon further in my analysis, by exploring how increments are

used by an L1 English speaker to facilitate smooth turn-taking during a role-play task with novice English users at the focal institution in my data. The findings add to the CA-SLA literature examining turn-taking practices between teachers and novice learners (e.g., Waring, 2013) as well as general applied linguistic research documenting the ways expert speakers can design turns for less proficient recipients, some of which I will highlight below.

5.2   Designing talk for L2 users

It is clear that when highly proficient language speakers talk to less proficient L2 speakers they can (and often do) modify their speech in ways meant to ease understanding. Ferguson (1975) was one of the first to remark on this phenomenon, terming it "foreigner talk." Some consistently described features of talk directed to L2 users are briefer turns, simpler syntactic construction, and some form of speed modulation. Long (1996) for example, writes that L1 users speak to L2 learners using shorter utterances with simplified syntax while Bremer et al. (2013) similarly outline strategies used by L1 speakers to make their utterances more *transparent* by raising the *accessibility* of utterances for L2 learners by segmenting complex information into shorter units that are delivered more slowly and separated by pauses. However, as Svennevig (2018) rightly notes, these studies do not provide detailed sequential accounts of how such strategies unfold in actual interaction or the mundane sequential procedures through which they might be co-accomplished.

To my knowledge, only two papers in the CA-SLA literature explore the delivery of turns to L2 learners in a segmented or incremental fashion. In his paper on *turn decomposition*, Svennevig (2018) finds that when speaking to L2 speakers, L1 speakers often break large multi-unit turns into smaller units, delivering them one at a time in a series of

installments (Clark, 1996). Each installment is given one at a time, with pauses left in between allowing the recipient to display their understanding along the way. This is a particularly relevant practice for addressing emergent misunderstandings (i.e., accomplishing repair) but may also be used to *pre-empt* such issues before they manifest (p. 412). The author argues that installments can be used to help achieve the complex social actions of *instructing*, *informing*, and *explaining*.

Elaborating on these phenomena by exploring a corpus of simulated emergency calls, Svennevig et al. (2019) find that delivering instructions in *installments* was the most common strategy for preemptively avoiding understanding issues. In these simulated calls, one participant acted as an emergency operator who provided instructions to a caller regarding how to move a doll representing an injured person. The typical format used by operators was to first give a *referential installment* that specified a body part targeted for manipulation before another installment that explicated the specific way it should be moved. The authors argue that operators who utilized this strategy experienced fewer misunderstandings as evidenced by fewer repair initiations and incorrect manipulations of the doll, leading them to conclude that installments are a common resource employed to minimize risks to intersubjectivity.

This chapter documents similar practices related to installments and turn decomposition, by showing another way that talk can be delivered segmentally: through the use of short queries and grammatically parasitic post-completions i.e., increments (Schegloff, 1996; 2016). Unlike the above studies where the practices seem to primarily orient to the preference for maintaining intersubjectivity, I will argue that the increments in my data are less about understanding and more about helping the learner participate in turn-taking in a more preferred and thus interactionally competent manner.

5.3   L2IC as a co-constructed phenomenon

Rather than a comprehensive review of L2 interactional competence,[5] this section will concentrate only on those aspects salient to the current analysis. In contrast with traditional notions of linguistic competence that treat competence as a matter of individual/innate ability, L2 interactional competence (IC) is situated firmly in the social realm and is therefore considered a jointly constructed object existing within the intersubjective spaces achieved by participants during talk-in-interaction (Kasper & Wagner, 2014; Mehan, 1979). It is worth noting however, that the bulk of research on studying L2 interactional competence attempts to illustrate learners' development over time as evidenced by a diversification of interactional resources (e.g., Greer, 2019; Hauser, 2013, 2017; Markee, 2008; Pekarek Doehler & Pochon-Berger, 2015). These studies and others like them represent a vitally important endeavor. However, as problematized by Hauser (2017c, 2019) treating IC as something that develops and can be tracked over time implies that it is at least partially something possessed by the learner rather than something co-constructed anew by all participants in each unique interaction.

One way in which the current study contributes to CA-SLA's understanding of IC is by eschewing developmental considerations altogether to instead show how, through the deployment of highly specialized practices, an expert English speaker can contribute to learners' ability to participate in their second language. While some prior research exists exploring the emergent co-construction of linguistic "deficiency" (Egbert et al., 2004) and interactional incompetence (Hauser, 2019), this study will explore the opposite side of the coin. Through a collection-based analysis, I will show several compact instances of the co-

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[5] Skogmyr and Balaman (2018) provide an extensive overview of the current state of Interactional Competence within CA-SLA.

construction of L2 interactional competence across one group of learners, further evidencing IC as the product of mutually constitutive interactional work.

5.4   Analysis: Increments as a resource for reconfiguring gaps in conversation

5.4.1   Assimilating gaps through incremental turn extension

Although CA studies into L1 talk-in-interaction have demonstrated the regular achievement of speaker transition with no gap, no overlap (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974), CA-SLA studies have shown that second language speakers "may not have automatic and easy access to the grammatical and lexical wherewithal to put together their turns" (Gardner, 2007, p. 58), resulting in more inter-turn gaps or other timing issues than one would find in expert speaker talk (Carroll, 2000).

This tendency toward *gappiness* is an apparent feature in my dataset and can be seen in the following example, in which Fay (a TGG agent) asks her novice recipient, Gen, a question about his sandwich order.

Excerpt 5.2: Type of Sandwich

```
01 FAY     we have many kinds of sandwich,

02         what type of sandwich would

03         you like?


04         | (.) |(8.1)
   g-gz    |to DAI
```

```
        |((GEN and DAI confer
          in hushed voices))
```


```
05 GEN    |it's i:n |chee:se,
   g-gz   |down     |to FAY
```


Fay begins her turn by first giving an account for her specification request regarding Gen's order for a sandwich that he placed just before (lines omitted): since the restaurant has many kinds of sandwiches (line 1) she needs to know the specific kind he wants before she can proceed. She then adds a post-expanding wh-question "what type of sandwich would you like?" explicitly requesting the information she needs and bringing her turn to a close. Consequentially, Fay packages all of these elements as a single turn constructional unit (TCU; Sacks et al., 1974), with no hearable prosodic breaks or pauses, and this apparently leads to an understanding issue for Gen, who rather than answering, immediately shifts his gaze away from Fay to his classmate Dai, who is standing nearby (line 4). It is only after conferring with Dai in whispered tones for a full 8.1 seconds that Gen looks back to Fay and restores sequential progressivity by beginning to provide the missing second pair part (line

5). We can gather from Gen's conduct that he very clearly understood that some sort of next action by him was made relevant by Fay's question, but that he did not understand what that action was clearly enough to supply it without substantially delaying the sequence by checking with his classmate. While the trouble source was not made explicit, it seems plausible that the relative complexity and length of Fay's turn construction was at least partially responsible for the gap.

In a repair sequence taken from a pharmacy role-play, we see a similar formulation from an agent named Kim, which also leads to the learner, Dai, to display understanding trouble.

Excerpt 5.3*: **Medicine**

```
01 KIM    what kind of medicine wouldja like t' get.


02       (0.2)


03 DAI    |↑um                     |(0.8)
   d-gz   |to card                 |middle distance
   k-gz   |to DAI's card
```

```
04 DAI     |only one |plea- ah-

   d-gz    |to KIM

   k-fc               |eyes + mouth widen
```



```
05 KIM     what kind of [medicine.]

06 DAI                  |[what kind] of- ah! oh,

   d-gz                 |to card
```



```
07         |a::h de:r- dermicu- (0.2) dermicure.

   d-gz    |((reading card))
```

It is again not possible to say with certainty why Dai misunderstood Kim's question, but it is clear from his misaligned second-pair part that intersubjectivity momentarily faltered. As in the prior example with Fay, it seems plausible that the grammatical complexity of Kim's question formulation may have played a role. This interpretation is further bolstered in line 3,

by examining how Kim approaches her self-repair: rather than repeating her turn in its entirety, Kim instead excises the response relevant portion of her turn "what kind of medicine", from the less semantically salient "would you like to get". To use an analogy, Kim keeps the meat of her question (important content words) while cutting out the grammatical fat. This tack proves successful as Dai's seemingly self-directed repetition of "what kind of" is cut short by a change-of-state token in line 4, followed by the provision of a medicine name in line 5 which he arrives at by reading the mission card in his left hand.

In contrast with Fay and Kim's style of question construction in Excerpts 5.2 and 5.3, Tom's means of accomplishing a similar post-expansion sequence in Excerpt 5.4 below, is designed to both pre-emptively and responsively deal with these contingencies.

Excerpt 5.4: Toppings

```
01 TOM    uh: what toppings|:.
   m-gz                     |upper right


02        °would you like?°=


03 MEI    =eh: weenna:,
               sausage
```

In line 1, Tom issues an information request similar to Fay's in import, but structurally simpler. By formulating his question as just two important content words brought to possible completion, he accomplishes the same post-expansion as Fay in the prior example, while giving the novice speaker, Mei, far less language to deal with at once. Mei indeed orients to

impending response relevancy by doing thinking (see Goodwin & Goodwin, 1986 on 'thinking face') as Tom's turn reaches possible completion. While Mei's embodiment suggests that she is working on an answer, her response is not immediately produced at this first point of transition relevance. Instead, there is a beat of silence before Tom adds an increment to his turn in line 2 that (a) retrospectively claims responsibility for the silence that occurred by transforming a would-be inter-turn gap into a pause within his own turn and (b) provides the learner with additional time to accomplish forward-oriented repair and a second chance at a no-gap speaker transition. This time Mei is ready to go, timing her response in line 4 so that it is latched on to the end of Tom's increment. Tom's turn design has thus allowed the learner to contribute in a more competent way. His minimalist approach to question formulation in the first line reduces the risk of being misunderstood by giving the learner only a small chunk of response-relevant language to deal with and when he projects the learner's response as delayed at the transition relevance place, he deploys the increment "would you like", which gives the recipient another opportunity to answer without a gap between the first and second pair parts and without the need for reinitiations/reformulations of the question that could derail the talk further. I will further develop these arguments by examining several similar sequences taken from a larger collection of 35 cases from my dataset.

These practices are evident in Excerpt 4 below in which Tom, after taking Mei's order of a hot dog, issues a short information request "how many hotdogs" (line 1) that post expands (Schegloff, 2007) the base order sequence.

Excerpt 5.5: Hot Dogs

```
01 TOM    uh: how many hot dogs.
```

```
02         (0.6)


03 →       °would you [like.°]
04 MEI               [five. ]
```

This part of Tom's turn is brought to possible completion, in that (1) it is a potentially grammatically complete phrasal TCU, (2) it constitutes a recognizable action (requesting information), and (3) is uttered with a hearable prosodic break (Ono & Couper-Kuhlen, 2007). However, a response from Mei is not immediately produced, and in line 2 there is a 0.6-sec silence that for the moment hearably belongs to her as the selected next speaker. However, rather than allowing this silence to develop any further, Tom opts to extend his turn via an increment in line 3 that draws out or marks the same action implemented in the host TCU, while at the same time renewing response relevance and providing another sequential opportunity for the learner to provide an answer. The silence in line 2 that at one time could be hearable as belonging to Mei is thus retroactively claimed by Tom to be a pause within his own turn. In line 4, Mei gives the second-pair part "five" in overlap with the end of Tom's increment and thus the adjacency pair is accomplished relatively smoothly and the learner's responsibility for delaying progressivity is concealed. Tom can therefore be said to have contributed to Mei's ability to respond in an interactionally competent way.

      Excerpt 5.6 follows a very similar sequential trajectory after the learner, Rin, orders a pizza.

Excerpt 5.6: Pizza

```
01 TOM     and ↑what size pizza.



02        (0.3)



03 →      would you [like.]
04 RIN              [giant] size.
```

Tom's information request in line 1 is again brought to possible completion via falling intonation followed by a 0.3-sec silence (line 2) where a response from the learner, Rin, is relevant but not immediately provided. In line 3, Tom extends his turn by adding the increment "would you like" and, as in the previous case, Rin produces the second-pair part in overlap with the end of the increment, providing the requested information and closing the adjacency pair without the occurrence of any inter-turn gaps. Tom's initial TCU ("and what size pizza") is clear and concise about what information is being requested, which is perhaps why his increment "would you like" does not appear to be designed to clarify, respecify, repair or correct its host TCU. By not attempting self-repair/correction, Tom thus implicitly indexes his orientation to the recipient as having understood his question but gives them both more time to arrive at a response and another sequential opportunity to provide it, all while concealing their first unfulfilled obligation to do so (directly after the host-TCU).

This is again apparent in Excerpt 5.7 below, where Tom inquires about the learner's drink order.

Excerpt 5.7: Drink

```
01 TOM      ↑what drink.



02         (0.5)



03 →       would you like.=
04 ERI     =I'll drink cola.
```

He begins with a grammatically incomplete utterance ("what drink") that is brought to

possible completion prosodically via falling intonation. When Eri does not immediately

respond at the possible completion point resulting in a 0.5-sec gap, Tom adds "would you

like" as an increment to assimilate this silence within his turn, and Eri is able to time her

response to immediately follow with the latched second pair part "I'll drink cola."

      In all four of the cases from Tom in this section, his added increments do not provide

any information relevant to response formulation that was not already available via the TCUs

they were attached to. What they do provide, however, is additional time for the novice

learners to formulate a response, since the recipient can continue to think during this largely

response-irrelevant addition. They also transform a possible completion point and silence

from a gap attributable to the recipient/learner into a pause attributable to the speaker. The

short query format isolates key information into a small easily digestible chunk of language,

allowing the learners to begin coming up with an appropriate response immediately. The

increments, meanwhile, become a resource for the expert speaker to draw out their turn past

the point of possible completion, giving the learners a few extra seconds to think. The lower volume in which the increment is delivered suggests that the learner does not need to attend to it and in cases of overlap ensures that the learner's turn is audible. The evidence that both participants orient to the practice in this way becomes even clearer in cases where the thinking is carried out by the learner in a publicly available way through their embodied conduct, as I will show in the following section.

5.4.2   Allowing and creating space for doing thinking

As I have argued, Tom's use of "would you like" increments in this context, makes apparent his orientation to the learners as having understood his initial FPPs in that he does not initiate subsequent self-repair on his turn by reformulating or repeating despite the lack of a response. Since the lack of a response can often indicate an issue with intersubjectivity, this might seem curious. However, a close examination of the learners' embodied conduct in these moments elucidates why this might be the case: the learners are often providing displays of *doing thinking* via shifts in gaze and facial expression (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1986).

These displays are apparent in the following exchange between Tom and Ryu in Excerpt 5.8, in which they negotiate a post-expansion on Ryu's just-placed hot dog order.

Excerpt 5.8: Two Hot Dog

```
01 TOM    and uh: how many hot dogs.
```

```
02          |(0.4)

   r-gz     |right, middle-distance->line 6
```



```
04 →        °would you like.°


05          (2.0)


06 RYU      |two- two: hot dog

   r-gz     |to TOM
```


In line 1, Tom asks "how many hot dogs" which post expands the learner's just-prior order and is intonationally marked as a possible completion point. It is here that the learner, Ryu, immediately shifts his gaze away from Tom toward the right in a "middle-distance" look (Goodwin, 1987, p. 117) which is indicative of "doing thinking" or engaging in a word search (Heller, 2021; Goodwin & Goodwin, 1986). With Ryu's gaze still averted, Tom uses a

markedly quiet voice to add an increment to his TCU saying, "would you like," which on the one hand breaks the silence but on the other seems designed not to interrupt Ryu's ongoing turn-constructional project. After a 2.0-sec gap, Ryu's gaze returns to Tom as he provides the SPP "two hot dog" which brings the adjacency pair to a close. Ryu's averted gaze in line 2 provides evidence that his response formulation begins just after the minimalized information request and first possible completion point of Tom's turn. Tom's increment, delivered at a lower volume, allows Ryu more time to come up with his answer while reconfiguring the 0.4-sec gap as a part of his own extended turn. In this case, the practice was perhaps less successful since Ryu still required an additional 2.0 seconds before responding. However, this gap is smaller than it might have been had Tom not utilized the practice.

Excerpt 5.9 below, involving Eri's sandwich order, unfolds in a very structurally similar way but the learner is quicker to provide the SPP.

Excerpt 5.9: Sandwiches

```
01 TOM    |uh: how many, |(.) sandwiches
   e-gz   |at TOM        |to card/passport in hands->line 5
```



```
02         (0.5)
```

```
03 →        [°would] you like.

04 ERI      [ ah-  ]

05 ERI      |one sandwich.
   e-gz     |to TOM
   e-rh     |raises index finger
```


After Tom inquires about the number of sandwiches Eri is ordering (line 1), she begins to look toward the passport in her hand where she has apparently written down some details regarding her order. After a 0.5-sec silence, Tom adds the now familiar increment "would you like" (line 3) in a lower volume as Eri continues to gaze down before saying "ah," perhaps marking the completion of her forward-oriented repair before providing the sought-after information "one sandwich" while simultaneously moving her gaze back to Tom and laminating (Goodwin, 2013) her utterance with an illustrative gesture. The increment in line 3 works to both break the silence after the FPP before it gets longer and to reposition it as a pause within Tom's newly extended turn.

In Excerpt 5.10 Tom and Rin go through a sequentially similar exchange.

Excerpt 5.10 Tuna

```
01 TOM    uh: ↑what <toppings>.


02        |(.)
   r-gz   |down->line 13


03 TOM →  would you like.


04        (0.4)


05 RIN    topping i:::s


06        (2.0)


07        |salmon, (0.6) |cheese, |(2.3)          |cabba:ge,
   r-rh   |beat count             |beat count  |beat count
   t-rh                           |2 fingers up|3 finger beat


08        |and tsuna.
   r-rh   |lowers fingers
```

After Tom issues the FPP "what toppings" in line 1, there is a micropause coinciding with a shift in the learner's gaze away from Tom and downward, perhaps toward the mission card in her hand. As in the previous example, Tom again does not seem to orient to this as necessitating repair but instead adds "would you like" to his host TCU, recompleting his question and renewing response relevancy. After a 0.4-sec gap, Rin provides the first part of

a TCU that is hearably incomplete, which adeptly accomplishes three things: it claims the floor at a moment when her taking a turn was made relevant, it displays an understanding of the question, and furnishes herself with even more time to think of her answer; because she began a TCU, the 2-sec silence in line 6 is sequentially hearable as a pause, making her 'doing thinking' even more clear. She further uses prosodic and embodied resources in line 7 by employing continuing intonation after each item and some list gestures, displaying that although there are intermittent silences, more is on the way. From this example, we can see that both the learners and agents interactively contribute to maintaining smooth turn-taking and minimizing 'gappiness'.

Similar practices are also on display in the following excerpt 5.11, where Tom again uses a "woudju like" increment to recomplete his turn.

Excerpt 5.11 Chocolate


```
01 TOM     |what flavor
   t-rh    |to NAGI


02         |(0.2)
   n-gz    |upwards


03 TOM     |°wouldju like.°
   t-bh    |clasps together



04 NAGI    (uhm) (.) |it's miruKHHH? (.)
```

```
     n-gz    ---------|to TOM
```

In line 1, Tom begins with a minimal FPP and upon being met in line 2 with a brief silence and a lack of response from Nagi in conjunction with a shift in gaze, in line 3, Tom says, "wouldju like", appropriating the gap as his own intra-turn pause, but prosodically backgrounded using a lower volume than the surrounding talk. Nagi then produces the SPP in line 4 in a more preferred sequential environment, i.e., right after Tom's question has been (re)completed without any gap.

5.5   Explicitness raising increments

In my dataset the increments deployed by the expert speakers commonly took the form of post-possible completion *would you like*; however, there were a few deviations from this pattern. In these cases, the increments seem to have the same primary function of dealing with the lack of an immediate response from the learner while also having a secondary effect of raising explicitness, which has been documented as a strategy for ensuring L2 learner understanding (see Bremer et al., 2013; Mauranen, 2007). Excerpt 5.12 below begins just after the resolution of a short repair sequence (lines omitted) involving Ryu's order of a melon soda, a referent which Tom momentarily treats as unrecognizable.

Excerpt 5.12: Melon Soda

```
01 TOM    okay. a:nd what size.


02        (0.4)
```

```
03 →      melon soda.

04 RYU    el size.

05 TOM    el size? la:rge?
```

Having resolved the referential trouble, in line 1, Tom begins with "okay" which marks his readiness to proceed with the order sequence before post-expanding with the possibly complete formulation "and what size." When a response from the learner is not immediate (0.4-sec silence, line 2) Tom adds "melon soda" as an increment, claiming the silence as his own. Because of the sequential environment of this increment within a post-expansion sequence of the melon soda order, it seems unlikely that there would be any confusion on the learner's part regarding what referent Tom's question "what size" targeted. However, it is also clear that unlike *would you like*, "melon soda" does add some explicit specification to Tom's minimal question and thus might be designed to ease understanding by making the target of Tom's inquiry clearer.

Both increment types may also be used within close sequential proximity to one another as Tom illustrates in Excerpt 5.13 below, which sequentially occurs just after Eri's drink order was placed a few turns before (see Excerpt 6).

Excerpt 5.13 : Drink Revisited

```
01 TOM    °okay° uh what size.


02        (.)
```

```
03 →      cola.


04         (0.5)


05 ERI    uhm: tall size.
```

Using a strikingly similar formulation to the previous excerpt, Tom again begins with "okay"

before issuing the minimal question "what size", which is brought to possible completion

grammatically, pragmatically and prosodically. When a short silence occurs in line 2, Tom

orients to the emergence of a delay and adds the increment "cola" which like *melon soda*

makes explicit the referent Tom is asking about and repositions the silence as falling within

his own turn. Unlike Ryu, Eri still needed an additional 0.5 seconds to respond, but she was

also able to come up with a size (tall) that Tom oriented to as non-problematic, and they were

able to smoothly move forward with the rest of the task.

      Unlike the "would you like" increments examined earlier, "melon soda" and "cola"

appear to constitute repair initiation more strongly, in that they provide some explicit

specification as to the information Tom is targeting with his initial query. However, because

the targets are already so strongly implied by the larger sequential environment (both "melon

soda" and "cola" were ordered by the students just prior), the primary purpose of the

increment is still to appropriate learner silence with increased explicitness occurring as a

bonus secondary effect.

5.6   Increments in multi-party interaction

5.6.1   Increments in the simulated STEM classroom

The simulated fast-food encounters were the first location where Tom's incrementing practice was noticed, but a subsequent review of other sections of the data has revealed that it is by no means isolated to this context. In the STEM classroom data, for example, Tom, acting as an assistant to the "specialist" (a visiting teacher from Australia), was again found to use increments while helping the learners with their tasks. Analysis of increments in these contexts reveals both commonalities as well as some key differences that highlight the versatility of this interactional practice. Because all of these cases were delivered consecutively as part of a larger task sequence, I will present these cases in the order they occurred.

One apparent difference between these increments and those examined above is that the pressure of conditional relevance is much more relaxed in some of these cases, in that the host-TCUs to which the increments are attached are not first-pair parts. This is the case with Excerpt 5.14 below, in which Tom reiterates for a group of four students (Eri, Ume, Mio, and Cho) the instructions of the task that were just explained to them by the specialist moments earlier.

Excerpt 5.14: Of the Kangaroo

```
01 TOM    |you can draw: |(.)
   t-bh   |gives pen to UME
   t-rh                  |mimes drawing, points to whiteboard


02 UME    h' h' hah hah hah


03 TOM    |the kangaroo.
   t-px   |stands up
```

```
04        |(5.7)
   t-px   |walks towards boys


05 UME    |(    )
06 ERI    |(    )
07 TOM    |and then think |of the (0.3)
   t-rh   |points          |points to temple


08        special, (1.4) features.


09        (0.7)


10 TOM → of the kangaroo.
```

In lines 1 and 3, Tom addresses the first part of the instructions to one of the girls at the table, (Ume), by handing her a pen while saying "you can draw the kangaroo". This is a verbatim repetition of the specialist's instruction, but it is modified by Tom to include indexical elements (gaze selection, the handing of the pen) that nominate one of the learners rather than simply leaving the group to decide for themselves who will do the drawing. This style of delivering multi-phase instructions in *installments* has been described in the literature as a pre-emptive strategy for avoiding understanding issues when talking to L2 learners (Svennevig, 2018). Additionally, because Ume was visibly disattending to the activity at this moment, this seems to be a way for Tom to draw her attention back to the task at hand. With Ume appearing to start drawing, Tom reiterates the second part of the specialist's instructions,

which was to think of and write down some of a kangaroo's special features (lines 7, 8). The 1.4-sec pause before Tom says "features" in line 8 is perhaps indicative of Tom's orientation toward recipient design, since the specialist's exact spoken instructions were to "write down its adaptations". Tom appears to have oriented to the word adaptations as potentially problematic and opts to replace it with the relatively more simple 'features'. The TCU "think of the special features", while certainly hearable as an instruction, does not strongly make relevant a spoken response, particularly since Tom did not select any of the learners in particular but rather the whole group. That being said, it is not clear at this point from the learners' displayed conduct whether they have understood the instruction. After a 0.7-sec silence in line 9, Tom appends his TCU "think of the special features" with the increment "of the kangaroo". Given the sequential context just after his and the specialist's instructions which already explicitly referenced the kangaroo multiple times, Tom seems to be using the increment as part of a larger strategy of maximizing explicitness for the sake of learner understanding but doing so without issuing yet another repetition of the same instructions. This might be a kind of stop-gap solution since the learners have not yet displayed overt non-understanding warranting full repair. Tom begins to increase the sequential pressure for a response in Excerpt 5.15 which picks up right where Excerpt 5.14 concluded.

Excerpt 5.15: Special

```
11        |(4.5)
   u-gz   |looking at board, copying something


12 TOM    |so what do you think.
   t-gz   |to CHO
```

```
13          (0.5)


14   →      |is |special about (.) |↓a kangaroo.

   t-gz     |to MIO                |to ERI

   t-bh     |raises, fingers spread palms to self

   t-fc        |brow furrowed
```

After Tom's increment in the turn before, in line 11, there is a 4.5 second silence, where Ume continues to draw the kangaroo and the other learners at the table are sitting quietly. Tom then gazes toward Cho and selects her with the FPP, "so what do you think," triggering response relevance but resulting in a 0.5-sec gap (line 13) which is reconfigured into an intra-turn pause by Tom's increment in line 14 "is special about a kangaroo." An interesting and unique aspect about this increment compared to the others is that by laminating it with clear shifts in gaze to Mio and Eri, Tom redesigns his question from one that targeted only one learner to one that retrospectively selects the whole group. Therefore, Tom alleviates the momentary pressure on Cho to respond by distributing it evenly among the group while appropriating Cho's silence within his turn and simultaneously making the task more explicit. This artfully also ensures that all of the students are engaged and maximizes the chance that his question will receive an answer so that the task can progress. Eventually, Tom is successful in soliciting an answer from the learners who (after an extended negotiation) come up with the answer "pocket", prompting Tom to ask for more examples in the following Excerpt 5.17.

Excerpt 5.17: Other Special Features

```
32 TOM     |what i- |(0.7) other special features.
   t-bh    |front~~~|to LYN's whiteboard


33         |(1.0)
   t-px    |stands


34 TOM →   |˚does it have.˚
   t-px    |turns slightly right


35         |(7.1)
           |((tom squats down again))


36 TOM     pocke:ts, (1.0) what else.
```

In line 32, Tom asks "what other special features" while pointing towards the

specialist's whiteboard which at that time, has a diagrammatic representation of a kangaroo

taped to it. After a second elapses without any response, Tom in a quiet voice adds the

increment "does it have" recompleting his turn and giving the learners another opportunity to

respond on time. This increment is quite similar to the "would you like" increments examined

in Sections 5.2.1 and 5.2.2, both in how it does not contain useful content words and in that it

is spoken at a much quieter volume. However, this tack proves unsuccessful, as evidenced by

a lengthy 7.1-sec gap in line 35 without any answers given, which leads Tom to employ a

different practice in line 36 where he provides a designedly incomplete list of candidates

containing the learners earlier answer ("pockets") spoken in a continuing intonation, followed

by a pause and the phrase "what else." This makes very clear to the learners the kind of

answer that is expected of them but also treats them as having understood his original question to some extent. From these excerpts and looking at the data as a whole, Tom rarely provides full repetitions of his questions to the learners unless prompted by repair initiation. Instead, he uses increments to recomplete his original questions, making them more explicit and covertly attending to 'gappiness' by reconfiguring silences. Even when this practice is relatively unsuccessful, he appears to give learners' understanding the benefit of the doubt by not just repeating his questions but rather building up explicitness around them.

5.6.2 Increments in the 'travel agency'

Further solidifying the ubiquity and versatility of the incrementing practice, Tom was also found to deploy similar practices in the travel agency area, where the learners are tasked with planning an imaginary trip to some place abroad. In the following excerpt, Tom is talking with three learners seated on a sofa (see Figure 5.1) who have just returned from their role-play task.

Figure 5.1

Tom and a group of learners in the 'travel agency'

Excerpt 5.17: Five Activities

```
01 TOM    uh:: (.) so.

02 TOM    (1.7) uh:: (.) ↑in italy,

03 RIN    °>italy italy.<°

04 TOM    there are many things you can do.

05 TOM    many: (0.8) activities.


06        |(1.1)

   r-hd   |nods

   m-hd   |nods


07 TOM    |can you think of fi:ve (.) activities.

   t-rh   |holds up five fingers
```



```
08        |(0.5)

   r-hd   |nods 3X


09 TOM    |that you can do: in italy.

   t-rh   |"pistol" beats on each word
```

```
10        (0.4)
```

```
11 RIN    ita:ly?!
12 TOM    yes.
```

In lines 1-4, Tom is framing a task for the learners that involves coming up with activities one might participate in while in Italy. In line 7, he asks the learners if they can think of "five activities." Orienting to the conditional relevance of a response, Rin provides multiple nods but Tom, who is moving his gaze toward Mei, Azu, and Noa does not seem to see this. In an attempt to pursue a response or more explicit displays of understanding from the learners, Tom then adds an increment to appropriate the 0.5-sec silence in line 8 as his own and recomplete his turn. This succeeds in soliciting a verbal response from Rin in the form of a clarification request. Like in the examples from the STEM classroom, Tom's increment here also engenders the feeling of pursuit, perhaps due to the fact that there are many potential next-speakers but none of them provide an immediate verbal response. Unlike in one-on-one interactions where a single recipient might be heard as not answering a question, when a group of people are not answering together the dispreferredness is more noticeable and accountable.

In an extension of this activity several minutes later, Tom has asked the same group of learners about activities one can do while in Australia.

Excerpt 5.18: Cruising

```
01 TOM    |watch (.)| but what activity.
    t-lh  |to brow  |lowers->
```

```
t-rh   |,,,,,,,,,|sliding motion....
```



```
02          (0.3)


03 AZU     |°activity°
   t-rh    |repeats sliding motion


04         |(1.0)
   t-rh    |repeats sliding motion


05 TOM     can you [do. ]
06 RIN             [crui]|sing.
   t-fc               |raises eyebrows
```

Apparently dissatisfied with Rin's response "watch the great barrier reef" (lines omitted),

Tom invites the learners to try again saying "watch, but what activity?". Importantly, his

spoken turn is accompanied by some gestures with his right hand in which he makes a sliding

motion. After 0.3 seconds of silence, Azu very quietly repeats the word "activity" while

mirroring Tom's gesture, which he continues during 1 second of silence. With his question in

line 1 still unanswered, in line 5, Tom attempts to refresh response relevancy by attaching the

increment "can you do" to his earlier TCU and continues to repeat his sliding gesture.

This case provides an interesting contrast with the others, in that if we were to ignore the embodied components, this would appear to be similar to Tom's "would you like" increments, in that it at best offers a superficial raising of the explicitness of the host TCU. However, when considered holistically with the sliding gestures that are produced by Tom throughout, it is clear that the increment is helping to refresh response relevancy, buying Tom more time to continue producing his gestural hints and giving the learners more time to interpret his gestures meaning, and arrive at a response more apposite than Rin's first attempt: "watch the great barrier reef". In line 6, Rin does appear to orient to Tom's gestures by saying the word "cruising" in overlap with the end of his increment, which seems like a reasonable way to interpret his gestures given the sequential context. In short, Tom's increment in line 5, while arguably not particularly informational, afforded space for him to produce gestures that provided the learners with a better idea of the type of answer he was looking for.

5.7 Learner orientations to short questions and response relevancy

One assumption upon which my analysis hinges is that the novice learners are able to recognize Tom's short format FPPs as possibly complete TCUs and consequently as triggering response relevancy. As I have asserted, Tom's TCUs prior to his added increments meet the three criteria for hearable possible completion to me as an analyst. However, there could be other conflating factors. For one thing, we might expect that novice learners are not very familiar with questions not clearly marked by phrases like "would you like". Under this assumption, possible completion, while obvious to an expert English speaker, maybe less so to the learners who might not be able to discern Tom is potentially finished speaking. If this were the case, their responses after Tom's "would you like" increments become interpretable as marking their recognition of the action of Tom's turn (as an information request). Similar

conclusions might be drawn under the presumption that the learners, who are engaged in the enactment of a restaurant setting, might expect Tom, role-playing as the worker, to use more polite forms when addressing a customer. In short, the question becomes: are the learners waiting for Tom to say "would you like" before they feel a response is relevant or do they show an orientation to response relevancy before his increments are added?

My analysis in Section 5.2.2 already can provide some insight in this regard since the learners in these extracts are visibly engaged in the act of *doing thinking* just after Tom's short questions and well before the appearance of the increments. However, for the sake of ensuring the validity of my analysis, I have also collected two types of sequences that further evidence that the learners are not waiting for Tom to continue speaking. First, in section 5.3.1, I will show some instances where the learner overlaps their turn with Tom's increments, which suggests they can in fact recognize Tom's short questions as response relevant. Next, in 5.7.1, I will show a collection of non-examples, in which the learner responds directly to Tom's short questions in second position before any silence can occur, obviating the need for Tom to deploy the increment altogether and evidencing the learners' ability to recognize short questions as response mobilizing.

5.7.1 Overlapped increments

If learners are for some reason (be it a lack of familiarity, proficiency, or the unique institutional setting) unable to recognize the pragmatic force of Tom's short questions, we would expect all of their answers to occur only after Tom has deployed a *"would you like"* increment making it clear that a response was relevant. As Excerpt 5.19 illustrates though, this is not the case.

Excerpt 5.19: Overlapped Increment 1

```
01 TOM    uh: how many sandwiches?

02        (0.4)

03      → [°would you like.°  ]

04 ERI  → [ uhh one sandwich. ]
```

After Tom delivers his short question, there is a 0.4-sec silence after which he attempts to recomplete his question with an increment allowing the learner another window to respond on time. However, it turns out that Eri recognized a response was due but just needed a little more time to formulate it, as evidenced by her aligned SPP in line 4, which is spoken at the exact same time. It is not insignificant here that Tom's increment was spoken at a lower volume. This appears to be a deliberate TCU design consideration that allows learners' responses to be heard even if overlaps like these happen and reduces the chance of Tom needing to initiate repair further disrupting progressivity. Excerpt 5.20 offers another example that is coincidentally quite similar in both sequence and content.

Excerpt 5.20: Overlapped Increment 2

```
01 TOM    and how many |sandwiches?
   n-gz               |down


02        (0.5)


03 TOM  → [°would you like.°]
```

```
04 NOA  →[°    uh:  :  :  °]|two.

    n-rh                        |holds up 2 fingers
```

In line 1, Tom asks "how many sandwiches", post-expanding on an earlier base sequence and after 0.5-seconds of silence deploys a *would you like* increment in line 3 to reconfigure the gap into a pause and provide Noa with more time to arrive at an answer. However, at the same time, Noa begins to claim the floor with some hesitation marking in line 4 before delivering an answer to Tom's question, evidencing her understanding of Tom's turn in line 1 as response mobilizing.

5.7.2   Second-position learner responses to short questions

The second type of evidence that I present to counter the notion that learners cannot recognize short questions as response mobilizing are not examples from my increment collection. Instead, in this section, I will show some examples where Tom's short questions are answered directly in the next turn by the learners showing that "would you like" is not needed for them to recognize the next relevant action.

Excerpt 5.21: One Please

```
01 TOM    and uh: how many hot dogs.
02 REN →  ah one please.
03 TOM    °one° okay.
```

In a very similar formulation to many of the short questions explored in this chapter so far, Tom asks Ren "how many hot dogs" he wants to order. Without any gap, Ren provides an aligned SPP in the next turn closing the adjacency pair and evidencing his understanding of Tom's turn, to which Tom provides a third-position repetition receipt. Because there was no gap after the first-pair part to address, incrementing was never occasioned as a relevant practice. Excerpt 5.22 below follows a similar trajectory and thus provides further evidence for my claim that learners' responses are not contingent upon Tom's *would you likes* but rather the *would you likes* are contingent upon learner-generated gaps.

Excerpt 5.22: Jumbo Size

```
01 TOM    |what size cola.
   t-fc   |serious expression


02 MEI →  ¥jumbo si(h)ze¥
03 TOM    jumbo size cola.
```

After Tom's question "what size cola" which is hearable as possibly complete, Mei provides the answer "jumbo size" in the next turn and Tom provides a third-position repetition receipt in line 3, closing the post-expansion sequence and allowing them to move forward with the rest of the order task.

5.8   Chapter 5 Discussion

As this chapter has shown, analysis of L2 interaction at a micro-level can reveal participants' demonstrable orientation to underlying organizational structures like preference and turn-taking and the interactional practices they use to attend to these structures. Talk does not just happen, but rather requires participants to assemble and fine-tune a variety of resources for situated purposes. As Sert (2017) observed in classroom interaction, learning opportunities can be "shaped and [are] co-constructed by the interactional maneuvers of teachers" (p. 16). Tom's short queries and incremental turn extensions are a deftly composed aggregate of prosodic, syntactic, and pragmatic resources brought together for the specific purpose of maintaining smooth speaker transition when interacting with L2 speakers who display issues with timing their turns. Using short queries, Tom pre-emptively addresses response difficulty by giving the learner a small chunk of language to digest and if a timely response is not produced, increments are then deployed. By concealing and reconfiguring gaps of silence with his increments, Tom contributes to the co-construction of the learners' interactional competence by reorganizing the sequential position of their responses. This study thus further adds to our understanding of turns designed by expert speakers for novice L2 recipients. It also expands our understanding of how increments work and one sort of pedagogical purpose they can be used for. Finally, it also affirms that L2 interactional competence is evident in the moment-to-moment co-construction of talk between participants and need not always be examined through a developmental lens.

In the literature on L1 interaction, increments have been described as a way of pursuing a response after a gap in the conversation which the speaker diagnoses as unwillingness to acquiesce to a previously proposed or projectably incumbent course of action (Bolden et al., 2012; Schegloff, 2013). Sequentially, these look very similar to Tom's increments, which are also occasioned by gaps. However, the cases I have explored do not engender the feel of response pursuits for several reasons. The first, and perhaps most

significant, is that Tom closes the gaps before they have time to substantially develop, with most measuring 0.5-sec or less, resulting in the alleviation of the pressure of response relevancy before "negative interactional resonances" (Schegloff, 2016, p. 244) can develop. Second, there is little reason to suspect the learners would be unwilling or unable to answer a question like "how many sandwiches" since they have often demonstrated such an ability by answering similar questions within the same task sequence and, as shown in Section 5.2, display for Tom through their embodiment that they are in the process of arriving at an answer. For these reasons, Tom's practices feel more like re-framing the learners' responses rather than pursuing them.

That being said, the increments I have found during the multi-party interactions in the STEM classroom and travel agency do more strongly engender the feeling of response pursuits. The gaps Tom is dealing with are longer, and the learners do not provide clear understanding displays. One finding of this chapter then is that whether an increment is hearable as *pursuing a response* or *providing more time* depends on factors like the number of potential recipients, gap length, recipients' understanding displays and the trajectory of action made projectable in the host TCU.

When it comes to pedagogical interaction, wait time is an important consideration when asking questions (Walsh & Li, 2013); after a first-pair part has been issued, sufficient time needs to be given to the learner to arrive at a response, but large dispreferred gaps can become interactionally problematic for all participants who often treat them as repairable, leading to extended/repeated pursuits that delay sequential progressivity and can be oriented to as uncomfortable by those involved (Amar, Nanbu & Greer, 2021). By increments, Tom provides the learner with more time to arrive at an answer without the burden of being heard as responsible for a delay. The minimal form of the initial question formulation gives the learner less language to deal with at once and allows them to begin formulating a response

quickly and the added increment retrospectively frames any intermittent silence as falling within Tom's own recompleted turn. The lower volume in which his added increment is often delivered seems to help design it as non-interruptive (especially when the learners are visibly engaged in *doing thinking*) and ensures that when the learner's SPP is provided in overlap it is still audible and thus pre-emptively avoids repair initiation. Through this practice, Tom contributes to the emergent co-construction of the learners' interactional competence, facilitating their ability to smoothly participate in these roleplay interactions by changing what would otherwise be delayed responses into ones that are either on time or less hearably delayed.

Finally, this study has also contributed to the applied linguistics knowledge base by providing a detailed empirical account of interactions at an 'English Village'. It is, to my knowledge, one of very few studies to do so. While a detailed comparative study is needed to say with certainty, it seems safe to assume that Tom's frequent deployment of the short query and increment practices are ways in which he contributes to making the service-encounter task interaction more sheltered than it might be in the real world. The analyses also make clear that the design of tasks at TGG (and likely those at other English villages) provide many opportunities for learners to develop their L2 interactional competence by engaging in practices like turn-taking and *in situ* content/word searches. However, further empirical research that provides further insight into the interactions occurring in these kinds of sites, particularly relating to participant orientations to task design and language learning, is needed going forward. I take up these matters in the following chapter where I explore how the TGG agents create obstacles to task progressivity.

Chapter 6: Creating Obstacles to Progressivity: Task Expansion during Second Language Role-Plays

As I have shown in the previous chapter (and throughout the dissertation), a major focus of TGG's curricula is the use of tasks that simulate real-world situations. In the field of applied linguistics, pedagogical tasks that encourage language use in 'authentic' or "close to real-life" interactional contexts (Mori, 2002, p. 323) have become a thriving focus of inquiry (see Skehan, 2003 for an extensive overview of task-based instruction). Proponents of task-based language teaching (TBLT) argue that tasks provide learners with opportunities for "free and meaningful use of the target language" (Nunan, 1989, p. 30) and allow learners to take risks through which they can challenge and improve their linguistic competence (Ellis, 2006). However, the vast majority of studies exploring how tasks unfold in practice, i.e., task-as-process (Breen, 1989), have done so within cognitivist ontological frameworks (Seedhouse, 2005), in which data is commonly gathered quasi-experimentally and social interaction is obscured behind codified statistical data (Hauser, 2005; Jenks, 2009).

In contrast, a growing number of studies have used Conversation Analysis (CA) to examine naturally occurring episodes of task-as-process (e.g., Hellerman & Pekarek Doehler, 2010; Jenks, 2009; Lee & Burch, 2017; Markee, 2005; Markee, & Kunitz, 2013; Mondada & Pekarek Doehler, 2005; Seedhouse, 1999, 2005, among others) in a way "that preserves the participants' voices and actions as the principal object of enquiry" (Markee, 2005, p. 211). These studies highlight the importance of considering the moment-to-moment ways in which participants interpret and co-construct tasks using multimodal interactional practices that are sensitive to local contingencies. As one such study by Seedhouse (1999) observes, learners

can at times prioritize reaching the end of the task as quickly as possible, resulting in minimized turn constructions that do not involve significant language use. What can teachers do when a learner appears to be bringing a task to completion without having substantially used their L2?

Using a conversation analytic approach, in this study, I document two interactional practices employed by language educators to extend role-play tasks *in situ* and thus create additional spaces for L2 use (Eskildsen & Theodórsdóttir, 2017). The first practice involves the treatment of learner turns as problematic, but not due to issues of understanding. Instead, the expert speakers utilize the flexibility of the role-play format by introducing a complication (Ross & O'Connell, 2013; Ross, 2017) that retroactively frames the learner's response as misaligned with the task. Learners in a fast-food restaurant role-play, for example, might place an order for a hamburger only to be told that the restaurant does not have any bread. Such blocking moves occasion further post-expansive talk (Schegloff, 2007) from the learner in which they attempt to reformulate their request to conform to the newly imposed constraints, and thus provide more opportunities to spontaneously interact in the target language. The second practice I document involves an expert speaker feigning a misunderstanding in order to highlight a linguistic issue within a learner's prior turn and therefore occasion self-repair. Feigned displays of misunderstanding help draw the learners' attention to inconsistencies in their earlier talk and postpone the progression of the sequence while the learners identify and correct the issue. Both practices constitute ways in which expansion sequences delay task completion and thus promote language practice and tailor the emergent task to the local contingencies of each unique role-play interaction. In that they delay task completion, I view these interactional practices as obstacles to progressivity.

6.1 Purpose of the chapter

The aim of this chapter is to emically account for methods that educators use to encourage novice language users to contribute more to the role-play talk. In line with the inductive nature of the CA approach, the following research question was formulated only after extensive observation of role-play interaction recorded in a TBLT context:

> How do language educators expand interactional sequences *in situ* during unscripted role-play tasks to provide learners with more extensive opportunities for L2 use?

After a selective literature review of interactional research on role-play tasks and the notion of progressivity, I outline the context of the study and give a brief overview of the multimodal CA approach. The analysis then explores the interactional practices for creating obstacles to progressivity, particularly in relation to role-play settings.

6.2 Interactional research on L2 role-play tasks

While CA has been increasingly used to examine how participants perform tasks, few of these studies explore *role-play* tasks specifically. Instead, the focus has been on L1 contexts in which role-play is used for communication training (e.g., Stokoe, 2014) or on L2 contexts where researchers document the affordances of role-play tasks for evaluating learners' oral proficiency (e.g., Kasper & Ross, 2007; Okada & Greer, 2013), interactional competence (Roever & Dai, 2021) or pragmatic competence (Kasper & Youn, 2018; Youn, 2020).

Although these latter studies are based in oral testing contexts, such research has important implications for L2 role-play interaction in general. Kasper and Youn's (2018) study, for example, details the way in which interactants mobilize generic and context-specific resources to jointly accomplish role-play interactions. Of particular relevance to the current analysis is Ross' work on service encounter role-plays that involve the deployment of *complications* (Ross, 2017; Ross & O'Connell, 2013), which are used to determine how competently an L2 speaker can solve common transactional issues. Such complications are designed to elicit specific speech acts so that candidates' pragmatic competence is displayed for rater assessment. It seems fair to assume that these kinds of sequences could have implications for L2 pedagogy as well. However, empirical research looking at role-plays in educationally oriented contexts seems absent in the literature.

6.3   Prioritizing progressivity

Like all talk, task completion is a locally contingent process (Lee & Burch, 2017) brought about through a myriad of coordinated actions. The notion of progressivity refers to the efficient temporal advancement of a turn or sequence of turns, with pragmalinguistic trajectories emerging in a step-by-step manner and projecting possible next items (Mushin & Pekarek Doehler, 2021). Schegloff (2007) suggests that "moving from some element to a hearably-next-one with nothing intervening is the embodiment of, and the measure of, progressivity" (p. 15). If something comes between an action and its anticipated response, however, participants examine that violation of contiguity for its interactional import, treating it as consequential for the progressivity of the talk. From the perspective of task-oriented interaction, progressivity can also be understood in terms of moving the task-in-process towards completion.

Although interactants typically attempt to achieve a balance between progressivity and other relevant conversational preferences, a number of exceptions have been documented where progressivity takes priority. Stivers and Robinson (2006), for example, argue that participants in multi-party interaction orient to a preference for answers that sometimes overrides the preference for a response from the selected next speaker, i.e., if someone other than the recipient to a question has the answer, they will often provide it. Stivers and Robinson argue: "this ordering of preferences suggests that interactants are concerned with advancing in-progress activities through sequences" (2006, p. 386). It has also been shown that interactants can prioritize progressivity over intersubjectivity, when referring to persons or places (Heritage, 2007) or when communicating with individuals with limited communicative resources. For instance, non-impaired individuals often avoid repair initiation when speaking with aphasics (Perkins, 2003) and the hearing impaired (Skelt, 2012) in order to preserve progressivity.

Studies of novice language users' conversations have yielded similar conclusions. Analyzing data from conversations-for-learning between novice speakers of Japanese, Ikeda (2008) found that participants prioritized progressivity by self-selecting and taking a turn after a selected speaker had displayed difficulty doing so. Likewise, the prioritization of progressivity over intersubjectivity can be seen in the so-called "let it pass" strategy (Firth, 1996), in which expert language users refrain from initiating repair when interacting with novice speakers.[6] The L1 user avoids correction despite the learner's displayed misunderstanding and instead continues on the trajectory set by the L2 user in order to progress the talk (Hauser, 2017). Prioritizing progressivity can therefore limit potential

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[6] See also Liberman (1980) on "gratuitous concurrence", the phenomenon in which interactants pass over ambiguities and misunderstandings on the assumption they will become comprehensible later.

opportunities for language learning by circumventing moments when L2 learners must negotiate understanding.

While these studies all highlight how participants prioritize progressivity, the current investigation instead documents moments in conversation where speakers privilege language use over progressivity i.e., they prolong and expand the talk, giving learners more opportunities to interact. In such cases, an expert speaker ad-libs interactional obstacles that a learner must address in order to restore sequential progression, thus creating spaces for the potential development of L2 interactional competence through increased forms of social participation (For a comprehensive coverage of interactional competence, see Hall, 2018).

6.4   Findings

In this section, I will document several interactional practices used by the agents to delay progressivity during the role-play activities. I analyze five exemplary cases from my collection to highlight recurrent sequential features of such episodes and suggest how they are used to challenge the learners to contribute further to the conversation.

6.4.1   Disaligning with a learner contribution via complication

I begin by accounting for how agents delay task completion during the fast-food role-play by introducing a transactional *complication* (Ross, 2017). Unlike a real restaurant, it is important to note that the simulated restaurant at TGG does not have a written menu: since the food is imaginary, it is entirely up to the learners and agents to ad-lib the content of the orders. This means that when the agents reject a learner's order, it is not due to an actual problem of availability, but rather a contrived issue made up on the spot. Considering that unscripted complications were an uncommon occurrence in our dataset, our analysis will

attempt to inductively account for their emergence using publicly available interactional resources, in line with the CA principle of 'why that now?' (see Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). I will argue that crafting these emergently constructed hurdles on the fly can occasion sequential expansion, provide tacit correction, and (re)align learners' contributions with the explicit task.

An initial example can be seen in Excerpt 6.1, where the agent (Tom) and the learner (Rin) are negotiating the size of a pizza.

Excerpt 6.1*: Jumbo Size*

```
01 TOM    and ↑what size pizza.


02        (.)


03 TOM    would you [like.]
04 RIN             [giant] size.


05        |(0.4)
   t-hd   |leans in eyebrows raised->to line 7
```

```
06 RIN    GIant SIze.=

07 TOM    [=GIant] SIze!=

08 MEI    [ eheh ]
```



```
09 RIN    =yes.

10 TOM    |we have (.) uh |large, (0.4)

   t-bh   |on counter,,,,,|moves outwards
```



```
11 TOM    |fa:mily size,
```

```
t-bh      |increases palm distance
```



```
12 TOM    or |(0.4) jumbo (.) [°size° ]

   t-bh       |arms fully outstretched
```



```
13 RIN                          [>jumbo<] jumbo size.


14 TOM    |jumbo size?

   r-hd   |nodding


15 TOM     okay.


16 TOM    |no: problem.

   t-gz   |down at counter
```

Prior to this excerpt, there was a base sequence in which Tom solicits a pizza order from Rin (not shown). In line 1, Tom initiates a post-expansion sequence concerning the pizza's size and, after a micro-pause, deploys the increment "would you like" (line 3) to recomplete his turn constructional unit (TCU) and refresh response relevancy (see Chapter 5). Rin's response, "giant size" (line 4), occurs in partial overlap with this increment, perhaps occasioning the embodied repair initiation that occurs in line 5, in which Tom leans forward and raises his eyebrows in silence while gazing at Rin. Rin's hearably louder repetition of "giant size," in the next turn treats this as evidence of a hearing issue, and after Tom gives a repetition receipt in line 7, Rin closes the repair sequence with a confirming "yes," in line 9.

Considering that this repair sequence has already disrupted progressivity, it is worth noting that Tom does not simply accept Rin's order and move forward with the task. Instead, he provides a 3-part list of other sizes that the restaurant has on its menu, implicitly rejecting her order by treating "giant size" as something they do not have. Immediately adapting to this newly occasioned constraint, Rin chooses "jumbo size" and after Tom provides confirmation they move on to the next part of the task.

Tom's obstacle to task progressivity has thus had two immediate and apparent impacts on the interaction: (1) It expanded the sequence at a moment of potential closure, thus providing another opportunity for Rin to use her L2 and (2) it drew her attention to the formulation of her order ("giant size") while providing three alternative formulations for pizza sizes, which tacitly encouraged her to use one of those candidate items instead. Tom therefore treats Rin's word choice as contextually misaligned with his impromptu enactment of the restaurant menu. He gives her additional opportunities to encounter the sort of sub-

activities that are found in real-world service encounters, i.e., respecifying one's order using the local menu terms.

However, such obstacles are not always aimed at lexical choice: they can also be used to ensure alignment with the task as specified, namely the customization of a particular food.

For example, in Excerpt 6.2 below, Fay presents Sho with an interactional obstacle, which both occasions expansion and better aligns his order with the task.

Excerpt 6.2: **No Sushi**

```
01 SHO    [ uh:  I  want  to  ] order:

02 SHO    pizza¿

03 FAY    PIZZA [okay.]

04 SHO          [a:nd ] sushi¿

05 FAY    pizza:, and sushi (.) for-

06 FAY    oh: we are not >uh< we are no:t uh:m:

07 FAY    (1.1) uh:: preparing sushi.


08        (0.5)


09 FAY    we don't have sushi in our menu.

10 SHO    ah: okay=

11 FAY    =yeah. s-sorry

12 SHO    uh:: pizza: wi:z natto,

                        fermented soybeans
```

In lines 1-2, Sho begins the sequence by ordering a pizza, but after a repetition receipt and confirmation from Fay in the next turn, Sho then recompletes his order using the increment "and sushi." Rather than simply accepting this order and moving forward, Fay instead offers an account, saying "I are not preparing sushi" before claiming that the store does not have sushi on its menu. In line 10, Sho receipts this account, and Fay produces an apology. Keeping in mind that it is fully within Fay's power to treat sushi as acceptable, why does she instead reject it? As in the previous excerpt, the delay to progressivity constitutes a means of preparing the learner for the possibility of such an occurrence in a real-world restaurant setting, where certain orders are not always possible. It also seems clear that the rejection of sushi focuses Sho's subsequent turns back on the set task of customizing his pizza, which he immediately begins in line 12 saying "pizza with natto" and continues for the remainder of the sequence (not shown).

Tom and Jun deal with a similar situation in Excerpt 6.3, as they negotiate a pizza order that occasions multiple obstacles to task/sequence progressivity.

Excerpt 6.3: No Margherita Pizza

```
01 TOM    [and for you?]

02 JUN    [uh:: may I: ] (0.2) have.u

03        a piza please?


04        (0.5)


05 TOM    a pizza
```

```
06         |(.)
   j-hd    |nods


07 TOM     okay=

08 JUN     =uh:m (1.6)

09         |(sa- sa- auh:::)
   j-gz    |to RYU

   j-rh    |shakes card


10         |(2.0)
   t-rh    |scratching head

   j-rh    |rolling-->


11 JUN      uh |marugheri:ta.
   j-rh     ---|beat


12         (0.2)


13 TOM     margherita pizza?=


14 JUN     |=°piza°
   n-hd    |nod


15 TOM     |I'm |sorry, we have
   t-bh         |form an X -> line 17

   t-fc    |wincing expression
```

```
16        <no: mo:re>


17 JUN    |ahoho
   j-gz    |to RYU
   t-bh    |rests on counter


18 TOM    margherita pizza °today.°
19 JUN    uh >chee- cheese< pizza
20 TOM    °ch°eese |((teeth sucking))
   t-fc           |wince-->line 22
   t-hd           |to side -->line 22


21        (1.0)


22 TOM    we have [no cheese either.]
23 JUN            [    ohohohoho    ]


24 RYU    oh:
```

```
25 TOM    can you |pick some toppings?
```



```
26        (.)


27        for your pizza?

28 JUN    oh: (0.4) uh:: tabasco.


29 TOM    |tabasco?

   t-rh   |holds up thumb
```



```
30 JUN    |tabasco,

   j-rh   |raises thumb
```

Excerpt 6.3 begins just after Jun's partner, Ryu, has finished ordering his food. Tom then

selects Jun by asking "and for you?" occasioning Jun's pizza order, which is receipted and

confirmed in lines 5-7. In the next turn, Jun begins to say something, but displays formulation trouble as he pauses for 1.6 seconds before briefly turning to Ryu while shaking his card and producing several non-lexical perturbations. This is followed by another 2-sec silence where Jun is still embodily displaying his attempt to formulate the turn while moving his right hand in a rolling motion. In line 11, Jun finally says the word "marugherita", which is treated as repairable by Tom, who clarifies it with the candidate "margherita pizza".

With the progressivity of the order sequence having already been delayed by both this repair work and Jun's lengthy word search, it is again notable that Tom does not attempt to get the sequence back on track by accepting Jun's order and moving on. Instead, in lines 15-18, Tom rejects the order by producing an account ("I'm sorry, I have no more margherita pizza today), drawing out the syllables on "no more" and forming his arms into an X shape. Jun treats this exaggerated delivery as humorous by laughing in the next turn. Attempting to bypass this newly positioned obstacle to task progressivity, Jun tries to order a cheese pizza instead (line 19). However, rather than immediately accepting this alternative, Tom quietly repeats the word cheese, cocks his head to the side, and sucks his teeth while wincing. Along with the silence in line 21 this projects a dispreferred response, in this case, a refusal. In line 22, Tom then gives another account for rejection, "I have no cheese either." A pizza restaurant without cheese is certainly a surprising turn of events, and both Jun and Ryu treat it as such via overlapped laughter and a next-turn surprise token (lines 23-24).

Why does Tom reject both of Jun's attempts to order? As in Excerpt 6.1, it seems that Tom deploys obstacles to progressivity in second position (i.e., as a responsive action) in order to prompt Jun to properly address the task of customizing his pizza. Tom seems to orient to the ordering of a "margherita pizza" as a subversion of the task, in that it is already a pre-customized variation. By rejecting it, Tom delays progressivity to give Jun another chance to address the task. However, Jun instead chooses to order a "cheese pizza", which

would be commonly interpreted as not having any toppings or customizations. While implausible in the real world, Tom's second account for rejecting Jun's order (that they are out of cheese) does eliminate the possibility of other common pizza types and thus constrains Jun's subsequent orders to more unique alternatives. On the other hand, accepting the order would work to close the task, thereby making it shorter and allowing for fewer opportunities for Jun to practice speaking English. Inserting the obstacle in the second position provides the learner with a chance to (re)initiate a sequence.

In the next turn, Tom pursues Jun's order by asking him to pick some toppings for his pizza. This request further displays Tom's orientation to the task by reformulating what is meant by the word 'customize,' displaying an expectation that Jun's pizza should have multiple components. However, Jun's response in line 28 appears misaligned, in that he only lists one topping, "tabasco", using falling intonation that suggests turn closure. Addressing both the insufficiency and misalignment of Jun's response, Tom repeats "tabasco" but laminates it with upward intonation while raising his thumb, co-operatively transforming (Goodwin, 2018) it into a listing in progress. Jun then realigns his response by reformulating it as a 3-part order consisting of tabasco (line 30) and two other toppings (not shown).

As the analysis of these excerpts has illustrated, the agents' deployment of obstacles to progressivity directed learners towards responses that were better fitted to the agents' task interpretations, while also extending the task sequence and providing further opportunities for the learners to interact in their L2. Obstacles to progressivity thus served as affordances for the participants to display and adapt their emergent interpretations of the task as it unfolded and were therefore central to the co-constructed achievement of each distinct task-as-process.[7]

---

[7] Remarking on a study by Skekan and Foster (1997), Ellis (2006) posits that the introduction of surprising information into a task has pedagogic value in that it serves as "an obvious way of extending the time learners spend on a task and thus increases the amount of talk. It may

6.4.2　Navigating complications with pantomimed objects

While the prior section focused primarily on the ways in which the agents presented the learners with interactional speed bumps in the form of complications, in this section I examine some practices employed by learners to get around such obstacles. One method apparent among the university-level participants, is to improvise pantomimic objects to aid them.

Excerpt 6.4, collected in TGG's souvenir shop, is a case in point as Nagi (the learner) uses a pantomimed receipt to get past the obstacle Tom places in the way of task completion.

Excerpt 6.4: Receipt

```
01 TOM    okay. no:: problem.

02 NAGI   °thank you°=

03 TOM     =|a::nd do you have your |receipt?

   t-rh     |to NAGI

   t-bh                             |clasps together


04        (1.3)


05 NAGI   #Yeh#

06 ENME   ehehehe

07 NAGI   yeh-
```

---

also help to enhance students' intrinsic interest in a task" (pp. 86-87). By documenting the features of such unexpected task trajectories in actual episodes of interaction, the current analysis has lent support to this claim.

```
08        |(0.8)
   n-lh   |thumbs up



09 TOM    |really?
   t-fc   |raises eyebrows
   t-hd   |cocks left



10 NAGI yeah.
```

Prior to the extract, Nagi and Tom have just finished working out the terms for an exchange of some chocolate (lines omitted) when Tom throws in a complication: In line 3, he asks Nagi to produce a receipt so that he can go through with the exchange. Being that this is a role-play and Nagi's lack of a physical receipt is certain, it seems clear that this is simply an obstacle that Tom uses to get Nagi to say more, holding him sequentially responsible for coming up with an impromptu resolution, such as by giving an account for not having a receipt. Instead, however, Nagi claims to have a receipt (lines 5, 7), which is met with skepticism by Tom who raises his eyebrows and cocks his head while asking "really?" (line 9). The fact that Nagi leaves a 1.3-sec gap open in line 4 before responding projects a dispreferred second pair part and helps contribute to making his claim unconvincing. But Nagi simply once again claims to have the receipt in line 10, without actually producing one: he responds to the grammar of Tom's question, without responding with an appropriate next action (i.e., providing the requested receipt).

With the role-play having reached a temporary impasse, Tom further pursues the receipt in the following Excerpt 6.5.

Excerpt 6.5: Can I See

```
11          (0.8)


12 TOM     |can I see your:,

   t-rh    |to NAGI


13 ENME    |eheHEH

   e-gz    |to NAGI


14 ENME    .hhh


15         |(0.3)

   n-gz    |to right


16 NAGI    |uh::

   n-gz    |downward


17         (0.6)


18 NAGI    |hai.

   n-gz    |to TOM

   n-rh    |"receipt" to TOM *Figure 6.1


19         (0.3)
```

```
20 TOM     |oh[: : ]
   t-bh    |receives "receipt"


21 NAGI     [here] you a(h)re. hehehe
22 TOM     alright.
23 TOM     |OH:: [>okay    |okay] okay
   t-bh    |opens "receipt"|clasps together *Figure 6.2
   t-gz    |to "receipt"   |to NAGI


24 ENME           [   AHAHAh       ]
25 ENME    [ahaha    ]
26 NAGI    [oka(h)y?]
27 TOM     |yes yes. |no problem no problem.
   t-lh    |thumbs up|clasps together


28         >thank you thank you.<


29         (.)


30 TOM     okay we can exchange that,=
31 NAGI    =¥thank you:¥
32 TOM     no problem.
```

After a short silence, Tom this time formulates his request more explicitly, by asking Nagi if

he can see the receipt that he has repeatedly claimed to have. Nagi's partner, Enmei, seems to

find the corner Nagi has painted himself into as humorous, looking in Nagi's direction and

laughing loudly as Nagi shifts his gaze around the room. After publicly doing thinking in lines 28-29, Nagi arrives at a solution in line 18 as he pantomimes handing the 'receipt' over to Tom (see Figure 6.1).

Figure 6.1 *Nagi handing Tom the 'receipt'.*

Tom immediately displays an understanding of the imagined object, by receiving it with both hands, and opening it for inspection as one might unfurl a scroll (see Figure 6.2). He then produces a change-of-state token and several okays in line 23, to display that he has confirmed its contents.

Figure 6.2 *Tom opening and checking the 'receipt'.*

This solicits a large burst of laughter from Enmei, and Nagi also laughs through the word okay in line 26, showing the participant's orientation to the playfulness of the embodied exchange.

As this analysis shows, complications can present learners with opportunities to interact in their L2 using a variety of different resources, with embodiment being a major one. Embodiment is not only an affordance for getting around the obstacle the complication has placed in front of them but is oriented to by the participants as a source of humor, thus contributing entertainment value to the role-play.

This is also evident in the following example taken from the same souvenir shop role-play task, as Issa and Tom work out the details of a T-shirt exchange.

Excerpt 6.6 Security Camera

```
01 TOM    and how can I help you


02        (0.7)


03 ISSA   I: (.) bou:ght tee shirt
04        yesterday but it i:s (0.4)
05        little (0.5) too small? for me.
06 TOM    okay.
07 ISSA   so: I need to change that BU:t
08        I (0.2) lost (my) receipt.


09        (0.2)
```

```
10 TOM     ah:: you lost (0.6) °your receipt°

11 ISSA    BU:t (0.4) I:: (1.4) BOUght

12         (0.4) I bought (.) this shop.

13         yesterday.

14 TOM     ah yest[ erday ]

15 ISSA          [plea:se] (0.6) security:

16         camera.

17 DAI?    [eheheh]

18 TOM     [ah::: ] okay okay.

19         what time (.) didju::

20 ISSA    uh::: (0.4) yesterday:: (0.8)

21         evening.


22         (0.3)


23 TOM     |what time.
   t-rh    |points to left wrist
```



```
24         (0.2)
```

```
25 ISSA    uh:: (1.8) five pee em?


26        (0.5)


27 TOM     exactly at five?=

28 ISSA    =yeah.

29 TOM     five ten?

30 ISSA    fi- five five=

31 TOM     five fifteen?

32 ISSA    five pee (0.2) five pee em.


33        (0.2)


34 TOM     five pee em.


35        (1.5)


36 TOM     |lemme check the security

   t-px    |crouching behind counter
```



```
37        |(3.8)
```

|((Issa and Dai peek over the counter))


```
38 TOM    what's your name?


39        (0.3)


40 ISSA   issa.


41        (0.3)


42 TOM    ah:: >okay okay okay.<


43        (1.0)


44 TOM    |no problem.
   t-rh   |closes cabinet
   t-px   |stands up


45 ISSA   okay::
```

```
46 TOM    |I can do that for you.
   t-px   |steps back toward original position
```

After Tom opens the sequence in line 1 saying "how can I help you?", Issa begins to explain the scenario outlined on his mission card: he bought a t-shirt the day previous, but it was too small (lines 3-5). Once Tom has provided receipt in the next turn, Issa explains the complication he must get around to complete his task, namely that he lost the receipt needed to complete an exchange of the shirt. Tom aligns with this troubles telling (Jefferson, 1988) by repeating back the information but with a pained expression on his face (line 10), projecting an inevitable refusal to exchange the shirt. However, before Tom says anything further, Issa adds that he bought the shirt in this store yesterday (lines 11-13) and then comes up with a novel request for Tom.

Unlike many of the other students who arrange a revisit to the store later once they have found their missing receipts, Issa instead says "please security camera" while pointing off towards a corner of the room to his back left side. This is not in reference to an actual security camera in the room, but rather an imaginary security camera that Issa has interacted into being as a way of addressing the obstacle to progressivity that Tom has presented him with. Dai, Issa's classmate at the counter, evidently finds this turn of events amusing, producing some laughter in line 17, while Tom immediately begins to play along in the next turn by asking Issa for the time he visited the store (lines 18-19).

Issa hesitates with a drawn-out "uh" and a 0.4-sec pause before saying "yesterday" pausing another 0.8 seconds and saying "evening". However, this is not an apposite response to Tom's question, which is clear by Tom's response pursuit in line 23 where he again repeats "what time", pairing the utterance with a gesture in which he taps his left wrist with his right index finger. Issa again hesitates with a long "uh" and a lengthy 1.8-sec silence, but is able to

come up with a time, saying "5 p.m.". Tom, however, scrutinizes Issa's answer, asking him if

he came "exactly at five?" (line 27) and even after Issa confirms this in the next turn, Tom

begins to list off some alternative times. In line 29, Tom says "five ten?" which Issa

immediately seems to refute by instead repeating his earlier answer "five". However, Tom

seems to ignore this and instead says "five fifteen?" again calling Issa's claim into question.

This increased scrutiny from Tom has temporarily shifted the tone of the role-play from a

standard product exchange to something more akin to a police interrogation. However, Issa

remains resolute, twice repeating "five p.m." in line 32 which Tom acknowledges in line 34,

before taking a few steps away from Issa, opening a small cabinet at the base of the counter

and ducking down as he says "lemme check the security." As a way of playing along with

Issa's imaginary security camera, Tom mimes a corresponding imaginary security console

into the field on which to verify Issa's story. This prompts Issa and his partner to briefly peek

over the counter, perhaps trying to see exactly what Tom is looking at, as Tom continues his

inspection of the imaginary security footage for 3.8 seconds. He then asks Issa for his name

in an apparent effort to confirm his identity with the "tape". After Issa provides this

information in line 40, Tom acts out verifying this information on his imaginary security

monitor, and in line 42 claims to have confirmed Issa's identity and says that he will be able

to carry out the return (line 46).

As in the prior extract with Nagi and his pantomimed receipt, the complication to the

role-play significantly impacted the way that the participants carried out the task. By having

to deal with an obstacle in the way of task completion, the learners are encouraged to find

some way around it, and this can provide opportunities for displaying creativity/ingenuity and

imagination. Issa and Tom's on-the-spot improv of the security camera and monitor illustrate

this point. In both cases not only do the learners orient to the use of imaginary objects as

appropriate, but Tom also co-participates by seeing and touching these immaterial

constructions thereby treating them as though they are real. While checking security footage is not a realistic way of making a simple T-shirt return, Tom's obstacle made it sequentially relevant for Issa to talk more during the task than he likely would have otherwise.

6.4.3   Feigned displays of misunderstanding in third position repair

Another apparent benefit of these role-plays is that they can offer learners opportunities to gauge how they will be understood "in the wild". One way the agents give tacit interactional feedback on the learners' English is by designing their next-turn response as non-understanding in order to index trouble in earlier talk. By doing so, they would coax the learner to self-repair a just-prior formulation while still maintaining rapport with a light-hearted or joking stance.

This "feigned" non-understanding took the form of a particular kind of third-position repair which Schegloff (1987) terms a *joke-first*. Third-position repair is "an attempt to fix [a] trouble-source by its speaker based on the next speaker's response, which displays a possible misunderstanding of the trouble-source turn" (Wong & Waring, 2010, p. 224). In other words, a recipient's publicly available misinterpretation triggers the prior speaker to reformulate what they just said.

Third-position repair generally deals with two kinds of problems: incorrect reference and incorrect relevant next action (Schegloff, 1987; 1992), and in most cases the misunderstanding is genuine. On occasion, however, a recipient may choose to claim misunderstanding, such as to do a joke. The initiator of a "joke first", for example, can provide next-turn uptake in a deadpan manner that is disaligned with the prior turn, thereby luring the prior speaker into believing there was something wrong with what was just said.

Excerpt 6.7 (taken from Schegloff, 1987) provides an example of a joke-first in line 2. Two anthropology students are talking.

Excerpt 6.7: (from Schegloff, 1987, p. 213)

```
01 J      you study the Tiwi?

02 R      Tea Wee (leafs) [Tell people (forture)

03 J                      [No, the Tiwi (0.2) The Tiwi of

04        North Australia.

05 R      I've heard of them.
```

In line 2, R receipts the referent "Tiwi" in a way that is misaligned with J's question, in that it is hearably non-serious. In line 3, J rejects R's response and enacts self-repair on line 1 by further specifying the referent, which leads R to align more seriously in line 5. Frequently, after the third-position self-repair has been delivered, the joking stance is revealed through laugh tokens and the speaker may then transition to more serious talk with a turn-initial "no" followed by a more genuine response (Schegloff, 2001). This sort of teasing may be specified as claims to non-serious intent (Haugh, 2016) or playfulness (Holt, 2016).

This section will examine two cases from the dataset in which the agent jokingly claims misunderstanding in order to provide a sequential slot where the relative language novice (the learner) can enact self-repair on their own prior talk. The analysis shows that the jocular nature in which the agent's display of trouble is delivered points to its "intentional misunderstanding" (Schegloff, 1987, p. 212) and works to maintain rapport instead of initiating the dispreferred act of other-correction. In the TGG data, there are often multiple claims to feigned misunderstanding, each escalating the absurdity of the claim to misunderstanding and providing a new slot for the learner to self-repair the original

ambiguity. As an initial case, consider Excerpt 6.8, taken from the fast-food role-play. Tom

invites the learner to self-repair by displaying feigned misunderstanding that involves the

deployment of an absurd candidate formulation (Amar et al., 2021).

Excerpt 6.8: Onion Hamburger

```
01 AZU     uh: I want to: (.) onion |hamburger
   a-bd                             |bounces slightly


02 TOM     Onion (0.3) Hamburger.


03 AZU     |yes.
   a-hd    |nods


04 TOM     okay


05         ¥no |meat?¥
   t-bh        |sweep
   t-fc        |smiles widely
```

```
06 AZU     uh:: meat meat, and onion, and lettuce.
```

The sequence begins in line 1, where Azu places an order for an "onion hamburger" which is receipted through repetition by Tom in second position. This receipt receives confirmation from Azu, followed by an "okay" from Tom. Azu's burger order has thus reached an ostensible completion of the task, in that she has customized her burger, albeit in a minimal way. In this respect, "onion hamburger" is somewhat similar to the "margherita pizza" example analyzed earlier in Excerpt 6.3: the learner seems to be side-stepping the task of customization to a degree, by giving an order with a customization built in. Like in excerpt 6.3, it is apparent that Tom orients to this kind of order as insufficient and holds the learner accountable to say more. However, the way he goes about this is quite different.

Rather than constructing an in-situ complication that would constrain Azu to placing a different order, Tom instead uses a candidate understanding in line 5 ("no meat?") that exploits a potential ambiguity in Azu's order formulation. While one available interpretation of "onion hamburger" would be a hamburger with onion on it as a topping, Tom does not display this understanding. Instead, Tom's turn in line 5 displays the understanding that an onion hamburger might not have any meat in it, i.e., rather than a burger with onion on top, "onion hamburger" might be a burger that is made up of onions rather than meat, in the vein of a "veggie burger". However, due to the smiling facial expression and joking vocal quality with which this turn is delivered, it seems clear that this turn was not a genuine misunderstanding on Tom's part. Instead, this it is delivered as an absurd candidate that is meant to be rejected by the learner and replaced with a response that is better aligned with the task. Note also, that even if the learner were to accept this candidate, Tom would still be able to rightly assess this as needing elaboration, since a burger made of onions would still be lacking any kind of customization/toppings. Thus, Tom's absurd candidate efficiently

constrains the direction of the sequence towards learner expansion. In line 6, Azu provides an expansion on her order, by giving a three-part list that specifies the contents of her burger. Not only does this make clear that it should include meat and onions as separate components, but also lettuce. This turn thus implicitly rejects Tom's candidate "only meat?" and replaces it with an answer that is more clearly in line with the "customization" task. Feigned non-understanding was therefore used by the agents as a resource to both get the learner to speak more as well as to deal with alignment issues.

Interestingly, there is not always clear delineation between feigned non-understanding and actual non-understanding. In fact, what emerges as a genuine repairable in the talk can sometimes morph into a feigned non-understanding, as illustrated by Excerpt 6.9, where Tom seems to go from not recognizing a word to feigning non-recognition in order to get the learner to deal with an emergent threat to intersubjectivity.

Excerpt 6.9: Taruta Sauce

```
16 NOA    |shrimp, |(1.2) a:nd, |(1.5) |taruta: sauce.

   n-lh    |forward----------------------------------

   t-bh            |sandwich gesture-----------------

   n-rh                                   |over LH
```

```
17        |(0.9)

   t-bh   |closes together and lowers

   t-px   |leans forward, eyebrows raised
```



```
18 NOA    |ah-

   n-bd   |shoulders raise, torques right

   n-gz   |to AZU

   a-fc   |smiles, wide eyes

   t-px   |leans closer
```



```
19        |(.)

   n-bh   |claps


20        |(1.0)
```

```
    n-bd    |torques left, slight jig

    n-bh    |palms wave
```



```
21 NOA    uh- |shrimp,   and       |letas.

   n-bh         |forward overlapped

   n-rh                                |slaps LH
```



```
22 TOM    |lettuce?

   t-hd    |slight nod


23 NOA    |yeah

   n-gz    |to AZU

   a-hd    |nods
```

After Tom uses an incomplete listing to occasion a fuller response from Noa (see Chapter 7, Excerpt 7.13 for a detailed analysis of this list), Noa responds that she would like to order a sandwich with shrimp and "taruta sauce". To the analyst, this was immediately recognizable as a Japanese pronunciation of the word 'tartar sauce' but in line 17, Tom either does not clearly hear or is unable to recognize this reference form as shown by his embodied repair initiation in which he drops his sandwich gesture and leans forward toward Noa while raising his eyebrows. While it is somewhat speculative, Tom's inability to recognize the word might be due to the pronunciation of this word in Australian English (tɑːteə) being quite different from its American (/tɑrtər/) and Japanese (tarutaru) counterparts, which arguably bear greater similarity to one another.

Recognizing that repair has been initiated, Noa momentarily torques her body toward her classmate Azu in a bid for assistance, but after Azu also widens her eyes and smiles in apparent confusion, Noa appears to slightly panic by shifting her body back toward Tom and hopping in place while waving her open hands at around head height (lines 18-20). In line 21, she arrives at a solution to the trouble by abandoning the non-understood referent "tartar sauce" and exchanging it with "lettuce". While disposing of the trouble source entirely might on the surface seem like a reasonable solution, by circumventing an explanation of the repairable "tartar sauce," Noa has essentially given up on what she wanted to order in favor of something she projected Tom would understand. It is important to remember that one of the stated objectives of TGG's roleplays is to help learners prepare for real-world situations where such misunderstandings bear heavier consequences.

It is perhaps for this reason that Tom orients to her attempted bypass of the problem as problematic by feigning non-understanding and designing it as an obstacle to progressivity in excerpt 6.10.

Excerpt 6.10: What's Tartayr Sauce?

```
27 TOM     and |what's ta:(rt-) (.) ta:tayr sauce?

   t-rh        |palm up, toward NOA
```



```
28 NOA     |¥AHAha¥ ah::

   n-gz    |to AZU


29         |(0.8)

   n-lh    |raises and traces circles in air

   n-rh    |grasps left arm

   n-gz    |to LH


30 AZU     |E(h)Hh?

   a-hd    |toward NOA
```

```
31 NOA     maybe (1.0) maybe::|mayo nay|:ze,

    n-lh                        |left hand raises->line 34

    n-gz                        |upper left

    t-hd                           |nods
```



```
32 TOM     |meiyonayze,

    t-hd    |nodding
```

```
33 NOA     |meiyonayze,           |onion,

    n-lh    --------------------

    n-rh                           |raise
```

```
34 NOA     |BAM         |BAM                |BA::M [ ahah ]

   n-rh                 |jab                | mixing gesture

   n-bh    |slam        |
```



```
35 AZU                                             [hahaha]


36       (0.5)


37 TOM    >okay< |meiyonayze, |onion,

   t-rh           |raises------------------->line 40

   t-lh                        |raises------>line 40
```

```
     t-fc                              |eyebrows raise
```



```
38           (0.4)


39 NOA    |BA-n (.)                            |sau:ce.

   n-bh    |attenuated version of line 33 |forward then back
```



```
40 TOM    |Oh:: I see I see.

   t-bh    |closes together

   n-bh    |interlaces fingers


41        |(0.6)
```

```
t-lh    |thumbs up
```

```
42 TOM    no problem. we can do that.
```

As I noted earlier, when Tom first initiated repair in line 17 it was not clear if he did not hear Noa or did not recognize the word that she said. However, there were no signs of this displayed non-understanding being feigned, such as smiles or laughter tokens. By examining Tom's turn in line 27, it becomes clear that he did in fact hear Noa, since she never repeats the word "tartar sauce". This lends credence to the interpretation that Tom heard what she said, but was at the time unable to achieve recognition, perhaps due to differences in pronunciation. I argue that at some point in Noa's somewhat lengthy repair (including her panicked hopping) Tom retrospectively comes to understand what it is that Noa meant but feigns non-understanding in order to get her to deal with the trouble source more directly. This can be evidenced by how Tom pronounces the referent "tartar sauce" in line 27. Rather than producing a phonetic repetition of what Noa said in line 16 ("taruta sauce") this time Tom says the word in his own accent/dialect. Such a pronunciation conversion is of course predicated on his recognition of the word, which evidences his stance of non-recognition here as one that must be feigned. Simply put, Tom pretends not to understand to get the learner to address the trouble source that she tried to side-step and give her more opportunities to practice doing repair in English on a word that would likely become repairable were the learner to try to use it in "the wild".

This practice proves successful in that after producing some laughter (line 28) and failing to recruit Azu's assistance (line 30) Noa does attempt to unpack what tartar sauce is. This begins with some hedging in line 31 where she says, "maybe mayonnaise," which is then reformulated as a 3-part list that involves the embodied depiction of taking

"mayonnaise" and "onion" and vigorously mixing them together with a "bam bam bam".[8] While this explanation is somewhat lacking in the deployment of linguistic resources, Noa's embodiment makes the explanation fairly coherent. However, in line 37, Tom again feigns non-understanding, perhaps in an effort to solicit a better replacement for the onomatopoeic finale of Noa's list. He treats both mayonnaise and onion as acceptable by repeating them but does not repeat "bam bam bam" instead leaving a slot open for Noa to offer an alternative co-completion. Noa first seems on the way to simply repeating "bam bam bam" but perhaps orienting to Tom's tacit rejection, stops after a single cut-off "ba-n" and instead says "sauce" with falling intonation while halting her gestures and ending her turn. Interestingly, despite Noa's repair attempt not adding anything substantially informational, Tom's oh-prefaced "I see I see" in the next turn makes the claim that her repair was successful. However, it seems more likely that after successfully getting the learner to at least attempt to explain what "tartar sauce" is, Tom opts to (re)prioritize task progressivity by ceasing his feigned non-understanding. Tom's "oh I see I see" is therefore not the moment that he comes to understand what Noa was saying, but the moment he stops pretending not to understand. As this excerpt shows, feigned non-understandings can be highly effective obstacles to progressivity that draw out sequences heading toward closure and can thus provide learners with more opportunities to interact using their L2 and enrich the role-plays by simulating the kinds of misunderstandings that happen in the real world. In this excerpt Tom's choice for the feigned trouble source was born from a genuine moment of misunderstanding which is perhaps why Tom did not allow the learner to circumvent an explanation; because "taruta sauce" momentarily led to an understanding issue for him, the plausibility of it happening in

---

[8] It is worth noting that while the TCU "bam bam bam" is embedded as the third item within Noa's instructive list regarding the making of tartar sauce, it is also itself a three-part list matching the "triple single" format documented by Jefferson (1990).

the real world and needing to be dealt with is increased. Allowing the learner to get around the problem by ordering something she did not want could perhaps reinforce this practice in real service encounter situations. Instead, Tom sequentially constrains Noa to at least try and repair her original order.

A similar sequence unfolds below as Nagi (the learner) tries to arrange an exchange with Tom for some chocolate as part of a role-play task in TGG's souvenir shop.

Excerpt 6.11 : Nut Allergy

```
01 NAGI   yes. so: I remi- remembered it uh
02        friends' house:. nuts arerugi.
                                 allergy
03        (0.3)


04 NAGI   |so I bought(.) |bought this-
   t-hd   |cocks left
   t-fc   |raises eyebrows
   t-px                   |leans in


05 NAGI   I bought a chocolate,


06        |(0.8)
   t-hd   |nods


07 NAGI   contain.da=
08 TOM    =sorry >one more time.< nuts?
09        [aru]
```

```
10 NAGI   [yes]

11 TOM    [aroo [gee  ]

12 NAGI         [areru]gi

13 NAGI   |ah-
   n-gz   |to ENMEI
   n-px   |torques right


14 ENME   allergy allergy.

15 NAGI   allajin.

16 TOM    |AH:: (.)       |right allergy.
   t-rh   |points to NAGI|point beat


17 TOM    |>okay okay okay<
   t-rh   |to own chest


18        I see [I see.]
```

After explaining to Tom that he wants to return some chocolate that he bought earlier (lines omitted), Nagi starts to provide an account for the return in lines 1-2, the fact that he remembered that his friend has a nut allergy. Importantly, Nagi says the word allergy in a way that strongly resembles the Japanese loanword pronunciation "arerugi" rather than a more typical English pronunciation.

It quickly becomes apparent that Tom orients to this turn as problematic, by not providing immediate uptake leading to a 0.3 sec silence in line 3. In the next turn, Nagi attempts repair by repeating part of his telling, but during this repetition Tom provides more explicit displays of trouble by cocking his head to the left, raising his eyebrows and leaning

in towards Nagi (line 4). Perhaps assuming that the trouble source was earlier in his explanation, Nagi again restarts in line 5 saying, "I bought a chocolate contained", but in line 8 Tom finally exposes the trouble source saying "sorry, one more time. nuts aru- aroogee?" thus referring back to Nagi's turn in lines 1-2. However, just like the prior excerpt, there is strong evidence to suggest that this is not a genuine misunderstanding on Tom's part. First, since Nagi is using a higher difficulty level mission card, the scenario he is explaining is one that is explicitly written down. As an employee of TGG who has not only received extensive training with using these cards but one that has worked there several years by this point, Tom has intimate knowledge and experience with these role-play scenarios, and it is thus extremely likely that Tom is able to deduce what task Nagi has after hearing the words "chocolate" and "nuts". The second piece of evidence is the way that Tom repeats the trouble source word "arerugi". Similar to the prior example with "tartar sauce", rather than try to mimic the way that Nagi pronounced "arerugi", Tom seems to inflect it in the way someone unfamiliar with Japanese might pronounce the Japanese loanword. In other words, he seems to be exaggerating the mispronunciation in order to make his understanding issue more noticeable to Nagi.

This tactic proves successful, as in overlap with this turn, Nagi first repeats "arerugi" with the same pronunciation as before, but then produces a display of noticing in line 13, saying "ah" before quickly turning to Enmei, his classmate who has already completed this task, in a bid for assistance. Enmei then helps by twice repeating the word "allergy" (line 14) with a more standard English pronunciation, which Nagi attempts to repeat in the next turn saying "allajin". Despite still not having the 'correct' pronunciation, Tom claims to have understood in line 16, by producing a change-of-state token in the form of a long and drawn out "ah" and pointing to Nagi with his right index finger before saying "allergy", providing what might be an embedded correction. Like Tom's earlier mispronunciation of the word

"aroogee", his exaggerated delivery in line 16 contributes to the impression of this being a performance rather than genuine. Tom then repeats "okay" three times and his twice repeated "I see" that follows (line 18) mirrors the prior excerpt in both form and action, insofar as rather than this being the moment Tom finally understood, it is instead when he stops pretending not to understand and thus orients to the learner as having noticed and rectified the problem.

6.5   Discussion

Language learning is a co-participatory process in which novice speakers develop socio-interactional practices by interacting with other competent members. Encountering problems that need to be collaboratively resolved is an integral part of that process (Wagner, 2015) and learners do this by "dealing with the competing principles of progressivity and intersubjectivity" (Pekarek Doehler & Berger, 2019, p. 65). As the analysis in this chapter has shown, in order to engage learners during a role-play task, expert speakers can create interactional obstacles that challenge learners to expand on their contributions. Whether by proffering a complication or by making a non-serious display of misunderstanding, the experts momentarily delay the progress of the role-play task and tacitly hold the learners responsible for coming up with solutions to restore it.

In one sense, the sequential practice of creating obstacles to progressivity might also be seen as a form of resistance, which typically involves disaffiliation and/or disagreement (Muntigl, 2013; Stivers, 2008), but the excerpts from our collection are ultimately collaborative. They may momentarily create delays, but they do so for pedagogical purposes,

helping to make the task more fun (as evidenced by participants' laughter) and ensuring TGG's institutional goals are met.

Crucially, such obstacles also provide interactionally-embedded opportunities for learner noticing (Schmidt, 1990). This can be seen in both Excerpts 6.10 and 6.11, where the learners both produce change-of-state tokens in response to Tom's feigned misunderstandings before doing some repair work. It seems clear that Tom could have simply let these minor pronunciation issues pass. However, doing so would have deprived the learners of the chance to notice and resolve these issues themselves. Creating obstacles to progressivity is therefore one way educators can encourage learner agency while still aligning with task goals. In the TBLT approach, information-gap tasks (and the like) are designed to lead to occasional communication breakdowns in order to promote opportunities for increased language use and learning (Pica, 2005). Our study has suggested that language educators participating in role-plays may choose to instigate such moments on the fly, leading to potential opportunities for language learning.

In addition, in TBLT the notion of task difficulty/complexity is often considered to be a fixed property inherent to the task itself (Robinson, 2001). However, my observations in this chapter have shown that expert speakers often tweak tasks to recalibrate their difficulty *in situ*, according to a myriad of possible contingencies. As such, the analysis serves to respecify complexity as at least partially determined by the participants themselves in real time. For example, I have shown that ad-libbed complications can be initiated by the agent in order to extend the task and encourage the learner to say more.

6.5.1   Pedagogical implications

While the obstacles I have documented are sometimes presented in an exaggerated or humorous way, they also plausibly mirror interactional challenges that L2 users face beyond the classroom and therefore exhibit some of TBLT's core principles of authenticity and real-world relevance (Ellis, 2006). Studies of L2 learning "in the wild" have shown that service encounters often necessitate participants' *in situ* adaptation to similar emergent problems (Piirainen-Marsh & Lilja, 2019; Wagner, 2015), making them fertile ground for language practice and learning (Eskildsen & Theodórsdóttir, 2017; Theodórsdóttir, 2011). By initiating these unforeseen interactional trajectories during service encounter role-plays, the agents provide opportunities for learners to practice dealing with such issues on the fly without the pressure of facing significant real-world consequences. Negotiating obstacles to progressivity thus provides vital experiences that can afford the development of both context-specific and generic interactional resources for learners to draw upon in subsequent interactions.

The current analysis is centrally concerned with how the agents expand the role-play tasks *in situ*, and how that provides learners with more opportunities to talk. It could be that this project somehow impacts the authenticity of the interaction. A real store clerk is likely to initiate repair only on matters that clearly impede understanding, while in the TGG data, the agent is doing so in part to prompt self-repair and thereby encourage the learner to talk more. In a busy store or restaurant, that would be inefficient, but at TGG there are no real transactions taking place and the goal is to practice using English. The complications also vary in their plausibility, with some seeming particularly unrealistic (e.g., having to order a pizza with no cheese). However, the participants are not treating this as genuine talk: they know that the scenarios are not 'real'. That said, I do see this as genuine *role-play* interaction, as do the participants themselves (Okada & Greer, 2013). In one sense, the practices of expanding the talk that I have outlined also serve to demonstrate the "role-playness" of this talk and differentiate it in some ways from instances of talk in the wild.

That is not to say, however, that such talk is not of educational value. For one thing, these practices were commonly oriented to by the participants as fun (displayed via smiles and laughter) and thus helped to fulfill the agents' institutional role as not only teachers but as entertainers as well. The practices also clearly provide learners with opportunities to practice dealing with unexpected situations in their L2, to notice and address issues in their English turns, and to imagine themselves doing so in the real world. It is also at least as authentic as comparable role-play tasks in conventional language classrooms, which form the bulk of TBLT settings.

However, it is important to note that the agents did not place obstacles to task progressivity in front of every learner. Instead, it seems they drew on both their brief interactional history with the learners and real-time displays of interactional competence to decide when (and to what extent) they should delay progressivity. This lends support to the findings of Al-Gahtani and Roever (2012), who suggest that interlocutors in role-played request sequences tend to simplify their interaction for lower-level learners by avoiding insertion sequences. Creating obstacles is thus a very practical way for teachers to tailor unscripted role-play to the ability of each participant and provide opportunities to challenge and develop their interactional competence.

As a middle ground between the traditional language classroom and the real world, "simulated wild" contexts are particularly suited to generating these kinds of interactional opportunities. Rather than simply mimicking a model dialogue, such open-ended role-play tasks provide opportunities to deal with emergent difficulties. While the simulated wild may shelter learners from real-world consequences, the interactional resources participants deploy to maintain intersubjectivity are anything but artificial: Ideally, over time such practices will become part of the learners' expanding interactional repertoires (Hall, 2018). Creating

obstacles to progressivity is one way that language educators can ensure that such

interactional opportunities arise.

Chapter 7: List Construction as a Jointly Accomplished Embodied Achievement

In this chapter, I build on Jefferson's (1990) seminal paper on list construction in order to document the multimodal practices that participants deploy while talking a list into being. The phenomenon of listing has been the subject of extensive scholarly inquiry in a number of different fields and this work can be roughly divided into three strands: studies that approach list construction as an interactionally salient practice (e.g., Edwards, 1994; Jefferson, 1990; Lerner, 1994), experimental studies by intonologists examining the prosodic features of elicited lists (e.g., Schubiger, 1958; Couper-Kuhlen, 1986) and finally more integrative studies that attempt to cover both prosody and sequential context to varying degrees (e.g., Erickson, 1982; 1992; Selting, 2007). However, there are some apparent gaps in this research. For one thing, most of the research on listing contains little to no mention of the embodied practices that are deployed when constructing a list either by the speaker or their recipient(s). This raises another related issue, which is that overall, there is very little documentation of recipient conduct during list sequences at all. Further research exploring the joint practices of speakers and listeners, both spoken and embodied, could provide further analytic insights into how listings are co-accomplished in talk-in-interaction.

To that end, using a multimodal CA approach, this chapter will document the specific multimodal practices that interactants bring to bear when co-constructing lists in and through talk-in-interaction. In addition, because of the unique pedagogical ecology that TGG represents, consideration will also be given to listing as a phenomenon relevant to second-language communication and learning. I will begin in section 7.1, by providing a comprehensive review of interactional research on listing, before introducing two key

concepts to this study: co-operative action and return gestures. I then provide a detailed analysis of the spoken and embodied practices that speakers and recipients use to do listing together and evidence the interactional salience of these practices by showing how the participants themselves orient to one another's embodied conduct as relevant to the ongoing list construction.

7.1 Interactional research on listing

7.1.1 The programmatic relevance of three-partedness

As mentioned above, research on lists can be roughly divided into three categories: research focusing on intonational and prosodic features, studies that focus on interactional and sequential features and work that attempts to provide a more holistic account of both. I will limit the following review to notable studies from the latter two of these strands,[9] highlighting findings particularly relevant to the current chapter as well as drawing attention to apparent gaps that this chapter attempts to bridge.

Analyzing naturally occurring talk, Jefferson's (1990) seminal study *List Construction as a Task and Resource* identifies several recurrent features of lists in L1 English conversation. The first, and most influential, is what she refers to as the *programmatic relevance* for *three-partedness*: the observable fact that lists "not only can and do occur in three parts but *should* so occur" (p. 66). This is apparent in the example below in Sidney's telling about mending clothes, which includes the mention of three specific items.

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[9] Due to the experimental, non-naturally occurring nature of the data in intonational studies (e.g., Schubiger, 1958) I do not provide a full review here. However, interested readers may refer to Selting (2007) for a comprehensive summary.

Excerpt 7.1: Jefferson (1990, p. 64)

Sidney: While you've been talking tuh me, I mended,

              two nightshirts, a pillowcase? Enna pair'v pants.

Jefferson notes that three-partedness also occurs in a barer form, or what she calls a "triple single" (p.64) format, where one word is repeated three times in order to indicate *muchness*, as in the below example.

Excerpt 7.2: Jefferson (1990, p. 65)

Chloe: God, she just kept lookin, an' lookin, an' lookin,

These examples, along with the numerous others Jefferson provides, help to solidify the notion that three-partedness is undoubtedly a common feature of lists in mundane talk, but for proof that lists *should so occur* in this way, i.e., are oriented to as preferred by the participants, she shows how members orient to lists with less than three items as problematic and deploy a specific interactional practice to deal with such contingencies. Take for example the following excerpt, a short telling from Rudd.

Excerpt 7.3: Jefferson (1990, p. 67)

Rudd: Oh they come from [Jamaica en, South Africa'n, all

              over the place,]

Notice that the first two items of Rudd's list, Jamaica and South Africa, are specific place references but the third item (all over the place) encompasses a larger and more general category of places. Jefferson refers to such utterances as "generalized list completers" and notes that they are often deployed to address the 'problem' of beginning a three-part list only to discover "that an array exhaustive third-item cannot be found" (p. 68). The fact that interactants endeavor to find a third item for their list even when one is not readily available, lends credence to Jefferson's claim of the programmatic relevance of three-partedness. As Jefferson points out, the three-parted list structure is not merely a feature of lists but one that is consequential, as it is a resource that participants can draw upon to facilitate smooth speaker change: since the pattern is so prevalent, recipients to a listing typically monitor for its three parts and understand the list as complete after the third.

Other studies have indeed found such tri-partite structures to be pervasive throughout various kinds of discourse.[10] Along with Jefferson, Sacks (1978) was the first to remark on this phenomenon with his observations on common joke structures that involve three-characters (e.g., a priest, a minister, and a rabbi). In political discourse, three-part lists are shown to be commonly deployed by politicians to solicit applause during key moments of their speeches (Atkinson, 1984; Heritage & Greatbatch, 1986). Tripartite listing format has also been examined in legal discourse, where it is shown to be a fairly common rhetorical device deployed by witnesses in their "construction of competing descriptions" of events in order to indicate approximateness and thus push back against lawyers' assertions (Drew,

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[10] While not entirely relevant to the current study, Drew's (1990) observations on three-partednesss are still interesting to consider. He writes, "at a different (perhaps higher?) level of discourse, the nature of the deity in the world's religions is frequently characterized as a trinity, as in Christianity's Holy Trinity of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; or Hinduism's Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva, representing the creating, sustaining, and destroying functions of God" (p. 53).

1990, p. 64). Three-part lists are also a strategy employed by lawyers during cross-examinations to a) create a rhetorical *piling on* effect and b) form generalizations that can contribute to the persuasiveness of their arguments.[11] This generalizing force of three-parted lists is also noted by Lerner (1994) who writes that three-part lists are a way of invoking a larger category of items in mundane interaction and that generalized list completers function as induction devices to invite the hearer(s) to infer what that class of things might be.[12]

7.1.2   Other notable findings on listing in interaction

Interactional studies on listing that do not primarily focus on three-partedness are decidedly fewer in number but do provide some important insights. For example, work by discursive psychologists (e.g., Edwards, 1994; Potter 1996) suggests that lists are commonly constructed in an *ad hoc* fashion to address specific interactional purposes. Edwards shows that lengthy lists can be used to form *elaborated accounts* (p. 225) that help to draw emphasis towards quantity. This can be illustrated by Excerpt 7.4, in which Emma provides an account (in the form of list) for refusing an offer of assistance from Lottie given earlier (lines omitted).

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[11] These findings led Boon (1999) to recommend that legal professionals be cognizant of three-parted structure when constructing and considering courtroom strategy.

[12] Although theoretically grounded in cognitive linguistics and semantics, in his book "Women, fire and dangerous things" Lakoff (1987) provides similar observations about three-parted lists being used to invoke and accentuate common properties shared by list members.

Excerpt 7.4: Edwards (1994, p. 224)

```
06 Emma      [.hh I've got

07           everything ↓bought dea:r .hhh

08           an' I:: got a grea:t big Johns'n pie

09           even ↑bought the (0.4) whipped crea:m

10           to (.) throw on it (0.2)

11           hmhh t h[hh

12 Lottie           [Ye:[ah.]

13 Emma                  [An'] I: got

14           the boiled onions'n the, hh (.)

15           PA:ckaged uh fro:zen CREAMED ↓onions

16           an' I'm just havin' stuff' celery an'

17           olives in cranberry an' ya:ms
```

Her list spanning a total of eight items, provides evidence for her claim in line 7, that she has "everything bought" and thus serves as grounds for her refusal of Lottie's offer to take her shopping. If one knows a little about the interactional history between Emma and Lottie, this list also takes on a new dimension; a frequent topic of Emma and Lottie's conversations is that Emma's husband, Bud, has left her and will not attend Thanksgiving dinner. By emphasizing the large amount of effort, she has put into assembling this meal, Emma's extended list helps "build her case for Bud's unreasonableness and emphasize all the thankless trouble she has gone to" (p. 225). Edward's work therefore suggests that listing is by no means an arbitrary practice but one deployed to address emergent interactional concerns and contingencies.

Although the majority of the data is his study focused on three-parted lists, Lerner (1994) likewise emphasizes the kind of interactional work lists are designed by participants to do. Specifically, his analysis centers around the way speakers can use lists to achieve self-repair, respond to proffered anticipatory completions by recipients and manage overlapped turns. Lerner also argues that lists can furnish self-repair by retrospectively claiming that a problematic reference form and possibly complete TCU was "from its beginning merely the first item in a list..." (p. 25-26). He also shows how, when faced with an anticipatory completion (Lerner, 1991) from a listener that the speaker does not fully endorse, a list can be deployed to accept the candidate while at the same time recasting it as one of several potential alternatives, and thus not necessarily ideal. At other times, this type of response assimilation can be a way for the overlapped speaker to retrieve both speakers' utterances from overlap, thus extending their turn in a non-competitive way (p. 30). Although it is relatively a minor point of his study, Lerner asserts that the hearability of a listing in progress is established by the design of its second part (i.e., a recipient can only understand a list-in-progress retrospectively after a second item has been spoken). This finding has come under some scrutiny (see Selting, 2007, below) and will be discussed and contrasted with the findings of the current study.

Finally, and quite relevant to this chapter, Lerner (1995) shows how lists can be used as a resource by teachers to provide opportunities for student participation in classroom interaction. By producing a turn as a last-in-progress, teachers can "[furnish] recipients with the characteristics and form for additions..." (p. 118).

This potential for a proffered list completion is exemplified in the following excerpt where the teacher lists off two items ("too big, too many,").

Excerpt 7.5 (Lerner, 1995, p. 118)

1 Teacher: This 'to' has an extra 'o' (.) so that's a plus plus plus (.)

2   plus plus plus (.) like too:::big, (0.2) too:::many,

3   (0.2)

4 Leti: →   too[::small]

5 Teacher: [too:: far]

In line 4, the learner, Leti, evidently draws on the category of items invoked by the teachers first two list items to arrive at the response "too small," positioning it to fill the gap left open by the teacher in line 3, and as a third item, designed to complete the list-in-progress. Put simply, a partial list can help hint at the type of answer the teacher seeks and provides a slot for it to be proffered by a learner as an anticipatory completion. These points will be both confirmed and elaborated upon in my later analysis.

7.1.3   Multimodal analysis of listing practices

As the prior section has shown, the large bulk of interactional literature deals with three-partedness in some way. This is particularly true of early studies which primarily focus on talk and sequential structure rather than attempting to account for other potentially relevant modalities like gesture, manipulation of artefacts in the environment etc. One notable exception to this trend is the work of Erickson (1982, 1992) that adopts a uniquely holistic approach for its time, taking into account prosodic features like volume and pitch stress, embodied features like posture, and artefactual resources in the environment. Erickson also uniquely incorporates musical notation to illustrate lists' rhythmical qualities. He argues that list sequences are a convergence of modalities interactively co-constructed into (and

affording further) organized courses of coordinated action. Unlike other studies that conceive three-partedness as the means by which speaker change is made projectable, Erickson focuses on how rhythms, established by an assemblage of resources, display for recipients when a listing is in progress or heading towards possible completion.

Despite (or perhaps due to) the abundance of early classical literature on list construction, there are few contemporary studies that make lists the focal point of their analysis. Basing her study on the role of prosody in list production, Selting (2007) is a notable exception. She argues that intonation is the primary means by which listing is a recognizable and projectable interactional practice and that by neglecting to consider intonation in their work, she claims that early studies like Lerner (1994), which were primarily concerned with sequential position, arrived at problematic conclusions. For instance, she illustrates that by drawing on intonational cues, recipients can recognize a list-in-progress as early as the utterance of the first list item, which calls into question Lerner's claim that "three seems to be the minimum number of parts needed to demonstrate that one is doing listing" (ibid, p. 23).

As neglected as prosody has been within interactional studies on listing, embodiment has apparently received even less attention. To my knowledge, only one recent study by Tao (2019) has explored the role of gesture in participants' listing practices. He finds that in Mandarin conversation, gestures are "regularly bounded" (p. 68) with lists and play a critical role in accomplishing certain interactional work. He asserts that list gestures by Mandarin speakers can be classified as falling under two potential categories: *composite gestures* or *reiterative gestures*. Composite gestures are described as involving some conventionalized motions of the hands and fingers that share similarities with typical counting gestures. These gestures are said "to enhance the rhetorical effects of persuasion, exemplification, and clarification, which have been widely noted in previous research" (p. 74). Reiterative

gestures, on the other hand are more loosely defined. Their physical shape broadly includes

"a beat gesture, hands in non-beat like motions, a pointing gesture, etc." (p. 71) with the main

point of commonality being that they are not produced throughout the listing but only

intermittently with some (but not necessarily all) list items. There are also some observations

that would benefit from some additional clarity. For example, Tao writes that items on a list

receive gestures that are produced "with more or less the same physical components" and

help to establish a "visual rhythm" that contributes to the recognizability of the list, but also

notes that "a different type of gesture may appear with the new item[s]" (p.71). It is not clear

what "more or less the same" means from an analytic perspective nor how such gestures can

also be "reiterative" and yet also at times produced as "a different type...". The author argues

that in contrast with the rhetorical contributions of composite gestures, reiterative gestures

"contribute more in terms of discourse structuring, tracking and interlocutor meta-interaction

(such as turn and floor management)" (p.71). While these classifications served his analysis

well, I find that there is too much overlap between these gesture types in my data and will not

adopt these terms.

7.2   Co-operative action and lamination

In each of the excerpts in this chapter, I will be examining cases of participants

gesturing together as part of the co-construction of a list. This involves a back-and-forth

between the educators and learners where one participant's talk and gestures occasion similar

constructions that have been modified to achieve subtly different actions. To describe this

process, I will draw on Goodwin's notions of co-operative action, substrates, and lamination

(2013; 2018). According to Goodwin, the process of turn construction involves the

assemblage of many multimodal resources with each one inseparably contributing to its

interactive purpose. It is not a word's semantic value, syntactic structure, prosody, or embodiment alone by which talk is made meaningful but rather the novel configuration of these resources to achieve specific actions. Lamination as a metaphor, is meant to invoke this inseparable relationship of modalities. Examining any moment of interaction, however, will reveal that such turns are rarely constructed in a vacuum; participants rely not only on their own knowledge of language but what is made available to them *in situ* by their interlocutors, as this excerpt between two children illustrates.

Excerpt 7.6: (Goodwin, 2018, p. 3)
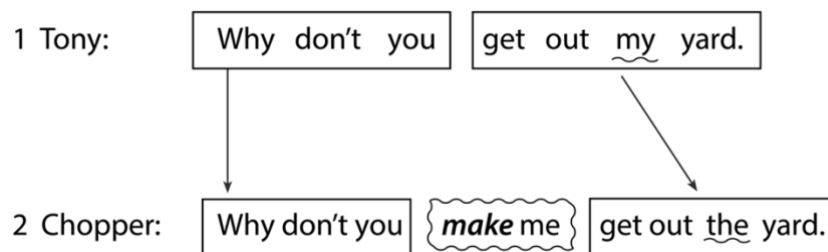
Notice how Chopper's turn is built primarily from resources provided by Tony that are modified to accomplish something new. Goodwin refers to turns like Tony's as *substrates*, which are defined as "the local, public configuration of action and semiotic resources that is operated on (frequently through processes of decomposition and reuse with transformation) to build next action" (ibid, p. 32). This process of appropriating another speaker's resources to address emergent interactional contingencies is co-operative action, and in this chapter I will show how participants mobilize this process in their co-construction of lists.

While there have been interactional studies examining participants gesturing together, (see de Fornel, 1992; Majlesi, 2015), to my knowledge no study has used co-operative action as a lens through which to view such moments of coordinated embodiment.

7.3   Purpose of the study

While my review in the previous section illustrates that list construction has been extensively explored as an interactional practice, it also reveals a number of areas in need of further examination. First, aside from Lerner (1995), no study explores listing phenomena within educational settings or the way that lists can be used as resources for participation by both teachers and learners. Next, aside from Tao's (2019) highly relevant study, no other work focalizes the role of gestures in list construction. Tao's analysis was also limited to only Mandarin speakers and contained no instances of multiple participants gesturing together. This analysis was further constrained by the chosen transcription conventions, which capture talk with a relatively minimal amount of detail and only document the listing gestures themselves with no attention given to any other kinds of potentially relevant embodiment like gaze, proximity or even any other gesture types. Finally, given the contradictory findings of Selting (2007) and Lerner (2004), it seems that further investigation of recipients' orientation to a list-in-progress is needed to confirm when listing becomes a recognizable practice during conversation.

By adopting a multimodal CA approach, the current chapter will analyze select examples from a larger collection of 19 cases of list gesture sequences, to provide detailed documentation of how both English educators and L2 learners of English utilize embodiment during list construction. Particularly, I will show how both speakers and recipients use gestures to jointly produce lists and how these embodied practices are used to display their emergent understanding and construction of lists-in-progress. The chapter will thus solidify some of Tao's (2019) findings as generic interactional practices rather than isolated to Mandarin conversation while also providing new emically derived insights into how embodiment helps afford list co-construction. I will also show how these embodied practices

lend weight to Selting's (2007) claim that lists are indeed recognizable to recipients from an early point, but argue that in addition to prosody, embodiment seems to often play a major or even primary role in producing this recognizability.

7.4   Analysis

7.4.1   Embodied list co-construction with tally gestures

In this section, I begin by examining some cases in which both speaker and recipient use gesture and talk to construct a list together. I choose to refer to what Tao (2019) called composite gestures as *tally gestures* instead: while I agree with his assertion thatthese are distinct from typical counting gestures when embedded within lists, the rationale for his choice of the word 'composite' is somewhat unclear. Furthermore, because in the current dataset such gestures are often produced incrementally by both speakers and recipients to keep track of and display list progression, tallying seems to better articulate what the participants are using the gestures to do. In the following examples, tally gestures are first produced by the list speaker, and occasion similar gestures from the recipient as a way of displaying their understanding of (and co-participation in) a listing in progress. These kinds of gestures can involve either the extension or retraction of the fingers, timed with beats of movement that co-occur with the production of each item, and are a recurrent practice in list sequences throughout the dataset. Tally gestures thus also seem to exhibit many of the same characteristics as Tao's reiterative gestures in regard to turn-taking.

Extract 7.7 provides a basic example of what this type of gestural back-and-forth looks like, as the educator Fay and the learner Aya enact the fast-food roleplay task.

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Excerpt 7.7: Sashimi Natto Wasabi Pizza

```
01 FAY     okay what kind of pizza wouldju like?


02         |(0.3)
   a-rh    |scratches head


03 AYA     uh::: ge|HAHaha .hhh
   f-px            |leans back doing laughing


04         yeah I wil- (.) I will have |sa(h)shimi:,
   a-rh                                |↑↓ +thumb retract
```



```
05 FAY     |sa      |shimi:,
   f-lh    |raises  |lowers
   f-hd            |upper left
   f-fc            |smiles
   f-rh            |index into palm "tally" gesture->line 7
```

```
       a-rh    |slight beat
```



```
06 AYA     |and            |¥natto:,¥

   a-rh    |raises         |lowers, retracts index + thumb
```



```
07 FAY     |na-        |nat|TO:!?

   f-bh    |starts "tally" |drops gesture

   f-px               |leans forward




08 AYA     |and wasabi.            |>okay.<

   a-rh    |retracts middle finger |lowers

   a-gz                            |to RH
```

```
        f-bh                              |holds up -> line 12
```

```
09          [wasabi]
```

```
10 FAY      [wasabi]=
```

```
11 AYA      |=>okay (yea.)<
   a-rh     |rests on LH on counter
```

```
   f-bh     |raises (stops tally)
```

After Fay asks Aya to specify what she would like to order in line 1, Aya (in line 4) begins to provide a conditionally relevant response. While Aya's answer might seem simple, the way she formulates her turn is a complex ensemble of resources. Notice, for example, that when she says the word "sashimi," she laminates the word with both a continuing intonation, an

elongation on the vowel and a gesture, in which she puts her hand down toward the counter with her thumb retracted. This multimodal gestalt of resources makes clear from a very early point in her turn that a multi-item list is to come. Another layer of this complexity is that Aya is designing her turn as a laughable as evidenced by her own laughter in lines 3 and 4, and that becomes further apparent by her unusual choice of pizza toppings.

Fay immediately displays her understanding of and alignment with Aya's talk in two ways. First, she aligns with Aya's turn as the beginning of a list by offering a repetition receipt in which she uses the same continuing intonation and uses a "tally gesture" that seems to represent taking the order down on a notepad or the like.[13] Despite Lerner's (1994) claim that a list-in-progress only becomes hearable after a second item is given, it seems clear here that both participants are orienting to the practice of listing even after only one list item has emerged, and I assert that embodiment is, in this case, focal to producing this recognizability. Second, she orients to the laughability designed into Aya's turns by laughing along in line 3 and smiling while shifting her gaze in line 5, the latter of which seems to be orienting to the already evident strangeness of sashimi as a pizza topping.

With Fay's alignment established, Aya continues by giving a second item, "natto," in line 6, again moving her hand downward toward the counter but this time retracting her index finger. Fay begins to receipt this in a similar fashion as before, but this time provides an even stronger orientation to the oddity of the order. She seems to momentarily question it by repeating it with rising intonation and briefly dropping the tally gesture and leaning towards Aya. Again, Fay's doing surprise is in alignment with the laughable way the learner is designing her order: by struggling to contain her own laughter in lines 3-4, Aya has provided

---

[13] Streeck (2008) notes that in Ilokano, an index finger pressed into the opposite hand (held palm up) can project a listing. While I am not sure if Fay is an Ilokano speaker, she is from the Philippines and it is thus possible that she is drawing on a semi-conventionalized a gesture from her L1.

public evidence of how she expects her turn to be received. Fay here is thus showing her alignment not only with the interactional project of listing, but also with the laughability that Aya has designed into her item choices. In line 8, Aya completes her list by saying "wasabi" with a falling intonation and further indexes closure of the list with the discourse marker "okay". After a brief inserted repair sequence, Fay provides a repetition receipt along with a tally gesture and Aya's right hand returns to home position on the counter. In this example there were thus three resources that the participants drew upon to accomplish the list in a coordinated way: the programmatically relevant three-parted list structure, intonation and tally gestures produced at sequentially relevant moments by both the list speaker and recipient.

However, as I will show in the next example between Fay and another learner, Rei, three-partedness is not required for this type of coordination and participants can use gestures and prosody alone to project list closure.

Excerpt 7.8: Lettuce Tomato Cheese Hamburger

```
01 FAY    what kind of hamburger wouldju like?


02        (0.3)


03 REI    uh::


04        |(1.2)                  |uh cheese,
   r-gz   |down                   |to FAY
```

```
    r-rh    |raises palm up          |retracts thumb->line 11
```



```
05 FAY    |mhm.

   f-hd    |nods

   f-rh    |touches left pinky

   f-lh    |fingers outstretched-> line 11
```



```
06 REI    |and hamburger,

   r-lh    |retracts index


07 FAY    |mhm.
```

```
       f-rh     |touches left ring finger
```



```
08 REI    and |tomawt, [ a:n d ] |lettasu.=

   r-lh          |retracts middle    |retracts ring
```



```
09 FAY                    |[tomato,]

   f-rh                   |taps L ring finger



10 FAY    =|lettuce.
```

```
f-rh      |grasps L middle finger
```



```
11 FAY    |okay.

   f-rh   |releases grip

   r-lh   |lowers hand
```


Like the previous example, the sequence again begins with Fay, asking Rei what kind of hamburger she would like to order. After a 0.3-sec silence, Rei produces an audible hesitation marker, gazes down at the counter, and raises her left hand to chest level, palm up (line 4). She then shifts her gaze back to Fay, slightly lifts her left hand, and lowers it in a beat-like fashion while retracting her thumb as she says "cheese," with hearably continuing intonation. This assemblage of multi-modal resources both audibly and visibly positions Rei's utterance as one part of a larger incomplete turn-constructional listing project. In line 5, Fay demonstrably orients to it as such in the next turn by beginning to produce some listing

gestures of her own, outstretching the fingers on her left hand and touching her left pinky finger with her right as she says "mhm." It is thus again evident that from this very early point, Fay projects Rei's list and mobilizes embodiment to co-participate. With Fay's alignment and understanding of the list-in-progress established, Rei adds to the list by saying "hamburger," again laminating her utterance with continuing intonation, but this time retracting her index finger to join her clenched thumb (line 6). Fay again provides uptake with "mhm" and touches her left ring finger with her right hand (line 7) continuing to embodily display her involvement and mark the progression of the order. Rei's list culminates in line 8, where she adds two more toppings to her order (tomato and lettuce) and Fay again provides intermittent spoken and embodied receipts for each one as it is produced, one produced in overlap (line 9) and another in the clear (line 10).

In line 11, Fay then orients to Rei's list as complete by dropping her gesturing hands as she says okay. Why was it that Fay treated Rei's list as complete here? As I have discussed, intonation and three-partedness are the most commonly credited resources for helping interactants understand and project list completion. Prosody was likely relevant as unlike all the other items on her list, "lettuce" was the only one said with turn final intonation. However, because Rei's list exceeded three items, three-parted structure could not have been drawn on by Fay to project list closure. Instead, a major contributor to the recognizability of Rei's list as having reached completion is that she halts her listing gestures, holding her hand stationary rather than raising it up for another beat and finger retraction. Fay can thus reasonably assume that since Rei produced gestures for each item but now seems to be done gesturing, her list has reached a possible point of closure. It is thus clear that aside from prosody or the commonly recurrent 3-part list structure, gestures are a resource drawn upon by the participants to understand when a listing is in progress or will soon be terminated and are thus integral to turn-taking practice. Indeed, gestures are likely more significant for

managing turn-taking when three-partedness is not an available resource, a fact that becomes more evident by examining longer list sequences.

7.4.2   Extended list sequences: Lists as obstacles to progressivity

Although the participants in the previous section illustrate the accomplishment of relatively long compound turn-constructional projects, more complex and extended listing projects are somewhat commonly found throughout the dataset. Due to insertion sequences, post-expansions, moments of repair and the like, gestures are an important resource for participants to display to one another their understanding of the lists' progression and manage frequent changes in speakership. At other times, listing becomes a resource for the agents to better tailor the task to the learner's ability by challenging them to produce longer, more complex responses. This can be seen in the following excerpt, in which the learner, Nao, begins his order with a lengthy list, which is appended with several proffered candidates by Tom.

Excerpt 7.9: Extra Pork

```
01 TOM    |and what would you like.
   t-rh   |to NAO


02 NAO    uh: I want a sandowich ahn:


03        in za:, (0.8) |bacon, |(0.5)
   n-rh                 |down to counter pinky out
   n-hd                 |lowers
```

```
    t-hd                          |nods
```



```
04         |uh:: (0.2) |beef.u, |uh:: (0.4)|ham?

    n-hd                |lowers

    n-rh   |raises ring finger  |raises middle finger

    n-lh               |into R palm      |into R palm

    t-hd                          |nods
```



```
05         |(mhm)(0.8)

    t-hd   |nods



06         uh::



07 TOM    |bacon |beef  |ham?
```

```
t-rh    |thumb |index |middle -> line 75
```



```
08 NAO    yeah. Ah |more          |bacon.

   t-gz              |to NAO's hands

   n-rh              |raises index


   n-lh                            |to R palm
```



```
09         (0.4)



10 TOM    |more bacon? (.) extra bacon?

   n-gz   |TOM's hand/fingers

   t-rh   |raises ring finger



11 NAO    yeah. |Ah- ah:: (0.3) |extra: (.) beef.
```

```
   n-rh         |raises thumb

   n-lh                         |to RH
```



```
12         (0.6)


13         |uh a:nd (0.8)(a/uh) some (.) little

   t-rh   |raises pinky, faces palm to NAO-> line 80


14         |little wasabi please.

   n-bh   |circular gesture
```



```
15 TOM     |little wasabi?=
```

```
    t-lh    |index and thumb "little" gesture
```



```
16 NAO    =yeah.


17 AKI    ahahaha.hhh


18 TOM    °°okay.°°
```

In line 1, Tom initiates Nao's order sequence by shifting his gaze towards him and saying, "and what would you like?" In the next line, Nao says he wants to order a sandwich "in the" pauses for 0.8 seconds, then says "bacon", laminating the word with a continuing intonation and a listing tally gesture which involves retracting 4 fingers while leaving his pinky out and moving his hand down toward the counter in a beat gesture, as well as a simultaneous downward motion of his head. Tom, meanwhile, displays his understanding of Nao's turn as incomplete by offering a nod within the 0.4 duration of the pause (line 3) but not taking the floor by speaking. In line 4, after some brief hesitation, Nao continues his list by adding "beef" and "ham" to it, which are again laminated with listing prosody and unique counting gestures in which a finger is raised on the right hand (before the item is verbalized) followed by a downward movement of the left hand to touch the finger the moment the corresponding

list item is spoken and lowers his head, before raising it again and repeating these motions for each list item. It is also interesting to notice that Nao deploys very similar hesitations and pauses inbetween items which, along with his embodiment, adds a predictable rhythmic quality to his listing-in-progress (see Erickson, 1982, 1992, for more on list rhythm).

In line 5, Tom offers a continuer by saying "mhm" and nodding, but before Nao can add anything further, Tom opts to confirm his understanding of the order thus far by repeating back "bacon, beef, ham" while laminating each item with some counting gestures and prosodic contours of his own (line 7). Nao's list-in-progress has thus become a public substrate that Tom has co-opted, shifting the action from placing an order, to soliciting confirmation of that same order. Notice also that Tom's hand does not go back to home position but remains in listing position, showing his projection that Nao's listing will continue; this projection being aided in large part by Nao's hands which are also still visibly held in listing position.

Nao confirms that Tom has his order right by saying "yeah" in line 8, but then immediately begins adding further items to his order with "more bacon", this time raising his index finger and touching it with his left hand. The word "bacon", is said with a hearable turn final falling intonation, meaning that if the interactants were only concerned with talk this might be interpreted as the end of the order. However, because of the embodied resources at play, namely the interactants' dual receptive listing gestures which are clearly still ongoing, the co-construction of the list continues smoothly. In line 10, Tom receipts Nao's order, while also performing an embedded correction. Nao's prior turn "more bacon" is first co-opted via an upward intoned repetition and following a micro-pause, the word "more" is replaced with the word "extra", which is more commonly used in restaurant contexts and thus might be thought of as a situated learnable. In the next turn, Nao provides confirmation by saying yeah, but then adds yet another item to his list through the co-opting of Tom's prior

formulation, replacing the word "bacon" with "beef", and again doing a listing gesture. With this turn Nao demonstrates a substantial level of interactional competence by not just repeating the newly occasioned learnable "extra" but seamlessly repurposing it for his own ongoing interactional project by applying the new word to another part of his order. Notice also, that due to the sequential location of "extra beef," if analyzing the talk alone, this could be interpreted as not an addition to the list but a self-initiated self-repair, i.e., Nao would have meant extra beef, not extra bacon. However, due to his listing gestures that are keeping track of each item, it is clear to both me as a post-festum observer as well as the participants that "extra beef" is designed as an addition to Nao's list not a replacement.

Nao then drops his listing gesture in line 14, opting instead for an iconic gesture where he makes a round shape with both hands and says, "little wasabi please". One recurrent trait that can be observed with listing gestures, is that the ones that co-occur with list-final items are often produced distinctly from the gestures that preceded it, which contributes to the projectability of the list reaching a termination point. Tom, meanwhile, maintains his right hand in the listing position with five fingers extended and with his left hand does a small pinch-like gesture while repeating "little wasabi." This may be thought of as a correction or a repair, because Nao's gestural ensemble contained semantically dissonant elements, in that he was using the word "little" while his gesture indicated a large shape. Tom's co-opted version remedies this, by better fitting the gesture with the talk, while also confirming with Nao that is indeed what he meant, and Nao provides said confirmation in line 16 bringing the sequence to possible closure. However, this turns out to be short-lived, as Tom initiates post-expansion, drawing out Nao's order even further as shown in Excerpt 7.10.

Excerpt 7.10: Wouldju like chicken?

```
19          >wouldju like< chicken?


20          (0.3)


21 NAO    yeah: ah- |CHIcke:n?
   n-lh            |to chin
   n-px            |lean forward


22 AKI    [hahaha ]


23 NAO    [ah:: ye]ah |chicke:n
   n-hd                |head tilt
```



```
24 NAO    chicken is |(0.5)
   n-hd               |shakes
   n-rh               |waves off
```

```
25 TOM    no chicken?


26 NAO    no chicken.


27 TOM    po- po:rk?


28 NAO    ah pork okay pork |okay.
   n-rh                     |thumbs up


29 TOM    okay po:rk, extra po:rk?


30 NAO    yeah extra pork please.


31 TOM    °okay° uh eggs,


32 NAO    |egg?
   n-rh   |waves off


33 TOM    o:r avoca:do:, tomato:,


34 NAO    ah: (0.5) ah <avocado>


35        |(0.3) ya- many:
   t-hd   |nods
```

```
36 TOM    many?


37 NAO    yeah. many avocado.


38         (.)


39 TOM    okay:=


40 NAO    =(yesu)


41 TOM    okay.
```

To briefly recap, at the point this excerpt begins, Nao has already listed six items in his

sandwich order: bacon, beef, ham, extra bacon, extra beef, and a little wasabi. Considering

that most of the learners' orders are treated as complete after the addition of two or three

toppings, Nao has seemingly gone above and beyond the task requirements. But in line 19,

rather than closing down the sandwich order and moving on with the task, Tom instead

initiates post-expansion by proffering another possible addition to Nao's sandwich. Why does

Tom draw out Nao's order further than he does with most of the other students? I argue that

this suggests Tom's ability to assess Nao's displays of interactional competence in real time

and better tailor the task to his ability.

There seem to be three primary ways that Nao demonstrates his interactional

competence: by constructing extended turn constructional projects (lists), by relatively

seamlessly co-opting language from Tom, and by leaving little to no gaps where his

responses are made conditionally relevant. Whereas other learners in the dataset tend to have

the details of their orders coaxed out via post-expansion questions (e.g., what toppings would you like?), Nao begins his order with an extended embodied list. This serves as online evidence of Nao's interactional competence, which Tom orients to by designing obstacles to progressivity, better tailoring the task to match Nao's ability. With each obstacle that Nao deftly overcomes, Tom is better able to assess his IC in real time and his continual expansions are fueled and shaped by these displays of interactional competence. Another way that Nao makes his IC evident is that even though he must improvise his answers to Tom's post-expansion questions, he does so with little to no gaps of silence.

Momentarily caught off guard by this bid for expansion, Nao first answers affirmatively in line 86, but then repeats the word "chicken," laminating it with louder volume and gestures that indicate forthcoming opposition. This opposition eventually materializes in lines 23 and 24, where Nao says "chicken is" and then completes the turn via embodied negations, shaking his head and waving his right hand. Tom in the next turn gives a candidate understanding of Nao's turn by saying "no chicken," which again appears to be corrective in that Tom seems to have understood Nao's embodily completed turn without issue. Tom's turn seems more about providing standard linguistic forms for accomplishing the same action and Nao orients to his turn as such by co-opting the same form ("no chicken.", line 26), but laminating it with a turn final intonation.

In line 27, Tom proffers "pork" as yet another candidate addition to Nao's order, which he accepts in the next turn, and in line 29 Tom again uses the word "extra", reinforcing it as a learnable for the ordering task. Yet again, Nao is able to co-opt it in second position without hesitation with his response "yeah extra pork please" (line 30). However, despite a clear opening for sequential closure and to progress the sequence forward, Tom again opts to add more candidate items to Nao's order with a listing of his own. In line 31, he says "eggs," with continuing intonation which Nao quickly negates with a gesture. But Tom continues by

listing off two more options: avocado and tomato. Nao selects avocado as a topping and his sandwich order seems on the way to closure in lines 39-41, where Tom and Nao exchange several affirmative turns.

Listing is a highly co-operative practice cumulatively built up by both participants throughout the food order task through the artful, on-the-fly coordination of spoken and embodied resources. While Nao's order sequence has already gone on for far longer than most, Tom does not actually end up closing it down but rather post-expands the sequence even further in Excerpt 7.11, by soliciting a repetition of Nao's order as a post-expansion.

Excerpt 7.11: One More Time

```
43 TOM    |so one more     |time?

   t-fc   |squint + furrows brow

   t-rh   |index out       |horizontal chop
```
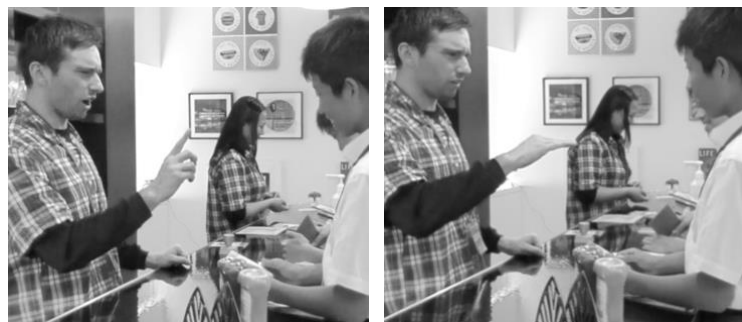


```
44 NAO    |oh uh: |bacon, (.) ah: |>areh?<

   t-rh   |chop 3X|retracts->

   n-rh           |palm down
```

```
n-gz                                    |to AKI
```



```
45          |ba:con:, |(0.9) |bee:fu:,

  n-rh    |down

  n-hd    |nod

  t-rh               |chop  |chop

  n-lh                      |over RH
```



```
46 NAO    |(1.3)    |ham.u:, |(0.7)

  n-rh    |over LH |down beat

  t-rh    |chop               |chop

  t-hd    |nods
```

```
47          |bacon,              |beefu,

   n-lh     |over RH

   n-rh                          |over LH

   t-rh     |chop               |chop
```



```
48          (1.0) eh |avocado:, >areh?<

   n-lh                |over RH
```



```
49          (0.5) |wa.sa.bi:, |avocado

   n-lh               |beat

   n-rh                          |over LH
```

```
50          (0.9) |yeah. a lot of avocado.

   t-fc          |purses lips
```



```
51 TOM     |PO:rk?

   t-rh    |slight chop


52         (0.3)


53 NAO     |ah: wa- POrk!

   n-bh    |raises-> line 56
```



```
54  AKI    [heha]HA


55  NAO    [heHE]
```

```
56 NAO      |wasabi's (0.2) |wasabi on (0.4) uh:

   n-rh   |pinch

   n-lh                        |over RH



57          |po:rk.

   n-lh   |in and out
```



```
58 TOM      |okay. I see. [I see.]

   t-rh     |thumbs up
```


The solicitation begins in line 43, where, while saying "one more time," Tom does a horizontal chopping movement with his right hand, which continues with three subsequent chops during the beginning of Nao's turn. Each motion of his hand moves progressively lower, which invites the recipient to see these gestures as representing the layers of the sandwich Nao has just ordered. Despite no explicit explanation, Nao indeed orients to Tom's embodily laminated "one more time" as a call to not only repeat his prior order, but to do so

with similar gestures that specify the topping positions. This is apparent by his gesturing that begins in line 44, as Nao says the word bacon, just after Tom's chopping motions have concluded. Examining the video data closely, it is apparent that at the start of his gesture, Nao appears on the way to producing a similar tally gesture as in the first iteration of his order, which involved a raising of his pinky, but this rapidly morphs as he says "bacon" into a similar motion as Tom's chops. Nao again thus demonstrates interactional competence by being able to co-opt and operate upon Tom's provided substrates while he deals with emergent obstacles to progressivity thrown his way quickly and relatively seamlessly.

After a brief indication of trouble with his "areh" at the end of line 109, Nao continues his embodied construction of the imaginary sandwich by saying "bacon" "beef" "ham" each item laminated with continuing intonations and iconic gestures that involve alternating chops with his right and left hands that invite the recipients to see him layering these imagined toppings vertically from bottom to top. This imagined sandwich construction is by no means solitary either, as Tom uses similar chop gestures to embodily receipt each layer as it is placed onto the 'sandwich'. This collaborative sandwich building continues until in line 48, where Nao again uses "areh" to indicate trouble and momentarily pauses the progression of his stacking gestures to initiate self-repair in line 48, by replacing the avocado with the word wasabi. In contrast with the previous excerpt where Nao's gestures made clear that a topping was being added to his order rather than meant as a replacement, it is conversely clear here that Nao treats wasabi as a replacement for avocado by gesturing using the same left hand in the same position rather than alternating to back to his right hand. With the repair completed, Nao then moves his right hand over the left as he says avocado and appears to treat his order as complete by dropping his stacking gestures in favor of a round iconic gesture that is laminated over his "yeah. a lot of avocado," which has a clear falling intonation. It is also worth noting that the gesture for a lot of avocado is very similar to the

one that Nao used earlier when he ordered a "little wasabi," which was repaired/corrected by Tom. Nao repurposed that somewhat problematic gesture but fitted it to a turn that is more semantically consistent with its size.

While Nao takes his turn in line 50, it is clear that Tom is getting ready to say something by the pursing of his lips and in the next line Tom says "pork?", while doing a chop gesture. Tom's initiation of correction occasions a somewhat comedic display of surprise from Nao in which he co-opts "pork," while amplifying its volume and throwing his hands up. Both Nao and his partner Aki share some laughter before Nao self-corrects his order by resuming his stacking gestures and inserting the missing pork under his top layer of wasabi then resting his hands on the counter. With Nao's listing now having reached a hearable and visible conclusion, Tom's right hand, which has been held in listing position moves into a thumbs-up gesture, positively assessing Nao's performance and suggesting the closure of Nao's extended order sequence.

As my analysis has shown, listing gestures played an important role in displaying both participants' online understanding and construction of the sandwich. Their iconic nature affords the specification of the topping's placement without the expenditure of linguistic resources and the gestures may be paused during moments of repair and resumed to show that the repair has been completed. The rhythmic pacing created by Nao's gestures and talk allows for predictable slots where Tom can produce gestural receipts, displaying for Nao that he is correctly understanding each component of Nao's order as it is spoken and thus averting the risk that Nao completes such an elaborate turn only to find out post completion that Tom did not understand something. Finally, by continually proffering list candidates and gestural list reprisals, Tom manipulates list structure to create obstacles to progressivity, responding in real-time to displays of IC from Nao.

The gestures are therefore not only a resource for smooth turn-taking but also the
maintenance of intersubjectivity and task trajectory.

7.4.3   Lists as a means of soliciting fuller responses and managing task alignment

As noted by Lerner (1995), another powerful application of lists is that a partial listing
can be used by a speaker to solicit an anticipatory completion[14] from a recipient. This is
indeed observable in my data as well, but I will argue that embodiment is often a focal part of
this type of sequence. For one thing, as I have argued, gestures help further establish the
listing rhythm which accentuates the upcoming slot where the completion should be
proffered by the recipient and, along with gaze direction, help make clear that the partial list
is designedly incomplete rather than the product of a speaker word search or the like. This is
clear in the following exchange between Fay and Aya, which sequentially occurs just after
the list sequence in Excerpt 7.7, which was analyzed earlier.

Excerpt 7.12: Wasabi, natto and?

```
12 FAY    so |wasabi:,        |natto:, |and?
   f-lh       |inward, outward |inward  |outward->
```

---

[14] See also Koshik's (2002) work on designedly incomplete utterances.

```
     f-rh        |index to L palm |index to L palm
```



```
13 AYA      |°sa  |shimi.° haHA

   f-rh             |index to L palm

   a-hd     |back |lowers head
```



```
14 FAY     |sa shi mi:.

   f-bh    |index to L palm
```

With Aya's order of *sashimi*, *natto*, and *wasabi* pizza established and confirmed, the sequence

seems on the way to potential closure. However, Fay then initiates a post-expansive

confirmation sequence by producing a new partial listing by reciting back Aya's order in

reverse, saying "wasabi, natto" again producing tally gestures concurrently with each item which, together with her prosody, provide rhythmic cues where the third item of the list should be produced by the recipient. This designedly incomplete list serves as a prompt for Aya to provide co-completion, which she does in line 13 with no gap by giving the missing third item, sashimi and Fay closes the confirmation sequence with a repetition receipt before moving on with the task. It is clear throughout the data that part of Fay's fast-food order routine is to always recite back the learners' orders as one would expect to happen in a real restaurant. However, with the oddity and complexity of many of the orders, this proves to be challenging at times. For Fay then, these kinds of partial lists are arguably designed for her own benefit as much as the learners'.

Another important role of gestures for soliciting learner contributions, is that they can greatly shape the way the contribution is made. This was already evidenced to a degree in Excerpt 7.11, in which Tom prompted Nao to produce an iconic gestural reprisal of his earlier tally gestured list. However, as the following Excerpt 7.13 shows, this practice is not limited to list repetitions but can also work for first-time lists as well.

Excerpt 7.13: Shrimp and what other things?

```
01 TOM    welcome to quick bite.


02        (0.2)


03        how can I help you?


04 NOA    |uh:::
   n-gz   |at AZU
```

```
05        (0.8)


06 NOA    uh I want to: ↑shrimp sandowich.


07 TOM    shrimp sandwich


08 NOA    yea.


09 TOM    °okay°


10        (0.7)


11        uh: (0.6) so what would you like,


12        |in your       |sandwich.
   t-bh   |palms vertically parallel (sandwich gesture)
   t-gz   |gaze to hands |gaze to NOA
```



```
13        |↑shrimp,        |(0.3)                |and
   t-rh   |chop                                  |chop
```

```
t-lh    |palm upward---------->line 20

t-gz    |to hands        |to NOA
```



```
14          |(0.4) what  (.)    other     | things

t-rh    |3 progressively lower chops

t-bh                                      |rest on counter
```



```
15 NOA    |a h::: (0.9)

n-gz    |looks at AZU

n-lh    |to chin
```

```
a-gz    |looks at NOA
```



```
16 NOA    |shrimp, |(1.2) a:nd, |(1.5) |taruta: sauce.

   n-lh    |forward-----------------------------------

   t-bh            |sandwich gesture------------------

   n-rh                                    |over LH
```


After Tom indicates his availability to take Noa's order (lines 1-3), she asks for a
shrimp sandwich which is then confirmed in a post-expansion sequence that closes with a
third-positioned "okay" from Tom in line 9. There is then a 0.7-sec silence, in which it
appears that Tom is waiting for potential expansion on this initial food item, but Noa does not
add anything further. Tom then pursues a fuller response, with the question "so what would
you like in your sandwich" accompanied by a gesture indicating the shape of a sandwich's
outer edges. This is then appended with a designedly incomplete list of candidates (lines 13-

14) that begins with "shrimp". It is spoken with a continuing intonation and produced simultaneously with a horizontal chopping motion of the right hand that is positioned roughly in the middle of the space in the air previously occupied by the sandwich shape gesture. This is then followed by three more chops, each one precisely laminated over a word in the phrase "what other things" and descending progressively lower in space. This turn from Tom makes clear that "shrimp sandwich" is not itself sufficient for the task by repositioning and transforming it as the first item on an incomplete list of other unspecified items layered in the imagined sandwich.

In response, Noa immediately aligns with Tom's proposed listing trajectory by producing a similar layering gesture with her left hand as she says "shrimp" with a continuing intonation, as Tom gestures along by reprising his earlier sandwich gesture. Noa follows this by saying "taruta sauce" and making a stacking motion over her left hand with her right hand (line 16). Tom's use of co-operative action and embodied conduct was not only successful in getting the learner to expand upon her brief response by using listing, but that his iconic gestures occasioned iconic gestures from Noa, and thus shaped how the list was brought into being and eventuated in the lengthy repair sequence thus providing richer interactive opportunities for the learner (see Chapter 6, Excerpt 6.6).

Returning to Lerner's assertion that list projection is only possible after a speaker provides at least two items, one might take the previous two examples as proof positive of this assertion. In both cases, it was not until Tom and Fay said two things that the learners seemed to orient to the conditional relevance of an anticipatory completion. This makes the following Excerpt 7.14 a valuable as an exception to this pattern, as Tom again uses co-operative action to occasion a listing, but this time with only a single reference form.

Excerpt 7.14: Tabasco

```
01 TOM     can you pick some toppings?


02         (.)


03         for your pizza?


04 JUN     oh: (0.4) uh:: tabasco.


05 TOM     |tabasco,
   t-rh    |holds up thumb->>>
```



```
06 JUN     |tabasco:,
   j-rh    |raised thumb beat
```

```
07          ah: uhhh::: (0.7) |mustard?

   j-rh                       |raised index beat
```



```
08 TOM    |mustard?

   t-rh   |raises index finger->>>
```



```
9         (0.8)


10 JUN    |eh- he-

   j-gz   |to RYU->

   r-gz   |to JUN


11        uh::: |[ wasabi.]

   j-gz   ------|to TOM
```

```
   j-rh          |whole hand downward
```



```
12 RYO           [ °hehe° ]


13 TOM     |wasabi?=
```



```
   t-rh    |raises middle finger->> Excerpt 7.14


14 JUN     |=piza: |please.

   j-hd    |nod     |nod

   r-hd    |lowers with wide smile


15         |(.)

   t-rh    |holding count

   t-gz    |to JUN
```

```
16        uh:: ah::


17        (0.5)


18 TOM    |that:s all?
   t-bh   |flat sweep


19        |(0.4)
   j-hd   |nod


20 JUN    |yes.
   j-hd   |nod


21 TOM    ¥no meat?¥


22        (0.3)


23 JUN    ah- no meat.


24 TOM    no meat okay.
```

Tom starts off by asking Jun what he would like to order and after some brief displays of

hesitation and thinking, Jun responds that he would like tabasco on his pizza. This turn is

laminated with turn-final intonation, and thus does not project anything further. However,

Tom then co-opts this utterance in the next turn, transforming it into a partial listing by adding a continuing intonational contour and a tally gesture (line 5). Without any visible or hearable hesitation, Jun immediately responds by producing a similar tally gesture, and repetition of tabasco with a continuing intonation. He thus displays his understanding of Tom's referent turn as 1) a list-in-progress and 2) one that makes conditionally relevant a co-completion. Jun then works to add on to the list by saying "mustard" and producing a tally gesture that involves a beat-like motion of the hand with his index finger raised (line 8), to which Tom supplies a repetition receipt while also raising his index finger. After a similar back and forth in lines 12-14 where "wasabi" is added to the list of toppings, Jun's right hand returns to its home position as he says "pizza please" bringing his TCU to grammatical and intonational closure.

It is apparent that were Tom to have not mobilized gestures, the *listness* of his turn in line 5 would not have been as evident to Jun, as it is the tally gesture that unambiguously invites the recipient to interpret "tabasco" as one item in an implied series. While the spoken component of the turn alone could be perhaps interpreted as a repair initiation, (as shown by Jun's response), embodiment made it clear that Tom's turn was a list.

Interestingly, however, Tom's response to Jun's attempt to close down the list sequence in line 14, is to disalign with this trajectory, maintaining the position of his gesturing hand with tallying fingers still extended and fixing his gaze on Jun. Jun is clearly surprised by this as shown by his non-lexical perturbations (line 16), and after a 0.5-sec silence Tom asks, "that's all?", strongly indexing his expectation that the learner say more. After Jun simply accepts this candidate understanding, Tom then deploys what seems to be a feigned misunderstanding, by saying "no meat?"[15] with a wide smile. However, this too fails

---

[15] Note that this is the exact same formulation used by Tom to feign non-understanding in Chapter 6, Excerpt 6.5 with Azu. However, unlike in that situation where the students' order was a burger, the absurdity is toned

to mobilize a fuller response, as Jun does not attempt to replace and reject this candidate, but instead simply accepts it via repetition in the next turn. Tom then opts to deploy a partial embodied listing in the following Excerpt 7.15 to draw out the sequence further.

Excerpt 7.15: Tabasco, wasabi and

```
25        so |tabasco:, |wasabi, a:nd
   t-rh      |thumb      |index



26        (.)



27 JUN    uh:m |ah:
   j-gz         |look at RYU



28        musta:rd.



29        |(1.1)
   t-hd   |leans in, eyebrows raised
   t-gz   |to JUN



30 JUN    |MUsta:rd.
   j-px   |leans in
```

---

down here since many varieties of pizza contain no meat. This is perhaps one reason why it fails to secure a rejection and replacement from Jun.

```
31 TOM    and |mustard. >>°very nice.°<<

   t-hd      |nod
```

In line 25, Tom produces a two-item list-in-progress with similar gestures as before. However, notice that he has scrambled the order of the items. This provides for an interesting contrast to Fay's partial list in Excerpt 7.12. While it cannot be said with certainty, it seems that rather than being occasioned by the inability to recall Nao's order, Tom's solicitation of a co-completion from Jun serves to test whether or not Nao can recall what he ordered; scrambling the items may be a design choice aimed at making this recollection a bit more challenging. Indeed, this seems to work as Jun's face briefly displays surprise as he turns to his partner, Ryu, in a bid for assistance, but after failing to achieve mutual gaze (Ryu is staring off towards another group), Jun produces a change-of-state token "ah" before providing the missing "mustard" in line 28. In line 31, Tom's repetition of the missing item followed by a teacherly sequence-closing assessment "very nice" further creates the impression that this sequence was designed to hold Jun accountable for remembering his order rather than because Tom could not remember. This excerpt thus illustrates that lists can not only be used to draw out sequences beyond impending closure points, but also to manage task relevant responsibilities.

In the following excerpt, Taku and Ben are doing a role-play in the TGG bookstore. Taku's mission is to attempt to exchange some oil paints that he purchased for some watercolor paints instead. Ben uses a gesture to solicit a list of colors.

7.16: I have to say twelve color?

```
01 BEN    so you only need one set with
```

```
02 BEN     twelve colors?

03 TAK     yes.

04 BEN     is there any specific colors that

05         |you wanna have?

    b-rh   |raises closed fist, palm inward->line x
```



```
06         |(0.8)

    t-gz   |upper right->line 8
```



```
07 TAK     specific color


08 TAK     |[mm::] heh
```

```
    t-gz   |upper left->line 13
```



```
09 BEN      [un. ]


10          (0.7)


11 TAK    specific color


12 BEN    un.

13 TAK    uhh::: (0.4) r- |red?

   b-rh                   |hand down towards TAK-> line x

   b-hd                   |nod

   t-gz                   |to BEN
```

```
14          |(0.8)

   t-gz     |to BEN's raised RH->line 22
```



```
15 MIA     eheheh

16 TAK     heheh


17         (.)




18 TAK     specific COlor?
```



```
19 BEN     un.

20 BEN     |red,
```

```
   b-rh    |downward, pinky extends

   b-hd    |nod



21 TAK    bl(h)ue huhu,



22 BEN    |blue,
   b-rh    |downward, ring extends

   b-hd    |nod



23       (0.5)



24 TAK    gree|::n,    (1.0)    whi(h)|te,
   b-rh        |middle extends        |index extends

   b-hd        |nod                   |nod



25       (2.2)



26 TAK    ohhoh |I have to say twelve color?
   t-gz         |to BEN



27 BEN    ¥YES |>[you have] to say]< twelve colors °yes°¥
   t-rh         |to brow

   t-gz         |to BEN's RH



28 TAK              [ oh:::]

29 MIA    ahaha
```

```
30 TAK    it's [difficult]

31 BEN         [ eHEHehe ]


32 MIA    °very difficult°

33 TAK     #pink#, |(0.3) mm::
   b-rh             |thumb extends




34 TAK    (1.2) uh: |purple, (0.5) mmm
   b-rh            |all f. close except pinky


35 TAK    |brown? (1.8) mm::: |yellow,
   b-rh   |ring extends       |middle extends



36 TAK    |orange,

          |index extends



37 TAK    |a(h)nd
   t-gz   |upper left



38 MIA    eheh



39        (.)



40 TAK    |mmm (1.4)   |da- dark blue
    t-gz   |lower right |to BEN RH
```

213

```
    b-rh                    |thumb extends


41 BEN    dark blue oka(h)y.


42        (0.7)


43 TAK    uh:: (1.5) |light green,
    b-rh               |close all except pinky


44 BEN    li(h)ght green, eheh

45 TAK    and, (0.5) uh::

46 BEN    last one.

47 TAK    last one mm::


48        (0.8)


49 TAK    |navy.
    b-rh  |extends ring


50        (0.4)


51 MIA    ogh::

52 BEN    navy blue?

53 TAK    navy blue.

54 BEN    alright. >okay kay kay<

55        |alright.
```

```
     b-bh    |single clap
```

```
56 BEN     thank you sir.

57         I will ready your color okay?

58         a:nd uh:  color. watercolor right?

59 TAK     yes.
```

Before the excerpt begins, Ben tells Taku that he has the choice of buying a set with six, ten or twelve different colors of paint. After Taku chooses a twelve paint set, Ben initiates a confirmation sequence in lines 1-2 and with Taku's confirmation established in line 3, Ben then initiates a post-expansion by asking if there are "any specific colors" that Taku wants (lines 4-5). Before Taku responds, Ben produces a gesture in line 6, in which he slowly raises his right hand with a fist closed with his palm inward and holds this position with his gaze fixed on Taku. However, Taku does not seem to notice Ben's gesture due to a shift in gaze consistent with a forward-oriented repair or doing thinking (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1986), which is evident in lines 7-11, where Taku repeats "specific color" while looking to his upper right before shifting his gaze to his upper left and repeating "specific color" once more. Taku's gaze eventually returns to Ben as he says "r- red" (line 13) and simultaneously Ben precisely times a downward motion of his right fist and extension of his pinky finger, overlaying the gesture on Taku's utterance. It is at this point that Taku appears to notice Ben's gesturing hand and his gaze remains downward, fixed on Ben's fist for an extended duration.

By Taku's one-word response and the lack of a follow up, as evident by the 0.8-sec silence that follows, it seems that Taku has understood Ben's question as an inquiry making conditionally relevant only one color. Ben's question in lines 4-5 meanwhile, used the plural "colors" indicating he was after more than one. This is further solidified by his listing gesture

that would likely have made this clearer, however with his gaze toward the ceiling doing forward-oriented repair, Taku did not appear to see it. Notably, rather than a more explicit pursuit of a fuller response, Ben simply holds his hand in the visible space between himself and Taku.

Once Taku does notice Ben's gesturing hand, Taku again clarifies the question in line 18, repeating "specific color?". In response, Ben repeats back "red" but does so with a hearably continuing intonational contour and a reprisal of the gesture he produced to receipt Taku's "red" earlier: a downward motion of his right fist and an extension of his pinky finger. In short, this turn is an incomplete list and a prompt for Taku to provide an anticipatory completion by adding more colors to his answer. Taku eventually aligns with this trajectory by producing "blue" in line 21, which again is receipted through repetition and a similar gesture from Ben that uses the same downward motions but this time an extension of his ring finger. In line 24, Taku then adds "green" and "white" which are both similarly tallied with gestures by Ben. With four colors listed (and receipted), in line 25, Taku goes quiet for 2.2-sec, having perhaps run out of color names and/or realizing that he is still eight short of the prescribed twelve. He then produces some laughter tokens in line 26 as he asks Ben, "I have to say twelve color?".

Ben emphatically confirms this in the next turn, speaking quickly and loudly while smiling, which leads to some laughter from Mia, as Taku meanwhile displays some distress towards this news by placing his right hand on his forehead and giving an assessment by saying "it's difficult," in line 30, which is upgraded to "very difficult," by Mia, perhaps as a display of affiliation towards Taku and his newly apparent task. With Ben's expectation for twelve colors made explicit, Taku continues his list by adding "pink" in line 33 through a strained voice, which Ben again receipts with a listing gesture. After some hesitations and pauses, Taku then adds purple in line 34, and having used all five of his fingers, Ben then

closes all of them but his pinky to start the cycle anew. Taku then continues by listing off "brown", "yellow" (line 35), "orange" (line 36) "dark blue" (line 40), and "light green" (line 44) with intervening pauses and hesitations between each color that display Taku's orientation to the difficulty of the task. Ben for his part continues to keep tally of Taku's colors by producing listing gestures as Taku says each one and in line 46, with Taku having now listed off eleven colors in total, Ben says "last one," occasioning a repetition of "last one" from Taku, who hesitates briefly before giving his twelfth color, "navy" in line 49, which receives an "oghhh" from Mia, a token commonly used to display awe in Japanese (Greer, 2016).

Many parallels can be drawn between this excerpt and the prior Excerpt 7.15. The agent asks a question designed to occasion multiple list items, which is interpreted by the learner as a request for a single item (here "red", and "tabasco" in the prior excerpt). A listing gesture then becomes an integral resource for the agent to display to the learner their expectation that the single item they provided is not sufficient. It is instead treated as (and retrospectively transformed into) the first item in a list-in-progress. The learners also orient to these gestures as prompts for longer lists, realigning their responses by extending them: one item becoming three and twelve-part lists respectively.

However, there are some notable differences as to when and how the gestures become relevant. In Excerpt 7.15, Tom does not produce a gesture concurrently with his question, and instead uses the list gesture after the learner misaligns with his question. Here meanwhile, Ben laminates the gesture onto his initial FPP in lines 4-5, as a way of showing his expectation of a list, thereby attempting to preemptively avoid such misalignment. However, due to Taku's coincidental gaze aversion at the same moment, the gesture did not become relevant at the moment of its production. Instead, Ben has to hold this listing gesture until line 15, where Taku's forward-oriented repair finishes and his gaze finally returns. Therefore,

what began as a pre-emptive practice for Ben shifts into a retrospective repair after the learner misaligns with the question by not providing a list.

With Taku having ostensibly finished his task, Ben selects Mia, and they negotiate her mission card. However, rather than opting to give the learners their stamp and close the task frame, Ben instead brings Taku back into the participation framework to revisit the list he solicited from him earlier.

Excerpt 7.17: What's the color again?

```
01 BEN    so: |four ringed paper that has
    b-bh      |claps together


02 BEN    one hundred pages?


03        |(0.5)
   m-hd   |nods


04 BEN    a:nd one set of (0.4) watercolor
05 BEN    that has twelve paints?
06 TAK    |yes.
   b-rh   |holds up fist high, slowly lowers
```

```
            (reprises list gesture)->line 31
```



```
07            |(1.5)

    t-gz    |to BEN's hand
```



```
08 MIA    [   ahAHAH   ]

09 TAK    |[haha ag(h)]ain?!
```

```
m-px    |folds at waist
```



```
10 BEN    hahaha >what's the what's the <

11 BEN    what's the color again?

12 MIA    [hehe]

13 TAK    [eheh]


14        (0.5)


15 TAK    °uh: red?°

16 BEN    |red

   b-rh    |fist down, pinky extended

   b-hd    |nod


17        (0.5)


18 TAK    ehaha .hhh

19 TAK    re(h)d, [blue,]

20 BEN          |[red, ]
```

```
   b-rh              |down


21 TAK     eheh


22         (0.5)


23 TAK     |oh I ha- I have to: |(0.8) SA(h)y?
   b-hd    |head up              |head down (big nod)
```



```
24 TAK     .hhh mmm
25 BEN     I forgot sorry.
26 TAK     heh red, blue, (.)
27 TAK     uh:: 0.5 .hhh [g- gree:n ]
28 MIA                   |[you should] |writing down.
```

```
        m-lh                    |to BEN        |writing gesture
```



```
29        (0.3)


30 MIA    [eheheh]

31 BEN    |[ahaha ] |(I'm) just joking.

   t-rh              |to MIA

   t-gz              |to MIA

   b-rh    |to TAKU  |taps TAKU's shoulder
```



```
32 BEN    [>just joking okay.< ]

33 TAK    |[(you are) right.   ]
```

```
t-rh    |points to MIA

t-gz    |to MIA
```



```
34 BEN    it's my fault [it's my fault.]

35 TAK                  [   hehehehe   ]


36 BEN    yeah I should write it down right?

37 BEN    yeah anyway


38        (0.7)


39 BEN    I'm very |sorry taku.
   b-rh            |to TAKU


40 BEN    I will ready your colors.
```

In lines 1-2, Ben repeats back Mia's request to make sure that he has it right and after she confirms with a nod, he turns to Taku and does the same thing. However, just as Taku

responds with a "yes" Ben reprises his listing gesture from earlier, holding up his right fist. This seems to take the learners by surprise, as indicated by a 1.5-sec silence (line 7), followed by some loud laughter from both Mia and a laughed through "again?!") from Taku. In lines 10-11, Ben laughs as he confirms that he indeed wants Taku to repeat back his earlier requested colors. This type of memory test is commonly employed by the agents and seems to be used as a way of holding learners accountable for remembering the complicated orders they sometimes give in the role-plays (see also Excerpts 7.11, 7.15, 7.19). Different here though is the fact that Taku did not initiate this long list answer himself, but rather was prompted to do so by Ben. Taku also displayed difficulty reaching twelve colors, hesitating and pausing throughout, and even outwardly assessing it as a difficult task. It is therefore not surprising that Taku explicitly questions Ben's embodied call for him to remember and reproduce this long list. However, after some silence and some more laughter from Mia and Taku, Ben does not retract his hand or his question, and Taku again begins listing colors. He says red (line 15) followed by "red, blue," in line 19 and after some laughter and a pause he again asks Ben if he has to repeat them all (line 23). Despite this display of resistance, Ben does not back down from his request. Instead, he provides an account for it by saying "I forgot sorry" leaving Taku to attempt to resume his list in the next turn. Taku is not the only one to orient to Ben's request with resistance: in line 28, just as Taku says "green", Mia in overlap looks to Ben and says, "you should writing down" and gesturing with her right hand. With this turn, Mia turns the tables of rights and responsibilities of customer/clerk roles. While it is true that a customer is responsible for knowing their own request, the clerk who takes that request should be keeping track and remember it once it is placed. While Ben was clearly keeping track of the number of colors with his receipts and gestures, he does not seem to have been paying attention to what those colors were. With this issue pointed out, Ben then backs down from his request for Taku to repeat the 12-color list by laughing and saying "I'm

just joking, just joking okay" in lines 31-32. Taku for his part seems to express agreement with Mia's assertion that Ben should have written his order down, pointing toward her and saying "right". In line 34, Ben claims responsibility for not knowing the colors by saying that it is his fault and repeating Mia's assertion that he should have written it down. Finally, in line 39, Ben apologizes to Taku and lets him know that he will "ready" his paints.

My analysis thus far has examined how a solitary speaker and a solitary recipient deploy embodied resources when constructing lists for various interactional purposes. For speakers, listing gestures serve as a useful way of providing recipients with a visually available metric of the list's progression that, along with other resources like prosody, make it projectable and easier to both follow and if relevant to contribute to. For recipients, listing gestures serve as a specialized type of embodied continuer that in contrast with a simple nod, not only makes a claim to be listening but also a demonstration, insofar as the gestures provide a correction-amenable display of their understanding of when an utterance is part of a list and how many list items they understand to have been said so far. As we also saw, partial listings can also be used as a resource to solicit an anticipatory completion of some kind, and are often used by agents as resources to test learners' ability to recall the specifics of complicated list answers they have given earlier. This is not to say, however, that such practices are limited to only happening between one or two participants.

In the following excerpt 7.18, I explore an example of two different speakers (Yuu and Nao) and a recipient (Tom) using gestures to coordinate a list.

Excerpt 7.18: America, Hawaii, San Francisco, New York, Hollywood

```
01 TOM    and what coun↑tries?
```

```
02        (0.5)


03 ZEN?   >>eh america america.<<=


04 NAO?   =>hawaii hawaii<=


05 YUU    =ah:. hawaii?


06 TOM    hawaii?


07        (0.6)


08        |just one?

   t-rh   |raises index
```



```
09        |(0.8)
   y-gz   |to TOM's gesturing hand
```

```
10 NAO     |ah:eh::

   a-gz    |at NAO

   t-rh    |lowers hand


11         (1.1)


12 YUU     eh |o- one year hawaii=

   a-rh       |index raised, arm towards NAO->line 18
```



```
13 NAO     |=hawa|ii ii,

   n-rh    |,,,,,|down, palm toward floor
```

```
      n-hd          |slow nod
```



```
14 TOM     |hawaii, one year?

   t-lh    |raises index-> line 23



15         (.)



16 YUU      hawaii [one  ] year.




17 NAO           |[iya- ]

   n-hd          |quickly cocks left




18 NAO    |hawaii, (0.2) uh: |anno:

   n-rh   |down              |short tapping motions
```

```
    n-hd    |slow nod
```



```
    y-rh                        |retracts

19          |san fran cis|co,

    n-rh    |down           |down
```



```
20 YUU    ¥sa(h)n fra(h)n cisco hahaha¥


21        (0.7)


22 NAO    ah- |new york.u, (0.6)

    n-rh        |down



23 NAO    |hollywood.o,

    n-rh    |down->line 25
```

```
24 YUU    ¥hollywood(h).o¥


                                                            230

25 NAO    |ato |(0.8)

   t-px   |adjusts posture

   n-rh        |to chin ("thinker pose")



26 YUU    country! the country! (chigau >machigatteru<)

                                 wrong. that's not right.

27        (0.8)



28 NAO    mah: (.) many,



29 YUU    many (with)



30 TOM    in america, |many places.=

   t-rh               |circular motion



31 NAO?   =many places.



32 TOM    |o- hawaii,|(.)|san francisco:, |new york=

   t-rh   |left          |right           |up

   n-hd              |nods               |nods



33 NAO    |=yeah:

   n-hd   |nods twice



                                                            230
```

```
34        (0.8)


35 YUU    ¥los angeles¥


36 ?      [ heh rosu.]

              los (angeles)
37 TOM    [nice nice.]
```

After Tom asks the learners what countries they plan on visiting, there is a deluge of responses from multiple participants in quick succession with one another (lines 3-5). Perhaps due to Yuu's close proximity, Tom repeats his response ”Hawaii” before saying “just one?” while raising his right index finger. This candidate understanding works to initiate repair by implying the insufficiency of the response, since Tom asked about multiple countries but only one was given. In line 10, Nao appears to be doing thinking as displayed by his non-lexical perturbation "ahhhehhh," but after a 1.1-sec pause, Yuu takes the floor saying “one year Hawaii” raising his index finger in a similar way before motioning towards Nao, who is seated on the far side of the room. The gesture that Yuu laminates his utterance with is a co-opting of the tally gesture Tom produced in line 8 that is transformed to also accomplish an indexical speaker selection of Nao. Yuu thus contributes one item to the projected listing but selects Nao to continue the project from there.

Latching on to his turn, Nao says "Hawaii" (line 13), laminating the word with continuing intonation and a gesture in which he pushes his hand, fingers extended, downward toward the floor. This gesture is deployed in the same sequential environment as the listing gestures I have previously examined; however, rather than keep tally of an item's position on the list, this gesture is highly iconic. The recipients are invited to see the gesture as Nao

positioning the place referents in the air in front of him in a map-like fashion. In line 14, Tom again offers a candidate understanding for confirmation, "Hawaii one year?", but Nao seems to reject this with a quick cock of the head and the Japanese negation "iya".

In line 18, Nao then restarts his list from the beginning, saying "Hawaii" and again moving his hand downward. He then hesitates as evident by the Japanese hesitation marker "anno" and several light taps of the hand that are visibly distinct from the broad arm movements deployed when placing an item on his list. Both the spoken and embodied components of the utterance are holding the floor while Nao formulates the next item which materializes in the next line where Nao says "San Francisco" and produces a gesture reminiscent of the one in line 18 but slightly further from his body and with the addition of a small beat occurring on the final syllable. Yuu, for reasons that are not entirely clear yet, treats this as laughable in line 20, via a laughed-through repetition, but Nao does not orient to this and after a 0.7-sec silence he continues by adding "new york" to his list. The accompanying gesture is again similar to the ones produced with Hawaii and San Francisco but is positioned even further away from his body. This further solidifies the visibility of the gestures as some sort of linear map, with each place referent carefully placed to occupy a different position in space. In line 23, Nao adds yet one more place reference to the list, "Hollywood," and again makes a similar, albeit slightly more emphatic listing gesture. This too is receipted by Yuu with some laughter.

Nao, meanwhile, places the listing project on hold by saying "ato" and moving his gesturing hand to his chin in a prototypical thinking pose. In line 26, a remark from Yuu perhaps provides an account for his laughter up until that point: While Tom's question asked about what countries they would like to visit, Nao's responses have instead been a combination of American states and cities. However, rather than attempting any kind of self-correction or repair, Nao instead uses the Japanese token "mah", which in Japanese is often

used to preface abandonment, before bringing the list to closure with a generalized list completer "many" as he moves his hand in a circular motion. One recurrent feature of listing gestures in this dataset is that list-terminal items are often gesturally distinct from earlier items in the list, which helps display to the recipients' that the list project has reached a closure point. Rather than pursue his attempt at repair initiation any further, Yuu aligns with Nao's attempt to move forward saying "ii ka" (good enough).

With Nao's list having reached completion, Tom (line 30) then uses the next turn to display his understanding of Nao's to solicit confirmation. He does so by first producing a gesture that resembles the one Nao just did, as well as a candidate understanding of his answer: that they want to visit many places in America. He then begins to reconstruct the list. He begins by saying Hawaii with a downward motion of his left hand, moves his hand slightly to the right as he says San Francisco, then to the upper left as he says New York. This is confirmed by Nao in the next turn and Tom gives an assessment ("nice nice" line 37) to bring this sequence to a close and move on to other things.

As this example makes apparent, listing gestures work largely in the same ways that I have documented in my earlier examples between a single speaker and recipient. However, it also shows how these resources might be used by multiple speakers when they all have the necessary access, rights, and responsibilities to co-produce a list.

7.4.4 Divergent case analysis: Closing a speaker's list with an embodied generalized list completer

In the previous sections, I examined several cases in which both participants produced gestures for each of the items in the list as they were produced. However, another potential sequential unfolding is that a recipient of a listing can provide a gestural generalized list completer that moves the list sequence toward closure. This is exemplified in Excerpt 7.15

below, in which four learners and their agent, Pam, are negotiating hotel accommodations as part of the travel agency role-play task.

Excerpt 7.19: Hawaii, New York, Los Angeles, Everywhere

```
01 PAM     |°okay°.

           |thumbs up


02         (for) all the ↑places?


03         (0.4)


04 PAM     |hawaii,      |new york,     |los angeles,


   p-rh    |rais. index |rais. middle |rais.  ring
```



```
05         (0.4)


06 NAO     |yeah >it's o- it's okay.<=
```

```
    n-bh    |circular gesture
```



```
07 PAM     |=everywhere. [single] rooms.

    p-bh    |circular gesture
```



```
08 AKI                    [ yeah ]


09         |o:kay. cool.

    p-hd    |nods
```

 Just before this extract, the learners expressed that rather than share rooms, they would like

to each book single rooms. After receipting this information with "okay," in line 1, Pam

displays a candidate understanding to solicit confirmation that they intend to do this "for all

the places?" which is met with a 0.4-sec silence. Orienting to this delay, Pam then attempts

self-repair by unpacking her earlier question via a listing of the places the learners plan on visiting (line 4). As she says each place reference, she produces tally gestures by consecutively raising fingers on her left hand, starting with her index (Hawaii) followed by her middle (New York), and ending on her ring finger (Los Angeles). Pam pauses her talk but continues gesturing with her hand, producing a small beat, and raising her pinky finger. Whether because she cannot recall the rest of the large list of place names Nao said earlier, or because she is withholding the rest as a way of testing the learners' memory, it is clear that Pam is inviting the learners to help complete the list and confirm that her understanding of their request is correct.

Nao's turn in line 6 accomplishes both things, providing spoken confirmation, while at the same time giving an embodied generalized list completer for Pam's hearably and visibly incomplete list. While listing gestures are predominantly laminated over a spoken item on the list, here the spoken component of Nao's turn (line 6) is a confirmation ("yeah it's okay") and the act of listing is entirely done via embodiment. Pam displays her understanding of this gesture as such, by giving a spoken generalized list completer that is accompanied by a return gesture that closely resembles the one that Nao just provided. With the list complete and confirmation established, Pam closes the sequence with a receipt and assessment before progressing with the task by asking about other aspects of their planned trip.

7.5   Chapter 7 Discussion

As the only CA study to examine the full gestalt of multimodal resources participants bring to bear when they construct lists, my analysis has shown that participants often orient to embodiment as focal to the co-operative construction of list sequences. Participants draw not only on available spoken resources but rather on laminated substrates consisting of spoken

resources like prosody and semantics and embodied resources like gaze, head movement, and listing gestures. Embodiment becomes particularly important to the coordination of its co-construction when a list extends beyond three items and three-partedness is not a viable resource for projecting list trajectory or when making a single referent recognizable (or displaying recognition of) a single referent as the beginning of a list-in-progress. Importantly, list gestures are found to be highly situated in their form and function, making them difficult to delineate into categories. The participants themselves do seem to distinguish between tally gestures and ones that iconically represent list items, as there were no cases of tallies occasioning iconic depictions or vice versa. However, there were also cases where the gestures seem to do both counting or tallying while also being iconic (see Excerpt 7.13). Common to all list gestures in this data is a beat-like quality that is often accentuated by a downward motion of the head that, along with prosody and the amount of silence left between list items, helps establish a listing rhythm first noted by Erickson (1982, 1992).

There are also several implications for L2 interaction that can be derived from this chapter. The first is that although the learners in the data are novices with limited linguistic resources, by using embodied listing they demonstrate an ability to form extended and complex responses. For the language educators in the study, embodied listing proved to be effective at drawing sequences out beyond projectable points of closure, thereby giving learners more opportunities to interact in their second language. The educators also at times used lists to realign a learner's response to better fit with the task at hand. In these respects, partial listings designed to occasion anticipatory completions from the learners are highly complementary to the other practices for designing obstacles to progressivity documented in Chapter 6. Finally, lists were shown to contribute to the maintenance of intersubjectivity for all participants in two ways: The gestures provided publicly available online displays of understanding regarding what each participant oriented to as a list item (or conversely, did

not). In addition, the common item-by-item, back-and-forth format between the list speaker and recipient builds in windows of opportunity where repair can be easily initiated if trouble emerges. To my knowledge, this pattern has not been documented elsewhere, and while it is speculative, one can see many parallels between this type of turn-taking and the incremental uptake found in the learner's L1. A valuable direction for future research would be to investigate how lists are accomplished by more advanced Japanese learners of English to confirm if these practices change as interactional competence develops.

Chapter 8: The Role of Laughables and Language Play in Shaping Sequence

In this chapter, I explore how play becomes a resource for both agents and learners to co-construct interactions at TGG in a way that is entertaining or fun. As I detail in Chapter 4, TGG states that their programs are designed to both educate and entertain learners (Mori & Takizawa, 2019) by providing them opportunities to practice using English via "realistic simulations" (TGG, 2015, p. 16) of situations they might face overseas. In both their policy documents and promotional materials, TGG explicitly stresses the value of their role-plays for preparing the learners for potentially high-stakes situations they might have to negotiate in English if abroad, like having to return a problematic purchase or explain sudden health problems to a pharmacist. At the same time, these tasks are described as fun activities meant to promote entertainment and enjoyment.

For TGG to meet these goals, there is therefore a careful balance that must be struck in terms of task design: making the role-play tasks too playful runs the risk of compromising their realism and in turn their usefulness as preparation for the real world, insofar as they become implausible to *the wild*. However, simulated service encounters that are too realistic might result in dry transactional talk that lacks entertainment value. Prensky (2001) succinctly articulates this issue, writing: "there are lots of good reasons to simulate things or processes in training — the ability to "practice in safety" and to do "what if" experimentation being two of them. But simulations in themselves can easily, once the initial novelty wears off, and if attention is not paid, become almost as boring as [standard tasks]" (p. 2). While fun is difficult to quantify, it is hard to view the tasks written on TGG's mission cards e.g., "you can customize your burger", as promoting fun.

How then, do TGG agents and learners take ostensibly boring or mundane tasks (e.g., ordering food in a restaurant or returning a book) and co-construct them as something fun and entertaining?

In this chapter, I first review some relevant literature relating to play and language learning. In Section 8.2, I then document how TGG agents sometimes prepare the learners for their tasks by producing model answers that contain silly exemplars. In doing so the agents prime the learners to produce silly answers during the task that follows. In Section 8.3, I analyze moments within the role-plays themselves in which participants' orientations to laughables lead to moments of sequential expansion and further explore how the deployment of a laughable is interpreted by the agents to index a willingness to communicate as evidenced by the subsequent use of post-expansions. Finally, I explore a series of cases in which the learner is shown to repeat the same or similar laughables multiple times eventuating in them being treated as no longer funny by the agent.

8.1   Literature review

Beyond the common-sensical assumption that learning should be enjoyable, there are a number of theoretical perspectives that assert the importance of play to development. Vygotsky (1978), for example, writes that "...play contains all developmental tendencies in a condensed form and is itself a major source of development" (p. 102), while Piaget observes, "in early stages of development, children engage with the world and people around them through playful interactions that allow them to learn by imitation, symbolic interaction, and cognitive representation, thereby constructing experiential knowledge about the world" (Piaget, 1951 as cited in Liu et al, 2013, p. 67). Explorations of how play might relate

specifically to language learning and use have been explored broadly under the banner of language play (Cook, 1997, 2000; Lantolf, 1997). In regard to SLA, sociolinguists have theorized that language play (e.g., language use that is designed to entertain) can stretch learners' sociolinguistic competence, lower their affective filters, and destabilize the interlanguage system (Cook, 1997; Tarone, 2000). Cook, a prominent proponent of play's role in SLA, argues that language play makes up a large part of learners' "personally and socially significant language use" (p. 204) and can help to "broaden the range of permitted interactional patterns within the classroom" (p. 199). There is also a growing body of research bolstering these theoretical claims with empirical studies of naturally occurring interaction in language classrooms (Belz, 2002; Bushnell, 2008; Čekaitė and Aronsson, 2005; Pomerantz & Bell, 2007; Sullivan, 2000; Waring, 2013). Although these studies provide diverse insights, a common finding is that by providing learners with opportunities to interact in authentic ways, language play can prepare learners to deal with forms of turn-taking, participation frameworks, and identity work that go beyond the institutional interaction typically found in language classrooms (Čekaitė & Aronsson, 2005; Sullivan, 2000).

A major point of differentiation between the data in the current study and those examined in prior studies is that of setting. Prior studies have focused on traditional language classrooms where non-serious or playful language use is often treated as obstructive to the teacher's pedagogical agenda (Bell & Pomerantz, 2015; Cook, 2000). In contrast, TGG as an institution explicitly states that one of its goals is to let visitors "...experience the fun of communicating in English in an extraordinary environment...in situations where English is the language of necessity" (Tokyo Global Gateway, 2020, p. 13). Playful language use then is not only something TGG permits but encourages. However, how are such institutional aims oriented to and co-constructed by the participants? The current chapter will attempt to address this research gap.

8.2 Encouraging playfulness and locally defining a word via reiterative absurd exemplars

In this section, I will discuss the orientation of both the learners and agents to humor and play during role-play tasks. My focus on humor is something arrived at in a bottom-up fashion: after repeatedly observing the data, I was left with two immediate observations. The first pertained to the unusual nature of some of the learners' orders in the fast-food role-plays. One learner, for example, whose mission card specified the task "you can customize your burger" and nothing more, orders a natto (fermented soybeans) and banana hamburger, with a side of natto juice and a natto ice cream for dessert. For readers outside of Japan, this is not something one would find on even the most avant-garde burger shop menu. Another learner, whose card reads "you can customize your sandwich" orders a chocolate, cheese, and lettuce sandwich. These strange combinations of items were not something specified in the task materials, yet were ubiquitous throughout the dataset, leaving me to wonder what was occasioning them. My second observation was regarding the design of the 'restaurant' setting itself: the restaurant had no physical menu. If the task is indeed meant to allow learners to experience what it is like to order in a fast-food store abroad, this seems to be a perplexing choice. In order to better understand what was going on, I decided that I would have to examine the way the task was explained to the learners before they approached the restaurant counter. One limitation of the current dataset, however, is that the recordings of the before and after task interactions are largely unusable due to excessive background noise and inadequate camera placement. Through many repeated listenings and the piecing together of several different audio sources in the room, I was able to transcribe some of the pre-fast-food task talk of two groups of agents and learners, but these transcripts are highly limited in that

the voices of the learners were inaudible most of the time, and visual access was only available at certain points.

Although these transcripts cannot be subjected to a sequential analysis (for the above reasons), the recordings still provide valuable insight into the agents' orientations to the task-as-workplan and how their instructions shape the task-as-process that follows. I begin by looking at how Ben and Kim explain the task to the learners after they enter the fast-food restaurant, set down their bags and gather around some tables positioned in the room. In the following excerpt, Kim acquaints the learners with the task they will have to do by unpacking the text written on their mission cards.

Excerpt 8.1: So What Is Customize?

```
01 KIM    oka:y? so now I'll give you

02        your mission ↑ca:rd. your mission ↑card.

03        your mission ↑ca:rd. your mission ↑ca:rd.

04        mission card. mission ca::rd. ↑mission card

05        your mission card. mission card mission card

06        mission card a:nd mission card.

07        SO what do you mean by customize?

08        what is customize?

09        (1.3)

10 KIM    what is customize?

11        (1.7)

12 STU    (    )

13 STU    you can make
```

```
14 KIM    ¥Ye::s:¥

15        choose and make.

16        you can make your ¥o::wn hamburger.¥

17        like for ex↑ample (1.3)

18        hello, (0.2) I want to order

19        a hamburger with (0.5) sashimi, (1.3)

20        lemon (0.5) a::nd lettuce please.

21        (1.1)

22 KIM    okay? (.) I wa:nt to order a sandwich

23        with wasabi: (1.0) tomato (.)

24        and mayonnaise plea:se. so

25        you are going to ma:ke your ow:n

26        food. oka:y? <customize.>

27        ready? I want you to go together.
```

In lines 1-6, Kim begins by handing all of the learners their cards one by one, and once each

learner is holding a card in hand, she initiates a vocabulary check regarding a word that is

written on every card: "customize". In line 7, she first formulates this as "what do you mean

by customize?" which is then reformulated in line 8 to the more direct "what is customize?".

When the learners do not seem to immediately provide a relevant response, Kim self-repairs

by repeating her question verbatim. Although it is only partially hearable on the recording,

she seems to this time receive an answer from at least two students, which she positively

assesses with a smile voiced "yes" in line 14. In line 15, she then provides a local definition

of 'customize' for the group, "choose and make," possibly incorporating the learners'

contributions from the turn prior (lines 12-13). With the word "customize" locally defined,

Kim immediately starts giving some examples of what a customized hamburger might look

like saying, "hello, I want to order a hamburger with sashimi, lemon and lettuce please" (lines 19-20). Although her recipient's orientation to her topping choices is unavailable in the data, sashimi and lemon seem strange in that these are not something commonly found in fast-food restaurants or put on hamburgers. These therefore may be designed to be silly or laughable in this context. This can also be said about Kim's second model answer (lines 22-24), in which she orders a sandwich "with wasabi, tomato, and mayonnaise". While wasabi is perhaps less strange than sashimi and lemon, this too seems deliberately atypical of standard condiments for a sandwich and thus can be considered a silly exemplar.

In short, Kim delivers her instructions by first ensuring each of the students has a mission card in hand before highlighting one word from the card "customize" as focal to the task. She does this by first asking the learners if they know the meaning, and after soliciting some replies provides a situated definition, which is subsequently bolstered with some illustrative examples of what customizing something might look like. Notably, these examples both contain toppings that are non-serious and strange, in that they are not ordinarily eaten together with the specified food items and seem to be designed to get a reaction out of the students.

As Kim is giving her instructions to one group of learners on the right side of the room, Ben, another agent, is preparing a different group of learners on the left side of the room to do the same task. He uses very similar practices to do so, including the deployment of silly exemplars.

Excerpt 8.2: You Want Chocolate, Tomato and Some Wasabi

```
01 BEN    I:: wan:t you to customize your food.
```

```
02         (0.6)

03 BEN     customize. >when you say< pizza¿
04         (1.0) do you want maybe:: (.) different
05         topping (on your pizza) maybe
06         you want (.) chocolate and tomato
07         (2.0) and some wasabi.
08         ((multiple students chuckle))
09 BEN     so I want you to customize your pizza.
```

Unlike Kim, rather then handing out the mission cards first, Ben begins in line 1, by saying "I want you to customize your food" introducing the word "customize" to the students and setting it up as focal to the task they are about to do. In lines 3-7, he again repeats "customize", and like Kim, starts to provide examples of what customizing locally means in this context. Similar to Kim's examples, the toppings that he chooses to put on his pizza (chocolate, tomato and some wasabi) are quite strange, and are oriented to as funny by the multiple learners having a chuckle in line 8. This is then followed in line 9 by another reiteration of the task goal by Ben's turn "so I want you to customize your pizza," which bookends the example with the vocabulary item, making it hearable that Ben's provided examples are what customize means for this task.

Ben continues to elaborate on the meaning of customize through further strange examples in Excerpt 7.2.

Excerpt 8.3: Customize the Hot Dog

```
09 BEN     same as the hot dog, customize the
```

```
10        hot dog. okay? same with the ↑sandwich

11        maybe you wa:nt (.) vegetable in it and

12             (.) some (1.2) wasabi for example? and also

13        some cheese¿ so I want you to customize your

14        food. so don't say jus' I want sandwich.


15        (1.0)


16 BEN    challenge. challenge. okay?

17        (when you got this) customize your burger

18        you get one.


19        (1.8)


20 BEN    so >when you say< you want

21        burger, tell the- uh: cle:rk, what

22        would you like to have on your burger.

23        okay? SAME as the BOYs.

24        choose yer mission cards first.
```

Ben explains in line 9-11 that this type of customization is expected for every food item,
whether it be a hotdog or a sandwich. He thus encourages all learners to try to follow his
instructions, not just ones that have the same base foods as his model answers. Ben then
follows this up with yet another unusual assemblage of example toppings: vegetables, wasabi
and cheese, which coincidentally roughly matches the sandwich example given by Kim
(wasabi, lettuce, cheese) in Excerpt 8.1. In line 13, Ben again reiterates the task expectation

saying "I want you to customize your food" before following it up with an example of what they should *not* do: "so don't just say I want a sandwich. challenge. challenge. okay?" (lines 14-15) and then provides the upshot of all these instructions in lines 17-19, further emphasizing that the goal is not just to order a food item but to challenge themselves by specifying what toppings they would like to add. In line 21, the group are given their mission cards, presumably with a better understanding of what the content on them means and once everyone has a card in hand, Ben opts to provide further explanation largely in the same vein as before.

Excerpt 8.4: Drawing Connections to the Task Cards

```
25 BEN    alright so. look at your mission cards.

26        uh- you can stay here °you can stay here.°

27        okay? so. (1.0) do:n't say that I: want to

28        buy san'wich. I wa:nt you to (.) customize

29        your food. I want sandwich, but I want

30        cheese, lettuce, tomato, chocolate inside

31        of it.


32        ((group laughter))


33 BEN    ¥Anything! jus' an example its jus' an example.¥

34        but plea:se customize yer food. okay?


35        (0.5)
```

```
36 BEN    don't say I want chicken sandwich.


37       (1.2)


38 BEN    very easy. very easy. so challenge.

39        okay? customize your food. Same as da girls,

40        customize yer food. okay? (  )

41        so you want seafood. what kind of seafood

42        do you want yer toppings. maybe you want

43        salmon?


44       (0.5)


45 BEN     maybe you wa::nt (1.0) uh:m (1.3) pizza?


46       (1.9)


47 BEN    ¥alright so let's go two by two.¥
```

After directing the learners to look at their mission cards, Ben again gives an example of something they should not say ("don't say that I want to buy sandwich"), before providing a model example in line 30. The first three topping choices, cheese, lettuce and tomato, are completely ordinary, which works to emphasize the strangeness of the fourth choice,

chocolate, via contrast. As with Ben's previous examples, this too is oriented to by the learners as funny, as shown by their laughter in line 32.

Taken together, there are clear parallels between Kim and Ben's unpacking of the mission card instructions for the learners. They both emphasize the importance of the word customize, repeating it throughout the talk numerous times, providing local definitions and using repetitions of the word to bookend their explanation sequences. They both also give the learners several model responses, in which they select toppings that are designed to be silly or laughable due to the implausibility or absurdity of the food items with which they are paired. The upshot of both agents' instructions, therefore, seems to be that the learners should choose some toppings for the items on their mission cards and that at least some of these customizations should be strange or out of the ordinary.

As I will show in the next section, the learners indeed by and large attempt to follow these instructions, and they orient to the incorporation of strange toppings into their orders as an enjoyable activity that leads to important moments of learner initiation and sequential expansion.

8.3   Delivering and (dis)aligning with jokes during role-play tasks (middle-schoolers)

With the instructions given to the learners made clear in the previous section, the current section will examine some of the role-plays in which there seems to be clear learner orientation to following such instructions as evidenced by their orders echoing the strangeness of the agents' silly exemplars. Oftentimes, this resulted in other learners who are peripheral to the task (i.e., those waiting to do their mission card task or those who had

already completed it) trying to join in on the fun. Although I will only analyze a few examples, these were largely representative of the broader dataset.

In Excerpt 8.5 below, Dai's hamburger order clearly displays his orientation to the instructions given to him by Kim just before he and his partner Gen walk up to the counter.

Excerpt 8.5: Cheese, Banana, Natto Hamburger

```
01 DAI    uh I want to: order a ↑hamburger.

02 FAY    hamburger okay:

03        what kind o:f toppings (.)


04 FAY    |would you like for your hamburger?
   d-gz   |to card


05 DAI    uh:: mm:: eh:

06        |Hamburger- ah- hamburg,
   d-gz   |to FAY


07 FAY    mhm |[   hamburg  ]
   f-bh       |R index to L palm


08 DAI         [a:nd cheese,]

09 FAY    |cheese. and?
   f-rh   |R index to L palm


10 DAI    bana(h)na
```

```
11 FAY    ¥BAnana?¥ aheheHAH

12 DAI    and

13 FAY    you want banana

14         |in    |your    |hamburger?
   f-bh    |clap  |clap    |clap


15 DAI    yeah=

16 FAY    =okay: and?

17 DAI    |¥natto:¥
   d-rh    |palm forward


18        (0.6)


19 FAY    NA- natto:.

20 DAI    hehehe

21 FAY    okay [ natto:, ] banana,

22 SHO         [ hahaha  ]

23 FAY    for your hamburger.

24 SHO    [haha natto cheese. ]
```

In line 1, Dai's order starts off normally with him specifying the item he wants to order and Fay providing a receipt in the next turn. Fay then initiates a post-expansion by asking what kind of toppings Dai would like for his burger, which occasions a 4-part list. The first two items, hamburg and cheese, are essentially baseline toppings (if one can even consider the hamburg/patty to be a topping), but things quickly take a strange turn in line 10, when Dai adds "banana", which is produced with a hearable laugh-through. In line 11, Fay clearly

orients to and aligns with the playful design of Dai's turn by repeating it with a hearably exaggerated surprised tone while smiling and laughing and even though Dai seems on the way to continuing his order in line 12, Fay instead momentarily halts sequential progressivity to initiate confirmation in lines 13-14 saying, "you want banana in your hamburger" while timing single claps to occur with the last three words. This hyperbolic display of disbelief further highlights the silliness of Dai's request and thus aligns with his attempt at making a joke. With Fay's alignment publicly established, Dai then continues to build on his silly order by adding another strange topping, saying, "natto" in line 17 with a big smile on his face. Fay again orients to this with a display of surprise in the form of a repetition receipt which is first said with a cut-off ("na- natto") that further contributes to making this hearable as a display of disbelief towards Dai's request to add fermented soybeans to his banana hamburger. Dai, apparently happy with his work then has a small chuckle (line 22). As Fay repeats Dai's odd order back to him, Sho, a learner waiting for his turn behind Dai and Gen overhears and also begins to laugh at Dai's joke before repeating the punchline "natto" in line 24. As I will argue in this section, one apparent benefit of encouraging learners to play around during these tasks is that humor has a way of drawing in peripheral participants into more active roles.

While this is already apparent here with Sho chiming in from the background, it becomes even more clear in the following Excerpt 8.6, where Gen starts providing contributions to Dai's order sequence.

Excerpt 8.6: Natto Juice


```
01 FAY    .hhh wouldju like some juice?
02 DAI    uh yeah.
03 GEN    |°natto juice.°
```

```
04 FAY    what kind of juice?

05 DAI    ¥natto juice¥

06 FAY    yes. that's our best seller.

07        natto juice. [okay]

08 DAI                 [haha]

09 FAY    so. (.) since you have natto juice

10        you will also have a ↑free ice cream.

11        what flavor wouldju like?=

12  GEN   =|°natto ice cream.°

     g-px    |turns to DAI


13  DAI   hehehehe hehe hehe .hhh

14  FAY   natto flavor? natto ice cream?

15  DAI   |(.)

     d-hd  |nods


16  FAY   okay.
```

In line 1, Fay initiates a post-expansion sequence by asking if Dai wants to add some juice to his order, and after Dai responds with a "yeah" in the next turn, Gen turns to Dai and proffers a candidate for a kind of juice that he should order, "natto juice" (line 3). This turn shows that not only is Gen projecting Fay's yet-to-be produced follow up question, but that he is also assisting Dai with the task of making his order humorous. In line 4, Fay produces the question that Gen anticipated, saying "what kind of juice?" and Dai accepts Gen's suggestion

saying "natto juice" in a smiley voice in the next turn. A point of analytic interest is that this time Fay does not align by laughing at Dai and Gen's collaboratively arrived at answer "natto juice". Instead, in line 6, she treats it as nothing out of the ordinary saying "yes. that's our best seller". This is reflective of a larger phenomenon that is observable in other playful sequences in the dataset: once the same joke has been made multiple times, the response to the joke becomes progressively attenuated, often to the point of not being oriented to as humorous at all. This is even further apparent slightly later in the sequence where after asking Dai to choose an ice cream flavor, Gen again turns to Dai and suggests "natto ice cream" (line 12), causing Dai to burst into laughter. While Dai clearly finds this suggestion funny, Fay does not treat it as such. Her facial expression is no longer smiling, and she instead simply confirms that this is what Dai wants by repeating it to him in line 14, and after getting an embodied confirmation produces a sequence closing third in the form of an "okay" in line 16 before moving to close the task frame. This likely suggests Fay's orientation to two things: the running of the natto joke into the ground by Dai and Gen, as well as the maintenance of task progressivity by not drawing things out any further by encouraging more joking contributions.

It is clear from this excerpt that the way the task was explained and exemplified to the learners (the task-as-workplan) had an impact on the way the task-as-process unfolded, and I would argue that these effects were largely beneficial in terms of achieving TGG's institutional goals of getting students to talk more and have fun in the process. Not only was Dai participating and producing displays of enjoyment, but his classmate at the counter, Gen, and even some other students overhearing from behind all became involved and laughed along to varying degrees. This type of unsolicited involvement from learners who are not currently taking their turn to do their mission card was something I only observed in

moments where the participants were clearly orienting to humor in some way and also even resulted in a rarity in this dataset, learner initiated sequences.

One such example can be seen in the following (excerpt 8.7). After Nao has just completed a very lengthy and humorous order sequence in its own right (see Chapter 7, excerpt 7.11) Tom seems to be attempting to close the task frame when Aki opts to initiate a new sequence.

Excerpt 8.7: Sky Beans Ekisu


```
01 AKI    [ Anh! ]

02        sky beans ekisu.

                      extract

03 NAO    ah- yeah! sky beans ekisu too:

                              extract

04        |(.)
   t-hd   |leans in eyebrows raised->line 7



05 NAO    sky bea:ns ekisu.

                    extract

06        (.)



07 TOM    |sky bea:ns
   t-hd   |return to home, brows furrowed



08 NAO    yeah. |sky bea:ns [uh::m:]
```

```
    n-gz          |left side


09 AKI                         [hahaha]

10 NAO    [big ]

11 AKI    [haha]sky sky beans

12 NAO    [big beans big] beans.

13 AKI    [ >many many< ]

14 NAO    yeah [>many many< sky beans]

15 AKI         [>many many< sky beans]ekisu.
```

                                    extract

```
16 NAO    yeah.

17 TOM    okay. big beans?

18 NAO    yeah. yeah >very very< big.

19 TOM    |I'm sorry we don't have.

   t-bh   |X shape "negation" gesture


20 NAO    |[EH:AHH::!]

   n-px   |torque left wincing


21 AKI    |[AHHHH:::!]

   a-px   |collapses on counter


22 TOM    ¥I'm ve::ry sorry.¥

23        |[very sorry:]

   t-bh   |palms together
```

```
24  AKI   [ AH::OW::: ]

25  NAO   [ AH:::::: ]

26  TOM   I'm very sorry.

27  NAO   eh: okay okay okay.
```

This excerpt begins towards the end of the overall task sequence with Aki and Nao both

having already completing their mission cards. In line 1, Aki seems to produce a display of

remembering saying "anh!" before saying "sky beans ekisu". It seems clear that this

formulation is an attempt at recipient design on Aki's part. In Japanese, there is a vegetable

referred to as *sora mame* (そら豆)*,* which directly translates to sky beans, and this is likely

what Aki is referring to. However, because they are not referred to as sky beans by English

speakers, a more apt translation would be fava bean. Adding to the esoteric nature of the

formulation is that Aki tacks on the Japanese word *ekisu*, which would translate to something

like *extract* in English. Sky beans alone would already constitute a strange item to add to a

burger, but the word "ekisu" amplifies this strangeness even further, since sky bean extract

seems to be something that the learners made up.[16]

In line 3, Nao also produces a display of remembering saying, "ah yeah!" before

looking at Tom and adding "sky beans ekisu too". These shared remembering displays

between Aki and Nao create the impression that asking for "sky beans ekisu" is an inside joke

of sorts that they had planned to bring up with Tom as they waited to take their turn at the

counter. Tom, however, is understandably confused by this mysterious mélange of Japanese

and English words and initiates second-position repair by leaning forward toward the learners

---

[16] A google search in both English and Japanese did not reveal any actual products that Aki
might be referring to.

with his eyebrows raised. Rather than trying to alter his formulation, Nao instead seems to orient to Tom's understanding issue as related to hearing, and attempts repair by repeating "sky beans ekisu" in line 5. After a micropause, Tom again initiates repair in line 7, repeating "sky beans". With the trouble source more clearly identified, Nao begins to think of a repair solution in line 8, saying "sky beans" and looking off to his left side as he says "uhm", both serving as displays of doing thinking, as Aki lets out some laughter tokens. In line 10, Nao says "big" and thus seems on the way to a better explanation of what sky beans are, given that one thing that differentiates sora mame from other beans is how large they are. In overlap, Aki produces more laughter, before also trying to assist with the repair by repeating sky beans once again. The collaborative repair work continues in the following turns, as Nao then twice repeats "big beans" in line 12, as Aki says, "many many" followed by them both saying, "many many sky beans" in unison (lines 14-15) and Nao seems to treat the repair attempt as finished in line 16 by giving a turn final "yeah".

In line 17, Tom seems to have arrived at an understanding of Nao's request, saying, "okay. big beans?" with a big smile, which Nao both confirms and upgrades in the next turn ("yeah very very big" line 19). Tom's smile and okay in line 17, make it seem as though there is an incipient preferred response (i.e., granting Nao and Aki's request), and given that Tom has full control over what the role-play restaurant has (or does not have) on their menu, he easily could play along. But in line 20, Tom turns the table on the learners and produces a sudden and dramatic refusal, throwing both his arms up into a large x shape and saying, "I'm sorry we don't have". Both learners appear caught off guard by this turn of events, producing loud response cries and large movements of their bodies with Nao torquing his entire body to the left with a wincing facial expression and Aki collapsing his upper body onto the counter (lines 20-21). Seeming to display amusement at these displays, Tom smiles but also apologizes to them for being 'unable' to grant their request. Rather than accept this apology,

Aki and Nao again produce loud groaning response cries in the next turns, prompting one more apology from Tom. This time Nao accepts the apology (line 27), and Tom goes on to ask for their passports, closing the task frame.

It is again clear from this excerpt that the way the agent chose to explain and model the task to the learners clearly impacted how it later unfolded for the clerk at the counter. What is particularly interesting here, is that Nao and Aki had already ostensibly completed their tasks at the point this extract begins. Aki chose to initiate this additional request sequence on his own, seemingly for no other purpose than to play around and joke with Tom and the role-play task itself and this also got Nao to join in, extending the sequence much further than it otherwise would have been. This is particularly striking considering that Nao had already given an order comparably longer than any of his classmates. This case also provides an interesting contrast in terms of the clerks' responses to these designedly strange playful requests. Whereas in Excerpt 8.6., Fay ends up simply accepting requests for "natto juice" and "natto ice cream" and disaligning with the learners' orientation to them as humorous, in Excerpt 8.7 Tom tricks the learners into thinking he will accept their request then abruptly produces a refusal. In this sense, Tom disaligns with the learners' request but aligns with the playfulness they instigated by making a joke of his own.

8.3.1 Delivering and (dis)aligning with jokes during role-play tasks (university students)

There are clear differences in how participants orient to humor in the university student data when compared to the middle-school student data. As I showed in Section 8.3, the agents explicitly encourage the learners to give unusual answers during their role-plays.

This is not something that occurs in the university student data, where the instructions are a lot more straightforward and usually involve the students simply practicing reading their mission cards aloud. Despite not being explicitly encouraged to play, however, the university students and agents both demonstrably orient to and instigate playful moments during the role-play tasks. Similar to the middle school student data, such playful initiations tend to be expansive in terms of drawing out sequences further than they would otherwise go, as well as drawing in participants who would likely have been uninvolved. However, it is also clear that the agents and clerks more overtly orient to keeping the role-play somewhat believable.

Such is the case in Excerpt 8.8. below, where Hanako (learner) responds to Odessa's (agent) question about getting a singer to perform at the role-play restaurant with a joke response.

Excerpt 8.8: Lady Gaga

```
01 ODE     any particular singer? or band?


02         (0.8)


03 HAN     |particular singer?
   h-hd    |leans forward


04 ODE     |singer yeah.
   o-hd    |nods


05         (0.4)
```

```
06 HAN     uh: lady gaga.

07 GOR     |hahahah

           |folds at waist


08 ODE     |lady gaga! Ah:::!

   o-px     |throws head back, steps away from table


09 HAN     [hehehe]

10 ODE     [hahaha]

11 GOR     [bahaha] .hhh

12 ICH     ehee hee hee

13 ODE     |that's difficult

   o-px     |steps back towards table


14 ODE     |mmm::::

   o-rh     |index scratches head


15  GOR    eheHEH

16  ODE    I think she's |very busy

    o-bh                 |grips left own arm


17  ODE    BU:t okay. (twenny first   )

18         bu:t |ichiro    and    |goro.

    o-rh        |pen point to ICH |palm to GOR

    o-gz        |to ICH           |to GOR
```

```
19        |wouldju: mind helping us to
    o-rh  |circular motion indicates group
    o-gz  |to HAN


20  ODE   contact lady gaga?
21  GOR   lady gaga?
22  ODE   mm.
23  GOR   no.
24  ODE   |NO?    |no. (0.2) |no.
    o-gz  |to GOR |to ICH    |to HAN


25        (.)
```

After Hanako explains to Odessa that she would like live music for her friend's birthday party, in line 1, Odessa post-expands the sequence by asking if Hanako has any particular singer or band in mind. There is then a brief repair insertion sequence in lines 3-4 where Hanako repeats the question while leaning her head forward, leading Odessa to provide confirmation. There is then a 0.4-sec silence in line 5 where Hanako seemingly thinks for a moment before providing her answer, saying "lady gaga" in line 6. Although she delivers this answer in a relatively deadpan manner with no particular affect of vocal quality or facial expression, the participants immediately orient to her response as a joke: Goro, folds at the waist laughing and Odessa repeats Hanako's answer in a loud voice, and steps back from the table highlighting the punchline before the whole group erupts into laughter. Now Odessa finds herself in somewhat of a quandary, in that although this would be an impossible request

for a normal restaurant to accommodate, the simulated restaurant at TGG is not bound by such constraints. She thus has to make the real-time decision to go either go along with Hanako's joke and compromise the realism of the role-play or produce a dispreferred action i.e., reject and disalign with Hanako's request. Odessa's initial response (line 14) seems to project the latter, with her hesitation and head scratching tacitly suggesting an incipient refusal. She then even goes on to begin an account for why granting this request would be difficult in line 16, saying that "lady gaga is very busy" while gripping her own left arm with her right hand. However, in the next turn, she pivots from the projectable refusal into a tentative acquiescence of the request by saying "Bu:t okay".

Even so, Odessa then attempts to distribute some of the responsibility for a request of this magnitude by selecting Ichiro and Goro, turning to each of them and asking if they can help to contact Lady Gaga (lines 19-20). As I have alluded to throughout this chapter, one apparent quality of sequences that include orientation to play and humor is that students who might otherwise be in the interactional periphery take more noticeably active roles, taking more turns, providing more embodied displays of attention and other nonverbal displays of participation like laughter tokens, etc. In the TGG dataset, it is typically uncommon for students to take active roles when it is not their turn to complete a mission card. However, here Ichiro and Goro are visibly and hearably participating by laughing at Hanako's joke rather than disattending from the talk. As a result, Odessa treats both Ichiro and Goro as possible recipients even during Hanako's task and issues them a proposal that, if accepted, would allow them collectively to grant Hanako's request and move the task towards completion.

However, Odessa is then thrown another curveball, in that Goro outright refuses to help outright ("no" line 23) and Ichiro does not respond to her question at all, to which she displays surprise via a thrice-repeated "no?" in the next turn, her surprise accentuated by the

pairing of each repetition with a shift in gaze to a different participant at the table. Since it is obvious from the context that Odessa would not actually expect Goro and Ichiro to contact Lady Gaga, I am unable to discern why they refuse. However, with both recipients resisting Odessa's proposed solution, she abandons this proposal and takes a different tack in Excerpt 8.9 below.

Excerpt 8.9: The Best Singer in Japan

```
26   ODE    |do you like singing?

     o-gz   |to GOR


27   GOR    |yeah.

     g-hd   |slight nod


28   ODE    |do you like singing?

     o-gz   |to ICH

     o-rh   |upward palm to ICH


29   ICH    |eh::: (not really)

     i-hd   |head tilts left, right


30   ODE    |how about if we: ask |goro

     o-rh   |chop down------------|to GOR

     o-gz   |to HAN


31          |(0.5)
```

```
   o-rh    |rests on clipboard


32  ODE    |can sing?

    o-rh   |to GOR


33         (0.6)


34  GOR    |[e::hhheheh?]

    g-hd   |forward, eyes wide

    g-rh   |covers mouth-> line 40


35  ICH    [ ahahaha  ]
36  HAN    [ ehehehe  ]


37         (0.8)


38  ICH    [goro?
39  ODE    |[I heard-

    o-rh   |points to self

    o-gz   |to ICH


40         |I heard that |he's the |best singer

    o-rh   |index self    |thumb point to GOR

    g-hd                              |shakes widely


41         here in japan.
```

```
42  HAN   REAlly?=

43  GOR   =here in japan? in japan?=

44  ODE   =YES. in japan.

45  GOR   wow:.

46  ICH   ehehe


47        (1.2)


48  GOR   I(h) didn't know that.

49  ODE   but now: (0.6) he's just a (0.4)

50        nice guy.


51        (0.6)


52  ODE   like he's regular goro

53        regular goro BUT in real life?


54        (0.9)


55  ODE   he's (0.6) popular singer.


56        (1.3)


57  GOR   |mmm

          |shakes head left/right->line 63
```

```
58  ODE   international singer.

59  HAN   ohh::

60  ODE   a::nd he's a friend of lady gaga's

61  ICH   ehaha[ahaha ]

62  HAN        [hahaha]

63  ODE   a good friend of lady gaga.
```

Odessa first asks Goro and Ichiro whether or not they like singing, selecting both of them via gaze. After only receiving an affirmative answer from Goro, Odessa then makes with a new proposal: "How about we ask Goro if he can sing?" (lines 30-32). Since her original proposition to have Goro or Ichiro contact lady gaga was shot down, this serves as an alternative that also helps drive the role-play somewhat back into the realm of reality, since having Goro sing is a lot simpler from a logistical standpoint and also would also progress Hanako's task.

However, the idea of Goro suddenly becoming the in-restaurant entertainment is also oriented to by the participants as humorous as evident by another outpouring of group laughter. After their laughing subsides though, Goro still does not provide agreement or disagreement with the idea of serving as lady gaga's stand in. Pursuing his overt acceptance of the proposal, Odessa then begins to account for why she believes it is a good idea, the fact that she heard that Goro's the best singer in Japan (lines 40-41). By selecting Ichiro and Hanako via gaze and using the third-person pronoun "he", Odessa designs this telling with Ichiro and Hanako as the recipients but at a volume that is clearly meant to be overheard and reacted to by Goro, and thus might be considered a playful tease.

Hanako and Goro both react to this news with surprise, while Ichiro laughs in the background. Goro's responses are also worth unpacking further. Because the claims Odessa

makes are about him, he is well within his epistemic rights to deny these exaggerated tellings as untrue. However, he instead plays along, thus constructing himself as willing to play around with the task and be the butt of Odessa's jokey teasing. Odessa then continues to elaborate on this account for several more turns in lines 52-58, with the upshot being that although Goro seems like a normal guy, he is actually a popular international singer and thus a valid replacement for Lady Gaga.

When Goro does display some light resistance to this telling (notice him shaking his head left and right in lines 57-63), Odessa then adds a humorous detail to her account: that Goro is also friends with Lady Gaga. Which is then upgraded to "good friends" in line 63, as the group again bursts into laughter.

Even after justifying her proposal with several humorous tellings, Odessa has not secured a clear indication of whether or not Goro will accept. She thus works to pursue his acceptance in the following excerpt.

Excerpt 8.10: Beyoncé

```
64        (2.0)


65  ODE   |can you help her?
    o-gz  | to GOR
    o-px  |leans towards GOR


66        (1.2)


67  GOR   |I don't      |think so.
```

```
    g-hd  |shakes left/right

    g-gz  |mid distance |to ODE

    g-bh  |raises, opens palms


68  ODE   |(but) it's your friend's birthday.

    o-rh  |raises index to HAN


69  GOR   |ah okay.

    g-hd  |cocks head slowly left


70  ODE   |YAY:::

    o-rh  |pumps fist


71  HAN   ehehehe

          ((11 lines omitted))

72  ODE   alright okay. thank you oh:

73        what's (0.3) the name of your friend?

74  HAN   huh?

75  ODE   what's the name of your friend?

76  HAN   uh::: (0.6) beyonce? ¥eheh¥

77  ICH   [ahahahaha]

78  GOR   [baahaahah]

79  ODE   [eheheheh ]

80  ICH   HAHAHA! HAH!

81  ODE   al(h)right okay.
```

In line 65, after a lengthy 2-sec silence, Odessa pursues a response by reformulating her proposal as a direct request saying to Goro, "can you help her?". Keeping in line with his earlier refusal to help contact lady gaga, Goro also refuses this idea in the next turn, but after a quick moral appeal from Odessa in line 68, Goro finally signs off on the idea and Odessa celebrates with a "Yay" followed by some laughter tokens from Hanako and in line 72, Odessa says "problem solved", an assessment that marks the closure of the extended request sequence.

With Hanako's difficult-to-accommodate request finally out of the way, in line 83, Odessa then moves on to the next order of business: getting the name of Hanako's friend for whom she is throwing the party. After a repair sequence and some hesitation, Hanako comes up with "Beyoncé" this time occasioning even more raucous laughter from Goro and Ichiro, with Ichiro laughing particularly loudly. Although Odessa does laugh in response to Hanako's joke about Beyoncé, in the next turn she treats this as though it is unremarkable, simply saying "alright okay" before moving on with the task. This stands in contrast with the first time Hanako made a similar joke, and Odessa highlighted the punchline by loudly repeating it. Like Dai's repeated natto jokes in Excerpts 8.5 and 8.6, this seems to be another instance where a joke has overstayed its welcome and the response by the agent is noticeably attenuated as a result.

8.4   Discussion

As my analysis has shown, allowing the learners to play around during their role-play tasks seems to have a number of beneficial effects on the interaction. Sequences are drawn out for longer, learners take an initiative to contribute even when it is not made conditionally relevant to do so by the agents and there are clear displays of enjoyment, like smiles and

laughter, throughout such playful sequences. Additionally, these kinds of humorous moments draw in participation from learners who would otherwise be peripheral to the talk. There does seem to be more of an emphasis on the part of the agents to encourage play when dealing with the younger learners, where they explicitly model silly or absurd answers in their instructions and for the most part are willing to accept any contributions, silly or otherwise, during the role-plays themselves.

When preparing the older learners for their tasks, the agents instead tend to stick closely to what is on their cards and can sometimes display apprehension or disalignment towards learner jokes during the role-plays, as Odessa initially did towards Hanako's proposal to have Lady Gaga come to perform for her friend's party (Excerpt 8.8). There also seems to be more displayed resistance on the part of the learners towards playfulness as well. For example, rather than simply playing along with Odessa's proposal to have them help contact Lady Gaga, both Ichiro and Goro outright refused and Goro subsequently refused her follow-up proposal as well. It seems clear by looking at the number and length of turns produced by the learners vs. Odessa, that it takes a lot less interactional lifting to simply shoot down a proposal than it does to improvise one from scratch. A pedagogical takeaway then might be that higher-level learners would likely also benefit from being encouraged to accept, improvise and build on any contributions to the talk, even if they seem silly or absurd. Since TGG trains its staff to do such improvisation it might even be possible to reuse some of their employee training methods with higher-level learners to get them to build more on one another's talk in a playful way.

Finally, I would like to return to one of my initial observations about TGG's fast-food restaurant lacking a menu. While I first thought of this as a limitation that compromised the authenticity of the role-play, after becoming more familiar with the data, I realize that not having a menu also has a number of benefits. For one thing, it opens up the possibility for the

type of silly orders that I have analyzed throughout this chapter, and thus encourages the

learners to have fun and be creative with the task in ways that they likely would not were a

menu of mundane food items available for them to refer to. Since there is no menu, it must be

co-constructed by the agents and learners in real time, and may ostensibly contain anything

the learners come up with or conversely be made to *not* contain something should the agents

wish to throw in some kind of complication.

<center>**Chapter 9: Conclusion**</center>

In this chapter, I begin by summarizing the findings of my analysis chapters while sketching some pedagogical throughlines between the various interactional practices that I have documented. I then discuss some practical implications for these findings before outlining the significance of this dissertation as a contribution to SLA research.

9.1   Links between analysis chapters

Beginning with the increments practices that I analyze in Chapter 5, I argue that by skillfully reappropriating learner silences, the agents were able to create the impression of smoother back-and-forth turn taking in a way that pre-emptively eliminated gaps before they could appear. In a sense, this can be thought of as providing a kind of micro scaffolding for the learners that to my knowledge has not been documented before. Although interactional competence is often discussed in terms of co-construction, this practice provides clear evidence of how expert speakers can contribute to enhancing learners' ability to participate in turn-taking in a way that is preferred i.e., without gaps or overlaps. This is of course not the only practice that the agents use to shape learner contributions to the conversation. As I discuss in Chapter 6, agents also deploy other practices in order to get the learners to contribute more by creating obstacles to task progressivity. By throwing small unexpected interactional speed bumps in front of the learners, such as by coming up with an in situ complication or feigning a misunderstanding, the agents sequentially constrain the learners to do more than simply provide a minimal response. Instead, they are encouraged to think on their feet and come up with a solution to restore the progressivity of the task. Not only does

this provide learners with vital opportunities to practice essential mundane interactional

practices like doing repair, but the agents also can use these practices to realign learner

responses that did not match task expectations or to simply facilitate the noticing of

problematic issues of a prior turn that would likely also create understanding issues were they

to try to use the same formulation in the actual wild. Agents providing resources and

opportunities for the learners to participate more extensively is something I also focus on in

Chapter 7, where I discuss the participants' embodied listing practices. I observe that

embodied listing is an important practice that allows learners to craft extended and complex

turn-constructional projects without expending many linguistic resources. Additionally, the

agents can at times co-opt a learner turn that does the bare minimum to respond to

conditional relevance and transform it into a listing in progress that the learner is held tacitly

responsible to complete. Importantly, the listings that I document also seem to be treated as

an enjoyable activity by the participants, thus helping to ensure that the learners not only get

through their task smoothly but have fun in the process. This directly relates to Chapter 8, in

which I discuss some ways that the agents encourage the learners to play and construct

laughables as they go through their role-plays, which as I noted, seems to vary depending on

the age of the learners they are working with. When working with middle school-aged

students, the agents provided instructions that encouraged play by using silly exemplars that

were implausible to the real world. This proved to profoundly influence the kinds of answers

that the learners gave when enacting the actual role-plays later on and had an overall effect of

injecting levity and humor into a task that might have otherwise been boring. Importantly, the

learners seemed to take genuine enjoyment in coming up with silly orders of their own, even

initiating sequences for no other apparent purpose than to amuse themselves and the agents.

This is therefore in alignment with TGG's overall aim to provide learners with opportunities

to use English and have fun in the process.

In sum, this dissertation has described a suite of interactional practices used by the participants to co-construct the unique institutional interaction found at TGG and presumably other English villages. Importantly, all of these practices have been documented to varying degrees in other contexts like everyday mundane talk or institutional settings like classrooms. However, the purposes that the practices are being used for and nuances in the specific actions they achieve are inseparable from the English village setting in which I observed them. In other words, these practices are context-sensitive yet context-free; in one sense generic, in another highly specialized. From my observations and extensive analysis of this dataset, I would like to discuss some implications for English villages like TGG specifically and L2 pedagogy generally.

9.2   Practical implications

The first practical implication I would like to discuss is how the agents deal with minimal learner contributions and perhaps how some alterations to the tasks might pre-emptively alleviate this issue. Many of the agents' practices that I analyze throughout the dissertation relate to the agents dealing with the often minimal nature of learner contributions. Indeed, my entire chapter on creating obstacles to progressivity is based around such observations. However, I believe it would be incorrect to simply attribute this trend towards minimality to the learners' inability or even unwillingness to say more. Instead, I view this as an issue of task design inherent to nearly all of TGG's tasks: the fact that they are built around the provision of first-pair parts from the agents, placing the learners in the interactional backseat. Although TGG is clearly attempting to provide something for the learners that they lack in the classroom, this sort of task design often sees the interaction fall into multiple iterations of the initiation, response, feedback (IRF) sequences that are

ubiquitous to classroom interaction. This is particularly apparent for the lower-level task

cards used by the middle schoolers in my dataset. On both the cards themselves and in the

explanations provided to them by the agents, the students are only given a small sliver of

information about what they are supposed to do and say. Taking the fast-food role-plays as an

example, the learners are told to customize their food (with strange toppings) but not much

more. It is clear that ordering a single food item, even an extensively customized one, does

not take the amount of time they are given to complete the task and so the agents are left to

fill that space with post-expansion questions, placing themselves constantly in the sequence

initial position and the learners in the responsive position and given that the learners are

forced to adlib the restaurant's menu on-the-spot, it seems unsurprising that they often arrive

at short answers. One solution to this situation would be to simply specify ahead of time, on

the cards and via agents' instructions, that the learners are to order a customized food item,

some kind of side dish and a drink. The learners would be able to better prepare for what will

happen at the counter and once there be ready to initiate each aspect of the order. The agents

would no longer need to initiate post-expansion after post-expansion, but could still throw in

obstacles like complications or feigned misunderstandings if relevant. They could, of course,

also still encourage the learners to order unusual things, since that was clearly oriented to as

enjoyable in my data.

On that note, another more general pedagogical implication of my study is that getting

the students to play around with the tasks clearly does get them to initiate and produce more

talk than in moments that are oriented to as more serious. This thus adds to a growing body of

empirical research that shows play to be beneficial to second-language learning contexts. In

this regard, many of the less realistic aspects of TGG's role-plays seem justified in that

playing these tasks straight, while arguably more authentic, might result in dryer more serious

transactional talk. It seems clear that attempting to make these service encounter role-plays

(where no actual transactions are occurring and no real stakes are involved) more realistic would be an uphill battle with diminishing returns. These role-plays will never serve as a replacement for interaction in the wild, but what they can do is provide the learners with an entertaining way of practicing using their second language, which at the end of the day does seem to be TGG's aim. As my analysis has shown, the program at TGG, even in its current form, unquestionably provides learners with extensive opportunities to cultivate their L2 interactional competence.

Finally, although it did not become an explicit focus of my analysis, it is clear when watching the vast majority of the role-play data that TGG's simulated environments (e.g., the fast-food restaurant or travel agency) did not seem to play a perceivable role in how the participants interacted. Part of what makes 'in the wild' interaction so intriguing is the orientation of participants to the plethora of semiotic resources available to them and their meaning-making processes. While the rooms at TGG undoubtedly provide a veneer of realism that perhaps provides entertainment value or novelty, tasks that encourage attention to and interaction with the ecological features of each room would likely be beneficial. Be that as it may, more substantial interaction with physical features and artefacts would likely predicate logistical considerations that may offset added benefits. For example, if learners are given tasks that involve touching and manipulating items in TGG's simulated shops, damage, loss and the need for continued reorganization seem highly probable. Testing and refining the optimal configuration for incorporating the environment into the tasks in a way that is more than superficial is a challenging but likely worthwhile direction for TGG going forward.

9.3   Significance of the findings

Using CA as an emically sensitive micro-analytic instrument, this dissertation has provided empirical documentation of an increasingly common yet under-investigated setting

for second language learning: the English village. To my knowledge, it is the only CA study to do so to date and is thus valuable if for no other reason than describing in extensive and objective detail why English villages exist, the unique educational niche that they occupy, and the nature of the tasks and activities within. Beyond this ethnographic value, my analysis has provided an evidenced-based praxiological account of the methods the participants use to co-construct talk-in-interaction in the novel context that is TGG. Through my evidenced-based analysis, I identified several previously undocumented interactional practices relevant to second-language interaction and highlighted how they are used to accomplish the co-construction of tasks in this particular learning context. Further, I have done so in a way that was sensitive to the publicly-displayed orientations of the participants themselves, emicly grounding any findings in the data. My findings can therefore be considered a contribution to both CA as well as broader SLA research. While it could not be taken up in the present dissertation, for example, it seems likely that my findings regarding listing gestures extend well beyond second-language interaction and are applicable to L1 contexts as well.

Given the Japanese government's continued push toward more interactive and communicative language teaching, the findings of this study should also be of interest to those designing pedagogical tasks or other curricula involving role-play or simulation of the 'real world'. My analysis represents a robust and thorough investigation of a large-scale attempt at simulating English encounters 'in the wild' in Japan, a country where opportunities for such interactions are rare. The findings should prove informative for those interested in how English educators in EFL contexts might provide their students with more chances for spontaneous English use outside of the language classroom. However, it is also clear that while more affordable than arranging real study abroad visits, there is considerable expense involved in visiting a place like TGG that limits its accessibility.

On that note, going forward a promising avenue for further research would be to compare how similar role-plays done in a traditional language classroom compare to those at TGG in terms of interaction. Given that TGG's tasks do not extensively involve artefacts and semiosis in the environment, very little adaptation would be necessary to do the same role-plays in a normal classroom. Another potentially interesting route for comparison would be to analyze how the specific kinds of service encounters simulated at TGG compare to those in the real world on a micro level.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Transcription conventions

The transcripts follow standard Jeffersonian conventions (Jefferson, 2004), with embodied elements shown via a modified version of the conventions developed by Mondada (2018). The embodied elements are positioned in a series of tiers relative to the talk and rendered in grey.

| | Descriptions of embodied actions are delimited between vertical bars

|--->   The action described continues across subsequent lines

----| The action reaches its conclusion

>>   The action commences prior to the excerpt

--->>   The action continues after the excerpt

.....   Preparation of the action

----   The apex of the action is reached and maintained

~~~~   The action moves or transforms in some way.

A   The current speaker is identified with capital letters

Participants enacting an embodied action are identified relative to the talk by their initial in lower case in another tier, along with one of the following codes for the action:

-gz   gaze

-lh   left hand

-rh   right hand

-bh   both hands

-px   proximity

-hd   head

-fc   facial expression, eyebrows, etc.

-gs   gesture

Anonymized framegrabs are positioned within the transcript relative to the moment at which they were taken.

Following Greer *et al* (2017), Japanese talk has been translated via the following additions:

First tier: Original Japanese rendered in Hepburn romanization

Second tier: Word-by-word gloss (Italicized Courier font)

Third tier: Vernacular translation (Italicized Times font)

In cases where the turn extends over several lines, the third-tier vernacular translation only appears after the end of the complete TCU. If the Japanese consists of a single morpheme embedded within an otherwise English turn at talk, the third-tier translation is not given.

Abbreviations used for Japanese morphemes in the word-by-word gloss tier are as follows:

COP   copula (e.g., *da*, *desu*)

HM   hesitation marker (e.g., *e*::, *ano*)
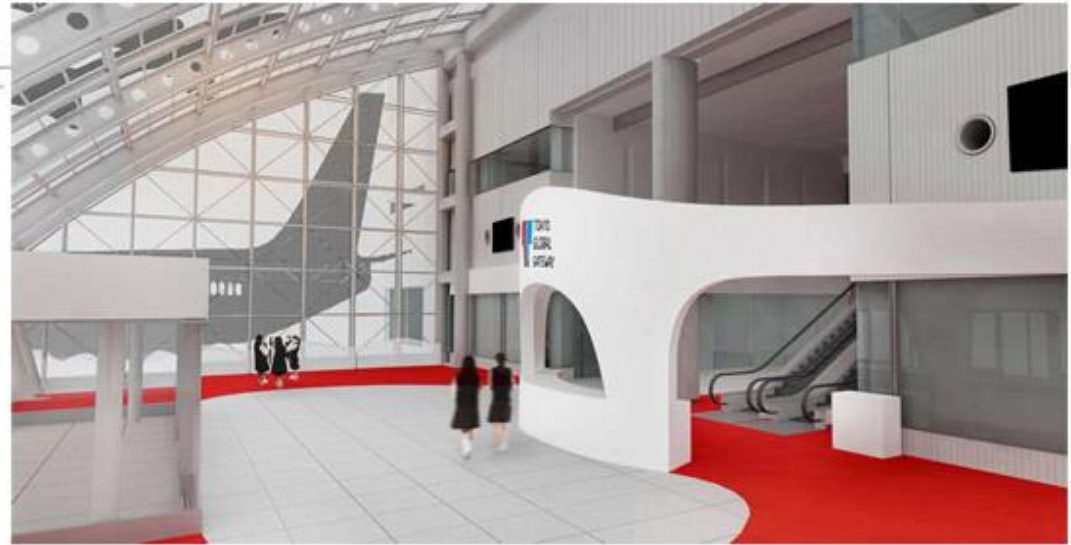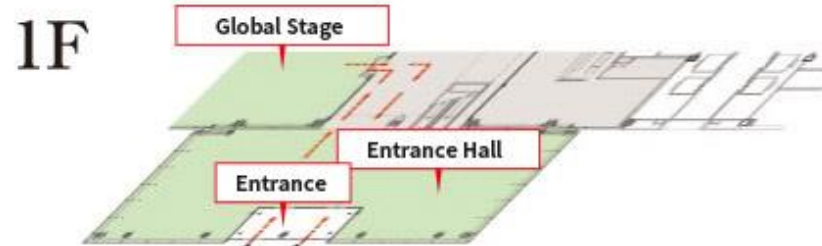
CoS   change-of-state token (*ah*)

RT   receipt token

NG   negative morpheme (-*nai*)

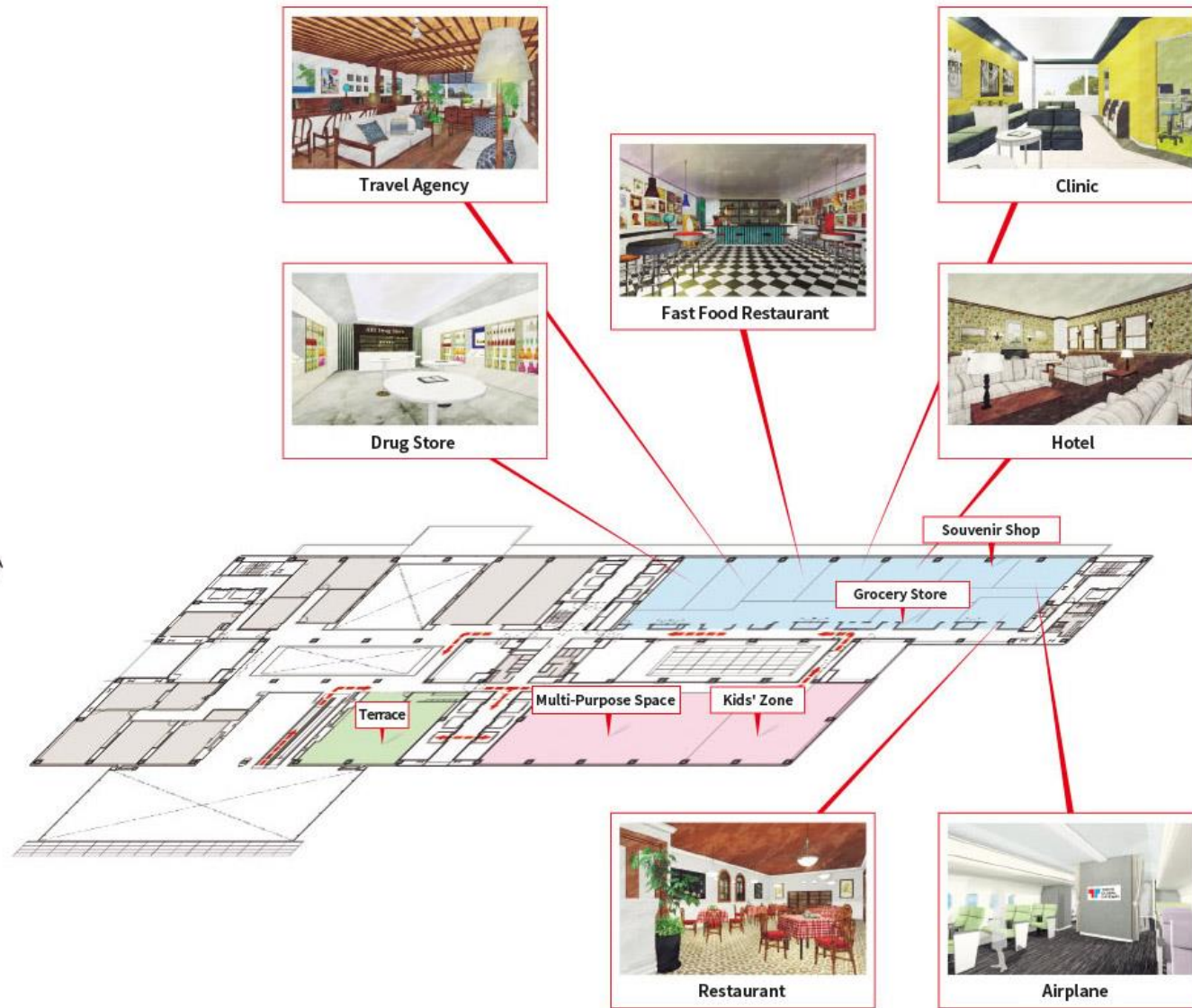VOL   volitional verb form

GER   gerundive verb form

Appendix 2: TGG floor maps

2F

Travel Agency

Fast Food Restaurant

Clinic

Drug Store

Hotel

Souvenir Shop

Grocery Store

Terrace

Multi-Purpose Space

Kids' Zone

Restaurant

Airplane

3F

Cooking Studio

Japanese Culture Space

Science Lab

Art Lab

School Office

Studio B

Research Lab

Media Lab A / B

Gymnasium

Studio A

Café

Book Store

Teach Lab

Appendix 3: A breakdown of the dataset as of October, 2022

Date Collected	Grade Level	Location/Activity															TOTAL
		Morning Warm-up	Broadcasting Classroom	Fast-food Restaurant	Bistro	Market	Pharmacy	Souvenir Shop	Airplane	Clinic	Hotel	Travel Agency	Campus	Culture	STEM Classroom	Afternoon Review	
2019/07/25	Middle School	26 min	1 hr 40 min	57 min	N/A	N/A	54 min	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	1 hr 8 min	N/A	N/A	4 hours	1 hr 23 min	10.46 hr
2022/02/01	University	1 hr 4 min	2 hr 1 min	N/A	38 min	N/A	N/A	47 min	17 min	N/A	N/A	N/A	2 hr 2 min	N/A	N/A	58 min	7.78 hr
2022/08/16	University	2 hr 26 min	3 hr 53 min	1 hr 24 min	N/A	1 hr 17 min	48 min	N/A	N/A	43 min	2 hr 25 min	1 hr 46 min	N/A	4 hr 42 min	N/A	1 hr 38 min	21 hr
2022/08/17	University	31 min	N/A	N/A	20 min	N/A	N/A	15 min	23 min	N/A	N/A	N/A	1 hr 12 min	1 hr 4 min	N/A	35 min	4.3 hr
2022/08/26	High School	1 hr 40 min	N/A	N/A	N/A	1 hr 12 min	N/A	N/A	N/A	53 min	1 hr 58 min	N/A	N/A	3 hr 56 min	N/A	1 hr 22 min	11 hr