



Multiple Involvements in Interactional Repair: Using Smartphones in Peer Culture to Augment Lingua Franca English

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(Citation)

Friendship and Peer Culture in Multilingual Settings (Sociological Studies of Children and Youth, Volume 21):197-229

(Issue Date)

2016

(Resource Type)

book part

(Version)

Accepted Manuscript

(URL)

<https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.14094/90004021>



Multiple Involvements in Interactional Repair:
Using smartphones in peer culture to augment *lingua franca* English

Abstract

Structured Abstract

Purpose

With an extensive range of information available at the swipe of a finger, the smartphone has become a ubiquitous tool for augmenting conversation. Users of English as a *lingua franca* (ELF) often rely on such technology to help establish friendships by using them to sustain intersubjectivity. But how do they manage the multiple involvements this entails, such as participating in current talk while searching for linguistic items?

Design/methodology/approach

This study employs multimodal Conversation Analysis to undertake a detailed account of the way two young people, a Japanese male (22) and an Indonesian male (16) incorporate smartphones into their *lingua franca* English interaction. The analysis is based on naturally occurring conversations video-recorded by the Japanese participant while both boys were living with an American homestay family.

Findings

The analysis explores the role of the smartphone in forward-oriented repair, including how the interactants;

- look up unfamiliar words,
- delay turn progressivity to fit those words into the turn-in-progress, and
- use images to accompany an unclear term.

Speakers also occasionally abandon a look-up in order to reformulate the turn without the smartphone, relying instead on their own interactional competence.

Originality/value

The study offers insight into the way young people use smartphones as an affordance to manage and repair aspects of their L2 talk, enabling them to enhance their current interactional competence by drawing on the vast range of semiotic resources the phone possesses. Ensuring understanding is essential for developing and maintaining friendships, and for this particular peer culture of *lingua franca* English speakers, smartphones are a key tool for accomplishing that. As such, the study will be of interest to researchers and educators in the fields of both technology and interaction.

Keywords

Conversation analysis; English as a Lingua Franca, Smartphones; Multiple involvements; Repair

Introduction

While they are certainly not alone in doing so, teenagers in the 21st Century spend a lot of time using their smartphones. Depending on how and when they are used, smartphones hold the potential to either disrupt or enhance face-to-face interaction (Ictech, 2014).

Although mobile phones are thought to negatively impact classroom learning (Kuznekoff, Munz & Titsworth, 2015) and young people themselves believe they are increasingly using such devices in class for non-educational purposes (McCoy, 2016), their ready accessibility means that users have a fast, convenient conduit to information that can support face-to-face interaction (Gikas & Grant, 2013). This is perhaps particularly advantageous when people are talking with each other in a second language (L2). Dictionary apps, Internet search engines and family photos are all in the L2 user's pocket, and can therefore be rapidly called on to provide a missing word or to push the conversation in a new direction. Smartphones can therefore enable online informal learning of English (Socket, 2014), and can be an integral part of interaction itself, helping to establish common ground, foster familiarity with each other and forge friendships.

However, incorporating a mobile device into a conversation requires a sort of multi-tasking, in which the speaker pays attention both to the talk and to the smartphone. Recent Conversation Analytic (CA) research has examined similar phenomena in terms of *multiple involvements* (LeBaron & Jones, 2002; MacMartin & LeBaron, 2006) or *multiactivity* (Haddington, Keisanen, Mondada and Nevile, 2014), in that two or more actions are undertaken simultaneously or sequentially not just by the individual, but also in relation to the social interaction that is going on between that person and their interlocutor. Such investigations are concerned with how talk is timed and delayed to fit in and around some

other primary embodied activity, such as massaging someone's feet (Nishizaka & Sunaga, 2015) or plucking someone's eyebrows (Toerien & Kitzinger, 2007).

Although there have been a small number of CA studies that have focused on the use of electronic devices within L2 and *lingua franca* talk, to date the literature has yet to investigate such instances in terms of multiple involvements and multiactivity. Gardner and Levy have looked at multi-tasking among students working collaboratively on a desktop computer (Gardner & Levy, 2010; Levy & Gardner, 2012), revealing the intricate timing involved in coordinating their planning talk with their embodied action in manipulating the virtual world of the computer. Likewise, Danby et al. (2013) demonstrated that parents and young children using iPads fitted their talk in and around the tablet, and were able to incorporate information from the screen into their interaction. Burch (2016) includes the use of smartphones in his analysis of language use between co-present novice and expert speakers of Japanese. The learner, a native-speaker of Chinese, is able to input Chinese pictographs of a place name into the phone to conduct an Internet search and by showing the results of that search to the Japanese speaker she gets across her message. Burch sees this kind of technologically augmented communication as both beneficial and detrimental, since it helps the participants work around their linguistic limitations but also momentarily delays the turn-in-progress in order to do so. Such studies recognize the need for grounded observation of novice language users, and the way they balance interaction with people and their simultaneous engagement with technology.

Electronic dictionaries are another tool language learners in Japan use to assist their English communication, and CA research on this has looked at how such learners delay and revise their talk to accommodate word searches via the electronic dictionary (Barrow, 2010) and how interaction is shaped by the design of the dictionary content and its physical placement in relation to the interactants (Hauser, 2014). While there are obvious overlaps

with these investigations into computers and electronic dictionary usage, smartphones are more portable than computers and enable quicker access to more knowledge than electronic dictionaries can. In addition, their ubiquity means there is a need for further research into how L2 speakers use smartphones to boost their interactional competence, and how their activity with the phone can affect their conversation.

The current study employs multimodal Conversation Analysis (Mortensen, 2012) to undertake a detailed account of the way two young people incorporate smartphones into their *lingua franca* English interaction. The focal participants come from diverse sociolinguistic backgrounds (one is Japanese and the other is Indonesian), however within the context they find themselves, homestayng with an English-speaking American family, they orient to each other as belonging to a peer culture of novice English users. One salient way in which this peer culture is made visible is through their use of mobile technology to support and extend their L2 interaction. The analysis explores the role of the smartphone in interactional repair, including how the interactants look up unfamiliar words, delay turn progressivity to fit those words into the turn-in-progress, and use images to illustrate an unclear term. Speakers also occasionally abandon a look-up in order to reformulate the turn without the smartphone, relying instead on their own interactional competence. The study offers insight into the way young people use smartphones as an affordance for managing and repairing aspects of their L2 talk, enabling them to enhance their current interactional competence by drawing on the vast range of semiotic resources the phone possesses. The smartphone, and its elegantly timed deployment within their interaction, constitutes one visibly available element of their peer culture. The analysis also reveals ways in which their growing friendship (and therefore an ongoing co-establishment of their peer culture) reifies smartphone use as an integral part of *lingua franca* English conversation for these participants.

This chapter first examines cases in which the smartphone augments the interaction by becoming a resource for accomplishing interactional repair. The chapter then considers cases in which the search for a repair solution via the smartphone is abandoned in favor of the speakers' own interactional competence. Finally, the chapter explores situations in which a photo from the smartphone is used to clarify an unknown word. Throughout the study, the focus is on how the participants manage multiple involvements, switching between their talk with each other and their manipulation of the smartphone. Ultimately this will provide insight into the way young people use mobile technology to enhance their second language (L2) interactional competence within the larger activity of getting to know each other.

Background to the data

The data to be analyzed are taken from a corpus of video-recorded conversations collected in a home in Seattle, WA in September, 2014. The two focal participants, who I will call Kei and Ali, were international students living with an American host family while studying English. Kei was a 22 year-old Japanese male in his final year of college in Japan. He was taking part in a 3-week summer study tour organized by his home institution and returned to Japan after his brief sojourn. Ali was a 16 year-old Indonesian male who had come from an English-medium high school in his home country and had just begun studying science at a community college in Seattle. At the time of the first recording (T1) both participants had been in the US for less than a week. While neither was completely fluent in English, they both possessed basic speaking proficiency. Although the broader data set also includes their interaction with the American host family, the recordings in this chapter all come from conversations in which only Kei and Ali were present, and therefore constitute

episodes of *lingua franca* English, in that the speakers do not view themselves as natives of the language they are using. All participants were informed about the aims of the research and provided written consent of their willingness to take part. The researcher was not present during any of the recordings; the focal participant (Kei) simply set up the camera at various places around the home while the family was interacting. A total of one hour 53 minutes of talk was collected over six occasions. In the recordings, both participants have their own smartphones nearby, and these devices feature heavily in their talk. Transcripts that are identified as T1 come from a 14-minute conversation that took place during the first week of their homestay, whereas those labeled T6 were recorded three weeks later, when the participants were more familiar with each other.

The data have been transcribed according to Jeffersonian conventions (See appendix). Embodied features of the talk are rendered in gray font with the vertical bar marking the onset of the embodied action relative to the spoken interaction.

Analysis

When interactants come across a word they do not know they have access to a wide range of interactional practices for enacting *repair* (Schegloff, Sacks & Jefferson, 1977) either on a trouble source located in previous talk (backward-oriented) or on something that they want to say but cannot (forward-oriented) (Schegloff, 1979). While many of these practices are the same for both monolingual and bilingual speakers, people who have access to more than one language can also use one language as a resource for meaning making in the second (Greer, 2008, 2013; Siegel, 2015) and may even lead to opportunities for learning (Brouwer, 2003). In addition, second language users with access to a smartphone may choose

to carry out interactional repair by referring to apps such as multilingual dictionaries, since they hold significant advantages over traditional paper dictionaries in terms of portability, ubiquity and ease of use (Kurtz, 2012). This section will analyze several sequences of such smartphone-augmented repair from my data set, focusing on the way the smartphone use is timed to coincide with the ongoing interaction.

The first excerpt involves an instance of forward-oriented repair (i. e., a word search sequence) in which Kei finds an expression in his smartphone, incorporates it into the conversation and then reformulates it in his own words.

Multiple involvements in forward-oriented repair

Excerpt 1: T1: 2:53 “Appearances”

01 Kei I'm really happy to hear that yeah others-
 02 °fr'm° from other countri:es, respect the
 03 japanese customs like disciplines and
 04 .hh other (.) ee tee see (('etc')) >ee tee see<
 05 Ali ee [tee see] yeah=
 06 Kei [but]
 07 Kei =yeah sometimes Japanese re:ally: (.) .hhh
 08 Ali hnn
 09 Kei think it's really (.) |hu:::h
 |((a long sigh))
 10 | (0.2)
 |((head down))

- 11 | (0.6)
| ((looks up to Ali, smiling))
- 12 Ali | yeah
| (looks away))
- 13 Kei [ye:s, rea:lly] really:
- 14 Ali [|()]
| ((points upper left))
- 15 Kei yeah um
- 16 | (0.6)
| ((Ali moves index finger to phone))
- 17 Kei → just |wo- wait a moment= |I:[:::
| ((picks up phone)) | ((looks to screen))
- 18 Ali [°ye:hs°
- 19 Kei |I::: I found ih- ↑I will find the
| ((tapping screen))
- 20 correct word. he[h
- 21 Ali [|yeah=
| ((tapping own screen))
- 22 Kei → =|what I want to say, | (0.7)
| ((scrolling with thumb)) | ((scrolls))
- 23 uhm | (0.7)
| ((taps twice at base and once at top))
- 24 Kei → |yeah it's a ki::nd of (6.9)
| ((reading, scrolling, tapping))
- 25 Kei °°dis°°

26 (0.7)

27 Kei → |yeah. uh:::m (16.7)

|((both reading their phones silently))



28 Kei → |<be concerned [about a]ppearances>

|((reading aloud))

29 Ali [OHH]



30 |(.)

|((Kei shifts gaze from screen to Ali))

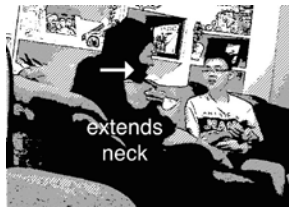
31 Ali yeah >we [do too]<

32 Kei [how] they look



33 |(0.6)

|((Kei extends neck, squints))



- 34 Kei |ve(h)ry loo- looked- were loo:ked.
 |((looks back to Ali, hands moving to self))
- 35 Ali °mmhm°
- 36 Kei yeah a:nd (1.1) yeah so japa- I think
 37 |japanese people are so::metimes- (0.5)
 |((picks up phone, repositions it, taps twice))
- 38 yeah rea:lly (0.7)
- 39 → °yeah° |(.) <good outlooks>
 |((shifts gaze to Ali, gestures "in"))
- 40 Ali good outlooks=
 41 Kei =yeah they want to- yeah

In this excerpt, Kei attempts to convey one aspect of Japanese culture—that people often hide their true selves in public—and in formulating this idea he consults a dictionary application on his phone. His initial formulation begins in lines 7 and 9 with “sometimes Japanese people really...think it’s really...” at which point Kei finishes the TCU with an embodied completion (Olsher, 2004) —an audible sigh and a mimed display of exhaustion (line 10) —and he follows this with a smile and a reestablishment of gaze in line 11, which work to signal the end of the performance and provide a slot for recipient uptake. In short, Kei’s first strategy for dealing with the unavailability of a sequentially due next item is to fill

its slot with an embodied action in the hope that Ali will understand, suggesting that the smartphone is not necessarily the first means of enacting repair in this talk.

In next turn, there is a brief display of uptake from Ali (line 12), but it is accompanied with a gaze withdrawal, which may work to undermine his verbal message. In line 13 Kei then self-selects to initiate an alternative version of his verbally incomplete formulation: he begins with “yes, really, really”, which repeats key elements of the unfinished turn and links back to the earlier turn because those elements are words that appeared just before the embodied completion. In other words, he initiates third-turn repair by framing it with the repeated element “really”.

However, this repair-initiation itself also turns into forward-oriented repair (a word search sequence) as Kei can still not access the word he is looking for and instead consults a dictionary app in his smartphone. At the pause in line 16, it is Ali who first shifts his attention to his smartphone, but whether or not this is related to Kei’s look-up is unclear. In line 17 Kei interrupts the turn-in-progress to produce a verbal request to Ali, as he picks up his phone and begins to look up the Japanese word, saying “just wait a moment”. The physical action takes longer than the request, however, so Kei continues with an account by producing various iterations of the same message and thus maintaining the floor while he searches for the sequentially due item. In line 19 he formulates the aim of his current action (“I will find the correct word”) and this serves as an account for his request for Ali to wait. In line 22 he adds an increment (“what I want to say”), which serves to further extend the turn-in-progress while he scrolls through the smartphone screen. In other words, he is involved with two related but separate actions at this point; the physical action of searching for an unknown word via his smartphone and an explanation of what he is doing that serves as an account for the disruption of the progressivity of the talk. At the same time the explanation itself is extended so as to coincide with the look-up, at least as far as possible. After Kei’s account for the delay

has been delivered, in lines 22 and 23 there is a short gap of silence in which he is visibly (and solely) involved with the work of looking up the word (scrolling, tapping, reading). He then initiates a new turn in line 24 that is also left grammatically incomplete for nearly seven seconds as Kei again attends to the business of reading the message on the screen. In line 25 he whispers something that is hearably related to what he is reading and therefore seems to be (publicly available) private talk. His next item is also a self-addressed “yeah” followed by an extended hesitation marker which again leaves the turn-in-progress incomplete before the talk lapses into silence for a full 16.7 seconds as both participants read from their smartphones.

In line 28, Kei has finally accessed a phrase that appears to fit with the Japanese word he has been searching for (“be concerned about appearances”). After Kei reads it from the screen, Ali receipts it in lines 29 and 30, saying “oh, yeah, we do too”, which indicates that he hears Kei’s turn in line 28 as the completion of the turn that has been on hold since line 7. “We do too” is grammatically and pragmatically reacting to the first part of that turn (“sometimes Japanese”) and the subject is not apparent from the turn segment in line 28 alone.

In short Kei’s smartphone has augmented his limited English by allowing him access to a phrase that he was not able to produce by himself. In order to do this though, Kei had to divide his attention between his talk with Ali and his involvement with the phone. At times he delayed his turn-in-progress to allow for the slower action of looking up the word, while at other times he suspended his talk in order to focus on the look-up in silence (Raymond & Lerner, 2014), meaning his simultaneous involvements had become consecutive actions that were delicately intertwined to accomplish the eventual outcome. Moreover, this was not simply an individual act of multi-tasking but an integral part of the social interaction that took place between the two participants. On seeing that Kei was looking up the word, Ali refrained from any significant interaction that may have interrupted the look-up and his timely uptake

when Kei eventually formulated the turn ending show that he had been monitoring Kei's embodied action as he searched for the word in his smartphone.

The word search does not stop there. In line 32 Kei reformulates “concerned about appearances” to “how they look”, a simpler turn construction that appears to have come from his own knowledge of English rather than from something he has read from the screen. He then repairs this to “how they were looked”, combining it with a hand gesture that seems to adapt its meaning to “how others look at them”. The smartphone, and the dictionary app therein, have thus provided Kei with an interim formulation that he is able to use as a stepping-stone to an explanation of his own.

Abandoning the use of the smartphone in a repair sequence

In cases like those in Excerpt 1 the smartphone was used to support communication in searching for a word (forward-oriented repair), but at other times it also became a tool for checking the meaning of an unknown word that the other speaker had used (backward-oriented repair). What is common to both cases though, is that the orientation to the smartphone necessitates multiple involvements as the look-up of the word is timed within the ongoing interaction. Consider Excerpt 2, in which Kei has difficulty understanding Ali's pronunciation of the word “flood”.

Excerpt 2: T6 19:28 “Flood”

01 Ali there is town in Japan da:t (.) ma:ke uh (.)
 02 |anti:: (0.3)
 03 |((raises both hands then drags them down))
 04 anti: >fluud.=anti-flod=you know flot?<



05 Kei flod, no.

06 Ali |flod is a: (.) |wahta,= |waht↑aa

→ |((reaches for phone))|((swipes)) |((taps))



07 (.) become bigg↑er and [(mater)]

08 Kei [wahtaa] wahtaa.

09 °what is fluud.°

10 Ali hold on

11 Kei |mm

|((looks to Ali's phone then back to his own))

12 |(2.0)

|((both looking at their phones))



13 Kei |a:::h

→ |((pushes his phone across table))



14 Ali did you find it?

15 Kei °nahhh°

16 (0.8)

17 Ali ef, |(1.3)

|((Ali looks to Kei))

|((Kei looks to Ali's phone))



18 |ef

|((drops phone, draws F on table with finger))



19 [fee]

20 Kei [ef ef]

21 Ali ((singing)) ♪ay bee see dee ee ef?♪

22 [ef.]

23 Kei [no] I know

24 Ali ef |el, (0.2)

|((gaze to Kei))

25 Kei e1,

26 Ali oh, (0.2)

27 Kei mm.

28 Ali oh |dee.

→ |((glances at Kei's phone))



29 (0.2)

30 Kei flod. |fluud? huh? |flah-

|((looks away, head to side))

|((looks to phone, tapping))

31 Ali °fl[od°]

32 Kei [|no] I don't know about it.

|((tapping phone))

33 Ali → |can you find it |in::?

|((Kei looks to Ali))

|((Ali points to Kei's phone))



34 |(1.2)

|((Kei touches phone))

|((Ali glances at Kei's screen))

35 Ali °oh no yeah° >that's okay if- <
36 there is- fluud is just like, (0.9)
37 remember, katori:na, katori:na,
38 Kei yeah.
39 (0.7)
40 Ali kuh-trina?
41 Kei hurricane
42 Ali >yeah kuh-trina hurricane<=so there's
43 water, that coming, so big.
44 Kei |mmhm
|((nods))
45 Ali now that's a flod so,
46 |(0.3)
|((Kei shifts gaze to phone))
47 Ali an::d, it makes hou:se full of (0.2) water:,
48 |(.)
|((Kei nods))
49 Ali it's a flod.
50 |(.)
|((Kei nods))
51 Ali it's a disaster.
52 (0.2)
53 Kei yeah
54 (0.7)
55 Ali there is- I don' know there's a-
56 >(°how you say perfectly)<

- 57 but I forgot what is it- °
- 58 I read it in in English (magazine)
- 59 Kei |uhmm
- 60 |((looks to phone))
- 61 Ali but in j- (.) they said in jakarta,
- 62 Kei y[eah]
- 63 Ali [you] should make like that.
- 64 be↑cause in jakarta there's a flood
- 65 ev- every- every ye:ar.
- 66 Kei flood? you mea:n:,
- 67 Ali flood.
- 68 |(0.7)
- |((Kei turns to Ali))
- 69 Kei ef eI oh oh dee [(°I think°)
- 70 Ali [yeah.
- 71 Kei yeah |I think (I know)=[I see.]
- |((looks to smartphone))
- 72 Ali [flood.]

In this sequence, the word “flood” becomes a trouble source for Kei. Ali first uses it in line 4 but as part of a multi-morphemic unit “anti-flood” whose meaning is not readily apparent from the context. Moreover, Ali uses three separate pronunciations of the word in rapid succession, indicating he himself is not sure of the correct one. In response to a first pair part from Ali, in line 5 Kei claims he is unfamiliar with the word, occasioning a brief explanation in line 6 from Ali while he reaches for his phone and turns it on. After Kei initiates further repair, making it clear that the trouble source is *flood* and not *water*, in line

10 Ali gives a quick request for Kei to “hold on”. This affords Ali a moment of silence in which he presumably begins to look up the word on his phone. During this time Kei’s gaze is oriented toward his own phone, and at line 12 Ali can normatively understand Kei to be searching for the word flood by inputting it in English and reading the Japanese. What Ali is doing at this point is not entirely clear—he may be looking it up in an English dictionary app (which would give him an explanation in English) or he could be inputting it into Google Images in order to show Kei a photo of a flood. Whatever the case, Ali seems to be orienting to this look-up as a joint exercise at this point, in that he begins to look at his phone just as Kei does. However at line 13 Kei produces a sigh-like token and brushes his phone away, and in the next turn Ali interprets this as a potential indication that Kei has found the meaning of the word, saying "Did you find it?" (line 14). In fact it appears instead that Kei has given up his search, as evidenced in line 15 by his negative response to Ali’s confirmation check.

One reason Kei may have given up his search at this point is that he was unable to spell the unknown word, and therefore unable to input it into the phone. In the ongoing talk Ali orients to this as the reason behind Kei’s action, spelling out the word from lines 17 to 28. To do so though, requires Ali to momentarily put his own search on hold. He begins to spell the word with the first letter in line 17, but Kei does not provide any receipt of this and his gaze instead is focused on Ali’s phone, potentially displaying an orientation to it as the source of what Ali is saying. Ali treats this as an inapposite alignment, placing his phone on the table as he repeats the letter “f” in line 18 and draws an “f” on the table with his finger. This series of embodied actions effectively signals to Kei that Ali’s projected course of action does not involve the phone, and he has therefore momentarily suspended his involvement with whatever he was looking up. After this they collaboratively spell the word “flood”, Ali reciting each letter and Kei receipting them through repetition (Svennevig, 2004). Once the full word has been spelled out, Ali looks to Kei’s phone (line 28), projecting as a relevant

next action Kei's return to the look-up he aborted in line 13. However, after a brief moment of silence, in line 30 Kei makes it clear that he still does not understand the word, pronouncing it in three different ways before making a direct claim to a lack of knowledge. At this point he is touching his phone, not in a purposeful manner but what seems more as a sort of idle *digital knitting* (McGregor, Brown & McMillan, 2014), and although he is tapping the screen his gaze makes it clear that he is not looking up the word at this point.

In line 33 Ali self-selects to initiate a designedly incomplete turn that is hearable as a request for Kei to look up the unknown word in his phone. Ali's purpose in spelling out "flood" then has apparently been to enable Kei to input the word, and therefore find its Japanese equivalent. For whatever reason though, Kei does not treat the spelling sequence in that way, and does not immediately move to a look-up sequence. Instead he looks to Ali in line 33 then goes back to idly touching the screen, demonstrating an apparent misalignment between the two speakers. At this point Ali glances at Kei's screen, perhaps seeing that whatever is on there is not relevant to the current conversation, and instead takes a different tack, initiating an extended explanation that involves examples (lines 37, 42), reformulation (lines 51), repetitions of the target word (lines 45, 49), descriptions (lines 42-43), and use of the word in context (lines 58-69). Ultimately, it is this explanation, and not the use of the phone, that is successful in re-establishing intersubjectivity in this instance, with Kei eventually providing evidence of his understanding by saying the word *flood* in line 66. Note that when Kei produces the word, he does so with relatively "standard" English pronunciation and Ali quickly adopts that pronunciation in next turn, despite the fact that he has been saying *flod* throughout his explanation of its meaning.

This excerpt provides evidence to suggest that the use of the smartphone is one possible interactional resource, but it is only one of many potential strategies and can be abandoned for a variety of reasons. Moreover, when two people both have access to

smartphones in conversation, the potential exists for both of them to temporarily break from the talk to consult their phones in a kind of technology-oriented *schisming* (Egbert, 1997; Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974); in multi-party talk, schisming happens when four or more interactants split one conversation into two or more smaller conversation by momentarily directing talk on different topics to sub-groups within the party, but what seems to be happening in the current talk is that the speakers attention is temporarily directed toward the technology instead of each other. When this happens at a point where the meaning of a word has been identified as a trouble source, either the speaker or the recipient or both can look to their phones to provide the solution to the repair sequence. In this case, Ali initially oriented to Kei's observable behavior as duplicating his own search for the word, but once it became apparent that it was in fact unrelated Ali took responsibility for explaining the word without the use of the phone.

After the conversation in Excerpt 2 wound down and Ali had successfully communicated his intended meaning to Kei, a similar instance emerges in which Kei first looks up a word in his smartphone but then abandons the results of that search in favor of his own explanation.

Excerpt 3: T6 20:21 "Murmur"

01 | (3.3)
 | ((Kei looking at his smartphone))
 02 Ali °° (my pronunciation is wrong) °°
 03 (3.0) + |(0.2)
 | ((Kei glances to Ali then to phone))
 04 Kei w(h)hat |are yo(h)u ta(h)lking ab(h)out
 | ((turns to Ali))

- 05 |by .hhh you e(h)very, (0.2)
|((hand to mouth, talking gesture))
- 06 |every time hhh y(h)ou d(h)o th(h)at. heh heh
|((looking at phone, taps))
- 07 Ali ya:h sometime my pronunciation go wrong.
- 08 |(0.3)
|((Ali taps phone))
- 09 Kei yeah |but ↑umm |(0.4)
|((turns to Ali))|((looks to Ali's phone))
- 10 Kei |u::↑m I think that's not good=
|((looks back to own phone))
- 11 =|>heh heh heh< .hhh
|((looks to Ali))
- 12 because |yeah
|((Ali looks to Kei))
- 13 (.)
- 14 Kei |umm tch=
|((looks to phone))
- 15 Ali =ih-
- 16 Kei |umm (0.3) you do s- you always do so:me
|((tapping and scrolling phone))
- 17 .hh umm:: (0.5) like uh after we::
- 18 °cut off° |the conversation, umm tch
|((scrolling and tapping,
gaze on phone))
- 19 (.) you:: (0.4) do >just a moment please<

- 20 you: do: like um::: (0.8) yeah you sometimes
- 21 say um something hhh and (0.8)
- 22 |u:::m |(0.5)
- |((shakes phone))
- 23 Ali |((leans to Kei's phone, clicks fingers))
- 24 Kei yeah. marmur >heh [heh heh]<
- 25 Ali [marmur?]
- 26 what does that mean. marmur?
- 27 (0.8)
- 28 Kei yeah ah |munology?
- |((Ali screws up his nose))
- 29 (.)
- 30 Kei [heh heh]
- 31 Ali [munology] what what.
- 32 (0.8)
- 33 Kei °em mm°
- 34 |say something by yourself
- |((Kei looks to Ali, Ali sits back))
- 35 Kei but I think that is not goo:d,
- 36 Ali |°uhuh?°
- |((raises brow))
- 37 Kei >heh heh heh< be↑cau:se >yeah<

This excerpt of talk carries on from directly after Excerpt 2, in which there has been an extended misunderstanding about the word “flood”. Recall that part of that misunderstanding stemmed from Ali’s mispronunciation of the word and part of it was

attributable to the fact that Kei was dividing his attention between the talk and whatever he was reading on his smartphone. At the start of this transcript there is an extended silence in which Kei is still reading from his phone and Ali adjusts his posture so that he is somewhat physically withdrawn from where the interaction has been going on. In line 2 he delivers a barely audible turn while looking toward the ground, and as it turns out this seems to be orienting to the just-prior incident. His seemingly self-addressed talk appears to be expressing dismay over the fact that he was not able to make himself understood. In line 3 Kei glances briefly at Ali and then back to his phone, perhaps due to the unexpected and prolonged lapse of talk. This brief glance is sufficient time in which to notice, however, that Ali is muttering to himself, and in lines 4 to 6 Kei makes this behavior accountable by asking “What are you talking about? Every time you do that.” Note that this turn is laughed-through, and Kei delivers it with a mitigating stance, but extreme-case formulations like “every time” help establish it as hearably on the way to a complaint.

However, Kei’s “that” in line 6 (“every time you do that”) is an indexical that has only been vaguely stipulated at this point, and it appears to lead to another brief instance of misalignment. In next turn, Ali makes public the content of his inaudible talk from line 2, via a self-deprecating negative assessment (line 7, “sometime my pronunciation go wrong”). According to Pomerantz (1984), self-deprecations are normatively met with disagreement from recipients, but what happens in this case is just the opposite, with a weak agreement from Kei followed by another negative assessment of Ali’s actions, making Kei’s complaint or criticism more direct. The root of this misalignment seems to be in the two participants’ differing interpretations of the word “that” (line 6) at this point in the talk. Ali seems to understand it to mean “poor pronunciation” (the content of what he was saying in line 2) while Kei evidently meant it to be the observable manner in which Ali has just delivered that content (i. e., muttering it to himself), as becomes evident in the ongoing talk.

Having received an unexpected response, Ali looks to Kei as Kei launches into an account for his criticism (line 12). That account, however, is delayed as Kei initiates an insertion sequence in which he uses the dictionary app on his smartphone to search for a word as part of his explanation. The Japanese word he is looking up appears to be *hitori goto* (“talking to oneself”),¹ and between lines 14 and 23, Kei delays the progressivity of the turn in order to accommodate the look up by using sound stretches, hesitation markers, partial repetitions, silence and a direct appeal to the listener (“just a moment please”). While this is going on, he is visibly engaged in the business of the look up, tapping and scrolling on the phone and focusing his attention toward it. In line 22, Kei shakes the phone, perhaps indicating that an answer has appeared on the screen. Ali then leans in so that he can read Kei’s phone. In line 24, Kei reads what is apparently the first definition on the screen (“murmur”) but when Ali does not recognize that word (as evidenced by his other-initiated repair in lines 25 and 26), Kei gives an alternative definition “monology” (line 28), which is likewise incomprehensible to Ali (line 31). This leads Kei to abandon the smartphone and instead opt for his own formulation, “say something by yourself” (line 34) and this is ultimately the most successful version, since Ali displays that he understands it (by sitting back in his chair and no longer initiating repair) and allows Kei to return to his point of departure—line 35-37 “But I think that is not good because” is a repetition of lines 10-12, the point at which the look-up word search sequence began. Therefore, even though the smartphone-based repair did not provide a useful solution to the word search, it ultimately helped lead the participants to arrive at their own explanation with the language they already had available to them.

¹ Exactly what appears on Kei’s smartphone screen is not available via the video recording, but examinations of the word *hitori goto* in similar online dictionaries come up with English equivalents that include the words “monology” and “murmur”, which are both words that Kei reads from his screen. The only other possible candidate word he may have been looking for would be *butsu butsu iu*, but a search of online dictionaries came up with the translation “murmur” but not “monology” for that word.

Using a photo to clarify meaning

The final excerpt explores an instance of smartphone-mediated interactional repair in which the solution involves recourse to not a dictionary app but a photo. Aaltonen, Arminen and Raudaskoski (2014) have used CA to examine digital photograph sharing in mundane talk where one of the participants is aphasic, a situation that holds some parallels with the current data set in that both aphasics and L2 speakers are communicatively challenged, although in very different ways. Aaltonen *et al* find that sharing digital images supports communication through multimodal means, lessening the participants' need to rely on talk as the means of communicating the message.

Although the data do not allow a complete view of the participants' phone screens, in this case it is safe to assume that the photo comes not from the speaker's camera but via an Internet search, such as through Google Images, since the topic of the conversation involves a public figure that was in the news at around the time the recording was taken.

Excerpt 4: T6: 2:08 "corruptor"

Ali has been telling Kei about an Indonesian friend of his who is enamored with Japanese culture.

01 Ali he is very respect japanese people. why?
 02 Kei | [°mm°]
 | ((nods))
 03 Ali [bec]ause japanese people↑
 04 | (0.6) never surrender↓ in world war two.
 05 | ((shakes head))

06 just l[ike what I slay.

07 Kei [a : : : h]

08 Ali they↑ |keep fighting,
|((shakes fist))

09 Kei [mm]

10 Ali |[kee]p with honor.
|((shakes fist))

11 (0.2)

12 Ali |and when he: (0.2) saw that
|((pointing over Kei's shoulder))

13 crying corruptor = w'shisname.

14 (0.4)

15 Kei crying corrotor. what is it.

16 Ali corruptor.



17 |(0.2)

|((Ali reaches for his phone))



18 Kei corruptor. what i(h)s i(h)t,=

19 =\$[I don't] know [about it].\$

20 Ali [people] [|people] who stole

|((turns on phone, taps keys))



21 somebody's money

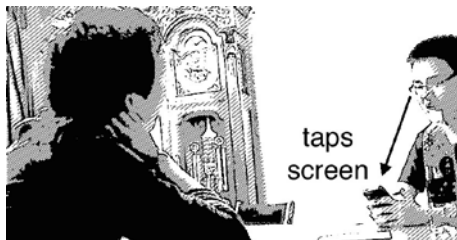
22 (0.4)

23 Kei |°°mm°°

|((nods))

24 Ali |but- politically.

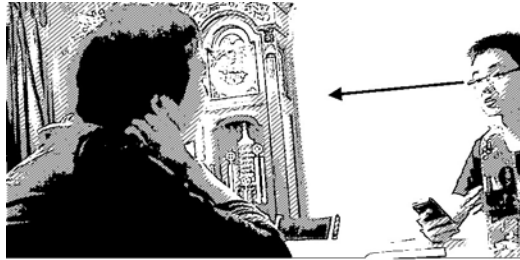
|((gaze on phone, tapping screen))



25 (0.8)

26 Ali |corruptor.

|((looks up to Kei))



27 Kei I don't know it,

28 Ali mm:

29 Kei sorry |ehh heh heh

|((Ali looking at screen))



30 (.) .hhh (0.6)

31 Kei really sorry. heh ha ha

32 Ali |>that's okay that's okay.<

|((looking at screen))

33 |(3.5)

|((Kei looks at Ali, Ali looks at screen))



34 Ali |heh (.) it.

|((shows phone to Kei))



35 | (0.7)

|((Kei looks at phone))

36 Kei |AAh! ah.

|((Kei points finger at screen, nodding))

37 |okay

|((Kei stands, points again))

38 |o(h)kay ah HAH!

|((walks off))

39 o|kay!

|((clap))

40 Kei ha I remember it. okay heh-hn

41 (.)

42 Kei .hh heh heh nonomura. ya.

43 Ali yeah

44 (0.4)

45 Ali °hoo hoo°

46 (0.5)

47 Ali yeah

48 |(0.3)

|((Kei returns to table))

49 Ali he's very- he couldn't-
 50 | (0.7)
 | ((Kei sits, Ali puts phone on table))
 51 got no- nonomura [is a] bad man
 52 Kei °[yeah]°
 53 Ali he's also respect=why?
 54 (0.8)
 55 Ali | shame.
 | ((puts hand to chest))
 56 | (0.6)
 | ((Kei nods))

In this sequence Ali is telling Kei about an Indonesian friend of his and in lines 1-10 he provides an account for that person's respect for Japanese culture. In line 12 he begins a new TCU that is grammatically formulated as the beginning of a storytelling, "and when he saw that crying corruptor." At this point Ali locates a trouble source in his own talk, self-initiating repair with "what's his name?" (line 13) and therefore inviting participation from Kei in the search for a name for some as-yet unidentified person. However, in next-turn (line 15) Kei orients his talk not to the name of the person but to the ambiguous referent "crying corruptor".

In short, Ali's repair initiation is met with another repair initiation from Kei, and this constitutes the beginning of an insertion sequence that focuses on the word "corruptor". Rather than try to explain the word corruptor, Ali uses his phone to access a picture of the person he is talking about, a Japanese politician who was caught embezzling public funds and

made a very incoherent and exaggerated apology at a press conference in 2014. In response to Kei's repair initiation in line 18 ("corruptor, what is it?"), Ali initially offers his own spoken repair solution (lines 20-24: "people who stole people's money, but politically"), but even as he is saying this he is also diverting his attention to his phone and is beginning to search for a photo of the exact politician he wants to talk about at this point of his story--in other words the referent that equates to his initial formulation "that crying corruptor" (lines 12-13), which is also the trouble source of the current repair sequence. Apparently though this explanation is insufficient for Kei and he receipts it with a claim of inadequate knowledge (line 27) followed by a multi-part apology (lines 29-31), during which Ali's attention is still mainly focused toward the smartphone and it appears that this multiple involvement leads Kei to fill in the gap of silence with additional talk (the upgraded apology in line 31). After a quick acknowledgement of the apology from Ali (line 32), a 3.5 second silence ensues in which Ali's attention is focused solely on the smartphone. Finally, after that he appears to have found the picture he was searching for and holds it up for Kei to see. After Kei has looked at the screen (line 37), he lets out an animated two-part change-of-state token (line 36), the first seemingly acting as a visceral response cry (Goffman, 1978) and the second functioning more as receipt, as evidenced by the turn-final falling intonation. Kei simultaneously displays his recognition of the person in the image through multimodal means, by pointing at the screen and nodding vigorously. He follows this action with a kind of upgraded reprise of the same action, in which the multiple "ah" tokens are formulated with several renditions of the less linguistically ambiguous receipt token "okay" and are accompanied by a change of posture and proximity (he stands and walks away) and a loud clap that signals Kei has finally understood the referent. This receipt becomes increasingly grammatical until it is formulated in a sentence in line 40. In lines 36 to 40 therefore, Kei displays recognition of the image, but not the name of the politician therein. Conceivably this

multi-part delivery of uptake also serves to give him time to recall the person's name, and indeed he delivers this in line 42, thus playing a part in co-accomplish the word search.

This then is a form of repair that uses the smartphone not as a dictionary but as a conduit to an image that will provide a more specific referent. It is not just any "corruptor" that Ali is referring to in this sequence, but a particular Japanese politician who was in the world news at that time. Although the image of that person was recognizable due to his highly publicized press conference, his name was not well known, even to Japanese people. Showing a picture then, was an effective means of dealing with a gap in Ali's lexical knowledge, and the smartphone was an expedient tool for accomplishing that. Ali maintained the talk-in-progress while beginning the search for the image and slotted the photo into the talk at the earliest point it became available. Unlike in earlier excerpts, he did not announce his look up with a request for time such as "wait a moment" (Excerpt 1, line 17), but instead simply began the search while maintaining his explanation of the problematic word. This seems to indicate that the participants' use of the smartphone as a tool for clarifying mistakes and filling gaps in their English has become established as a sanctioned element of the local peer culture that is emerging through their social interaction.

Concluding discussion

In peer cultures where English is used as a *lingua franca*, the smartphone can become an affordance for maintaining intersubjectivity. By providing quick access to lexical items and relevant images, smartphones allow second language users to circumvent gaps in their linguistic knowledge and therefore reestablish communication in the face of interactional challenges. In short, smartphones are physical objects that participants can draw on as resources for making meaning (Hazel, 2014).

Smartphones have become firmly entrenched within the peer culture of teenagers in various contexts across the globe. Young people who are particularly adept at using smartphones can often slip them seamlessly into conversation, enacting interactional repair and therefore progressing the topic. This chapter has revealed some of the ways that participants manage multiple involvements between continuing (or delaying) the talk and manipulating the smartphone in order to come up with a relevant item to contribute to the talk. We have seen that the talk can either continue or be put temporarily on hold while they consult dictionary apps and search engines, and that these multiple involvements become issues that the participants must manage in real time in order to balance manipulation of the smartphone with the interaction between each other. On some occasions, the smartphone is abandoned before it provides an adequate result, but this does not necessarily mean it was without merit. The speaker may eventually arrive at their own solution to a repair sequence while (or after) consulting the smartphone, but the look-up sequence affords them time and often interactional resources for coming up with their own solution, which may in fact be more comprehensible to their interlocutor (as was the case in Excerpt 3).

These practices are by no means limited to young people or to second language speakers alone. However, the data in the present study has shown that at least some such people rely on smartphones to augment their *lingua franca* English, and are able to do so effortlessly while maintaining a conversation. In doing so, these participants were also able to develop their friendship, through a growing understanding of each other's interests, personalities and abilities. In the earlier recording (T1), recourse to the smartphone as a communicative resource was often heralded by a pre-sequence announcing the smartphone use, such as by asking for permission or requesting the other participant to wait (e.g., Excerpt 1, line 17), but in the latter recording three weeks later (T6), these pre-sequences were absent, demonstrating the participants' growing familiarity and acceptance of multiple involvement

with the smartphone as a normative part of their lingua franca interaction. In accepting it as normative, we see can see the reification and of an interactional practice that enables multilingual young people to establish and develop their friendships.

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OTHER TRANSCRIPTION SYMBOLS

- An arrow in the transcript margin draws attention to a particular phenomenon the analyst wishes to discuss