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A Shift of Identity Category Use: A Micro-longitudinal Perspective

アイデンティティカテゴリー使用の変化—縦断的な視点か ら—

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概要

本論文では会話の参加者のアイデンティティ・カテゴリーの使用を短時間で変化させる方法について会話分析、ミクロな縦断的会話分析および成員カテゴリー分析を用いて探求した。さらに、本論文は認識論的スタンス、つまり参加者の知識に焦点を当て、アイデンティティ・カテゴリーの使用の変化の方法を分析した。本研究では、参加者がアイデンティティ・カテゴリーの使用を変化させる方法を帰属 (affiliation) および脱帰属 (disaffiliation) に関連付けて提示した。また、アイデンティティ・カテゴリーの使用に関連する修復などの相互行為的な構造との関わりや Goffman の参与枠組みとの関連性も示した。さらに、帰属または脱帰属には、信頼関係によって調和を築くことに加え、会話に参加する機能や言語学習の機会を提供する機能があることが示唆された。本研究で示唆された言語学習の機会の提供や言語コミュニティ内における親密さの助長は外国語教育学的な貢献に、またアイデンティティの変化を見る指標としての認識的スタンスの利用は JSL コンテキストにおける方法論的な貢献になった。

Keywords

identity category use, micro-longitudinal CA, Conversation Analysis, Membership
Categorization Analysis, epistemic stance

I Introduction

Recently, the number of newcomers living in Japan has been increasing due to globalization (Ikeda, 2020), meaning Japanese people have more opportunities to talk with novice language users in everyday situations. In addition, the Japanese government has instituted a policy to foster Japanese language education, based on a need for newcomers to acquire L2 communicative competence in order to co-exist in Japanese

society (Liaison Committee among Ministries and Agencies on the Problems Faced by Foreign Workers, 2006). As reflected in the policy, communicative competence has traditionally been emphasized. However, with the paradigm shift, researchers have increasingly focused on interactional competence (Morimoto, 2024). In Conversation Analysis (CA), interactional competence is defined as the competence to accomplish social interaction (Pekarek Doehler & Pochon-Berger, 2015) and was originally conceived as possessing seven features:

1. participation framework,
2. register,
3. modes of meaning,
4. speech acts,
5. turn-taking,
6. repair, and
7. boundaries (Young, 2008).

Among these, participation framework is identity and footing in interaction (Young, 2008). The need to study identity in foreign language education, especially in communication, arises from the importance of how identities are made relevant in interaction as well as from the fact that intercultural interactions affect identity construction even in adulthood (Miller, 2015). Moreover, because relationships are established through talk, understanding how identity is constructed in interaction is also an important educational concern. In CA research, identity is seen as dynamic and changes according to the interactional context. However, in Japanese as second language (JSL) settings, there are few studies of interactional competence from a CA perspective, and even fewer that trace identity category use over time from a micro-interactional perspective. Therefore, the current study aims to explore the way identity category use can change over time among participants engaging in L2 Japanese talk. The study draws primarily on CA and Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA). It also uses a micro-longitudinal CA approach (Markee, 2011) to track changes in the participants' use of certain identity categories, and at this point, focusing particularly on epistemic stance as an indicator.

II Literature Review

2.1 Interactional competence and identity

The notion of participation framework was originally put forward by Goffman (1981). He suggested such a framework is shaped by the participants (Goodwin, 2007) and reflects their relationships as it changes through ongoing interaction (Boblett, 2012). Goffman divided recipients into ratified recipients and unratified (see Greer & Ogawa, 2021), with ratified recipients further classified as addressed and unaddressed recipients

(Goffman, 1981). Likewise, he divided unratiſed recipients into eavesdroppers and overhearers, depending on whether the recipients can be seen or recognized by the speaker or not (Nakatani, 2006).

2.2 Identity in conversation analytic perspective

The term *identity* differs in meaning between the traditional definition and the conversation analytic perspective. In the traditional sense, identity is something we are, such as Japanese (Sugihara, 2003), and the purpose of the research is to explicate what identity categories are (Edwards, 1998). This sort of identity is static (Miller, 2018). Sometimes it is defined as a product of linguistic and other semiotic practices (Clark, 2013). Overall, in the traditional sense, the term ‘identity’ is used as a stable notion. However, from an interactional perspective, identity is something we do. In other words, identity is publicly displayed through interaction in which membership categories are attributed, contested and accepted in order to accomplish various social actions (Antaki & Widdicombe, 1998). Therefore, the purpose of such research is to explicate how and why an identity category is used (Edwards, 1998), and under this conceptualization identity is viewed as changing and fundamental to interaction (Miller, 2018). Sometimes it is also defined as a feature assigned by effects on deductive and sociocultural membership categories (Moody, 2019).

2.3 Identity category use and rapport

Identity construction is intimately related to rapport in interaction. Locher (2008) argued that identity is constructed through speakers’ ongoing rapport. Nguyen (2007) defined rapport as “a positive social relationship” (p. 286) that is based on mutual trust and sustained through participants’ efforts. In language learning, rapport between experts and novices, such as teachers and students, is an important aspect of teaching such as constructing a positive atmosphere in the classroom (Kihara, 2010). The participants can mutually use a variety of interactional resources, including verbal and nonverbal features such as smiles, laughter, self-corrections, and joint attention (Nguyen, 2007). Satake (2003) indicated one of the key features of rapport is familiarity. Furthermore, according to Nguyen (2007), rapport relates to two kinds of linguistic perspectives: face and footing. Face is used in Pragmatics or Discourse Analysis (DA), not CA, where the concept of preference is often used instead. Pillet-Shore (2017) suggested that when there was an offer—acceptance/rejection sequence, if a recipient accepted a speaker’s offer, the action of recipient displayed positive face, and vice versa. Therefore, a preferred response relates to positive face. Pillet-Shore defines threatening face as a dispreferred response with delays of turn-initiation such as using hesitation markers. The interactional resources help manage interaction by reducing face-threatening moments and preventing dispreferred actions.

Previous studies have also explored rapport from a CA perspective. Prior (2018)

defined rapport as affiliation or empathy and explored it in interview sequences. He found that rapport could be constructed via a shared negative assessment between interviewer and interviewee. However, the current study suggests that rapport can also be built by shared positive assessments between speakers. If sharedness is fundamental for rapport building, a shared identity-related epistemic stance or belonging to the same knowledge stance can maintain a rapport. A speaker could change his or her footing from that of a teacher to a more intimate one in order to establish friendship or rapport (Nguyen, 2007). In a case documented by Nguyen, the teacher's footing was constructed by using linguistic features (e.g. first-person plural pronouns and a loud voice) and certain embodied actions (e.g. hand clapping). Nguyen's examples illustrate how rapport is built at a sequential or micro-longitudinal level. This is related to participation frameworks in interactional competence and constructing rapport is therefore related to interactional history between speakers.

Thus, previous studies of rapport have largely focused on classroom contexts. It is therefore important to examine whether findings on rapport in classrooms can also be observed in more mundane, everyday interactions. While many studies have investigated how identity categories are used in L1 or L2 service or daily interactions in English, few have examined diachronic changes or over-time shifts in identity category use, particularly in L2 Japanese. Moreover, there is little research on how changes in identity relate to rapport-building in the L2 Japanese context, as well as the relation between the shift and participation framework. To address these gaps, the present study explores the use of identity categories, including L2 identity, in mundane conversations and investigates how these categories shift over short periods.

2.4 Epistemic stance, epistemic stance marker and changes in its use

The study of epistemics in interaction explores participants' knowledge displays in naturally social interaction (Hoey & Kendrick, 2018). According to Raymond and Heritage (2006), this can also be referred to as "identity-bound knowledge" (p. 678). Heritage (2012a, for example) identified two core features of epistemics: epistemic status and epistemic stance. Epistemic stance refers to the way a speaker claims or displays their relation to knowledge. In CA, such knowledge-related conditions are indicated as K+ (relatively more knowledgeable) or K- (relatively less knowledgeable), where K refers to knowledge.

Epistemic stance markers are linguistic features that display the degree to which a speaker is sure of their claim (Stickle, 2015). Using them, a speaker displays his or her stance, such as 'I know', 'I think', '(That's) right' and so on. With regard to micro-longitudinal changes in epistemic stance, Uyar and Can Daşkın (2024) showed that the stance of two participants (DER and LIN) was upgraded by using epistemic stance markers after their reflection of the previous discussion. Excerpt 1 is the transcription

of their conversation.¹

Excerpt 1. Didn't Think- We Know (Uyar & Can Daşkın, 2024, p. 43, lines 1-8)

```

1  DER: of course we don't think that everybody thinks it's the
2      same way↑ but like ♣seeing that especially♣
                ♣unites finger while palm♣is up
3  ♣oh i didn't think of this i didn't think of that♣
    ♣-----puts finger on the head-----♣
4  [((inaudible))
5  LIN: [((inaudible))
6      the small things ♥also (0.6) th the timing ♣we talked
                ♥looks up--->
    der                                          ♣leans forward--->
7      about♣ (.) because♥ (0.4) yeah ♥we we know it with our
    der  --->♣
                --->♥                ♥scrolls right hand--->
8      screen castomatic right now we have technical problems

```

In line 1, DER claims K- stance by stating the thoughts with negation. In this case, DER uses the first-person plural pronoun. Therefore, DER claims LIN's epistemic stance is relatively K- as well. It can be said that such a claim leads to showing both speakers claiming a novice identity category. However, in lines 6 and 7, LIN shows her reflection of experience of the previous discussion with DER. Afterwards, in line 7, LIN shifts her and DER's epistemic stance to K+ using the stance marker 'we know'. The claim can cast showing both speakers in an expert identity category. However, Uyar and Can Daşkın's study (2024) does not focus on the change of relative identity category use. The following section will explore such change in the hair salon data.

III Research Design

3.1 Research Question

The purpose is to explore how identity category use changes over relatively brief periods of time. Changes of identity category use occur moment-by-moment and are related to identity-relevant knowledge. These moment-by-moment changes are also tied to the interactants' relative positions and relationships within the interaction.

3.2 Methodology

In this study, Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA) is used in conjunction with micro-longitudinal Conversation Analysis (CA). CA is a method for studying social interaction by humans that was originally devised by Sacks and his colleagues (see

¹ The clover symbol indicates the multimodal actions of DER, while the heart mark shows the multimodal actions of LIN.

Stivers & Sidnell, 2013). This section briefly introduces some of the CA concepts used in the current study. Turn-taking is a system for organizing conversational sequences or a system of changing speech and a basis of conversational organization (Sacks et al., 1974). Adjacency pair is “a basic sequence” (Stivers, 2013, p. 193) such as question–answer. Preference organization is an asymmetrical organization (Sacks, 1992) based on the possibility of “relevant action alternatives” (Lerner, 1996, p. 304), and it is mostly related to response. It is not a psychological term, but an indication of how easy each utterance or response is to produce (i.e. a frequency of production) (Takagi et al., 2016). Dispreferred utterances are produced with hesitation or hedging. Preference serves to clarify the way of making actions in order to sustain or subvert solidarity in a community. Repair is the way interactants deal with problems of listening or comprehending (Schegloff et al., 1977). The problem is known as a trouble source, which is defined as the problematic part in the previous utterance that conversational participants pointing out with reflections (Takagi et al., 2016). According to Schegloff et al. (1977), a repair practice is divided into four types depending on who is doing the repair and where: self-initiated self-repair, other-initiated self-repair, self-initiated other-repair, other-initiated other-repair.

In order to explore how to change the use of participants' identity category, the study uses the perspective of micro-longitudinal CA. Longitudinal CA is a kind of CA, which shows change over time among the same people (Carlin & Kim, 2021; Deppermann & Pekarek Doehler, 2021). This methodology tracks successive cases of conversation by them and focuses on linguistic elements as semiotic tools (Carlin & Kim, 2021). In CA, a longitudinal approach investigates how participants, over time, affiliate with collective categories and how they come to co-construct and display their understanding of interactional norms (Deppermann & Pekarek Doehler, 2021). It can often be related to the development of L2 interactional competence (Okada, 2016) such as when a researcher documents a shift of resources and ways participants use those resources in interactions over time and by linguistic proficiency (Skogmyr Marian et al., 2023). There are three lines of identifications regarding changes in longitudinal CA: as a speaker's learning or developing problem, a socio-historical or socio-cultural shift, and as an interactional history in a party (Deppermann & Pekarek Doehler, 2021). The current study analyzes changes at an even smaller level such as a single short speech event rather than longitudinal, month-by-month or year-by-year. In other words, the study uses micro-longitudinal CA.

Micro-longitudinal CA is a relatively new methodology within CA whose definitions and functions can vary. Markee (2011) defined it as a sequential development in a conversational occasion, based on short-term evidence. Greer (2016) demonstrated how such methodology could be used to show how a speaker modified his formulation of a confirmation check in repeated or similar iterations of the same speech event over a matter of minutes rather than months. Similarly, Ishino (2018) focused on moment-by-

moment changes in participants' interactional practices and how they formulated a routine of the altered practice for a specific interactional purpose. Building on these definitions and functions, particularly in language learning, the current study redefines micro-longitudinal CA as a methodology focusing on short-term or periodic changes within a single speech event. In language education, the methodology accounts for learners' development of a given practice (Ishino, 2018).

Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA) is a related method for analyzing identity, based on systematic analyses of social action in everyday settings (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006). This approach was originally pioneered by Sacks (1972). This section shows some key MCA concepts that relate to the current study. Membership categorization device (MCD) is defined as a categorial group including more than one membership, which is used in collection with "at least a member" (Sacks, 1972, p. 332). It relates to culture, or the mechanism through which speakers understand how the categories "belong" (Stokoe, 2012, p. 8) to a collection of categories. For example, categories such as 'mommy' and 'baby' are heard as belonging to the MCD of 'family' (Sacks, 1972). There are general categories such as *age* and specific ones such as *grades of elementary school* and some collective categories make collaborative units (Stokoe, 2012). Furthermore, MCD is related to culture. When a speaker uses a category to describe his/herself or others, a hearer tends to understand the usage based on his or her own cultural knowledge. A category-bound activity or attribute (CBA) is any action related to situated membership categories, such as 'crying' for an activity of a 'baby' (Sacks, 1972). For example, in the sentence: "why are men so reluctant to go to the doctors?" (Stokoe, 2012, p. 8), a predicate, 'being reluctant to go to the doctors' was an activity that is linked (or bound) to the identity category 'men'. As can be seen in both the instances of baby and men, CBA sometimes involves speakers recognizing stereotypes. Likewise, CBA can also stand for category-bound attribute (Housley et al., 2017).

3.3 Background to the data

The data originate from talk that took place in a Japanese hair salon. In the segments analyzed in this study, the participants included two Japanese hairstylists (Yoh and Yumi) and two customers (Tye and Emil). Yoh was a chief stylist and Yumi was an assistant. The first language of each stylist was Japanese and their English proficiency was low. Tye was a 22-year-old American man whose first language was English. His second language was Japanese, and its proficiency was intermediate. Emil was a 27-year-old Bolivian man, whose first language was Spanish. His second languages were English and Japanese. His proficiency in English was advanced, but he was a beginning speaker of Japanese. The participants mostly used Japanese when interacting, except for Emil, who used mostly English. However, there were a few moments of Japanese

interaction in his data, so in this case, this study treats Emil as a novice speaker of L2 Japanese in interaction. The following chart summarizes the information of participants (Table 1).

Table 1. Participants

Name	Nationality	Age	L1	L2 and proficiency	Social relationship	Numbers of hair cuts	Gender
Tye	the US	22	English	Japanese (Intermediate)	Client/customer	4	male
Emil	Bolivia	27	Spanish	English (Advanced)	Client/customer	4	male
				Japanese (Beginner)			
Yoh	Japan	N/A	Japanese	English (Beginner)	Hairstylist (Chief)	14	male
Yumi	Japan	N/A	Japanese	English (Beginner)	Hairstylist (Assistant)	14	female

Data were collected in a small hairdressing salon in Western Japan. The collection was recorded over 5 months, with the participants undertaking four haircuts each (T1: April 21, 2011; T2: June 16, 2011; T3: July 21, 2011; T4: August 23, 2011). The total length of data was approximately 16 hours, and the interaction was video-recorded. The data were collected using three cameras: a back camera, a side camera focused on the chair and an additional camera position at the shampoo station (sink). The relative locations of the main cameras are shown in Figure 1.

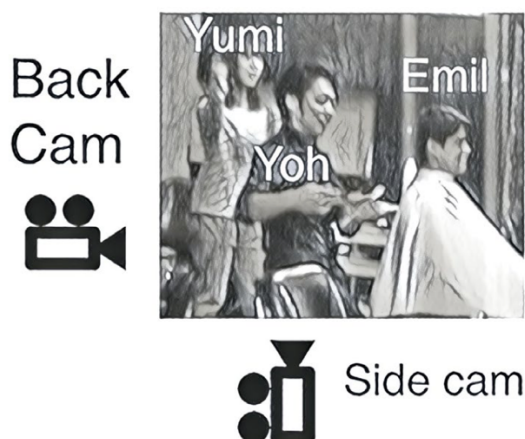


Figure 1. Location of backscreen and side camera (Greer & Ogawa, 2021, p. 57)

Transcriptions followed the conventions developed by Jefferson (2004), and embodied actions are recorded using a modified version of the approach developed by Mondada (2018) (see Greer & Nanbu, 2022). Pseudonyms are used to protect the participants' privacy. These pseudonyms are capitalized in next to the line number. Nonverbal features (i.e. embodied actions) are written in gray and list the initial of the speaker and the locus of the embodied action. Appendixes 1 and 2 show each symbol and its meaning.

IV Analysis

In hair salon talk, there are frequent moments where epistemic stance and its

markers are occasioned and adapted across relatively short periods of time. For example, in Excerpt 2, Tye, Yoh and Yumi are discussing the Kobe dialect. Tye has brought up the topic.

Excerpt 2. Kobe dialect

- 01 TYE | futsuu no ↑kobe ben mo [(aru n desho)]
normal VN Kobe dialect PT COP VN Tag
There is a normal kobe dialect, right?
 t-gz | left--->line 4
- 02 YUMI [koobe ben]
kobe dialect
- 03 YOH | [soo des] nee
that COP-POL IP
That's right.
- 04 TYE | so- soo na no ka [(yoku) wakann nai | kedo]
that COP NR Q much understand NEG but
I don't know that's true, though.
 t-gz | -----~~~~ | front
- 05 YOH | [hahaha]
 y-hd | to mirror
- 06 TYE minna sore wa
everyone that TOP
everyone (thinks) it is
- 07 ↑ah ko↑be ben | [()]
HM kobe dialect
Ah it's Kobe dialect.
- t-hd | shake
- 08 YOH [hahaha]
- 09 YUMI Hehehe
- 10 YOH °soo nan des °
that VN COP-POL
That's right.
- 11 koobe ben mo aru n des
kobe dialect too COP VN POL
There's Kobe dialect too.
- 12 BOKURA: wa koobe no hito na↓nde↑
we TOP kobe NR people CAU
- 13 koobe ben ↑ga nanika tte iu no ↑ga=
kobe dialect SB what Q say VN SB
- 14 TYE =un

yes

15 YOH gyaku ni yoku wakara nai [des ne]
conversely much understand NEG POL IP

Because we are Kobe people we don't really know what's Kobe dialect, y'know?

16 TYE? [hehehe]

17 YOH [HAHAHAHAHA]

18 YUMI [futsuu yakara ne]
normal CAU IP

Because it's just normal, y'know?

In line 1, Tye claims his epistemic stance is the same as Yoh's by using “-n desho”, which is an epistemic stance marker involving confirmation (Ishida, 2009). This confirmation includes a gaze shift to the left, which may be targeting Yumi. At this point, Yoh confirms that there is a normal Kobe dialect (line 3). Tye claims that he hears there is a difference but that doesn't mean he himself can detect it or use it in practice. Afterwards, Yoh answers positively without any pause, suggesting his response is designed as preferred (Schegloff, 2007). However, in line 4, Tye softens his stance statement by using an epistemic hedge (Weatherall, 2011), “yoku wakannai kedo” (I don't know much about it) while shifting his gaze to the mirror on the conjunction *kedo* (but). The function of the hedge is to downgrade the speaker's knowledge state claim (Leyland, 2014). Therefore, Tye's epistemic stance becomes K–, while remaining relatively K+ for Yoh with regard to the topic of the Kobe dialect. Additionally, the hedge can help Tye avoid responsibility.

In line 10, Yoh's utterance “soo nan des” (That's right) claims his K+ (Heritage, 2012b), so it can treat Tye's epistemic stance as relative K–. This means that Yoh positions himself as more knowledgeable at that moment. In addition, this expression demonstrates Yoh's competence in distinguishing the general Kansai dialect from the Kobe dialect. Yoh then elaborates by repeating Tye's earlier phrase from line 1, “koobe ben mo aru” (There is a Kobe dialect.), acknowledging the existence of the Kobe dialect. However, in line 12, Yoh shifts footing by using the person deixis, “bokura” (we), and invoking the social identity category, “koobe no hito” (Kobe people). He then says “yoku wakara nai des ne” (we don't know much about it), which downgrades his epistemic stance (Uyar & Can Daşkın, 2024). This self-positioning reduces his prior claim to expertise and aligns his knowledge level with Tye's. In addition, it indicates that Yoh cannot explain what Kobe dialect is. Thus, throughout this sequence, Tye's epistemic stance regarding the topic of the Kobe dialect shifts dynamically from an equal K relationship to K– and then back to an equal footing as Yoh revises his claim of knowledge.

In terms of identity category use, when participants claim the same level of knowledge, they often orient to the same identity category with a category-bound

attribute, e.g., a local. In this case, it can explain why Tye backed down and why Yoh's claim based on the citizenship is hearable as not including Tye. On the other hand, when participants claim relatively higher or lower epistemic status (K+ or K-), they orient to expertise as bound to identity. In this case, Tye's shift from an equal stance to a relative K- stance indicates disaffiliation, as reflected through epistemic stance markers. By contrast, the shift from relative K- to an equal knowledge state reflects an orientation to affiliation, positioning both speakers within the same discourse identity category. Furthermore, by displaying a social identity category associated with Yoh (and Yumi), the participants co-construct an insider-outsider relationship tied to local identity in Kobe.

Shifts of identity category use and epistemic stance can be seen even when the speaker has lower L2 proficiency. Excerpt 3 shows a conversation in which the topic is about Uyuni Salt Flats (a well-known Salt Lake in Bolivia). The context is that Emil has just told Yoh his background: he is from Bolivia.

Excerpt 3. Uyuni enko

01 YOH boribia
 Bolivia

02 (1.0)

03 YUMI °ano° nan[bei]
 HM south america
 Um, South America

04 YOH [nanbei]=
 South America

05 EMIL =(ah yes)

06 YOH fufufufufu ((a quiet laugh))

07 (1.9)

08 YUMI | (a) uyuni enko °(toka [shit teru ka na.]°)
 CoS uyuni salt Flats like know CONT Q IP
 Ah, do you think he knows like Uyuni Salt Flats?

 ym-gz | to YOH

09 YOH [a:]
 Ah

10 EMIL | [uyuni?]
 uyuni
 Uyuni?

 e-gz | to YUMI---> line13

 ym-gz | front

11 YUMI | [° uyuni°]
 ym-px | to EMIL (front)

12 YOH | uyuni
 13 EMIL | ah! did you know?
 14 YUMI | [o-oh hhh]
 ym-hd | nod
 15 YOH [uyuni] nan te iu no are
 Uyuni what QT say VN that
 Uyuni, what is it called, that place?
 16 YUMI | [mizuumi?]
 lake
 Flats?
 ym-gs | circle
 17 EMIL [(where is it?)]
 18 YOH [() [)]
 19 EMIL [() famous]
 20 YUMI aa [hahahahaha]
 Ah
 21 YOH [hahahahaha]
 22 souka:
 I see
 23 (0.7)
 24 EMIL | boribia (desu)
 bolivia COP-POL
 It is Bolivia.
 e-hd | nod

In lines 8 and 9, Yumi asks Yoh whether Emil knows the Uyuni Salt Flats; her question is delivered along with a shift of gaze toward Yoh and in a smaller voice. In terms of sequence, the question also initiates the topic of Uyuni Salt Flats. The design of this question with the embodied action and the paralinguistic is more to do with the fact that Yumi is a peripheral speaker and Yoh is the primary recipient, so she feeds him a topic to use with Emil. Emil is from Bolivia, and the Salt Flats are so famous there that there is probably no Bolivian who doesn't know them. In other words, knowledge of Uyuni Salt Flats can be seen as linked to the category "Bolivian". Therefore, Yumi and Yoh position themselves as K+ with regard to Uyuni Salt Flats (or the topic) while Emil takes up a relative novice (K-) stance. Subsequently, Emil confirms the word, *Uyuni* with word-final rising intonation, to which Yoh and Yumi respond with their repetition of it; This exchange is also accompanied by shifts in gaze: Yumi gazes to the front (possibly to Emil via the mirror) and Emil gazes at Yumi. According to Sacks and Schegloff (1979), such confirmation constitutes a try-marker, which functions both as an initiation of repair and as a request for confirmation (Greer et al., 2009). In this case, the trouble source is

Uyuni or more specifically Emil's problem in understanding Yumi's production of the word. Therefore, an other-initiated self-repair occurs. Moreover, from the perspective of preference organization, the brief, immediate responses from Yoh and Yumi represent a preferred action due to the absence of hesitation or delay. At this point, the epistemic relationship between the participants is such that Yumi and Yoh occupy K+ with regard to Japanese language, while Emil remains in a relatively K- position. Even though he can be normatively expected to know of the place, it is the Japanese version of the referent that is the trouble source at this point.

Afterwards, Emil confirms that Yoh and Yumi know Uyuni Salt Flats by using a change-of-state token and an epistemic stance marker, "Did you know?" (line 13). A change-of-state token refers to a shift in a speaker's epistemic, informative or cognitive state (Heritage, 1984). Regarding Emil's interrogative "Did you know", such Do you know (DYK) formulations typically index a speaker's epistemic stance of K+ (Nanbu, 2020), though they can also function as K-, depending on their structure. When accompanied with a WH-question, a DYK formulation tends to display additional knowledge (Koole, 2010) and may challenge the recipient's epistemic position (Iseri, 2023). Thus, such questions can invite the recipient to display additional knowledge. In the present case, since Emil's question does not include a WH element, the interrogative functions as an epistemic stance marker that positions Emil as K+ with respect to the Uyuni Salt Flats. Furthermore, Emil's gaze shift toward Yumi suggests the possible tacit allocation of the next turn to her.

In line 15, Yoh initiates a word search by using a determiner, "*are*" (that) as a hesitation device. In line 16, Yumi proffers the Japanese word *mizuumi* (Flats) while moving both her hands in a circular motion. Here, Yoh's turn constitutes an initiation of repair, and Yumi's choice of a simpler term can be seen as a candidate completion. The trouble source appears to be the Japanese term, *Uyuni Enko* ("Uyuni Salt Flats"), with the term *enko* being treated as difficult (or possibly unknown) for Emil. Consequently, the utterances in lines 15 and 16 work as recipient designed turns, reflecting linguistic knowledge and orienting to the relative K- position regarding this Japanese term for Emil. Interestingly, in line 17 Emil asks about the place referent of their previous interactions in line 16 using a WH-interrogative. This positions Emil as K- with respect to the Flats, as such WH-questions show the speaker's uncertainty and test the recipient's knowledge (Delli & Dumanig, 2022). It may seem unusual for Emil to ask about a place in his home country, suggesting that his question arises from a lack of understanding of the Japanese term. Another possible interpretation is that Emil realizes Yoh and Yumi are referring to a location unfamiliar to him, based on hearing the Japanese term *mizuumi* ("lake"), which would also indicate his K- with regard to the Japanese word. Additionally, Emil displays an assumption that Yoh and Yumi possess more knowledge about the Flats, treating himself as having less knowledge than the others. However, in line 19 Emil evaluates the Flats as being famous, which places him

in the K+ position with respect to Uyuni Salt Flats. Yoh subsequently signals his understanding or agreement in line 22 with *souka* (“I see”), elongating the final vowel. This turn shows understanding and may claim an upgrading of epistemic stance (Lee, 2021), positioning Yoh at the same epistemic level as Emil at this point. The utterance *souka* also functions as a receipt and serves to close the current topic.

With regard to changes of identity category use, a same-K stance indicates that participants share the same level of knowledge about a referent, in this case, the Uyuni Salt Flats. On the other hand, relative K+ or K– reflects expert-novice identities, which can pertain to various domains, such as language or geographic knowledge. Therefore, a shift in epistemic stance from K+ to K– with regard to Uyuni Salt Flats or Bolivia indicates a change from expert identity relating to Bolivian geography to a relative novice identity with respect to Japanese terms. In Emil’s Japanese expressions, his evaluation demonstrates expert knowledge; however, his epistemic stance is treated as K– when Yoh displays his understanding of the Uyuni Salt Flats by upgrading his epistemic stance. This action can be interpreted as affiliating with the same identity category, in which both members share knowledge of the place referent at the same level. The current study shows that while participants may occupy similar positions along the epistemic horizon, the specific objects of their knowledge can differ. For example, from lines 15 to 19, Emil’s epistemic stance changes from K– with respect to Japanese language to K+ with respect to Uyuni Salt Flats, indicating a corresponding shift in his identity category from relative novice to expert.

Changes in epistemic stance occur multiple times even within brief sequences of talk. The use of epistemic stance markers, including knowledge-relevant hedges, can shift participants’ epistemic positions or knowledge-based relationships. Regarding changes in identity category use, two patterns emerge: shifts from affiliation to disaffiliation, and from disaffiliation to affiliation. These patterns are also relevant to L2 identity, often reflecting expert-novice identity relationships or disaffiliation. Furthermore, they are closely linked to recipient design and interactional repair practices. Identity categorization can be influenced by the production of WH-questions and by participants claiming novice identity or K– positions. Within disaffiliation, the expertise is changed depending on topics. Thus, changes in identity category are shaped both by the topic and by shifts in epistemic stance.

V Discussion

The current study explored shifts in identity category use by focusing epistemic stance and its associated markers. The analysis revealed that these shifts were related to affiliation (orienting to the same identity category) and disaffiliation (displaying an expert-novice relationship), which generally followed two patterns: affiliation to

disaffiliation and vice versa. Instances of disaffiliation were often linked to recipient-initiated repair, and the topic choice appeared to play a role in such shifts. In addition, changes in epistemic stance and identity category use were frequently accompanied by embodied actions such as gaze and laughter. Finally, the construction of identity categories through epistemic stance was also associated with preference organization, such as the production of responses without hesitation.

Through the analysis, the study found that the repair seen in Excerpt 3 could be understood as recipient design by Yoh and Yumi, particularly due to Yumi's simplification of the expression. This appears to have occurred under conditions of an epistemic relationship, which is more-relatively less knowledgeable (i.e. expert-relative novice identity). Additionally, such repair can be seen as a pre-emptive repair, which serves to prevent potential trouble before it occurs (Svennevig et al., 2019). In the context of foreign language interaction, this can be viewed as a form of "foreigner talk", which Yoh and Yumi employed in that moment. Changes involving embodied actions were also found to relate to broader notions of the participation framework, including distinctions between speaker, addressed recipient, and unaddressed recipient. For example, in line 13 in Excerpt 3, the epistemic relationship was one of disaffiliation, with Emil displaying an expert identity Yoh and Yumi positioned as relative novices. However, Emil's gaze toward Yumi positioned her as an addressed recipient, while leaving Yoh as a secondary recipient. This suggests that participation framework based on identity-related epistemic stance can overlap with more general participation structures. The analysis also shows that participants ultimately orient to the same identity category or affiliation. Thus, even from a micro-longitudinal perspective, participants can construct and maintain rapport within short interactions.

In comparison with previous studies, one key similarity is that the current study focuses on affiliation as a way of achieving changes in identity category use. The notion of affiliation aligns with Prior (2018), suggesting that shifts toward affiliation based on participants' shared knowledge serve to maintain rapport. In this study, affiliation is further associated with preferred responses, a practice consistent with Pillet-Shore's finding that acceptance is a preferred response to an offer (Pillet-Shore, 2017). However, if rapport is understood as affiliation within the same identity category, the current findings differ in that rapport is observed to shift repeatedly during spates of interaction. This difference may arise from the analytic level of focus: while previous studies have examined rapport within a single moment, the current study traced its development across an entire speech event. Accordingly, to consider whether rapport is eventually maintained or not, the study has focused on patterns of affiliation or disaffiliation in opening and closing sequences. The findings suggest that rapport may shift dynamically between maintained and denied. Furthermore, rapport is closely tied to both preference organization and affiliation. Interestingly, even with epistemic disaffiliation, preferred responses were observed. This suggests that rapport can still be constructed within a

horizontally oriented relationship, despite epistemic asymmetries.

Finally, the current study highlights that shifts in identity category through affiliation contribute to the construction of rapport, functioning to promote harmony, mutual laughter, and solidarity. Furthermore, the findings suggest that shifts toward disaffiliation and knowledge-related category changes can create learning-relevant opportunities, as they often involve repair and recipient design. These interactional practices play an important role in establishing and sustaining participation within conversation.

VI Conclusion

The current study explored how identity category use changes in short periods of time, primarily through processes of affiliation and disaffiliation. Such changes were found to contribute to the maintenance of rapport through affiliation and preference organization. Unlike studies treating rapport as stable, this paper demonstrated the interactional achievement and shift. Furthermore, due to the similarity of concepts, the study suggests that affiliation and disaffiliation are related to participation frameworks. The findings also indicate that changes in identity category can also lead to learning opportunities, including those related to L2 vocabulary and cultural knowledge.

The study offers both educational and theoretical contributions. Educationally it emphasizes that rapport is a crucial aspect of communication, particularly from a participatory perspective in foreign language education. It also contributes to pedagogical discussions of L2 Japanese communication in JSL settings, where fostering familiarity and belonging within the language community are essential (e.g. negotiation of meaning by repairs outside the classroom). Theoretically, the study demonstrates that micro-longitudinal CA can capture changes in identity category use by focusing on epistemic stance and its markers. These markers, in turn, can serve as a form of indexing, linking participant orientations to knowledge and identity in interaction. However, this study also has several limitations. Methodologically, observing change in identity-in-interaction remains challenging. The study uses a micro-longitudinal CA for institutionally bounded interactions in a hair salon, limiting developmental insights. Instead, broader temporal analyses, such as those conducted over longer periods, may reveal additional phenomena. For example, analyzing openings and closings can show developing familiarity-related identity constructions. Therefore, future research can employ longitudinal CA to investigate changes in identity category over time.

The study highlights the use of identity categories and their relationship to the participation framework, which constitutes an integral aspect of interactional competence (IC). To explore interactional competence more broadly, future research should examine how identity categories relate to other features of IC. Finally, while the current study focuses on identity in mundane interaction, there are other institutional

contexts that warrant investigation. Documenting IC in a wider range of JSL contexts will strengthen and extend the present argument.

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Appendix

1. Transcript conventions

1.1 Markings of ascription

The symbols are based on Jefferson (2004) and Kushida et al. (2017, p. vi).

[]	overlapping talk
=	Equal sign shows the following: a) Turn continues at the next identical symbol on the next line b) Talk is latched; that is, there is no interval between the end of prior turn and the start of next turn
(0.3)	Numerals in parentheses mark silence in tenths of a second
hhh hee hah	indicate laughter or breathiness
ne!	An exclamation mark indicates bouncing.
↑ ↓	Arrows indicate high or low pitch.
yes?	A question mark indicates rising intonation.
yes.	A period indicates falling intonation.
HUH	Capitals indicate increased loudness.
°thanks°	Degree signs indicate decreased volume.
go:::d	One or more colons indicate lengthening of the preceding sound. Each additional colon represents a lengthening of one beat.
(())	Double parentheses indicate transcriber's comments, including description of non-verbal behavior.
the (park)	Single parentheses indicate an uncertain transcription.

1.2 Literal gloss

IP	Interactional particle (e.g. ne, sa, no, yo, na)
SB	Subject particle (-ga)
TOP	Topic Marker (-wa)
PT	Other particles
QT	Quotation marker (-to, -tte)
Q	Question marker (ka and its variants)
POL	Politeness marker
NR	Nominalizer (e.g. no, n)
CAU	Causal marker (-datte, dakara, kara)
VN	Verb nominalizer (nan, no, n)
Tag	tag-like expression (e.g., deshoo, janai)
HM	hesitation marker (e.g., eto, ano, 'nto)
COP	Copulative verb, variations of the verb to be

NEG	Negative morpheme
CONT	Continuing (non-final) form
POL	Polite form

2. Multimodal transcript conventions

Multimodal aspects of the interaction are notated according to a modified version of the conventions developed by Mondada (2018). See Greer and Nanbu (2022).

2.1 Embodied elements

Vertical bars are positioned within the talk to show the onset and completion of the embodied talk as listed in a tier below it.

	Descriptions of embodied actions are delimited between vertical bars
--->	The action described continues across subsequent lines
---->	The action reaches its conclusion
----	The apex of the action is reached and maintained
~~~~~	The action moves or transforms in some way.

### 2.2 Locus of the embodied actions

The locus of an embodied action is listed along with the participant's initial at the start of a tier.

-gz	gaze
-gs	gesture
-px	proximity
-hd	head