



Managing Peripheral Reciprocity in Triadic Multilingual Storytelling

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Managing Peripheral Reciprocity in Triadic Multilingual Story-Telling

1. Introduction

When two people talk with each other, their back-and-forth management of turn-taking is relatively straightforward (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974), but when interaction takes place among three or more people, and there is a primary speaker as when stories are told, speaker selection and reciprocity can become more complicated (Lerner, 1996, 2003), especially when the primary speaker is undertaking other tasks at the same time, an interactional phenomenon known as multiactivity (Haddington et al, 2014) or multiple involvement (Raymond & Lerner, 2014). However, at times a third person can aid either the primary speaker or the intended recipient with elements of the telling through clarifications, reformulations and the like. Such third-person repair is of particular significance in L2 talk, where one or more of the interactants may have limited access to linguistic resources.

This study draws on Conversation Analysis (CA) to examine a corpus of naturally occurring triadic L2 interaction recorded in hairdressing settings among a Spanish-speaking client who speaks English as an additional language and a stylist and his assistant whose first language is Japanese. The focus is on third-person repair in storytelling sequences in which the peripheral recipient (typically the assistant) momentarily becomes involved in the conversation between the stylist and the client in order to clarify, interpret or explain some aspect of the telling that has become problematic. Doing being a peripheral recipient (as opposed to a primary recipient) is a member's practice, or in other words, an interactional matter to be identified and accomplished by the participants themselves. The study's findings suggest that the peripheral interactant can play an important mediatory role in maintaining intersubjectivity, particularly when the stylist is paying more attention to the haircut than to the talk. The teller-recipient constellation can shift rapidly when a third participant receipts the telling on behalf of the person who initiated it, or when a telling addressed to a primary recipient is taken up by the peripheral participant due to a delayed response. We also explore how shifts in the participant constellation can result from details of the topic development, effectively excluding one of the participants. The study offers insight into how L2 interaction works (Hellerman, Eskildsen, Pekarek Doehler & Piirainen Marsh, 2019) and extends CA scholarship on (a) multi-party tellings and (b) the fluidity of reciprocity in storytelling sequences.

2. Background

Researchers have long noted that storytellers do not treat all recipients in the same way, and that they can be organized into parties via the specific contingencies of the interaction (Schegloff, 1995). Goffman (1981) made a distinction between ratified and unratified hearers (such as bystanders, overhearers and eavesdroppers). The current study does not deal directly with unratified hearers, but instead focuses on just those whom the speaker treats as intended recipients.¹ Goffman notes that among ratified hearers/recipients, there can be both addressed and unaddressed recipients, and in this chapter we will also refer to them respectively as primary and secondary (or peripheral) recipients. A recipient can be selected either directly with an address term, such as a name or the proterm "you" (Lerner, 1996, 2003), or through gaze-selection and other shifts in bodily orientation (Goodwin, 1980; Markaki & Mondada,

2012). Alternatively, they can be addressed tacitly via context-specific details of the talk (Goodwin, 1984; Lerner, 2003), such as embedded displays of knowledge and other epistemic stances. During bilingual interaction within mixed proficiency groups, switching languages can also serve to select a sub-group of participants and thereby rework the participant constellation to deselect others (Greer, 2008, 2013a). Goffman equates such changes in participation status with changes in footing, or the way participants align toward a particular utterance (see also Levinson, 1988), although Goodwin (2007) critiques the static nature of reciprocity within Goffman's framework and instead advocates a conceptualization of participation that is based on the "temporally unfolding process through which separate parties demonstrate to each other their ongoing understanding of the events they are engaged in by building actions that contribute to the further progression of these very same events" (p. 24).

In other words, any multi-party audience can be made up of various kinds of recipients, and a story-teller may therefore treat individuals within the audience as possessing greater or lesser access to expertise or knowledge of the story (Goodwin, 1986), and this will be both borne out through the details of the talk and hold consequences for the way the story is told. While a speaker may be primarily addressing a particular recipient, they can still orient to another person as rightfully participating in the conversation as a peripheral participant. The peripheral participant follows the primary speaker's talk, but treats it as predominantly directed toward the primary recipient. This might be, for example, because they already know the story the speaker is telling, e.g., as in spousal talk (Sacks, 1992), or even that they are a character in it (Goodwin, 1984), and can thus shift from recipient to co-teller. Likewise, someone who is being treated as a peripheral recipient is able to proactively rework the participant constellation with appropriately timed displays of knowledge regarding components of the teller's story (Kidwell, 1997). The primary recipient, on the other hand, is typically an unknowing addressee.

CA and ethnomethodology have therefore developed, explored and transformed many of Goffman's original findings on face-to-face interaction (Schegloff, 1988). Hindmarsh (2010), for example, explores issues of peripherality and participation in relation to apprenticeship learning in a dental training program. As the supervising dentist examines the trainee's work and identifies aspects of the procedure within the patient's mouth, his observations are primarily directed toward the student dentist: the patient is peripheral to technical aspects of the talk, but at the same time profoundly integral to the occasioning of the talk. The triadic nature of hairdressing training talk can be seen in a like vein, but with two essential differences: the client has much greater capacity to talk, and the topics of conversation cross both service and mundane boundaries. In many cases, it is the stylist and the client who form the primary dyad and the apprentice observing the cut is on the periphery in the role of peripheral participant. At times then, the apprentice can passage between co-recipient and co-teller as the situation warrants. Our interest in this chapter, then, is in investigating how interactants adapt the participation constellation in order to address a peripheral participant.

3. Data

Our analysis is based on data collected from a hairdressing salon in western Japan. The data involve three participants: Emil, the client, Yoh, the stylist and Yumi, an assistant. The full dataset consists of 16 hours of talk involving five clients recorded on 15 occasions, but in this study we will focus on only two of these haircutting sessions. The hairdressers are Japanese and the clients are non-Japanese from a variety of countries and language backgrounds. In the

current study, the client Emil is from Bolivia. The majority of the conversation took place between him and Yoh while Yumi assumed a background role, observing the cut and aiding Yoh whenever needed. This meant that she was routinely located peripherally, both in terms of physical proximity and in relation to the interaction more generally. As shown in Figure 1, for instance, Yumi is standing slightly behind Yoh and Emil.ⁱⁱ



Figure 1. Relative physical locations of the participants

The recording involved two cameras: one was positioned to the stylist's right side and generally captured all three participants, while the other camera was behind them and focused on the mirror and therefore provided a face-on view, albeit one that did not always catch Yoh as he moved in and out of shot. Framegrabs from both angles have been incorporated into the transcripts where relevant. An audio device was also placed on the counter in front of Emil and was used to confirm unsure transcriptions.

As mentioned above, the client (Emil) was from Bolivia. His first language was Spanish and he was also highly proficient in English, although his Japanese was only basic. Yoh and Yumi, on the other hand, spoke fluent Japanese and only a little English. This meant that the interaction between the hairdressers and their client often involved a dual receptive strategy in which each person spoke their stronger language (see Greer, 2013b). In addition, physical restrictions within the environment such as the cape, mirror or shampoo basin also impacted on the talk, limiting elements of the embodied interaction to some extent (Greer, 2013c). Also noteworthy is that Yumi and Yoh are a married couple as well as the co-owners of the salon. There are moments where they orient to knowledge of each other's lives outside the workplace, as found in the discussion of Extract 3 shown below, and therefore on occasion we will treat their interaction as couple's talk when the participants themselves orient to it in that way (Sacks, 1992).

The data have been transcribed according to the conventions developed by Gail Jefferson (2004), and embodied aspects of the talk have been indicated below the talk in an unnumbered sub-tier rendered in gray font. The onset of the action is indicated in the talk via a vertical bar. Where relevant, embodied actions are noted within the talk tier and tracked across turns via lines and arrows in a simplified version of the system developed by Mondada (2018). Where actions from multiple participants are described, the speaker's name in lowercase is followed by an abbreviation that signifies the focal action of the tier (-gz for gaze, -px for proximity, -gs for gesture, -hd for hand, and so on). A waved line indicates the speaker is moving into or out of the action and a straight arrow indicates they are holding the action. Following Greer, Ishida and Tateyama (2017), Japanese talk is represented in English with a literal morphemic gloss in italics in the second tier and a vernacular translation in the

third tier. See the appendix for a more detailed explanation of the abbreviations and terms used.

4. Analysis

Our analysis will focus on the peripheral participant role during (story)telling sequences, including how they help the primary recipient to understand the telling (4.1) and how they assist the teller (4.2) via the organization of repair.

4.1 *Peripheral Participant's Facilitation of Reciprocity*

A peripheral participant can become more active in the conversation when the primary recipient experiences difficulty in understanding the telling, often because they have been pre-occupied with doing something else, such as searching for a grooming tool or assessing some aspect of the cut. In those moments, one option open to the primary recipient is to seek help from the peripheral participant, via the practices of third person repair shown in Extract 1). Alternatively the peripheral participant can momentarily step in to offer candidate repair at points when it appears the primary recipient has not properly understood the telling, as in Extract 2. Both of these practices involve an adjustment to the participation framework. This section will examine examples of each of these in further detail.

In Extract 1, Emil is explaining about economic disparity in South America as part of a longer story that was initiated by Yoh in earlier talk (not shown), when he asked Emil how he came to be in Japan. Yoh is also cutting Emil's hair, and is therefore in closer physical proximity to him, while Yumi is standing roughly a meter behind them, observing the cut and listening to the conversation.

Extract 1. Poor

Emil (client) is telling Yoh (primary recipient) and Yumi (peripheral recipient) about the economic situation in Bolivia.

- | | | |
|----|--------|-------------------------------------|
| 01 | EMIL: | because um (0.6) some people? (0.4) |
| | yoh-bh | cutting Emil's hair --> line 8 |
| 02 | | are very rich. |
| 03 | | (0.3) |
| 04 | EMIL: | they have a lot of money. |
| 05 | | (0.9) |
| 06 | | but (0.5) only a few (.) people. |
| 07 | | (2.0) |
| 08 | EMIL: | and many people? (0.3) |
| | yoh-bh | stops cutting |
| | yoh-hd | nods |
| 09 | | let's say (0.2) sixty percent, |
| | yoh-bh | cuts hair --> line 21 |
| 10 | | (0.5) they are very ↑po↓or. |
| 11 | | (0.7) |

- 12 EMIL: th[ey]-
 13 YUMI: [o]h.
 14 EMIL: don' |have money.
 yum-hd |nods
 15 (1.3)
 16 EMIL: ↑so:: (0.7) it's very difficult.
 17 (0.9)
 18 YUMI: °[dif]|ficult° [|un]
 mm
 yum-gz |...>up
 yum-hd |nods
- 19 EMIL: [so]- [yes]
 20 (1.4)
 21 YOH: → |pua: tte iu no wa |(.) (°nihongo de°)
poor QT say N S Japanese in
What's poor (in Japanese)?
 yoh-gz |~>up |~>Yumi----->
-
-
- 22 EMIL: |ah! okane |nai: =
money have-NEG
They don't have any money.
 yum-fc |opens mouth slightly
 yoh-gz |~>Emil
-
- 23 YUMI: =[|un]
 yeah
 yum-hd |nods
- 24 YOH: [|oka]ne ga nai ne?
money TOP have-NEG IP
They don't have any money, yeah?
 yoh-gz |~> Emil----->

25 EMIL: heh'n
26 (0.9)
27 EMIL: and-
28 YOH: (kiwa muz)- sore de: (0.3) e: muzukashi: to
 and then um difficult QT
 So that's why you said it is, uh, difficult.

29 EMIL: yes

The word *poor* first appears at the end of a complete turn-final TCU in line 10 as part of Emil's broader story, -I'm worried that what we've got here is not clearly a story, so having a sense of what the "broader story" is would help. and this is followed by a gap of silence (line 11) in which Yoh could have provided some indication of uptake or acknowledgement. Since no such receipt is forthcoming, Emil gives an explanation of the word *poor* (lines 12 and 14), adding an increment across lines 12 and 14, which may suggest that he hears Yoh's lack of uptake as potential non-understanding. However, as he does so, in overlap in line 13 Yumi, provides just the sort of receipt token we might expect Yoh to have given in line 11, an acknowledging "oh" token,ⁱⁱⁱ The fact that Yumi's "oh" is not offered sooner (e.g., line 11) helps reinforce the observation that she is (doing being) the peripheral recipient. Following another gap of silence in line 15, Emil's next turn, an increment in line 16, is similarly met with silence from Yoh in line 17 and then gets some delayed receipt from Yumi through her barely audible repetition of Emil's turn-final word *difficult* and an uptake token "mm" (line 18). This suggests that even though Yumi is physically farther away and Emil has been treating Yoh as the primary recipient up until this point, for a brief moment Yumi has become the primary recipient "by default" in that Yoh has not provided any receipt. However, Yumi's nod at line 14, which occurs before Emil finishes his incremental elaboration of the word "poor" in lines 12 and 14, serves as a claim by Yumi that she understands the word at a much earlier point. It is not that her understanding is 'delayed' until line 18, but that she may be treating or even deferring to Yoh as the primary recipient when she does not respond to Emil at the first opportunity (line 16), and therefore demonstrating her orientation to Emil's turn as primarily directed to Yoh. It is only when Yoh does not provide a timely response that Yumi steps in to speak in his stead. This too suggests that the participants view Yumi as a peripheral recipient at this point in the talk.

In line 21, a possible account for Yoh's silence becomes apparent as he switches to Japanese to initiate repair on the English word *poor*. Other-initiated repair usually occurs as soon as possible, namely the next turn after the trouble source (Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977); however, Wong (2000) has shown that such repair initiation can be delayed in L2 interaction. Although Yoh's English proficiency undoubtedly plays a part, his delay is much longer than that found in Wong's corpus and therefore may also be a result of his preoccupation with the cut and also his embodied adjustment as he turns to face Yumi.


The first part of Yoh's turn in line 21 translates roughly as “as for the word poor” and is delivered with his gaze in mid-distance, so his gaze does not appear to be oriented toward selecting either Yumi or Emil, although the switch to Japanese might suggest the former. The second part of Yoh's turn is less audible but is clearly directed toward Yumi, via a shift in gaze direction and body torque (Schegloff, 1998). Yoh displays a normative understanding that Yumi's uptake in lines 13 and 18 can be seen as a claim that she understands the meaning of the word *poor*, and that she can therefore provide him with a succinct Japanese

equivalent. Such an appeal to a peripheral participant rather than to the producer of the trouble source can be seen as initiating repair by selecting a third person as a broker (Bolden 2012; Greer, 2015). During this brief moment, the participant constellation changes, with Yoh directing this turn primarily to Yumi: by switching to Japanese^{iv} and turning his head towards her, Yoh's turn formulation and embodied action imply that it is Yumi who should respond. Although there is evidence in next turn (line 22) to suggest that Yumi also views it this way in that she opens her mouth to speak, it is in fact Emil who self-selects to complete the repair, by translating his earlier English explanation (lines 12 and 14) rather than providing a precise Japanese equivalent. Towards the end of Emil's turn in line 22, Yoh treats this as adequate and turns back to Emil to deliver a receipt through repetition (Svennevig, 2004) that re-establishes Emil as the teller (line 24). Notice though that Yumi also receipts Emil's repair at this point (line 23), repositioning herself on the periphery of the talk by allowing him agency over his own interaction: even though Yoh has directed his repair to Yumi in line 21, when Emil deals with the trouble source himself in line 22, Yumi simply provides minimal uptake at line 23 rather than explaining any further.

Although Emil is primarily directing his talk toward Yoh and the questions and uptake typically come from Yoh throughout the broader dataset, there are fleeting moments in which Yumi steps in to assist in Emil's telling, particularly at times when Yoh's attention is divided between the story reciprocity and the main business of cutting Emil's hair. In such moments Yumi, as the peripheral recipient, self-selects to provide candidate other-repair rather than being selected by Yoh as the primary recipient. We see this, for example, in Extract 2 below, in which Yoh asks Emil if he saw the cherry blossoms, and Emil says he did, but he did not take part in the Japanese springtime custom of picnicking under the blossoms (known in Japanese as *hanami* or literally "flower viewing").

Extract 2. Hanami

In response to a question from Yoh, Emil tells Yoh (primary recipient) and Yumi (peripheral recipient) that he did not picnic under the cherry blossoms this year (a Japanese custom).

- | | | |
|----|------------------------------------|---|
| 01 | YOH:
yoh-px
yum-px
yoh-bh | <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> <div style="text-align: left;"> <p> (1.0)
 left of E ~>
 behind yoh----->>
 >>combs hair</p> </div> <div style="text-align: left;"> <p> (1.0)
 behind E
 brushes hair off E's back.</p> </div> </div> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: center; align-items: center; margin-top: 10px;">  </div> |
| 02 | YOH:

yoh-gz
yum-gz | <p> sakura: mimashita ka
 cherry blossoms see-POL-PST Q
Did you see the cherry blossoms?
 emil's shoulders----->
 yoh-----> ~> E</p> |
| 03 | yoh-px | <p> (0.9)
 turns to trolley--></p> |

- | | | | |
|----|--------|---|-------------------------------|
| | yoh-gz | ~> trolley | |
| | yum-px | steps toward E slightly | |
| 04 | EMIL: | ah: yes (0.7) bu:t uh hanami, (0.7) | |
| | | | <i>flower-viewing (party)</i> |
| | yum-px | step back | moves toward E |
| | yoh-px | -----> | turns back to E-----> |
| | yoh-rh | puts comb in trolley | |
| | yoh-bh | | brushing E's shoulders |
| | yoh-gz | ->trolley | ~>mirror |
| | yoh-hd | | nods |



- 05 EMIL: |I didn't do hanami.
 flower-viewing (party)
yum-px |moves toward E slightly
yum-gz |~~>mirror
- 06 YOH: |hanami ni?
 flower-viewing to
 To a picnic under the cherry blossoms?
yoh-gs |brushes hair off E's shoulders-->
yoh-gz |~~> E's shoulders-->>
eml-gz |~~> up to Yoh
- 07 YUMI: → >|hanami wa shite nai<=
 flower-viewing S do-CONT-NEG
 He didn't do that.
yum-px |moves back to home position
eml-gz |~~> down
eml-hd |shakes
- 08 YOH: =|shite na[i n des ka:?
 do-CONT-NEG NOM COP-POL Q
 Oh, you didn't?
yoh-gz |E's shoulders----->>
yoh-gs |brushing shoulders----->>
- 09 YUMI: [heheheheh
10 YOH: hahahahah
11 (2.1)

Is there a broader story for this one too? I'm worried that this is not what Sacks means by a story either...with clear beginning and ending etc. As in Extract 1, Yumi is standing somewhat behind Yoh and Emil and is physically and interactionally peripheral to the talk throughout. Starting in line 1, Yoh moves from the side

of Emil to directly behind him as he brushes hair off his back and starts to put the comb back in a nearby trolley (line 4). In other words, Yoh is undergoing a number of other embodied involvements at the same time as he elicits a (story)telling sequence in line 2. Yumi is responsive to Yoh's movements, adjusting her gaze as he moves toward the trolley then shifting it towards Emil as Yoh nears the end of his question (line 2). During the brief silence that follows in line 3, Yoh is pre-occupied with returning the comb to the trolley, and Yumi looks directly at Emil in the mirror and steps toward him slightly by shifting her weight onto her left foot. In short, Yoh has invited a possible storytelling (line 2), but Yumi has stepped in as a potential proxy recipient to Emil's response while Yoh deals with his business at the trolley (lines 3-5). This suggests she is aligning to the talk as a member of a party, namely herself and Yoh.

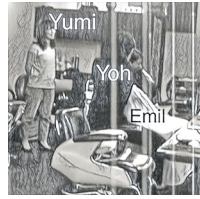
At the start of line 4, Yoh is still occupied with replacing the comb when Emil starts his response with "yes", but looks back to the mirror as Emil delivers the remainder of his telling, qualifying his answer to say that he saw the cherry blossoms, but did not attend any picnicking events (lines 4 and 5). Yumi, on the other hand, is attentive to Emil's turn throughout, watching it via the mirror. She does step back momentarily at the start of line 4 to allow Yoh to reach to the trolley, but then leans back in to Emil as soon as this is done. In line 6, Yoh displays his understanding of Emil's turn in a manner that suggests he did not completely follow what was said. He repeats the key Japanese word *hanami*, but follows that with an upwardly intoned *ni* ("to"), resulting in a sort of designedly incomplete utterance (Koshik, 2002) that initiates repair by framing the missing verb ending, and in particular its polarity. In other words, at line 06 Yoh is asking Emil whether he went to a *hanami* picnic or not, which suggests that he did not completely follow the English segment of Emil's just-prior turn (line 05).

It is at this point (line 07), that Yumi, the peripherally located recipient, self-selects to provide a Japanese version of Emil's telling for Yoh, which also acts as a brokered repair in that it provides the verb ending of which Yoh was unsure. In effect, Yumi is speaking for Emil, and Yoh tacitly acknowledges this in next turn (line 08) by receipting the turn as if it were said by Emil rather than by Yumi (*Oh, you didn't?*). Yoh's gaze does not shift toward Yumi during the repair in line 08, but instead stays fixed on Emil's shoulders as he brushes hair from them. Yoh's word choice in line 8 also makes it clear that Yoh is designing the turn for Emil rather than Yumi, since the turn ends in a polite form of the copula (*desu*), a formulation that is usually used in Japanese for non-intimate addressees, including customers or guests. For her part, Yumi then works to reposition herself on the periphery by joining Yoh in his sequence-closing laughter (lines 09 and 10).

As the peripheral participant, Yumi sometimes also offers repair assistance in a way that is somewhat more active, while still orienting toward Yoh as the primary recipient. This can manifest as a kind of co-accomplished response reminiscent of "couples talk" (Sacks 1992) as shown in Extract 3, in which Yumi helps clarify Emil's question for Yoh and then provides a candidate response which is ratified and delivered by Yoh.

Extract 3. Omise open

01	EMIL:	how many years (0.9) ah:: (1.4)	do you have
	yum-px	standing apart, arms behind back	
	yoh-px	E's RT side, combs hair behind E	RH to trolley
	yoh-gz	~~~>E	~~>trolley



- 02 EMIL: this |(0.4) |place °or° (0.6) have you
 eml-gz table----> |~~~~>yumi----->
 yum-gz emil-----> |----->
 yum-px |leans in |steps R leg toward E, extends neck



- 03 been working here
 04 |(0.6)
 yoh-bh |brushes Emil's back, combs hair

- 05 YOH: hm?
 06 YUMI: |kotchi de ka
 here in Q
 Working here?
 |points to floor



- 07 EMIL: a[h- yes.
 eml-gz yumi--->
 08 YOH: [()
 09 YUMI: nan nen (.) |ichi?
 what year one
 How many years? One?
 yum-gz left~~-> Emil~~->
 yum-rh |raises index finger



- 10 (0.5)
- 11 YOH: one year
- 12 YUMI: one yea[r
- 13 EMIL: [oh one year
- 14 YOH: un (.) u::[:n [hai
yeah hmm yes
Yeah, hmm, yes.
- 15 EMIL: [for one y[ear
- 16 (1.9)
- 17 YUMI: |omise: o:pun s[h'te
HON-shop open do-CONT
The salon has been open.
 yum-ll |shifts weight onto left leg
- 18 YOH: [(o)mise: o:pun sh'te:
HON-shop open do-CONT
The salon has been open.
- 19 (0.8)
- 20 EMIL: ha:::
- 21 YOH: *ha:i*
 yes
That's right.

Emil asks Yoh a question in English (lines 01-03), which is somewhat ambiguous in that it diverges into two possible endings: “How many years do you have this place, or have you been working here?”^v Note again that during Emil’s production of this turn, Yoh shifts his focus to his work, and Yumi steps in (both literally and figuratively) to transition from peripheral recipient to candidate primary recipient. As shown in the images in line 01, Yumi is standing well back from the chair both at the beginning of Emil’s turn and while Yoh is gazing directly at Emil (via the mirror) in the 1.4 second pause, but when Yoh turns toward the equipment trolley Yumi takes a step toward Emil, extends her neck and establishes mutual gaze, thus displaying her attentiveness to his question and making herself available as

a potential respondent. In a sense then, Yumi is covering for Yoh as he divides his attention between the talk and the cut.

Yoh faces back toward Emil and combs his hair in line 04, and this becomes the slot when Yoh (as the gaze-selected primary recipient) would be normally obliged to respond to Emil's now complete question. Whether or not it was because of the question's ambiguity or because of Yoh's multiple involvement during its delivery, Yoh produces an open-class repair initiator (Drew, 1997) in line 05 with "hm?", a clarification request that does not pinpoint any particular part of Emil's turn as the trouble source, but instead leaves it to the recipient to locate the problem and deal with it. Subsequent to this and before Emil can respond, Yumi produces a second repair initiator (line 6) that is more focused than the one that Yoh has just formulated. Uttered in Japanese, her turn addresses the location element of Emil's question ("working here?"). Other-initiations (OIs) of repair are graded in terms of their strength to locate the trouble source (Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977), and in this case Yumi's is stronger than Yoh's in that it more specifically identifies the element of Emil's turn that is causing them difficulty. Because Yumi's turn is also positioned subsequent to Yoh's, she is treating their repair initiators as consecutive and collaborative.

The fact that Yumi has her hands free affords her the opportunity to accompany her repair initiation with a gesture, a point toward the floor, that provides Emil with an additional clue to its meaning. Yoh, however, has a comb in his hands and his gaze directed at Emil's hair, making it more difficult to use a gesture, if he were to use one. When Emil delivers his confirming response in line 07, therefore, it is not surprising that he does so while looking toward Yumi rather than at Yoh, and is orienting toward her as the primary recipient at that point. In short, Yumi has renegotiated the participant constellation, enabling her to smoothly continue the conversation while Yoh is concentrating on the cut.

Yumi then goes on to formulate a candidate answer (Pomerantz, 1988) to Emil's question, but does so while checking with Yoh and allowing him to retain a certain amount of agency by answering in tandem with him. In line 09, she asks "How many years?", and this appears to be a mainly self-addressed question, partly because it is delivered in Japanese and partly because she averts her gaze momentarily from Emil as she does so. Note that this element of her turn also constitutes an upshot of Emil's original question, albeit it in a language that she is more comfortable with. Yumi then returns her gaze to Emil as she immediately responds to her own version of the question, saying *ichi* ("one") with rising intonation and holding up one finger (line 09). In doing so she provides room for Yoh to confirm, and thus collaborates in shifting the participant constellation back to Yoh, who confirms and answers in English at line 11. In that way, she again displays her peripherality. After a brief silence, Yoh then provides an English equivalent ("one year", line 11), which Yumi repeats in line 12. A similar practice can be observed just a few seconds later when, after a short gap of silence Yumi self-selects to add "The salon has been open" (line 17), and Yoh repeats it beginning in overlap (line 18), displaying affiliative agreement but also repositioning himself as an active recipient. At the very least this suggests that Yoh still sees himself as a ratified recipient at this point, even though Yumi has stepped in and has become more active. The reciprocity is therefore both collaborative and a matter to be negotiated on a moment-to-moment basis.

4.2 Peripheral Participant's Facilitation of Telling

Another set of third-person repair practices involves the teller appealing for assistance from a peripheral participant. In the data we examined, this often occurred in brief side sequences in


which Yoh (as the teller) would ask Yumi (as the recipient) to help him in formulating a word, such as finding an English equivalent to a Japanese word. In these cases, the interactants continue to orient toward Yoh as the primary speaker and Emil as the primary recipient, but for a brief moment Yumi shifts from being a consociate peripheral recipient to being a co-teller (Lerner, 1992), at least to the extent that she provides assistance for a sub-section of Yoh's turn-in-progress. In this sense, Yoh and Yumi can be seen as participants but also as "incumbents of a party" (Schegloff, 1995, p. 33) that could be categorized according to interactionally accomplished collections based on their language preference, profession or couplehood. Any and all of these membership categories could serve to differentiate Yoh and Yumi from their client, Emil, and this means that they are therefore on occasion talking as a party (rather than as two individuals). Schegloff maintains that "(t)his can involve their relative alignment in current activities, such as the co-telling of a story or siding together in a disagreement" (1995, p.33). When repair becomes necessary within the broader project of delivering a story, one member of a party may appeal to another member of the same party to broker understanding, rather than to a participant from outside the party.

In Extract 4 this brokering does not result in a succinct English equivalent but instead consists of a protracted co-telling involving onomatopoeic expressions and iconic gestures. Yoh is telling Emil about a friend who travelled in South America, and this involves the naming of a particular waterfall. Yoh treats the Japanese word *taki* ("waterfall") as problematic for Emil, and appeals to Yumi for help in explaining it.

Extract 4. Taki 22:46

- 01 YOH: sore de::: (.) ↑demo (1.0) a:no::: (1.0)
 and then but um
- 02 ↑boku no: (0.8) sono:: >tomodachi< (0.6) mo
 me GEN that friend also
- 03 (0.4) e: boribia toka: (0.7) ni:
 um Bolivia etc in
- 04 (0.6) e: (0.4) ho:mstei- (0.5)
 um homestay
- 05 EMIL: (a-)
 CoS
 Oh!
- 06 YOH: >shita koto ga aru hito ga< (.) ite:
 do-PST thing TOP have person TOP be-CONT
 And so, but, um, my- there was a friend of mine who also
 stayed with a family in Bolivia...
- 07 (1.5) a:no: (0.7) soko (0.4) o (1.0)
 um there O
- 08 e:: (0.4) chu:shin ni (0.7) e::h (1.1) taki:
 um central in um waterfall

...um, he made that his base and there was a waterfall,

- 09 e:: >°nan te tta ka na:°< (2.0)
um what QT say-PST Q IP
um, what did he say it was called?
- 10 |nantoka no tak- |iguas^{vi} no:
something LK waterf(all) Iguaz LK
Something-or-other falls- Iguaz...
 yoh-gz |~> Yumi-----> |~>Emil's hair--> line20
- 11 (0.5)
 12 EMIL: uhuh
 13 YOH: |taki:. >e: are nan te tta kana< toka
waterfall um that what QT say-PST maybe etc
...Falls. What did he call it? Something like that.
 yum-gz |Yoh ----->
 eml-gz |Yoh ----->
- 
- 14 YUMI: hhheh
 15 YOH: ig(h)as no taki: (0.7)
Iguaz LK waterfall
Iguaz taki.
- 16 >taki tte nan te iu n(h)o< hohohoh
waterfall QT what QT say IP
What's the word for *taki*?
- 17 YUMI: kita ku |(°ni aru°)
north ward in exist
There's one in North Ward.
 yum-rh |points upper right



- 18 YOH: taki |tte::
waterfall QT
taki means...
 yum-gs |raises LH to upper right



- 19 YUMI: |riba:
river
a river...
 yum-gs |aligns RH vertically



- 20 YOH: riba: ga [ko::h hheheheheh
river S like-this
A river goes like this.

- 21 YUMI: [|to : : : : n | he|hehe |heh
crash
splashes down.
 yum-rh |chops |raises |chops
 yum-bh |down



23 |(0.2)



22 EMIL: I se(h)e(h)



23 YOH: e[: heheheheh

24 YUMI: [eheheheheh

25 YOH: toka: (0.6) ɔ: ano[: (0.5)

etc O um

Or something like that, um--

26 EMIL: [hohohh

27 YOH: taki ga i- tak'san (0.2) arimas' yo ne
waterfall S () many have IP IP

They have a lot of waterfalls, don't they?

28 EMIL: m ye:s

29 YOH: un [heheheheheh

30 YUMI: [heheh

31 (0.7)

32 EMIL: yes

As shown in line 13, during Yoh's extended storytelling about his friend's trip, both Emil and Yumi are listening attentively and maintaining gaze via the mirror, but without giving a great deal of oral or embodied uptake, and even Yoh's forward-oriented repair^{vii} initiating question in line 13 ("What did he call it?") is treated by the recipients as self-addressed, in that they do not respond to it. Although Yoh initially shifts his gaze to Yumi in line 10 in what might be seen as an invitation to coparticipate in the word search (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1986), he then reaches a partial solution, citing the name of the waterfall *Iguaz* (line 10) but without the English word for "waterfall" (line 13). Yoh treats his use of Japanese at that point as repairable as he goes on to repeat the phrase in line 13 to 15 and then specifically asks, "What's the word for taki?" in line 16. Yumi treats it as an appeal for assistance, possibly because the point of transition has become much clearer, and since the question asks for a translation of a Japanese word, she can be hearably as tacitly selected via her normative responsibility to understand the target word. She therefore joins Yoh in his telling, and in line 17 she cites the location of a nearby waterfall ("There's one in North Ward"). Although it does not directly answer Yoh's question, Yumi's turn here is hearable as collaborative in that it attempts to accomplish an explanation via example, and doing so therefore implies that Yumi too is unable to access a timely English equivalent for *taki*. Emil does not display any recognition of this Japanese place reference (*kita-ku*/North Ward) or its relation to the word search, and Yumi instead shifts to an embodied explanation. As part of her turn in line 17, she raises her right hand above her head to point north, and in pursuant talk this hand position is transformed into an iconic gesture depicting a waterfall, first indicating a vertical plane (line 19) then showing the movement of the water over it from top to bottom (line 21). These embodied actions are accompanied with two partly overlapped and collaboratively completed turns,^{viii} with Yumi saying "A river... splashes down" (lines 19 and 21) and Yoh building off the first part of her turn to say "A river goes like this", (at line 20) while producing a similar gesture. Emil gives a laughed-through receipt in line 22, and Yoh works to close down his story with a coda in line 27 that is treated by all of them as a sequence closing third (Schegloff, 2007).

Yumi shifts from being a peripheral participant to being a co-teller. During the early part of the story, all three of the participants treat Yumi as a peripheral recipient, predominantly through their gaze but also with regard to the talk. Yumi is not just Yoh's assistant but also his wife, so she can be assumed to have a certain amount of knowledge about the friend he is discussing. If, for example, Yoh were treating Yumi as the primary recipient, he would likely have used the friend's name rather than just calling him "that friend of mine" (line 2). In fact, Japanese has two words for the demonstrative "that", one for an epistemically known referent (*ano*) and the other for a referent that the speaker assumes is unknown to the recipient (*sono*), so in line 2, when Yoh uses *sono*, he is displaying through word selection that he is directing his story primarily toward Emil.

It is only when Yoh begins his word search for the English word *waterfall*, that he enlists help from Yumi. One thing worth noting in this case is that even though Yoh does not visibly gaze-select her, Yumi still displays recognition that she has been petitioned to help solve the word search by offering the place referent example in line 17 and the embodied explanation in lines 19 to 21. Again, this casts Yumi as the peripheral participant — since she can be normatively understood to know the Japanese word *taki* and Yoh is therefore treating Emil by default as the one who does not know it. In joining Yoh in his embodied explanation, Yumi transitions from the periphery of the storytelling to its center, as a co-teller, showing again that these roles are fluid, ephemeral, and contingent upon the moment-by-moment details of the interaction.

5. Discussion and Conclusion

Story-tellings, and tellings more generally, are usually imparted from a knowing teller to one or more unknowing recipients. The teller can either orient to the recipients as a single party or treat one of them as the primary recipient and the other as peripheral. However, such orientations are rarely static, and the interactants can rework the participant constellation such that a peripheral recipient can momentarily become more central to the talk. In the current study we have seen that this can happen in brokering (or third-person repair) sequences, in which the peripheral recipient helps either the teller or the primary recipient with some unclear aspect of the telling. This shift in participant constellation can be reflected in details of the turn design, such as when language choice is used to deselect one of the participants, yet the peripheral recipient can also work to disalign with this ascription (Kidwell, 1997) as we witnessed in Extract 1 line 22 when Emil self-selected to respond in Japanese to a question that Yoh had designed for Yumi.

Peripherality involves monitoring the talk for a slot where one could or should become more active, and therefore a peripheral recipient is not simply a passive listener. Moreover, such participation can be supportive of the speaker's telling activity, since being peripheral allows the third person to be available for a variety of possible action trajectories. The third person can publicly disengage from the talk, and this suggests that peripherality is comprised of differing extents of reciprocity and availability. A peripheral participant can behave as a recipient or as a supporter for the current speaker, and primary participants display their openness to the third person joining as a ratified speaker.

Another observation that emerged from the current analysis involves Yoh and Yumi's co-incumbency as members of a party, i.e., as a couple. Sacks (1992) suggests that one feature of spousal talk is that when couples tell a story to a third person, their partner often already knows the story, and this can lead to a kind of co-telling in which one partner assists the other in telling the story. Part of that assistance can take the form of repair. This seems to be the case most clearly in our data in Extract 4, in which Yoh appeals to Yumi for help in explaining a word and they go on to do so in a collaborative way, but we can see it also in other instances also (such as Extract 1 line 21) when Yoh appeals to Yumi for an explanation of something Emil has said, or when Yumi self-selects to correct Yoh's misaligned uptake (Extract 2 line 07).

At times Yoh and Yumi therefore seem to be doing being a 'party' and not as separate 'persons' (Schegloff, 1995, p. 33). But it is not just through their turn-taking alone that this couplehood is made apparent: it also becomes a resource for enacting repair. In doing third-person repair, Yumi is also treating herself and Yoh as a party--one that casts them not only as a couple but also in other discourse-related categories such as non-knowing recipients to a story and transportable identity categories like "Japanese" or "novice English speaker". We might therefore also view third-person repair as two-party repair, and inspect the data for interactionally contingent moments when Yumi and Yoh participate as individuals and moments when they behave as a couple. As Schegloff (1995) notes,

the number of parties into which...participants may be seen to be organized (because they see *themselves* so to be organized, and embody that stance in their conduct) can change continuously as the contingencies of the talk change, contingencies most centrally supplied by the participants themselves and the nature of the talk which they undertake with one another. (p.35)

Participant constellation therefore is sometimes an assemblage of individuals and at other times an assemblage of parties, and this is accomplished moment-by-moment on an emergent and shifting basis. Furthermore these participant orientations do not only show us how the participants view themselves at a given moment, they can also be used by the participants to accomplish social actions, such as third-person repair or co-telling.

There are still many issues that need to be further explored in relation to peripheral reciprocity in storytelling. What happens when there are four or more interactants, or when they come from three completely different language backgrounds? To what extent does the hairdressing setting shape peripherality and how does it play out in other contexts? These and other questions are best left for another occasion, but the present study has provided some initial insight into how participation in multilingual (story)tellings varies from moment to moment.

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Appendix

Additional transcript conventions

Embodied Action

Embodied actions are transcribed according to the following conventions, adapted from those developed by Mondada (2018).

The embodied elements are positioned in a series of tiers relative to the talk and rendered in gray.

	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
,,,,,	Retraction of the action
~~~~~	The action moves or transforms in some way.

The current speaker is identified with capital letters. Participants doing an embodied action are identified relative to the talk 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
-ll	left leg
-px	proximity
-hd	head
-gs	gesture

Framegrabs are positioned relative to the moment at which they were taken, as marked by a vertical bar in the talk tier.

#### *Translation*

ore	ja	nai	First tier shows Japanese talk (Hepburn romanization)
me	<i>COP</i>	<i>NEG</i>	Second tier gives a literal English gloss of each morpheme in italics
<b>It's not me.</b>			Third tier gives a vernacular English translation in bold

#### *Abbreviations used in literal gloss*

IP	Interactional particle (e.g. <i>ne</i> , <i>sa</i> , <i>no</i> , <i>yo</i> , <i>na</i> )
----	------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

NOM	Nominative particle (-ga)
O	Object marker (-o)
GEN	Genitive (-no)
TOP	Topic Marker (-wa)
QT	Quotation marker (-to, -tte)
Q	Question marker (ka and its variants)
POL	Politeness marker
HON	Honorific marker
CoS	Change-of-state token
COP	Copulative verb
NEG	Negative morpheme
PST	Past tense morpheme
CONT	Continuing (non-final) form
POL	Polite form

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ⁱ Goffman's use of the word "hearer" can be problematic for CA, since the term is also used widely in information transmission models. In this paper, we will therefore prefer the term "recipient", although reciprocity too is very much an issue for the participants themselves to decide *in situ*, and it is not our intention to assume anyone is a 'recipient' prior to the interaction or its analysis.

ⁱⁱ All names are pseudonyms.

ⁱⁱⁱ Note that 'oh' is not necessarily a change-of-state token in Japanese, but can express acknowledgement, surprise or awe (Greer, 2016). The Japanese change-of-state token is generally "ah" (Saft, 2001). The quality of the vowel sound suggests that Yumi is delivering a Japanese 'oh' rather than an English one in this case.

^{iv} See Greer (2008, 2013) for further analysis on how codeswitching can change the participant constellation to (de)select particular recipients.

^v The formulation of Emil's question suggests he does not know whether or not Yoh is the owner of the salon.

^{vi} The Iguaz Falls (Cataratas del Iguazú) are on the border of Argentina and Brazil, approximately 2000km from the capital of Bolivia by car.

^{vii} A forward-oriented repair sequence, typically a word search, locates the trouble source in some as-yet unproduced element of the turn-in-progress (Schegloff, 1979).

^{viii} Yumi's turn in line 19 is not a collaborative completion of Yoh's incomplete TCU in line 18, i.e., she is not saying "taki means river". Instead, she seems to be initiating a new sentence as evidenced by the vowel extension and flat intonation. She completes this TCU in line 21.