Formulation Practices in Interaction: Some Procedures and Context-bound Features

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Formulation Practices in Interaction:

Some Procedures and Context-bound Features

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Abstract

Most of the things we do in our lives are done through interaction. Conversation analysis (CA), a sociological approach to (inter)action, aims to explicate what we do in interaction and how we construct social institutions in interaction. The first project of CA is sometimes called 'pure' CA, in that it primarily explicates the procedures of participating in interaction, while in recent years a form of 'applied' CA has also emerged, whose aim is to investigate how these procedures can be applied to specific instances of social institutional talk. Currently, both 'pure' and 'applied' CA are becoming increasingly diverse, including the analysis of cross-cultural communication, second language talk, bilingual interaction, and varieties of talk in institutional settings. Within the 40-year history of CA, however, one of the generic procedures we routinely carry out in interaction across settings has not been adequately studied: the practice of formulation.

Formulation refers to a particular way of turning a referent (e.g. an object, a concept, a state of affairs, an act) into an observable-and-reportable phenomenon, such as a word or behavior. The study of formulation practice is an important part of CA, both 'pure' and 'applied' in that formulation practice is a generic practice we do in interaction and a speaker's choice of a particular formulation is normatively sensitive to the situational (social, institutional) context as well as the local sequential contexts. While a number of studies have been done on *what* is achieved by a particular formulation;, they do not account for *how* and

*why (*or *for what)* the formulation is selected among plausible formulations of a same referent. Only very recently, a few studies have investigated participants' practices for selecting formulations in interaction.

This dissertation aims to explicate the local and situational accomplishment done by a participant's practice of selecting a specific formulation and general procedures of such practices in form and content of expressions in interaction, which encompasses not only word selection but also action formulation. The data for the analysis is comprised of three types of interaction: EFL classroom talk, OPI role-play interaction, and Q&A sessions during international scientific conference presentations. Chapter 4 examines the notion of *priority* as a formulation procedure and discusses its value as a method of doing interaction through the analysis of first-language speaking teachers' actions in English as foreign language classrooms and the testers' repair practice in OPI role-plays. In addition, the chapter discusses the necessity of taking into account the objective of interaction in order to understand a formulation practices. Chapter 5 turns the focus towards *discursive taxonomy* and investigates the formulation procedures of *generalization* and *scaling* through the analysis of several examples of first-language speaking teacher and students' interaction in EFL classrooms. The chapter also considers the intelligibility and effectiveness of a formulation in relation to the participant's identity. Chapter 6 examines presenters' selection of formulations at a pre-second position after a question in the Q&A sessions at international scientific conference presentations. This chapter investigates the relationship between the formulation

practices and construction of knowledge in interaction.

This CA study contributes to the understanding of one of the most fundamental aspects of our social life, that is, interaction. In addition, the study fulfills the classic project of sociology, that is, to understand the relationship between the social actor and the society s/he lives in. Although the study does not predict any formulation in the diverse social organizations according to a positivistic stance, it does aim to provide an account for participants' actual interactional practices from their own, participant-relevant, i.e., emic perspective. The careful observation of natural interaction helps us to recognize the reality of EFL classroom talk, OPI role-plays, and Q&A sessions and provides important insights into will be reflected in teaching practice, course design, and material development.

日本語要旨

我々が日々の暮らしの中で行うことのほとんどは相互行為の中で行われる。（相互）行為の社会学である会話分析（Conversation Analysis: CA）は、我々が相互行為の中で何を行なっているか、そして相互行為を通してどのように社会制度を構築するか、の２点の解明を目的としている。相互行為での参加手続き・方法の解明を主とする前者のような CA は「純粋な」CA と呼ばれることもある。同様に、そういった一般的な相互行為のやり方が社会制度的会話にどのように応用されるかということの解明をはかる後者を近年、「応用」CA と呼ぶことがある。現在、異文化間のコミュニケーションや第二言語での会話、二言語併用者の相互行為、種々の制度的会話の分析がなされており、「純粋」及び「応用」CA の両者とも多様となってきている。しかしながら、CA の 40 年の歴史の中で、相互行為の中で状況によらず日常的に行われている一般的な手続きの中で十分に研究されていないものが１つある。それは形式化の実践である。

形式化とはモノやコンセプト、心的状況、行為などの指示対象を言葉や振る舞いなど可視聴化できる現象に変える方法である。形式化の実践を探ることは「純粋」、「応用」のいずれの CA においても重要である。なぜなら形式化の実践は相互行為における普遍的手続きであると共に話者の特定の形式の選択は規範的に（社会、制度）といった状況・環境そして連鎖構造といった文脈に依拠するからである。これまでに特定の形式が何を成しているかという研究はなされてきているものの、「なぜ」そして「どのように（何のために）」、特定の同じ指示対象の他のあり得る形式からその形式が選択されたのか、ということには答えていない。ごく最近になりようやく、いくつかの研究が相互行為における参加者の特定の形式の選択（形式化の実践）について調査を始めたばかりである。

本博士論文は参加者の特定の形式選択の実践が相互行為の局所及び状況において何を達成しているか、及び言葉の選択だけでなく行為の成形も含んだ形式化の実践に普遍的な方法はあるのか、の 2 点の解明を目的とする。分析に用いるデータは EFL 教室コーパス、OPI ロールプレイコーパス、科学工学系国際学会発表質疑応答場面コーパスの３つからなっている。第４章は形式化の実践における優先性という概念を調査し、英語授業における母語話者である教師の行為及び OPI でのロールプレイにおける試験員の修復行為の分析を通して優先性の相互行為における方法としての価値を議論する。さらに、形式化の実践を理解するためには相互行為の目的を勘案することの必要性を議論する。第５章では談話タクソノミーに焦点を当て、英語授業における教師と学生の相互行為の分析を通して、一般化及び尺度化という形式化実践の手続きを探る。また、特定の形式化の明瞭さと効果について参加者のアイデンティティーとの関係から議論をする。第６章は質疑応答場面における発表者の質問を受けた後の前返答部分の形式化の選択を調査し、知識と形式化の実践の関係、相互行為における知識の構築について議論を行う。

本博士論文は社会生活の中の最も根本的なものの１つである相互行為の理解に貢献する。さらに、本研究は行為者と社会の関係を解き明かすという社会学の古典的な取り組みのを成し遂げるものである。本研究は実証主義的な立場から多様な社会構造における形式化の実践を予測するものではなく、参加者に関連付けた視点、つまり内的な視点より参加者の相互行為での実践に説明することを目的としたものである。相互行為の詳細な観察は英語授業での会話や OPI ロールプレイ、質疑応答場面でのやり取りの実際の有り様の認識を可能とし、教育実践やコース設計、教材開発などに反映することのできる洞察を与えるものである。

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1 Introduction

1.1 Background

Many of the things we do in our lives are achieved through interaction. From ordinary conversation like talking with a friend to institutional talk such as participating in a meeting or learning in a classroom, the activities we engage in are conducted through the medium of interaction. It is in and through interaction in our daily lives, social institutions, and societies that our worlds are implemented. It is not an exaggeration to say, therefore, interaction is "the infrastructure for social institutions, the natural ecological niche for language, and the arena in which culture is enacted" (Schegloff, 2006, p. 70): in fact, Schegloff believes interaction is the "primordial site of sociality" (1996b). The discipline that studies the fundamental role of interaction for society is Conversation Analysis (CA).

CA, a sociological approach to (inter)action, aims to explicate how we talk to each other and how we construct social institutions in interaction. For over 40 years, CA has examined the "procedural infrastructure of interaction" (Schegloff, 1992b, p. 1338) with some of the key practices including, turn-taking, action sequences, repair organization, and preference organization. Central to the approach is its focus on the situational context-sensitive applications of those context-free mechanisms. We normatively orient to the social institution in which interaction is conducted and thereby constructs the social

organization as a reality-for-participants manifested in interaction. The first project of CA is sometimes called 'pure' CA, in that it primarily explicates the procedures of participating in interaction, while in recent years a form of 'applied' CA has also emerged, whose aim is to investigate how these procedures can be applied to specific instances of institutional talk. Currently, both 'pure' and 'applied' CA are becoming increasingly diverse. Recent CA literature includes studies of cross-cultural setting (Nguyen & Kasper, 2009; Sidnell, 2009), first-language and second language speakers interaction (Mori, 2003; Hosoda, 2006; Gardner & Wagner, 2004), bilingual interaction (Auer, 1984, 1998; Gafaranga, 1999, 2007; Gafaranga & Torras, 2002; Wei, 2002; Greer, 2008; Torras, 2005;), interaction with aphasia patients (Goodwin, 2004), and interaction in a variety of other institutional settings, such as medical conversations (Heritage & Maynard, 2006). Within the 40 years history of CA, however, one of the generic procedures we routinely carry out in interaction across settings has not been adequately studied: the practice of 'formulation.'

Formulation refers to "a particular way of naming or describing an object, situation, conversation, idea, etc. (in other words, a referent)" (Bilmes, 2008, p. 198). In other words, a formulation is a particular way to turn a referent (e.g. an object, a concept, a state of affairs, an act) into a publicly observable-and-reportable phenomenon such as word or behavior. While some CA and ethnomethodological studies have used the term 'formulation' to refer to what is achieved by a participant's *re*-formulation of what has been said by the others in interaction (e.g. Garfinkel & Sacks, 1970, Heritage & Watson, 1979), this study is primarily

concerned with how and what is accomplished by a participant's 'selection' of a particular formulation among multiple formulations, including both the original formulation and *re-formulation,* of the same object and objective. It is important to note also from the start that this study is also not about formulaic expressions, such as 'I want to + verb' or 'I am going to + verb' which might be the object of study in corpus linguistics. Rather, the study is about a speaker's choice in interaction: when we participate in interaction, as speakers we choose specific styles and contents of expression from a range of other possible ways of formulating the same referent. A practice of formulation "is a choice from among a number of alternative ways of identifying or describing the referent or producing the conversational action" (Bilmes, 2011, p. 134). We can call the same person 'Mike', 'Professor Richards', or 'the guy on the second floor'. To take an even broader approach, we can formulate the same referent in different languages within a conversation—e.g., in English, 'this band's music really hits Canadians' and in Japanese, '*kono band no ongaku sugoku kanadajin no kokoro ni hibiku*'. Moreover, it is possible to achieve the same action, such as repair-initiation, for example, by questioning such as 'what did you say?' or through being silent after an interlocutor's utterance in interaction. It was argued more than 30 years ago that the study of formulation is a matter of social members' "efficien[t use] of language as a resource in interaction," and the analysis of "the way alternative available formulations of objects allow[s] the exploitation of members' analytic skills to accomplish a fundamental feature of everyday, organized social life" (Schegloff, 1972, p. 117). So, a practice of formulation is no

less the object of the CA project, which is "describing and explicating the competencies which ordinary speakers use and rely on when they engage in intelligible, conversational interaction" (Heritage, 1984 b , p. 241).

In fact a number of CA studies have investigated the issue of formulation: for example, there are studies on person/place references (e.g. Schegloff 1972, 1996a; Sacks and Schegloff 1979; Levinson 2007; as well as the collection of studies in Enfield & Stivers, 2007): on extreme case formulations (e.g. "best", "always", "nothing") (e.g. Edwards, 2000; Pomerantz 1986; Sidnell 2004); on event description (e.g. Edwards, 1994, 1997); and on display of epistemic authorities (e.g. Heritage and Raymond 2005). However, while what is achieved by a specific formulation is discussed, those studies do not address the issue of how and why the particular formulation is selected instead of other possible alternatives.

Only recently have there appeared studies that specifically address the issue of social members' *practices* of formulation: that is to say, these studies investigate not only what is accomplished by a specific formulation but also how and why it is selected over the other possible ways. Stivers (2007) examined the practice of *marking* in person reference; Bilmes (2008, 2009a, 2009b, 2011) explicated the techniques of *generalization* and *specification* and *contrast* and *co-categorization* in choosing linguistic expressions; Hauser (2011) studied the *generalization* practice of membership categories; and Deppermann (2011a) investigated the practice of *notionalization* of descriptions of events. By investigating not only *what* is achieved by the practices of formulation but also *how* and *why* they are practiced, these

studies revealed the tactical nature of the members' selections and the reflexivity between a particular formulation in the local sequential context and the macro-level contexts such as institutional roles, so-called identity, genres of talk (Deppermann, 2011b).

The study of the members' practice of formulation is an important part of CA, both 'pure' and 'applied', in that formulation is a generic practice we do in interaction and a speaker's choice of a particular formulation is normatively sensitive to the situational (social, institutional) context as well as the local sequential context (Bilmes, 2008, 2009a, 2009b, 2010, 2011; Deppermann, 2011a; Hauser, 2011). Hence, further research on formulation should be conducted.

1.2 Aim and Scope

Bilmes posed the following question that the analysis of formulation practice should address: "What is the significance of speaking [as well as identifying, describing, and producing] of a matter in a certain way rather than in some other way?" (2008, p. 194). The answer will explicate the general properties of a formulation practice across types of interaction as well as the achievement of specific formulations within specific types of interaction. Although the examination of the way participants formulate referents in interaction in single instances will find some properties of formulation practices and their relationship to the social situation, in order to answer the above question fully a study needs

to analyze formulation practices in different types of interaction. The focus of this dissertation is to investigate social members' practices of formulation in interaction in several settings to explicate the procedures of selecting particular formulations of referents and the interactional effects accomplished by a particular choice of formulation in the specific situation.

The types of interaction examined in this dissertation include English as foreign language classroom interaction taught by first-language (L1) English speaking teachers, role-play task interaction in English oral proficiency interviews (OPI), and question and answer (Q&A) sessions at international scientific conference presentations in which English was used as a *lingua franca*. The formulation practices that this dissertation aims to describe are not simply a matter of reference, such as person or place references, but a broader concept that involves a speaker's choice in describing and/or accomplishing a particular referent or action, such as 'what is trash.' vs. 'trash *tte douiu imi*?', or 'did you do anything to the stain?' vs. 'did you try to wipe it or clean it up or do anything?' These examples actually appear in the data explained in this dissertation and they would have different values in the specific moment in particular types of interaction; they would also have some equivalent properties across interactional settings.

While "practice of formulation" refers to a speaker's (or formulator's) particular selection from multiple expressions of a same referent, the speaker's intention or intended meaning when he or she produces a specific formulation is not considered in this dissertation;

rather the study is agnostic about such psychologically motivated matters in favor of accounting for what actually appears in interaction as social action. While the current study uses the term "tactics," it does not ask about the social member's intention in their heads; instead, the tactical nature of a member's practice is accounted for according to what it achieves after it is executed in a sequence of interaction. In other words, whether or not the member intends to exert rhetorical force on the interaction when he or she chooses a particular formulation does not matter, but instead if rhetorical force is actually exerted on the interaction by the choice regardless of the member's intention in his or her head, the choice is said to be tactical. In interaction, intentionality is retroactively constructed by the members engaged in the interaction. Therefore, the notion of *tactics*, which seems to presuppose intention, is also a members' concept in interaction. By the same token, the study does not aim to test any *a priori* hypothesis of established models in linguistics or macro-sociology: instead, it is primarily concerned with the description of the participants' actual formulations as they appear momentarily as turns in actual sequences of inter-action.

1.3 Overview of the Study

In short, the study aims to explicate (1) the local and situational accomplishment done by a member's practice of a specific formulation and (2) general properties of the practice of selection in form and content of expression in interaction, a focus which encompasses not

only word selection but also action formation. Following an account for the methodology I have used and a description of the data for this study in Chapter 2, I will review the literature on formulation in Chapter 3. The next four chapters will discuss the study's findings.

Chapter 4 examines the notion of *priority* as a procedure of formulation and discusses its value as a method of doing interaction through the analysis of first-language (L1) speaking teachers' actions in English as foreign language (EFL) classrooms and testers' repair practices in OPI role-plays. In addition, the chapter discusses the necessity to take into account the objective of interaction to understand a formulation.

Chapter 5 turns the focus towards *discursive taxonomy* and investigates the formulation procedures, *generalization* and *scaling*, through the analysis of several examples of first-language speaking teacher and students' interaction in EFL classrooms. The chapter also considers the intelligibility and effectiveness of a formulation in relation to a participant's identity.

Chapter 6 examines presenters' selection of formulations at a pre-second position after a question in the Q&A sessions during international scientific conference presentations. This chapter investigates the relationship between the formulation practices and construction of knowledge in interaction and concludes with a discussion of the tactical nature of formulation practices.

Finally, in Chapter 7, I will discuss the significance of the findings and provide some implications for second and foreign language teaching and learning.

1.4 Significance of the Study

This CA study contributes to the understanding of one of the most fundamental aspects of our social life, that is, interaction. In addition, the study fulfills the classic project of sociology, that is, to understand the relationship between the social actor and the society s/he lives in: the reflexive relationship between interaction and the social institution is manifested through the participant's particular practice of formulating a referent in a specific type of interaction. Although the study does not predict any formulation in the diverse social organizations according to a positivistic stance, it does aim to provide an account for participants' actual interactional practices from their own, participant-relevant, (i.e., emic) perspective. An in-depth understanding of participant's actual formulation in the interaction in EFL classrooms, OPI, and Q&A sessions from an emic viewpoint is also informative for the fields of second language teaching and learning, teacher training, testing, tester-training, and English for Specific Purposes (ESP). This close investigation of actual, unscripted L2 talk should also be informative for teaching practice, course design, and material development for the fields of foreign language education.

2 Method and Data

2.1 Method

2.1.1 Conversation Analysis (CA)

As outlined in Chapter 1, this dissertation employs Conversation Analysis (CA) as its methodology. CA is a structural analysis "done by reference to contextual features, especially sequencing, and to conventional understandings and procedures" (Bilmes, 1988b, p. 161). The purpose of CA is to explicate the mechanism (not psychologically but socially) that produces and explains individuals' actions in interaction. Social mechanisms of interaction, or in other words social structures of interaction, do not exist as governing rules of interaction, but they reflexively construct and are constructed by individuals' competent methods of engaging in interaction. In other words, CA aims to account for individuals' ability to accomplish socially ordered action in interaction (Heritage, 1984b). The detailed transcription employed in CA is a way for getting at such individuals' methods of interaction: it makes visible the individual's orientation to detailed features of sequences of interaction as publicly displayed cognition (Schegloff, 1991a).

The analytical strength of CA as a methodology is in its emic or *radically*-emic approach. The notion of "emic" in CA is different from the *mentalist emic* approach practiced in contemporary ethnographic studies. CA's *non-mentalist emic* approach (Markee & Kasper,

2004; See also Duranti, 1997; Silverman, 2006) is closer to Pike's original idea, "the emic viewpoint results from studying behaviors as from inside the system" (1967, p. 31). As a structural analysis, CA examines the meaning of a participant's[1] action in interaction in terms of its location in the sequence organization of interaction (Bilmes, 1988a). At each turn in a sequence, participants display their orientations and relevancies through the conduct of their talk. As an example, it is worth considering the explication Bilmes (ibid., pp. 34–35) performed on the following excerpt from Schegloff (1984):

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1   B:  He says, governments, an' you know he keeps- he feels about
        governments, they sh- the thing that they sh'd do is what's
        right or wrong
2   A:  For whom
3   B:  Well he says- [he
4   A:                [By what standard
5   B:  That's what- that's exactly what I mean.
```

A is a radio talk show host and B is a caller who is discussing his history teacher's opinions. B treats A's "For whom" as a question by producing an answer in the turn that follows it. A cuts in with "By what standard" at an incomplete point in B's turn. In the next turn, B understands that A's utterances in lines 2 and 4 were not questions or a challenge to him, but a reformulation of his argument and therefore were more like agreement. This example

[1] By "participant", I mean a participant in any given conversation whether current speaker or not. "Member", if used in the plain form without any modifiers, indicates a member of any given society who has mastered the natural language of the society (cf. Bilmes, 1988a).

shows that the meaning of a turn (or turns) is emicly determined in relation to the surrounding turns in a sequence and publicly displayed in interaction. CA achieves the emic viewpoint not by interviewing the participant, but by investigating "participant orientations, relevancies, and intersubjectivity, [which] are not treated as states of mind that somehow lurk behind the interaction, but instead as local and sequential accomplishments that must be grounded in empirically observable conversational conduct" (Markee & Kasper, 2004, p. 495).

In order to explicate these emic viewpoints, every CA study presents transcripts of recorded data, as mentioned earlier, and analyses of these transcripts are transparently visible. This means that readers can directly access the analysis and follow the researcher or challenge him/her. However, it should be noted that such a challenge needs to again demonstrate the participants' own viewpoint. For instance, if a reader thinks that any analysis of the data of this dissertation is a case of "gender talk", he or she must show that the participants' demonstrably orient to their genders in the interaction; otherwise, such an analysis is an imposition of the reader's own etic perceptive on the data (see Schgeloff, 1991b on "procedural consequentiality"). The fact that the analyses of the data are publicly available to any reader promotes the reliability and (internal and construct) validity of CA studies (Peräkylä, 1997; Seedhouse, 2005). Of course, the fact that the participants themselves would not talk of terms such as adjacency pairs, interactive footing or interactional competencies, does not mean that the analysis is not based on the participants' emic viewpoints. What the

participants do is that they *exhibit*, *implement*, and *display* those actions and competencies in interaction. The terms for analysis are simply a way to talk about the participants' orientations (Schegloff, 1999, note 8).

CA's emic approach provides a guiding question for analyzing interactional data, and can be embodied in the question, *why that now*? Asking *why that utterance is produced now in that sequential location* leads to an interpretation of the meaning of the utterance in relation to the previous turn(s). At the same time, the meaning of the previous turn is also made visible in relation to the subsequent turn(s) as grounds for the occurrence of the subsequent turn (Bilmes, 1985). The practice of finding the meaning of an utterance in relation to the surrounding turns is called the *next-turn proof procedure* (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974), which is the methodological strength of CA.

In addition to the detailed transcription approach, another CA practice should be clarified is the use of previous studies. Readers with no CA background, especially those with a positivistic stance, would be likely against any citation of previous studies in the analysis or finding section, but maintain instead that that should be solely done in a literature review section. However, this is not a review of literature, but an explication of an analytical point including the findings of previous studies: this practice of employing the findings of literature in the analysis/finding section to better understand a point is standard in CA studies. CA is in an hermeneutic discipline aiming not to predict the outcome of an experimental analysis (nomothetic discipline) but to understand the (intersubjective) reality of an event (e.g.

interaction) (Markee, 1994). This difference leads to different styles of analysis and writing of that (and also the "findings") section.

So far I have explained that the meaning of an utterance is discovered by investigating the surrounding turns. In other words, the *sequential context* of interaction is the primary context that is considered as relevant to participant's conduct of interaction from a CA perspective. This is because the sequential context is the context that is immediately available for participants. Situational factors about the interaction, such as a participant's role in the situation, a participant's identity, and the aim of the interaction, are taken into account only when they are made relevant by the participants themselves and therefore become *procedurally consequential* (Schegloff, 1991b) for the interaction. That is to say, when a participant him/herself orients to a situational factor and invokes it within interaction in a visible manner as a feature of turn or sequential organization, the situational factor is considered as relevant to the interaction: it is not the researcher but the participants who determine which situational factor is relevant to the interaction.

Accordingly, the generality of an interactional procedure is not determined by a collection of samples collected from a variety of types of interaction; rather, as the primary context in which the target procedure is enacted is the sequential context, samples of the same sequential pattern are necessary to claim the generality of the target procedure. One of the most well-known CA findings, the *turn-taking system* explicated by Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974), is a good example. The turn-taking system explains how speakership change occurs among participants in interaction

due to their approximation of the following rules: (1) turn-taking occurs when a turn reaches a transition relevant place (TRP), and (1a) if the current speaker selects another as the next speaker at a TRP, the next turn goes to the person selected, or (1b) if a next speaker is not selected, another participant may self-select and take the next turn, or (1c) if another participant does not self-select, the current speaker may self-select and continue the turn; (2) these rules (1a-1c) hold for any next TRP. The rules (1a-1c) are ordered: that is, rule 1b may apply only when rule 1a is not in play and rule 1c may apply only when rules 1a and 1b have not been enacted. While the system was proposed as the generic procedure for taking turns in ordinary conversation, the data analyzed by the authors cannot be glossed as *ordinary* conversation in terms of the situation as they were from types of interaction in specific situations such as talk in group therapy sessions. The ordinary-ness of the procedure was insured by an analysis of cases of interaction with the same sequential patterns, not by a collection of so-called ordinary conversation. The sequential context of interaction, or *talk-in-interaction*, is the "primordial site of sociality" (Schegloff, 2006, p. 70) in which social members employ procedures to accomplish socially ordered interaction.

At the same time, talk-in-interaction is the locus in which members make relevant situational contexts and therefore construct social institution. As mentioned earlier, however, to claim that a participant enacts a situation or social institution in talk-in-interaction, the researcher has to point out that the social institution is visibly oriented to and made relevant to the procedures of interaction by the participants themselves. Following Schegloff's instruction of *procedural consequence* (1991b), CA studies that aim to examine the "procedural infrastructure of

interaction" (Schegloff, 1992b, p. 1338) do not usually provide lengthy background explanations about situations in which the talk took place, at least at the beginning of the analysis. However, whether or not a participant's orientation to a situational factor is visible actually depends on the researcher's knowledge of the situation. Moreman (1988) pointed out that, in its early stage, CA was exercised by North American researchers with North American conversation data for North American readers, so the analysis of participants' methods was actually based on the researchers' tacit knowledge of the situations in the data. If any data from another culture is analyzed, it will require information about the situation for both the researcher and the reader to interpret its sequential organization. Echoing Moreman (1988), Bilmes (1996) also proposed information about the situation in which the data were collected is necessary in order to realize participants' *seen but unnoticed* orientation to situational factors in talk-in-interaction. This argument is related to the issue of incorporation of *membership categorization analysis* into CA.

2.1.2 Membership categorization analysis

CA is sometimes referred to as *sequential analysis,* as opposed to *membership categorization analysis* (MCA), a related-but-separate focus within the broad field of ethnomethodology. MCA aims to explicate categorization order in both conversational interaction and written text. As with the so-called sequential analysis, MCA was also founded by Harvey Sacks (1972, 1992). It is said that he seemed to be trying to integrate both sequential analysis and

MCA (Housley & Richard, 2002); however, after his passing in a traffic accident at an early age, most of Sacks' colleagues and followers pursued the path to develop only sequential analysis. As a result, sequential analysis has been commonly identified as CA. However, MCA has also been practiced as a distinctive approach for discourse analysis (e.g. Jayyusi, 1984), and recently it has been advocated that both approaches can and should be integrated in order to fully explicate the social mechanism of interaction (e.g. Hester & Eglin, 1997; Watson, 1997).

To be more specific, MCA's goal is to analyze how a particular category is discursively produced in a particular situation and what the person is accomplishing by invoking it in that situation (Kasper, 2009). The point of MCA is that it is based on a member's normative understanding of category and categorization. Sacks argued that categories are *inference rich*: that is to say, "a great deal of the knowledge that members of a society have about the society is stored in terms of these categories" (1992, vol. I, p. 40). Therefore, MCA directs its focus on the member's normative inferential order for category and categorization (see, for example, Silverman, 1998; Lepper, 2000).

One of the key analytic features of MCA is known as the *membership categorization device* (MCD). When one recognizes a person is a member of some category, one uses an apparatus to reach such recognition, and the MCD is one such apparatus. An MCD is composed of a collection of categories and some rules of application. A collection is comprised of categories that go together (Schegloff, 2007b): for example, the collection *Nationality* is a set that includes categories such as [Canadian/Japanese]; the collection

School is a set that includes categories [Teacher/Student]; the collection *Stage of Life* is a set of [Baby/Child/Adolescent/Adult].

Sacks (1992) suggested some general rules that need to be in place in order for an MCD to be activated, i.e., to be recognized as a collection of categories. One of the rules is the *economy rule*: "[a] single category from any membership categorization device can be referentially adequate" (vol. I, p. 246). That is to say, while multiple references can be applied to a person simultaneously, one reference is enough to make relevant the person to a collection: for example, referring to a person as [Canadian] is adequate to invoke the collection [Nationality], which may then become relevant for others in the conversation. Another rule is the *consistency rule*: "If some population of persons is being categorized and if a category from some [membership categorization] device's collection has been used to categorize a first Member of the population, then that category or other categories of the same collection *may* be used to categorize further Members of the population" (Sacks, ibid., p. 246, original emphasis). That is to say, if two or more category terms are used to categorize two or more persons, they are identified as members from the same collection. For instance, if one of the persons is referred to as [Canadian] and then another is referred as [Japanese], they are normatively identified as categories *derived from* the same collection, that is, [Nationality]; and if such reference is made, we do not normatively associate them as members of other collections, such as [Family], even though they may in fact belong to the collection [Family] as [Husband] and [Wife], unless those category terms are used.

Sacks offered further details of the consistency rule on how it is enacted in actual occasions. We are to hear two or more categories as from the same collection when they are used to associate two or more individuals with the categories. Sacks called this normative interpretive mechanism upon hearing category terms as the *hearer's maxim*. However, categorization is not only done through words such as [teacher], [student], [Canadian], [Japanese], [old man], or [girl]. A person's actions can also become a device which indexes a category associated with the action. For instance, in a classroom if a person starts to call the roll, she is soon recognized as the teacher of the classroom, because the act of taking the roll call in a classroom is normatively associated with the category [teacher]. Sacks offered his *viewer's maxim* to explain the fact given in this example: "If a member sees a category-bound activity being done, then, if one can see it being done by a member of a category to which the activity is bound, then: See it that way" (1992, vol. I, p. 259). With the development of MCA, category-bound activity has become considered as one of the indications of the individual's category; "rights, entitlements, obligations, knowledge, attributes and competencies" (Hester & Eglin, 1997 p. 5) as well as activities are *category predicates* which can conventionally be associated with and index an individual's membership in a category (Watson, 1978).

That being the case, how and for what purpose is categorization practiced in actual episode of talk? The following conversation (adapted from Sacks, 1992, vol. I, p. 461) between the participants at a group therapy session in the mid-60's in the U.S. illustrates some salient points.

Segment 2.1 (adapted from Sacks, 1992, vol. I, p. 461: 'Ther' is a therapist)

```
1   Ken:   Did Louise call or anything this morning?
2  Ther:   Why, did you expect her to call?
3   Ken:   No, I was just kind of hoping that she might be able to figure
4          out some way of coming to the meetings. She did seem like she
5          wanted to come back.
7   Ther:  Do you miss her?
8   Ken:   Oh, in some ways, yes. It was nice having the opposite sex
           in- in the room, ya know, having a chick in here.
10  Roger: ((sarcastically)) Wasn't it nice?
11  Ken:   In some ways it was I really can't say why, but it was.
```

Sacks points out the change in the references from "Louise" (line 1) to "opposite sex" and "chick" (line 9) in Ken's utterances (cf. Sacks, 1992, vol. I, pp. 461-466 and pp.597-598). The shift works effectively to evade any unfavorable inferences: the first he succeeds in forestalling is that his concern about her is personal, and the second is that it could be construed as an offense to the other participants. If Ken referred to Louise's intelligence and said "it is nice having someone smart in the room", for example, it would be offensive to the other participants and may cause an argument. "Opposite sex" is a safe categorization in that all the participants in the room are male and so it leaves no room for argument. Through the invocation of the MCD, [gender], which is one of the relevant features about Louise, Ken's verbal orientation to the categories "opposite sex" and "chick" manages to dodge unfavorable

implications. The next example adopted from Sacks (1992, vol. I, p. 205) also displays a categorization work.

Segment 2.2 (adapted from Sacks, vol. I, p. 205)

How did he feel knowing that even with all the care he took in aiming only at military targets someone was probably being killed by his bombs?
"I certainly don't like the idea that I might be killing anybody", he replied. "But I don't lose any sleep over it. You have to be impersonal in this business. Over North Vietnam I condition myself to think that I'm a military man being shot at by another military man like myself".

This is an extract from a newspaper (New York Times) report of an interview to a soldier who went to the Vietnam War in the mid-60's. To the journalist's question, the soldier replied what he did in the war is not "killing anybody", but a business that he has to "be impersonal" as a [military man] being a target by another [military man] of Vietnam. By categorizing himself as a [military man] and teaching its CBA is to "be impersonal". This categorization provides justification of his action in the war being asked by the journalist, that is, bombing and possible killing of non-military Vietnamese, and also prevents him from being trapped in the moral issue regarding "killing anybody". As seen in this and previous examples, categorization is one of the routine practices social members make use of in interaction.

According to Schegloff (1992a, 2007b), however, Sacks gradually shifted his attention from categorization aspects to sequential aspects of talk, such as turn-taking, repair

organization, and preference organization. Schegloff (2007b) argued that the reason for the switch is that Sacks found MCA weak as a method: he argued that MCA imports and imposes common-sense knowledge on data, which does not resonate with the participant's emic viewpoint. In other words, the analysis is not based on the next-turn proof procedure; therefore MCA is actually not an analysis, but simply an analyst's own etic opinion.

Carlin (2010) countered Schegloff's argument on MCA claiming that Schegloff's critique on MCA is based on Sacks' original work, most of which were about written texts and therefore cannot be insured by the next-turn proof procedure. However, after Sacks, MCA has been developed and currently most of MCA studies are intertwined with sequential analysis. For example, Greer (2008) documented how bilingual speakers' repair to a sequentially backward turn by changing the medium of interaction (Japanese to English and vice versa) cast the recipients into the category of "non-native" within conversation at an international school in Japan. Although the data in Greer's study could be analyzed without an MCA perspective as an instance of backwards-oriented repair (cf. Schegloff, 1979), it would not fully explicate the interactional mechanism that produced the speakers' bilingual practice. So, sequential analysis and MCA can and should be integrated so that we can reach a deeper understanding of a participant's action in interaction.

While most of the current research studies employing MCA focus on person category such as gender (e.g. Stokoe, 2000, 2003, 2006, 2008, 2011), native/non-nativeness of language (e.g. Egbert, 2004; Hosoda, 2006; Park, 2007), and institutional roles (e.g. Austin,

Dwyer & Freebody, 2003, MäKitalo & SäLjö, 2002), it seems that Sacks did not intend to limit MCA's focus to such so-called identity category/categorization. His analysis of the following excerpt of a telephone conversation between a social worker (A) and a man who has been reported to the police with regard to a marital dispute for a marital problem (B) illustrates this point.

Segment 2.3 (adapted from Sacks, 1992, vol. I, p. 113)

(1) A: Yeah, then what happened?

(2) B: Okay, in the meantime she [wife of B] says, "Don't ask the child nothing." Well, she stepped between me and the child, and I got up to walk out the door. When she stepped between me and the child, I went to move her out of the way. And then about that time her sister had called the police. I don't know how she . . . what she. . .

(3) A: Didn't you smack her one?

(4) B: No.

(5) A: You're not telling me the story, Mr B.

(6) B: Well, you see when you say smack you mean hit.

(7) A: Yeah, you shoved her. Is that it?

(8) B: Yeah, I shoved her.

Sacks' aim with this excerpt was to describe an "'inference-making machine' … [by which a member] can deal with and categorize and make statements about an event it has not seen" (ibid., pp.115-116). A does not know what actually happened to cause B's sister-in-law to call the police. However, A concludes that B is not telling "the story" which is a warrant for B's

sister calling the police. Sacks claimed that A's knowledge about the notion of a family problem and the person categories of "wife", "the child", and "wife's sister" are being employed to make a logical inference. That is, A knows that if (a) it is a family quarrel, and (b) the guy was moving to the door, then (d) the police came, then, there should be a (c) which logically links (b) and (d). In other words, something is not being fully told in this account. Sacks concluded that A's knowledge as a member of the society in which this conversation takes place is an inference-making machine. What is important is that although Sacks was not explicit, it is apparent that his analysis or claim about the inference-making machine is based on A's (interactionally performed) knowledge about the semantic categories of "move", "smack", "hit", and "shove".

To define MCA as the study of members' inferential mechanism of category and categorization practice in general leads to a better understanding of interactional order in talk. The explicit inclusion of semantic category and categorization into the scope of the analysis of talk-in-interaction is what Jack Bilmes aims at in his series of studies on *formulation* (2008, 2009a, 2009b, 2010, 2011). His paper "Taxonomies are for talking" (2009b) is actually a re-analysis of the Sacks' excerpt above between the social worker and the man. In the paper, he proposes that "[c]oncepts, manifested as words or expressions … in relation to other concepts" constitute a "structured field of meaning" (p. 1600). Through this viewpoint, Bilmes advances MCA not only with the inclusion of semantic category/categorization but also with a more explicit account for the participant's selection of a word or expression (i.e. a

formulation) in the actual conversation. The word *formulation* is employed in order to encompass semantic and identity category/categorization and also to capture un-categorical relationships between words/expressions, namely, their partonomic relationship. Further details about Bilmes' work and how his concept of formulation is different to category/categorization will be kept for the discussion in the next chapter, however it should be noted here that the present study follows the perspective on category/categorization advocated by Bilmes. Therefore, for example, if oriented to by the participants as such, the collection *Canadian culture* may have categories *Canadian band* and *Canadian movie* as its members in a conversation and may further imply a counterpart collection *Japanese culture* which has *Japanese band* and may comprise an MCD *inter-culturally*.

To summarize, currently CA is made up of a variety of analytic emphases. On one hand, CA is meant as a solely sequential analysis; on the other hand, many studies have begun integrating sequential analysis and MCA. In this dissertation, I pursue the latter path and use the word CA as a project that aims to explicate interactional order which is produced as inter-twined sequential and categorization mechanism, which produces and accounts for the participant's formulation practice.

2.2 Data

This dissertation is based on data comprising of three types of interaction:

teacher-student interaction in English as foreign language (EFL) classrooms, role-play interaction in an English oral proficiency interview (OPI), and interaction during the Q&A sessions of presentations delivered at an international scientific conference. These data were chosen for the study because they have concrete objectives: namely, teaching English, testing English, and discussing the contents of the presented studies. The analysis of the participants' formulations in the three types of interaction will suggest how formulation is related to the context of interaction. In order to come up with the findings I have compiled an extensive corpus of each type of interaction.

2.2.1 The EFL classroom corpus

The EFL classroom corpus is composed of audio-recordings of 900 minutes of classroom interaction in EFL classrooms in a Japanese university. Four types of classrooms were recorded: an intermediate communication and writing class (270 minutes); a semi-intermediate communication and writing class (180 minutes); an intermediate communication class (360 minutes); and an intermediate writing class (90 minutes). The teacher of the first two classes, Derek (a pseudonym), is a first language (L1) English speaker (Canadian) who has lived in Japan for more than 10 years and worked as a teacher of English in a variety of schools. Derek has the level 1 certificate of the Japanese language proficiency test and he is in his late 30s. The teacher of the intermediate-communication and

intermediate-writing classes, Ethan (again a pseudonym), is also an L1 English speaker (American), and has lived for more than 30 years in Japan. He is in his 60s. The students are all L1 Japanese speakers. There is no foreign student who speaks Japanese as a second language (L2) recorded in this data.

In each classroom, the teachers are supposed to use the target language, English, as the medium of instruction according to the class syllabi. The teaching approach in all the classrooms can be said to be communicative (Richards & Rodgers, 2001). In the intermediate communication and writing class and the semi-intermediate communication and writing class taught by Derek, each classroom is composed of two activities: a group discussion and textbook work. In the group discussion, two to four students work in a group for 15–20 minutes to discuss two questions posed by the teacher. During the students' discussion, the teacher always played music. After the in-group discussion, the teacher asked the questions to each group. The representative of each group answered the questions. In the textbook work, the teacher asks the students to do the assignments on English grammar and TOEIC listed in their textbooks. In the answering session, the students again formed groups with the same students from the discussion time. After that, the teacher checked the students' answers. The representative of each group again answered the questions. The representative of the groups changed each class. In the intermediate-communication class taught by Ethan, two class sessions (180 minutes) were spent on an in-class speaking test and the teacher's feedback session. In the speaking test, a pair or a group of students talked about given topics for 10

minutes. The topics were given to the students in the previous class, but they did not know which topic would be selected in the test. The teacher decided which topic the students should talk about at the start of the test. After the 10-minute test, the teacher gave feedback to each student, mostly on his or her grammar. In the intermediate-writing class, the classroom activities included reading a newspaper article and writing an opinion on the article. The students' writings were supposed to be submitted for an in-house writing contest. In another class, the students made a one-minute presentation. In every class, the researcher observed the activities in the classrooms and took detailed ethnographic notes.

2.2.2 OPI role-play corpus

The OPI role-play corpus is comprised of role-play activities from an English oral proficiency interview conducted in Japan for the purpose of testing candidates' general English-speaking proficiency.[2] The oral interviews are authentic high-stake tests whose results are used by corporations for decisions on employees' career advancement and overseas posting.

The candidates were all adult first language speaker of Japanese. Fifty were female and 21 were male. The eight interviewers were all first language speakers of English who were certified after being trained by the administrator of the OPI. Of the eight interviewers,

[2] For the confidentiality of the test, the name and the details (e.g. the level of each task) which lead to the disclosure of the test cannot be specified.

three were female and five were male. In each of the OPI, the interviewer and the candidate interacted with each other. The interview was organized into the following general components: candidate's self-introduction, interviewer-led interviewing sequence, role-play, and interviewer-led interviewing sequence. In the interviewing sequence, a news-telling task was usually requested: in the task, a candidate was asked to tell a recent news story that he/she found interesting. The interviews were between 20 and 25 minutes in length.

The aim of the role-play task was to gather evidence to determine the candidate's English-speaking proficiency in the domain of pragmatic ability, such as requesting, complaining, making arrangements, which were difficult to observe in the interviewing sequence. In each role-play interaction, the interviewer and the candidate played the given roles, which were specified by a role-play task card. The interviewer selected a card and then instructed the candidate what to do. Instructions were written in both English and Japanese, and after the interviewer read out the instruction on the card, the card was passed to the candidate. The role-play task was chosen according to each candidate's proficiency level, which was temporarily decided during the course of other tasks that were conducted prior to the role-play section. The role-play activity serves as another piece of evidence to determine the candidate's proficiency. When a candidate's performance in a role-play was strongly beyond or under the temporal estimation of his/her level, another role-play was sometimes conducted to examine the candidate's appropriate proficiency level. Besides one candidate who was tentatively rated as level 3 (general professional proficiency) according to the test

criterion, in all cases, the candidates' proficiencies were temporarily estimated as either proficiency levels 1 or 2 (i.e. elementary or limited working proficiency levels) and the candidates were consequently given role-plays tasks from those levels.

The 71 role-play interactions comprised 19 different tasks. The beginning and the ending points of a role-play activity were decided based on the participants' orientations to these points. That is, the starting point was considered to be when the tester announced or proposed that he/she would conduct a role-play activity; the ending point was considered to be when the participant performed any action that was recognized as the ending point, such as collecting the role-play instruction card, announcing that the role-play was over, or asking an ostensibly irrelevant question about the role-play activity. In all 71 cases, these transitions were made by the interviewers.

2.2.3 Q&A session corpus

The Q&A session corpus is composed of video-recorded data of 41 Q&A sessions of scientific presentations at an international scientific conference held in Japan in which 204 research studies were presented over four days. The participants of the conference came from 22 countries and regions. Each presentation had a 12-minute presentation part and a 3-minute Q&A session. In the presentations, English was used as lingua franca. Of the 41 data, all the presenters were English as second or foreign language speakers except for one presenter.

The presentation sessions had four types of participants: the presenter, the

chairperson, the audience, and in several cases the co-author(s) of the presenter. Each had different roles in the sessions. A typical Q&A session started after the presenter explicitly displayed his or her gratitude to the audience, usually by saying "thank you". After the presenter's gratitude, the chairperson reciprocates by extending his gratitude and the audience applauds the presenter. During the applause the chairperson announces that the Q&A session will begin with a turn such as "now the paper is open for discussion". The chairperson's solicitation of a question from the audience follows. Then, when an audience member shows that he or she has a question through some kind of embodied action such as a raised hand, the chairperson allocates him a turn to initiate a question to the presenter. If there is no question from the audience, the chairperson asks a question to the presenter. Then, the presenter replies to the question. In some cases, a co-author replies instead of the presenter, particularly when the presenter seems to be having trouble in answering. The chairperson also helps clarify the content of the question posed by an audience member when he sees that the presenter does not appropriately comprehend the meaning of the audience member's question. After a question-and-answer sequence between the audience member and the presenter ends, the chairperson either solicits another question or announces that the Q&A session is closed.

The data were transcribed according to standard conversation analytic conventions (see Appendix 1). Appendix 2 summarizes the data in a table-format. The consent forms distributed to the participants of the data are summarized in Appendix 3.

3 Literature Review on Formulation Studies

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter explained the methods and the data used in the current study. This chapter explains the background to the project of this dissertation. After a review of some of the earliest CA studies on formulation, some more recent studies on members' formulation practices will be discussed. Finally, this chapter concludes with an explanation of the value of the current study and its analytical objects.

Before moving onto the first section of the review, however, it is necessary to confirm the definition of 'formulation' that will be used throughout the current study. As touched upon briefly in the first chapter, within CA and ethnomethodology the term *formulation* has been given a variety of meanings: on the one hand, formulation refers to what is achieved by a participant's *re*-formulation of what has been said by the others in interaction (e.g. Garfinkel & Sacks, 1970, Heritage & Watson, 1979; van der Houwen, 2009). Nakamura (2010), for example, examined how the teacher's re-formulation of a student's utterance in the previous turn gives the student an opportunity to extend the talk on the topic provided by the student's initial turn. However, in the current study, the term *formulation* is not used to refer to the practice of re-formulation; instead, it is used to refer to a particular way of turning a referent (e.g. an object, a concept, a state of affairs, an act) into an observable-and-reportable

phenomenon, such as a word or behavior. Therefore, for example, a whole turn can be a formulation if it is considered as a signification of a single concept; at the same time, a certain part of a turn can be said to be a formulation if it signifies a single object. To this end, *formulation* in this study refers to both the *original* formulation and *re*-formulation of the same object and objective. In other words, the study is essentially concerned with the question of word-selection in interaction; why and how a speaker puts something one way instead of another, and the consequences that can hold for the ongoing interaction.

3.2 Studies of a particular formulation

To date, a number of studies have investigated the issue of (original) formulation of a referent. One such study is Schegloff (1972), which investigated a type of formulation, namely reference formulation. In interaction, when a participant refers to a place, he or she can formulate it in multiple ways: for example, when describing the place where he or she currently is, the speaker can choose to say "our usual spot", "the tea shop in Kitayama street", "Kyoto", or "Japan". Schegloff (1972) investigated general properties of such place formulation in ordinary conversation among first language English-speaking Americans. His major finding was that there are two types of formulations for places: one is 'geographical (G)', such as a street address, and the other is 'related to members (Rm)', such as "Yuri's home", or even "*the* shop". When the hearer is not a stranger but a member of the same group, the speaker orients to a 'preference' in place formulation: that is, Rm over G (p. 100).

Several studies have investigated the same object from this perspective: that is, preference organization in reference formulation (e.g. Levinson, 2007; Sacks & Schegloff, 1979; Schegloff, 1996a). What is common to these studies is that they explain the formulation of a reference in terms of the shared knowledge on the references between the speaker (or *formulator*) and the hearer. In other words, these studies examine preference in formulating person/place references in relation to *recipient design*. The term recipient design refers to "a multitude of respects in which the talk by a party in a conversation is constructed or designed in ways which display an orientation and sensitivity to the particular other(s) who are the co-participants" (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974, p. 727). When referring to a person, if the name of the referred-to person (e.g. Charles) is shared by the participants in the conversation, the name is normatively preferred for use and therefore *unmarked* as opposed to, say, a description such as "the guy on the second floor". The design of reference form shows the speaker's orientation to the recipient who shares the reference form with the speaker. If "the guy on the second floor" was selected, the choice could not be said to be recipient designed and would therefore be *marked*.

Preference organization is seen in the formulation of social members' responding turn construction after an assessment by interlocutors. Through the investigation of various conversational data, Heritage and Raymond (2005) found that members construct certain formats of responding turn (e.g., [repetition of a component of the previous assessment turn +

agreement]) in order to negotiate who has the primary right to assess an object while trying not damaging the 'face' (Goffman, 1967) of the interlocutor.

Pomerantz (1986) and Sidnell (2004) examined extreme case formulations (ECFs): that is, expressions such as "never", "always", "everywhere", "zero" and "nobody". Pomerantz (1986) associated ECFs with the formulator's accounting behavior for the action he or she is performing. See the following excerpt from a conversation between two women on the reason why C is selling fruitcakes in halves instead of as whole cakes.

Segment 3.1 (Adapted from Pomerantz, 1986, p. 223)

```
C: Anyway I'm u ha- uh what I'm having to do to people I know is cut
   them up and sell them -hhhh uh a pound and a half for a dollar sixty five.
M: Oh you're doing that,
C: -hhhhhh Well I'm doing it to the few people that I know because
   ever'time I say three twenty five they look at me like "hh (.) you must
   be nuts woman.
```

In accounting for the reason, C uses the ECF "ever'time" (every time). "Every time' is a device for indicating how something should be regarded, namely, as not dismissible" (Pomerantz, ibid., p. 224). So, by employing an ECF in this case, C is suggesting that the (prospective) customers' negative reaction to the price if she sells the fruitcakes in wholes must be taken into consideration. Conversely, she is also implying that selling the fruitcakes as halves is the result of the consideration. At the same time, C is attempting to elude any

possible unfavorable ascription of her way of selling the fruitcakes, since the reason for selling the cakes in halves should be attributed to the customers who react the same way 'every time'.

Through her analysis of this and other conversational data, Pomerantz points out that members employ ECFs in order to "(1) to assert the strongest case in anticipation of non-sympathetic hearings, (2) to propose the cause of a phenomenon, (3) to speak for the rightness (wrongness) of a practice" (1986, p. 227). Sidnell (2004) applied Pomerantz' perspective on ECFs to one type of institutional talk, namely inquiry testimony interaction, and found that a participant who is asked questions about an incident can use ECFs in order to dodge the responsibility of the case.

It should be noted that Pomerantz' (1986) analysis of ECFs is based on one of the member's cultural knowledge, namely, conventional semantic meaning of language. She did not analyze how ECFs are oriented to in interaction. Edwards (2000) criticized Pomerantz' stance on the meaning of ECFs, insisting that the meaning of ECFs is essentially indexical and what is extreme should be a member's concept, rather than the analyst's literal interpretation of the word or phrase. He focused instead on what the members are doing and oriented to as doing through their use of such formulations. The segment below is an example of ECFs oriented to as such by the interactants.

Segment 3.2 (Adapted from Edwards, 2000, p. 362)

```
1     C:   She's been very he:lpful
2          (0.2)
3     L:   Oh: ↓good. An' she's ↑comp'ny for you isn'[she.
4     C:                                             [Oh she i:s
5          Ye[s.
6     L:     [Grea↑:t [↓comp'ny.
7     C:              [Definitely ye[:s.
8     L:                            [Mm[:n.
9     C:                               [Ye::s,
```

C and L are giving affiliative assessments to the referent ("She" in line 1). The ECF "Definitely yes" appeared in C's turn in line 7. C and L are escalating the assessment to the referred-to person with "very helpful" (line 1) and with "great company" (line 6) through the assessment-response adjacency pairs. While other plausible formulations such as "absolutely" or "the best" would be possible for assessing a person, they seem inappropriate in the sequential and rhetorical context paved by the assessment-response adjacency pairs, which is about "the *certainty of the assessment* rather than of the qualities being assessed" (p. 362, original emphasis). "Definitely yes" accomplishes the extremeness in this interaction-specific sequential and rhetorical context: it is not that the semantic property of "definitely" achieves the extremeness in a straightforward manner in the context.

Through the analysis of a variety of other conversational data, Edwards found that ECFs are employed to indicate members' psychological investments, such as a caring, critical

attitude, onto the item of interaction at the point in the talk they are participating in. In addition, they are also used to exercise metaphorical forces for emphasizing actions, such as teasing, being ironic, or joking. Members in interaction did not interpret ECFs as being used in their literal sense, but rather they treated ECFs as rhetorically extreme in order to achieve the above functions in a specific sequential and rhetorical context.

Edwards has investigated another area of formulation from the same perspective. His study on *script* (Edwards, 1994) examined the interactional and rhetorical nature of participant's formulation of event description. In his study, he aimed to advocate the primacy of situated-ness in the members' description of events to the cognitive theory of script (e.g., Schank & Abelson 1977; Schank, 1982; Nelson, 1981). The cognitive script theory claims that when a person perceives an event he or she automatically understands the event according to schemas that he or she has and makes a report or acts based on an automatic cognitive mechanism. For instance, the well-known restaurant script (Schank & Abelson, 1977) consists of roles (e.g. customer, waiters, chef, cashier), a goal (i.e. to obtain food to eat) in the situation, and subscripts such as how to enter the restaurant, how to order, how to eat food, and how to behave in the restaurant. People who possess the script are supposed to act according to the script at a restaurant. While Edwards admitted that shared knowledge among members will exist, such kinds of knowledge do not automatically give instruction on what should be done; instead, they are interactionally employed and emerge as a topic in the interaction in which members are engaging. By analyzing telephone conversations on a

variety of topics, Edwards demonstrated that scripted-ness of participants' event descriptions are not determined by how they perceive the event according to the script in their heads, but instead they are a manifestation of what (action) the participants want to achieve with a particular description: a script formulation or a normatively expected event description is the participant's orientation to constructing the event he or she experienced as an ordinary event and what is in contrast un-normative in the event.

The studies reviewed above suggest a particular formulation has certain interactional meanings: for example, it can be a display of recipient design, of an epistemic stance, of justification of action, of psychological investment, and of an account for un-normative experiences. The analytic object of these studies can be categorized as a formulation *per se* and not a *practice* of formulation: in other words, these studies addressed *what* is achieved by a particular formulation; however, they do not account for *how* and *why* (or *for what*) the formulation is selected among plausible formulations of the same referent. A practice of formulation refers to "a [member's] choice from among a number of alternative ways of identifying or describing the referent or producing the conversational action" (Bilmes, 2011, p. 134). To address this issue of member's formulation practice what is required is "structural techniques of comparing selected options with possible alternatives" (Deppermann, 2011b, p. 115) because "properties [i.e. meanings of practices] of formulations can only be grasped when [selected formulations are] compared to 'possible alternatives,' which are equally

correct in truth-conditional terms" (p. 120). The following studies have taken the comparative approach to examining members' practices of formulation.

3.3 Studies of formulation practices

Stivers (2007) examined what implication is drawn by choosing *alternative recognitionals*, which are *marked* person reference forms, in referring to a person in interaction. Even when the name of the referred-to person is available as a shared resource, alternative references, such as "your sister" instead of the name "Alene," can be employed, although the choice is marked. Stivers found that members use such alternative references (i.e. alternative recognitionals) to implicate some relationship between the referred-to person and the speaker or hearer. In doing so, the member who employs an alternative form of reference enhances the action he or she is performing (such as a complaint) in the turn with the alternative. The following excerpt from a telephone conversation between two sisters exemplifies this point. According to Stivers, in the excerpt, Emma is reporting to Lottie on what she talked about with her daughter Barbara, which was a complaint about Bud, the husband of Emma and the father of Barbara.

Segment 3.3 (Adapted from Stivers, 2007, p. 81)

```
1 Emma: Well this is ree(.)DIculous fer a ma:n that age.=s=I’ve
2       I: said the=u-haa-“oh::: come o:n no:w: this is reediculous;”
3       'n='e s’ys “no:” 'e says (.) .hhhhh “I don'wan' any- (.)
```

4 (y)no Thanksgiving |party.”=ah s'z “oh::,h” (.) .t.hhh

5 SO I J’S THOUGHT WHAT THE HE:LL sh'd I: go'n (.) tiptoe fer

6 HI|:m.

7 (0.2)

8 Lot: Ye[:ah.

9 Emma: [hh SO THEN I CA:LL'Barbr 'n I said loo:k. (0.8)

10 **Yer FATHER** LE:FT ME THE OTHER night_ 'n he siz well yer

11 always |bitchin’ en: this:'n tha:t; . . .

Stivers picks up Emma's use of "Yer FATHER" (your father) at line 10 to Barbara and discusses, "[w]hereas "Dad" would have been neutral as to blame for the troubles being told, the alternative recognitional specifically conveys that there is a complaint against him." (Stivers, 2007, p. 81).

In short, the meaning of the action that the speaker aims to achieve suggests a reference form the speaker should use. Therefore, it can be said that that speaker's use of an alternative recognitional is not a sequential feature of interaction; rather, its use is a part of the speaker's cultural knowledge about the relationship between him/her, the hearer, and the referred-to person, and the knowledge in the meaning of the action he/she is executing, as well as the knowledge in the language used for the reference. It has to be pointed out that, as the name suggests, an alternative recognitional is conceptualized as a contrastive item to the *unmarked* reference, that is the name of the referred-to person.

Deppermann (2011a) analyzed the practice of *notionalization*. It is professionals' re-formulation of lay persons' multi-unit, multi-turn description of an object into a single noun phrase in order to make the lay-persons' lengthy descriptions fit to the talk constructed in and through sequential and situational contexts. See the following segment of interaction as an example of the author's point.

Segment 3.4 (adopted from Deppermann, 2011a, p. 160)

001 A: (.) er hat mittlerweile schon SO viel DURCHgmacht,
in the meantime he has gone through such as lot
002 (.) un:;
and
003 (--) wo ER SELber SAGT;
where he says himself
004 (-) s: (-) er is SCHON an dem PUNKT,
he is already at the point
005 (---) <<dim,all> DASS er die MEdikaMENte ABsetzt;
of dropping the medication
006 B: (-) <<creaky,p> mhm.>
uum
007 A: (-) .hh (-) und des beLAsCHtet mich halt <<p> ↓AU noch,>
and you now this stresses me too
008 B: (-) <<creaky> mKAY;>
okay
009 (1.5)
010 B: <<creaky,all,p> also> die angst um den PARTner?

so [it is] the fear about the partner

011 A: (-) 'hmHM;

uhum

012 (1.4)

Here, A, a patient, is talking to a therapist (i.e. B) about his partner's illness and how he felt about it with a multi-turn description. The therapist re-formulates the lengthy description into " die angst um den PARTner?" (fear about the partner) at line 10. This practice of notionalization clarified the patient's psychological state with a term fit for the therapist's work of describing the symptoms of the patient. With this and other institutional conversations such as debates and radio-show talk, Deppermann found the generality of notionalization.

Hauser (2011) investigated the participants' practice of *generalization* of membership categories (Sacks 1992), such as from "Fukushima people" (line 3) to "people who speak dialects" (lines 14–15) in the following segment of interaction between Japanese students in a university EFL classroom in Japan.

Segment 3.5 (adopted from Hauser, 2011, p. 192)

1 F: there's one interesting: thing [in=

2 E: [yeah

3 F: =*fukushima ben*, ↑*fukushima* people (.) don't

4 think (.) they speak (0.4) dialect(h)s.=

5 E: =eh yeah:

6 N: [n. yeah.

7 H: [h heh heh

8 F: [↑they think ↑they are speaking (0.3)

9 standar(h)d h [Japa [nese.=

10 E: [yeah [standard.=

11 N: =n::

12 (0.3)

13 E: ah [m:::

14 H: [oh:↑:↓: .h so ↑many: ↑many people in

15 (0.3) [uh who speaks dialects .h=

16 E: [yeah

17 H: =(0.4) ↑think ↓so_

18 E: yeah.=

19 H: =ha ha [ha [ha ha

20 F: [yeah

21 E: [they tend [to thin:k=

22 H: [yeah y(h)ea(h)h

23 E: =[so::. ↑ye:ah.

24 H: [(they many) [(xx)

25 F: [speaking [standard.

26 H: [yeah

27 H: yeah they [they they speak standa(h)rd=

28 E: [yeah

29 H: =heh sta(h)ndard [yeah.

30 E: [$↑ this is ↓standard

31 [Japanese.$

32 H: [ye(h)ah ye(h)ah sta(h)nda(h)rd ye(h)ah

33 .hh n

This generalization "initiates and performs repair and implicitly challenges what F says [i.e. "Fukushima people"] as distinctive of the speakers of the regional dialect of Fukushima Prefecture" (Hauser 2011, p. 195). With this and three other conversational segments, Hauser found the generality and tactical nature of the generalization, such as for challenging a previous speaker's talk.

Bilmes' recent studies explicated the practice of *generalization/specification*, *contrast/co-categorization* (2008, 2009a, 2009b, 2011), and *scaling* (2010) of linguistic expressions. In formulating a referent, we choose a certain level of specificity and direction of the referent. For example, a referent can be generalized as "move" as well as specified as "shove". In addition, the formulation "shove" can be co-categorized with "hit" under the category of "violent act", but at the same time, "shove" and "hit" have a contrastive relationship. While "shove" can be generalized to "move", which may not be a violence act, "hit" cannot be a specification of "move". Instead, "hit" can imply more specific violent acts such as "smack" or "punch". The vertical relationship (i.e. generalization and specification) and horizontal relationship (i.e. co-categorization and contrast) between formulations (including both actual and plausible) logically implicate some meanings of a formulation. This is what Bilmes revealed in his recent papers (2008, 2009a, 2009b). As to the formulations "move," "shove," "hit," and "smack", they were actually used in a telephone

conversation between a man and a social worker: The man and the social worker choose and negotiate the vertical level and horizontal direction strategically in order to negotiate a less violent but sufficiently warrantable reason for the man to get into trouble with the police (Bilmes, 2009b).

Scaling is another formulation practice. For instance, the formulations "yell", "punch", "cut", and "kill" comprise a *violence scale* under the category of "violent act". Bilmes (2010) investigated how members in an interview between an applied linguist and an immigrant negotiate the level of anger through the choice of a particular formulation and thereby imply the scale of violence in the act they are discussing.

The above studies suggest that the practice of formulation is tactical: that is to say, a particular formulation is selected in order to effectively assert certain connotations or exert rhetorical forces (see Edwards, 1997), such as complaint, clarification, challenging, evading responsibility. Such meanings are implicated by the relationship between both actually selected and plausibly selectable formulations of the same referents. As explained briefly in Chapter One, to analyze a tactical nature of a practice of formulation does not need a speculation of the formulator's mental state: it is determined either in relation to its position in the sequential environment of the interaction or normative expectations regarding to the formulations of the referent. In Deppermann (2011a), the (re)formulation of the patient's lengthy description of his partner's problem and how he felt about it is notionalized into a concise psychological concept which fits to the prior talk: to this end, the practice of

(re)formulation worked effectively to do the therapist's job. As for Hauser (2011), the (re)formulation of a specific category of people presented in the previous talk into a more general category of people instructs a particular identification of the people, while the practice does not explicitly deny the previous talk. Stivers (2007) relies more on the normative expectation of person reference, which had been explicated by the previous studies in order to examine the connotation of a particular reference form: markedness of a particular reference form is not generated and co-oriented to in the sequence of interaction, but truly seen by the members who share the cultural knowledge on person reference and thereby have the normative expectations.

Compared to these three articles, Bilmes' approach in his papers (2008, 2009a, 2009b, 2011) is distinctive in that he uses diagrams to clarify how the practice of formulation is sequentially and culturally sensitive and thereby become tactical. For example, he used the following diagram with the transcript shown in Segment 3.6 for his analysis of the meaning of the formulations that the man and his social worker actually used and could have used in the conversation. In the figure, the arrow represents the whole-part (whole → part) relationship between formulations and the dashed arrow shows that the formulation it indicates is a possible part of the source formulation. The lines suggest the general-specific relationship (general-specific) between formulations and the dashed lines indicate the formulations under them are not considered as the specifics of the upper formulations in this conversation. The formulations in bold are actually selected by the man and the social worker

and the numbers in parentheses means the orders that the formulations appear in the conversation.

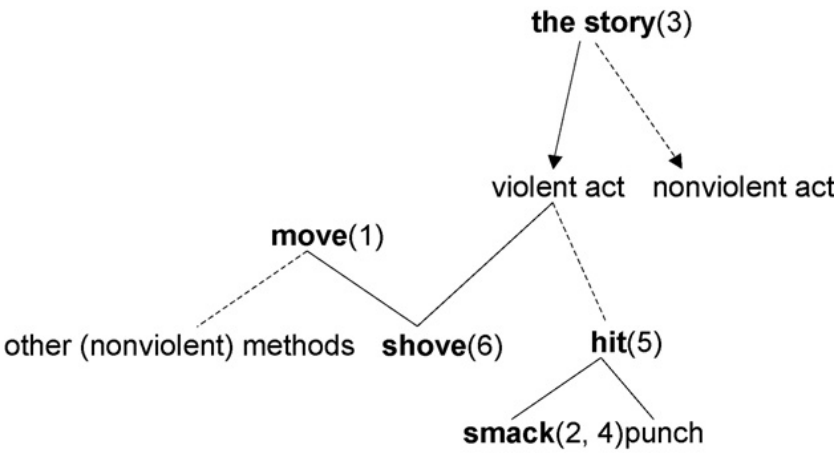

Figure 3.1 Taxonomy of "the story" (adapted from Bilmes, 2009, p. 1608)

Segment 3.6 (adopted from Sacks, 1992: vol. 1, p. 113 in Bilmes, 2009b)

(1) A: Yeah, then what happened?

(2) B: Okay, in the meantime she [wife of B] says, "Don't ask the child nothing." Well, she stepped between me and the child, and I got up to walk out the door. When she stepped between me and the child, I went to move her out of the way. And then about that time her sister had called the police. I don't know how she . . . what she. . .

(3) A: Didn't you smack her one?

(4) B: No.

(5) A: You're not telling me the story, Mr B.

(6) B: Well, you see when you say smack you mean hit.

(7) A: Yeah, you shoved her. Is that it?

(8) B: Yeah, I shoved her.

By using his diagram, Bilmes was able to visually explain the vertical and horizontal relationship between the formulations (including both those actually used and those possible to select), accounting also for implications drawn from the selection of a formulation. Central to Bilmes' analysis is how the participants formulate "the story." First, B formulates his version of his reported action as "move." A, the social worker, initiates a repair, suggesting an alternative formulation "smack" to B in the next turn. A's suggestion is also hearable as an accusation toward B's formulation. However, B denies the suggestion. When A complains and demands a reformulation from B by "you're not telling me the story," B asks for a clarification of whether A takes "smack" to mean "hit." A then proffers "shove," which B finally ratifies. What A and B did can be viewed as a membership category of the MCD "the story."[3] As A says, "move" cannot be hearable as such a category, but "smack" can. Then, "smack," as B asked, can be a member of a more generalized category "hit," which might have other members, such as "punch." "Shove" is proposed as a substitute for "hit" by A. Therefore, it is in the same category, "violent act" which can be a warrant for calling the police: that is, it is a category of the MCD "the story". However, B did not take "shove" as a substitute for "hit." The conventional meaning of "shove" can be said to be a specification of "move," which is the formulation B first proposed. "Move," as denied by A, cannot be a

[3] Since the famous analysis of "the baby cried. The mommy picked it up." (Sacks, 1972), MCD has been applied mostly to human-based categories and categorization, but it surely also has the potential to be used for object and objective based categories and categorization. In fact, Housley and Fitzgerald (2009) count objectives like "untrustworthiness" and "incompetence" as MCDs. Therefore, "the story" can be treated as an MCD and this is what Bilmes' taxonomical analysis (2009b) visually explains. See also the argument in the following paragraph on the taxonomical analysis.

subcategory of "the story" because it is not considered as a "violent act," but it has "shove" as a subcategory and "shove" does fit in "the story." It is not certain whether "shove" is the account for what B intended, but such speculation of his intention does not matter. Here, consequentially, B achieved the formulation of a less violent act (compared to "hit") and a closer description of his original account (p. 1608).

The above studies incorporated into their analyses cultural knowledge such as the relationship between the participants and the referred-to person, the setting, knowledge of membership categories, and conventional semantic knowledge of words. However, a question arises here: to what extent should such cultural knowledge be incorporated into the analysis of formulation practices? As discussed in the previous chapter, generally CA has limited the use of contextual and cultural knowledge unless it is demonstrably oriented to by the members themselves in talk-in-interaction (see Schegloff, 1991b; Maynard, 2003). Hauser (2011) claims that ""macro"-level considerations must be made relevant through the talk in order for them to be part of the analysis" (p. 185). Stivers (2007) and Deppermann (2011a) also limited their use of the background information of the members and situations in their data as an account of what the members actually display in their orientations. On the other hand, Bilmes' use of invented alternatives (2008, 2009a, 2009b, 2011) in the taxonomical representation by a diagram may be seen as a rather etic account of the meaning of the members' practices (see Maynard, 2011). Certainly, the use of diagrams as discussed in the previous section deviates from the standard practice of CA. More crucially, Bilmes' analysis

departs from CA in that it introduces categories that are not directly in the data (e.g. "punch"), which makes it a little less emic, and therefore not reliant on the next-turn proof procedure alone.

However, Bilmes does not randomly pick up possible formulations and lays them down on his diagram. Bilmes claims that "the diagrammatic visualization forces one to consider items that were not mentioned but might be implicated by the talk" (2011, p. 136). He was by no means the first to use a diagram which represents taxonomic relationship between items: cognitive anthropology has used such diagrams to examine the ethnosemantics of the target group of people, such as the skin disease terms in an African tribe (e.g. Frake, 1961) and Bilmes himself acknowledges this. However, instead of considering the meaning of linguistic expressions out of their interactional context as cognitive anthropologists have done, Bilmes applies the insight of the taxonomic representation to the relationship between items (formulations) within the interaction. Bilmes' analysis is partly based on concepts developed in Membership Categorization Analysis (e.g. Hester & Eglin, 1997; Sacks, 1992; Silverman, 1998) as well as sequential analysis; however, his analysis also goes beyond MCA by using the idea of taxonomy represented in his diagram. First, within a taxonomy categories are not limited to persons, any items can go together under a collection. Second, a taxonomy is not only a collection-category relationship, but it is also a whole-part relationship, such as the relationship between "the story" and the "violent act" and the "nonviolent act". Third, a taxonomy represents an intersubjective version that has

been co-accomplished by what the participants do sequentially in the interaction. So, a conversation taxonomy—a social-interactional phenomenon—is a new way to explicate a relationship between sequence and categorical organization together and to examine the tactics of a practice of formulation.

There is a certain validity to Maynard's (2011) concern that CA should look at the meaning of a conversational item such as a particular formulation only when the participants themselves problematize the meaning of an item in conversation such as by repair-initiation, however there are also interactional phenomena which are *seen but unnoticed* such as using preferred response to maintain a social solidarity (see Boyle, 2000). Therefore, in order to clarify the "organization of meaning in conversation" (Bilmes, 2011, p. 149), which is implicated by the practice of formulation, the taxonomical approach using a diagram seems to have heuristic value, especially when the selected formulation is related to the other possible formulations vertically and horizontally.

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter has looked at some of the previous studies on particular formulation practices: while the earlier CA studies focus on what a specific formulation achieves, the more recent studies, such as the work of Bilmes, have investigated how and why (or for what) the formulation is selected among plausible formulations of a referent, in addition to

looking at what it achieves. The findings of the previous studies on formulation practices suggest that the members' practices of selecting a particular formulation are tactical and cultural knowledge which the members' rely on when they formulate a referent in a specific manner needs to be incorporated into the analysis of formulation practices.

Such reliance on cultural knowledge may be seen as a departure from (the mainstream) CA in which CA is identified only as the sequential analysis of the structural organizations of talk-in-interaction such as turn-taking system, repair organization, and adjacency pairs. However, if CA is considered also as the microanalysis of the organizations of meaning in talk-in-interaction, exploitation of seen but unnoticed cultural knowledge should be validated as a necessary resource for the analysis, and such analysis should require not only sequential analysis but also membership categorization and taxonomical analyses with diagrammatic representation.

The previous studies on formulation practices have found that "organization of meaning in conversation" (Bilmes, 2011, p. 149) is constituted by the practices of marking, notionalization, generalization, specification, co-categorization, contrast, and scaling. In other words, those formulation practices are orders in the organization of meaning in interaction. The analysis of formulation practices requires an analytic endeavor in that it demands a close and careful attention not only to the sequential organization but also to the cultural knowledge to which members implicitly orient of and in the talk-in-interaction: so the analysis must not be ad hoc but technical and logical.

Sacks, the founder of CA, once said that there is "order at all points" (Sacks, 1984, p. 22). Earlier studies on formulation practices have demonstrated that members' constitution of meanings in conversation is an ordered activity and therefore those studies should be viewed as a part of CA studies. Members' practice of formulation has only recently become the object of investigation by a few studies, so there will be more procedures for formulating a referent. The following three chapters examine some procedures of members' formulation practices in various types of interaction. The findings are to be discussed as products of both 'pure' and 'applied' CA study.

4 Priority in formulation: EFL Teachers' actions in the classroom and OPI Interviewers' Actions and OPI Role-Play Conversations

4.1 Introduction

Some recent studies on formulation practices (Bilmes, 2008, 2009a, 2009b, 2010, 2011; Deppermann, 2011; Hauser, 2011; Stivers, 2007) empirically showed the following two points: first, the choice of a particular formulation implicates certain meanings in relation to other formulations including both actually used and possibly selected at the moment of production in interaction; second, there are certain procedures in selecting a formulation among other possible formulations to implicate some meanings. Therefore, for the analysis of members' formulation practices, we need to find an answer to the following question: *why and how is a particular formulation selected instead of other formulations and what does the selected formulation achieve?* The notion of *priority* would be an answer for that. This chapter aims to investigate whether the idea of priority is applicable to the participant's selection of a formulation over another (or the others) in interaction. First, the notion of *priority*, which is developed by Jack Bilmes (1993) as the idea of *response priority* is accounted in relation to the conversation analytic idea of *preference*. Then, after explaining the data employed in this chapter, some instances of the target phenomena are analyzed in detail. Finally, this chapter concludes with a discussion of the value of the findings.

4.2 (Response) Priority and Preference

Priority is a concept explicated by Bilmes as *response priority* in his 1993 paper. The proposition of response priority is as follows: "when one is going to commit an act that is one of a series of acts of a certain type, the most extreme act in the series gets first priority mention" (p. 391) and what would be the first priority mention in the series of acts is "proposed on the spot for present interactional purpose" (p. 391). Therefore, it is suggested that "[i]f X is the first priority response, then any response other than X (including no response) implicates (when it does not explicitly assert) that X is not available or is not in effect, unless there is reason to suppose that it has been withheld" (p. 391). In short, one is normatively supposed to give the first priority choice when it is available. Take an example; when a person is invited to a dinner by a friend but he wants to refuse it and he has two reasons, "his brother's funeral" and "the friend's house is a bit far", the extreme choice "the brother's funeral" should be mentioned. If he selects "the friend's house is a bit far", then he would be implying that any stronger or better excuses are not available. Consider the following example; in an argument when one is accused of something by another, denial is the first priority: being silent may indicate that one accepts the accusation or has no ability to argue against it. As seen in these examples, response priority explains the differences in terms of implications between formulations of responsive acts and what consequence is drawn by a specific formulation.

It should be made clear that the notion of *(response) priority* is different from the idea

of *preference*.[4] The idea is occasionally explained as an interaction order for *maintenance of social solidarity* (see Heritage, 1984b, 2008b). Giving an affiliative response to an offer is preferred because it works for maintaining social solidarity between the answerer and the person who presents the offer; on the contrary, a rejection is dispreferred as it may damage the social solidarity and therefore a hesitation in the forms of a gap of silence and certain interactional markers such as '*well*', '*uh*:' and an excuse are employed in order to mitigate the impact of the rejection to the offer (Pomerantz, 1984). The idea of preference for maintaining social solidarity is also applicable to the action of correction: self-correction (i.e., correction of a component of his or her own turn) is preferred over other-correction (i.e., correction of a component of the other conversationalist's turn) (Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks, 1977). According to Lerner (1996), the preference organization in the act of correction relies on members' *face-work* (Goffman, 1967) not to threaten one's self either as the *author* or the *animator* (Goffman, 1981) of a turn.

While the idea of *preference* is based on members' orientation to maintenance of social solidarity, *(response) priority* is furnished with the scale which members share on the variety of forms of an action in a specific sequential context of a particular discourse environment. By virtue of that type of intersubjectivity in interaction, members can estimate

[4] In a Japanese translation of Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks (1977), Nishizaka (2010) uses the word "yuusen" (priority) for the translation of "preference". However this translation does not change the nature of the idea *preference* in CA and should not be confused with notion of "priority," which has been explained in this chapter. Acceptance to an invitation, for example, is not prioritized but preferred compared to rejection of an invitation.

and also understand what is the extreme form of an act and what is not. The denial of an accusation given by another in an argument gets the first priority because the fact of the lack of denial gives an inference that it is not available and therefore somehow indicates an admission of guilt. Although Heritage (1984a) tries to interpret giving a contradiction after an accusation as a form of social solidarity because an admission may announce "a rift between the accused and others" (p. 269), it is hard to pursue the solidarity argument here. Bilmes (1988a) writes:

> "A rift is avoided by an admission in the form of an apology. The apologizer maintains a solidary relation by becoming simultaneously a guilty actor and a true self who rejects that actor (Goffman 1972). The case is, of course, even clearer with denials of non accusatory attributions. Here, too, denials are preferred, but it can hardly be argued that such denials are more solidarity-promoting than confirmations." (pp. 174-175)

Therefore, this example shows the difference between *priority* and *preference* clearly: giving a contradiction after an accusation is not the member's orientation to maintaining social solidarity, but it is his/her orientation to prohibiting an unfavorable implication by taking other actions such as being silent. Like the idea of adjacency-pairs, the notion of priority "account[s] for how what they do provides resources and constraints for other participants [in interaction]" (Bilmes, 1988b, p. 173).

Bilmes, however, limited the notion of priority only to responsive acts and did not

apply it to other general acts in interaction. However, this notion seems to have potential value in explaining member's formulation of any acts, not only those that are responsive but also initiating acts in interaction. So, the objective of this chapter is to examine whether the notion of priority can be a procedure that members use in formulating not only the second pair part of an adjacency pair, but also other acts in general in interaction.

4.3 Data in this Chapter

A total of 38 candidate cases that can be explained by priority were found in the EFL corpus and the OPI role-play corpus. Twenty-eight cases were in the former data set and ten were found in the latter. While it would be ideal to show all the 38 candidate cases, due to space limitations here I present only several selected excerpts transcribed from the data as perspicuous examples (in the 38 specimens) of formulation priority (see ten Have, 2007, on specimen perspective).

4.4 Analysis

4.4.1 Teacher's formulating questions: Pedagogical concerns for questioning

Questioning plays an important role in second language classroom. Not a few researchers have addressed the pedagogical value of the teachers' questioning action (e.g., Brown, 2007; Chaudron, 1988; Koshik, 2010; Lee, 2006a, 2007; Richards & Lockhart, 1994). However, to what order the act of questioning itself is orienting has not been investigated

from an interactional perspective. In order to explicate how and why the language teachers formulate the act of questioning in a specific way, five segments of teacher-students interaction from the EFL corpus are analyzed and discussed in detail.

The first segment is taken from an intermediate English communication classroom in which a native English speaker, Ethan, gives comments to a group of students who just took an in-class speaking test where the three students talked to each other on given topics.

Segment 4.1 [STPS07529-F2] ('E' for Ethan (teacher), 'G' for Goro, 'R' for Ryo)

1		E:	uh:: (0.7) tch <what famous your hometo:wn?>
2			(0.4)
3		E:	no.
4			(0.4)
5	→	E:	how do you change it.
6			(1.6)
7		E:	what famous your hometown.
8			(0.3)
9	→	E:	change it to (.) better English.
10			(2.2)
11		E:	↑what famous your hometown.
12			(2.5)
13	→	E:	change it.
14			(0.9)
15	→	E:	naoshite kudasai.
			correct please
			please correct (it).
16			(1.0)

17 G: what is famous for wo naosu nen° ((to other students))

O correct IP

(We are supposed) to correct what is famous for.

18 E: <what is your home[town famous for.>

19 G: [↑ah:↓:.

20 E: chotto muzukashii.

little difficult

(it is) a little bit difficult.

Ethan first reads from the notes he took during the speaking test (line 1) and tells the students that it is a mistake (line 3) while he keeps looking down at his page.[5] He initiates a question "how do you change" to the students in line 5. However, there is no answer to the question, but instead a long 1.6-second gap remains (line 6). After the gap, Ethan re-poses the mistake (line 7), which specifies the content of "it" in the original question, and repeats his request for the student to suggest a more appropriate syntactic form (line 9). The modification and adding on by omitting "*how do you*" and adding "(better) English" specify both the point and the action in which the students are required to engage. However, the second request does not elicit a response from any specific student and again results in a longer gap. Ethan again repeats the mistake (line 11), but this too is followed by another long gap in line 13. He directs the students to modify the problematic utterance again in a form that is simpler than what he asked of them in the previous actions. After another gap of silence, he produces a

[5] Ethan's non-verbal actions are based on my field notes. It might have been the case that one of the students performed some sort of embodied action confirming the mistake as correct and Ethan denied it.

further request with the same content but in Japanese (line 15). Goro, one of the students, identifies the teacher's action as a request for them to correct the grammar in the proposed sentence and explains this to the other students (line 17). Finally, Ethan stops waiting for the student to answer and provides the response by himself.

Although it is not clear that Ethan treats Goro's action of telling what he understands to other students as an acceptable response to his direction, it appears here that the teacher orients to the ordering of a number of requests for pursuing an answer. The similar ordering pattern is found in the next segments from a different EFL university classroom.

Segment 4.2 [TCWT3W6-8] ('D' for Derek, 'K' for Kenta, 'Ss' for students)

```
1       D:   any Kyoto people?
2       K:   ((raises hand))
3   →   D:   Kyoto's good yeah?
4            (0.3)
5   →   D:   good to live?
6            (.)
7   →   D:   sumiyasui?
             good to live?
8            (0.2)
9       K:   sumiyasui.
             good to live.
10      D:   yeah. good to live.
11           (0.3)
12      K:   [°good to live.°
13      D:   [>↑okay good work.< ((app[lause])
14      Ss:                          [((applause))
```

On seeing Kenta's embodied response to his question, in line 3 Derek puts forward a related assessment that includes a turn-final tag question, "Kyoto's good yeah?". However this receives no response so Derek adds a phrase "to live" in line 5, which makes clearer the meaning of "good" in his original question. In addition, as a further step, he changes the language of the question and asks in the student's L1, Japanese, in line 7. After a 0.2-second gap, the student responds to the question in Japanese, which is considered an answer to the last, code-switched question in that the answer is Japanese. The answer is acceptable to Derek, the questioner: he acknowledges it with "yeah." in the immediately following turn (line 10). Then he moves on to compliment the whole class ("↑okay good work.") [6] (see Wong & Waring 2010 on compliments in ESL classroom).

Segment 4.3 [TCWT3W6-2] ('D' for Derek, 'Y' for Yoshinori)

```
1        D:   ↑Yamamoto: Yoshinori.
2        Y:   yes.
3        D:   hi Yamamoto how are you.
4             (0.5)
5        Y:   so so.
6        D:   >oh< so so:, why.
7             (1.3)
8        Y:   why
9        Ss:  hehehehe
10  →    D:   ah dumped?
```

[6] Question and answer on students' residences have become a sequence in which three students participated in as answerers before this segment started. Therefore this utterance should be heard as a compliment to the whole class or at least for those students who participated. "Okay" seems to be used as a transition-making marker (see Beach, 1993).

```
11          (0.8)
12  →   D:  <dumped?>
13          (1.2)
14  →   D:  furareta? dumped?
             dumped
15      Ss: huhuhuh
16      Y:  no.
17      D:  no:,
18      Ss: hehe[he
19      Y:      [°yea(h)h.°
```

After receiving a reply during the roll call, Derek initiates the question "how are you?" to a student in line 3, which is part of a ritualized greeting sequence, the unmarked response to which is normally "fine". However, since the student responds with something other than the unmarked response, the teacher asks a follow up question about the reason for his answer ("so so" in line 5). Before the student, Yasunori, answers the question, Derek proposes a candidate answer which is delivered in the form of a question ("ah dumped?") in line 10. This is not immediately acknowledged by the student, and a 0.8-second gap of silence is left. The teacher then repeats the question with a modification, delivering it as a slower speed (line 12). However, this does not succeed in getting an answer either, and another long 1.2-second gap follows. The teacher then uses the students' L1 in order to manage the non-response in line 14 ("*furareta*?"), and then immediately asks the same question in the TL again. The student finally answers the question in line 16. From a sequential perspective, the teacher's

subsequent modifications in lines 12 and 14 lead to the student's answer to his original question in line 10.

The next segment is from an intermediate communication and writing class. Again, Derek (D) is the teacher. Prior to this segment, he had asked the students to think about their impressions of Barack Obama, who had just become the 44th President of the United States at the time this interaction was conducted. One of the students answered that Obama is good because there is force in what he says.

Segment 4.4 [TCWT5W7] ('D' for Derek (teacher), 'K' for Kenji)

```
1     D:   nice English. force in what he says. ((writing "force
2          in what he says" on the blackboard)) yes you can.
3          (0.9)
4          right?
5          (0.9)
6  → D:    ((to the whole class))↑WHO WATCHED (0.3)
7  →       Obama's speech,
8          (0.9)
9  → D:    <who watched,> (.) his speech.
10         (0.5)
11 → D:    ano  enzetsu wo  mita,
           that speech  TP  watched
           (who) watched the speech,
12         (1.0)
13    K:   ((raises his hand))
14    D:   yeah? (.) it was so: good.
15         (0.5)
```

16 D: if you wanna study good English, (1.4)

17 go internet. get a copy. good English

18 not so difficult.

After assessing the student's response as nice English and writing it down on the blackboard in line 2, Derek points out one of Obama's famous political catchphrases, "Yes we can". After a gap of silence, he initiates a confirmation check in line 4, which is followed by another gap. Then, Derek asks the same content three times at lines 6-7, 9, and 11. The first formulation of the question at lines 6-7 is produced at a normal speed. On receiving the non-answer, Derek modifies the question at line 9 by repealing part of the question ("<who watched>") at a slower pace. After another gap to his modified question at line 11, he resorts to re-formulating the question in Japanese, the students' L1. In line 13, one of the students finally reacts to the question after Derek has been waiting for one second, which is a longer gap compared to the prior two gaps in lines 8 and 10. Derek expands the sequence with an assessment and a recommendation of Obama's speech. It appears here that the teacher is again orienting to an ordering of questioning acts.

Segment 4.5 [STPS07529-H2] ('E' for Ethan (teacher), 'S' for Shugo, 'K' for Keisuke)

1 E: uh: ONE MORE CHANGE. what do you like season?

2 → change English.

3 (1.0)

4 → E: what do you like season. change.

5 (0.3)

6 K: change?

7 (2.1)

8 E: what do you like season.

9 (1.2)

10 S: mm: (Fall).

11 → E: no change it. change the sentence.

12 (0.8)

13 → E: how do you change, what do you like season.

14 (1.0)

15 → E: what, do you like, season.

16 (0.8)

17 S: un.

18 K: what do you like season? ((talks to Shugo))

19 (0.5)

20 → E: [douiu-

how do-

21 S: [what season do you like.

22 E: yes Shugo so what season do you like.

This segment is from an intermediate English communication class. The teacher, Ethan, gives comments to a pair of students who just took an in-house speaking test in which the students talked to each other on given topics. In line 2, Ethan orders the students to change the mistake that Shugo made in the test. On seeing the students' non-reaction to the order, Ethan re-poses the mistake and asks for the change again with the simple directive "change" in line 4. However, the students apparently do not understand what the teacher is asking: Kensuke's "change?" in line 6 can be heard as a repair-initiation and this along with Shugo's answer

"Fall" in line 10 provides evidence to suggest their non-understanding. After denying Shugo's action, Ethan re-specifies what he is asking by "change it. change the sentence" in line 11. Then, following another gap of silence, he changes the form of his action: "how do you change, what do you like season" syntactically composes a question. The rewording can help the students understand the required action. However, the question fails to get an answer from students until line 19. Finally Ethan resorts to using the Japanese language: "*douiu*" is a Japanese equivalent to English "how do". However, he stops there because Shugo overlaps Ethan's "douiu" and gives an answer to what has been asked. In line 22, immediately after the Shugo's answer, Ethan acknowledges his acceptance of the answer.

In each of the five segments, the teachers displayed their orientations to the ordered pattern of the questions: (1) a TL original question, (2) a modification or increment in TL, and (3) question or a more direct form of request formulated in the students' L1. A question arises here: why do teachers resort to the students' L1 only after one (or more) TL modification? Why do the teachers orient to the priority ordering? To address that issue, we need to consider the nature of the question, or language, and also the nature of language teaching.

Put simply, any question has two components: propositional content and an action (or speech act) that it is achieving (see Hauser, 2005). A student has to understand what a teacher is saying or doing as a question (i.e. an action requiring some response) and also the question's propositional content (i.e. what is specifically required). Since there is no doubt

that the meaning of language can be ambiguous or indexical, understanding a question actually demands interpretation work on the part of the student, which is done through analyzing sequential context, situational or background context, and the conventional meaning of language.

The first two components require an answerer to use his or her interactional competence: understanding a question as an action requesting a response is realized by an answerer's knowledge about interactional norms in a given situation. Thus far, classroom studies on teachers' questioning that have been conducted using ethnomethodology and CA have focused on (student's) tacit knowledge of these two components or discursive practical reasoning of questions (Lee, 2006b; Macbeth, 2000, 2003; Mehan, 1979). These studies have indicated that, given that a question demands the use of competence, the act of questioning is pedagogical in its own right. It should also be noted, however, that before discursive practical reasoning, conventional linguistic reasoning is necessary.

It is all too obvious that when a teacher's question is formulated in the TL, the addressed student has to rely on his/her knowledge of TL conventions; on the other hand, if a teacher's question is formulated in the students' L1, the student does not need to use his/her linguistic knowledge about the TL but can use his/her L1 knowledge. So, the use of the L1 for questioning means that the teacher is not teaching linguistic features of the TL communicatively. Therefore, although L1 questions succeeded in eliciting responses or reactions from the students and should be considered as a valuable resource, the teachers kept

them as a last resort.

In summary, questions and modifications in TL and the use of the students' L1 in FL classrooms are produced or explained on the basis of priority in formulating questions. Questioning in language classrooms has two pedagogical values. Firstly, as Lee (2007) demonstrated, it enables the teacher to engage in pedagogical work at the third turn position. For example, in segment 1, at and after line 14, the teacher gives an assessment of Obama's speech and recommends it as a good resource for studying good English. In addition, questioning itself is a way of teaching in that it demands discursive and linguistic reasoning. In order to satisfy both these pedagogic benefits, any first version of a question has to be posed in the TL, meaning the use of the TL for questioning is prioritized. Grammatically simplified TL questions (in the sense of omitting a word or a phrase in the original question) which appear as subsequent versions of the question are reasonable considering the teachers' orientation to the pursuit of the pedagogical values of questioning. While these modifications may weaken the second pedagogical value, they do not totally eliminate it. The use of L1 is least prioritized, as it achieves only the first of the two pedagogical values, although it accomplishes that goal more efficiently than does a question in the TL.

The following segments show another manifestation of the priority in questioning: on receiving no-answer but a gap of silence at the turn after a question, they pose possible answers to the non-answered question.

Segment 4.6 [TCWT3W7] ('D' for Derek, 'S' for Saki.)

```
1    D:   okay, (0.6) ((starts writing the following
2         phrase)) bu:y a car. ((finish writing))
3 →       what type of car.
4         (0.7)
5 → D:    ↑Toyota, Ferrari:, (0.2) ↑Porsche?
6         (9.0)
7    S:   °Ferrari.°
8         (0.5)
9    D:   Ferrari:, nice.
```

In this segment, Saki and two other students have formed a group and have been practicing for two teacher-prepared questions for about 15 minutes. This time, Saki represents the groups and answers the two questions when Derek asks them. Derek's first question was "what would you do if you have million dollars" and Saki answered "buy car". Derek then acknowledges her answer with "okay," in line 1 and initiates further question to the group, "what type of car." in line 3. The question does not receive immediate uptake, and results in a 0.7-second gap. Derek then poses possible answers with rising intonation in line 5. After a 9.0-second gap, Saki gives the answer "Ferrari" to Derek in line 7. Derek accepts the answer and gives a favorable assessment in line 9.

Segment 4.7 [TCWT5W5] ('D' for Derek, 'A' for Atsushi)

```
1    D:   teacher is good very good job.
2         (0.3)
3 → D:    ↑what teacher¿
```

```
4         (0.5)
5  → D:   high school junior high school elementary?
6         (1.0)
7    A:   high school.
8    D:   high school. ((writing "high school" on
9         the blackboard)) high school, (.) kids are
10        very (0.3) very nice.
```

Here, after listening to Atsushi's answer, "teacher" to his question given to the all groups, "What do you want to be after graduation," Derek initiates a topically related question, "what teacher" in line 3. Receiving no immediate response, he suggests possible answers to the question in line 5. After a 1-second gap, Atsushi answers "high school." Considering that one can ask different things by "what teacher" such as "what subject teacher," an appropriate answer might be something such as "PE teacher." By presenting possible answers, Derek retrospectively defines the meaning of his question and also prospectively suggests the class of answers: Atsushi could have answered, "I want to be a high school teacher," but he followed the suggested class of answer and just gave "high school," which was receipted through repetition and embodied action by Derek, who then briefly extends it into a topically related assessment in the next turn constructional unit.

By proffering candidate responses the teacher does not deviate from the priority in formulating question: although it suggests possible answers, it is done in a question form with rising intonations and the students orient to it as such, rather than as the answer. Thus,

teachers in FL classrooms follow prioritized hierarchy of actions in order to teach their students linguistic features of the TL during their interaction.

4.4.2 Teacher's formulating correction-explanation: Priorities are for teaching

Questioning is not the only pedagogical action that teachers carry out in FL classrooms; there are plenty of other actions that teachers conduct while teaching TL in the classrooms. One of them is giving an explanation for the correct answer. The following segment is an example of such a teacher's explanation.

Segment 4.8 [STPS07529-C2] ('E' for Ethan (teacher))

```
28        (0.4)
29   E:   I want to buy my pet
30        (2.0)
31   E:   I want to bu:y, (0.4) ei pet.
32        (1.0)
33→  E:   jibun   no:  pet   wa/wo    kaou   to   omoimasu.
          I      LK   pet   TP/O      buy    QT   think
          I want to buy my pet (is).
34→       in Japanese okay, but in English it's strange.
35        (0.5)
35   E:   what do you think, spam.
```

In the segment, the teacher first requested a correction of the mistake one of the students, Maki, made in the speaking test by posing it at line 29. Then, after the non-answer, the

teacher gave the correct form at line 31. The turn is designed as a correction of the wrong form by emphasizing "a" (see Hauser, 2010 on correction of linguistic form). The turn formulated in the students' L1 is produced after the students' non-reaction to the correction. The practice of using students' L1 might be categorized as a translation, but the meaning as action of the turn is an explanation for the correction, in order to make the students understand the point. Translation is just one way to formulate the action of explanation-for-a-correction. So, why did the teacher choose to formulate the action in Japanese, instead of other possible formulations in the TL, English? Actually, the same teacher explains the corrections in the FL in the other cases. In segment 4.5, he gives the following as an explanation "What famous your hometown? No. What is your hometown famous for? So it's kind of a word order problem" (lines 27–29). The following segment is another example.

Segment 4.9 [STPS07529-C1] ('M' for Maki, 'Y' for 'Yumi')

```
8    E:   for ↑example, (0.3) please change, (0.4)
9         <I'm four people>
10        (0.8)
11   E:   watashi   yonin   desu.
          I        four    CP
          I'm four people.
12        (0.2)
13        so Maki how do you change it
14   M:   huhuh (0.3) °I- should-° (0.7)
15   E:   how do you change it=
```

16 =doyuu- (0.3) doyuu fuu ni kawarimasu ka¿

how how like O change Q

how, how will (it) be changed?

17 (0.4)

18 E: I'm four people.

19 Y: °my family (is)° ((speak to M))

20 (0.3)

21 M: ↑my family, (0.3)

22 E: yes my family,=so there are four people in my

23 family.

24 (0.6)

25 E: my family has four people.

26 (0.2)

27 → E: I'm four people is strange.

28 (0.4)

The segment is the interaction immediately prior to Segment 4.8. At line 27, he says, "I'm four people is strange." as an explanation for the corrections that have been given to the students. To understand the different explanation formulations, one in Japanese and the other in English, it is necessary to look at the nature of the mistakes that the students made in theses segments.

There are differences in the causes of the students' mistakes. The student's mistake in segment 4.9 is about an incorrect use of subject and verb. The mistake in segment 4.1 is, as the teacher explicitly explains, a word-order problem. The mistakes in both segments are not derived from a syntactical difference between the students' L1 (Japanese) and the FL

(English). As for segment 4.9, as the teacher suggests, the possible translation of the mistake, "*watashi yonin desu*" is understood as a wrong form even in Japanese. On the other hand, the nature of the mistake in Segment 4.8 seems to be a case of *negative transfer*, that is, the interference of L1 knowledge on an incorrect L2 form. Therefore, posing the L1 and saying, "in Japanese okay, but in English it's strange" will be more effective in assisting the students to understand the point than other formulations in L2, such as, "you cannot say I want to buy my pet in English, you should say a pet". This is supported by second language acquisition literature on the role of correction for learning L2 (e.g. Long, 1996; Gass, 2003). Within formulations of the action "explanation-for-a-correction," there is a priority: when a correction is made in the case of L1 interference, a formulation posing the interfering L1 grammar will get the first priority. However when corrections of non-L1 related mistakes are required, an explanation in FL is the first priority.

Technically, this violates the rule of the use of TL as the medium of instruction; however, if the *programmatic relevance* (Bilmes, 1993) of the FL classrooms is taken into account, the formulation with the students' L1 will be seen as a normative action, which orients to the aim of the FL classrooms. In a specific context, certain matters are *programmed*, or normatively supposed, to be mentioned or conducted. Therefore, if the matter is not mentioned or not conducted, it will be noticeable, and the inference is made that the matter is not available to any participants in the context. Bilmes (1993, p. 396) offers the following example: in writing a letter of reference for an applicant to a course in philosophy, certain

mention of the applicant's capability as a philosopher is programmatically relevant; no mention of the applicant's capability implies to the readers of the letter that the applicant is even not a "good" philosopher, but describing he is "good" suggests that he is not "excellent", and "excellent" means he is not the "best". Notice that former items imply that the next items are not available by virtue of the writer's and reader's shared understanding of the programmed matters of the context of writing a letter of reference. Programmatic relevance implicates the priority of certain matters of a specific context.

If, in FL classrooms, the use of the FL is programmatically relevant (e.g. required as a medium of instruction), then the use of the students' L1 is noticeable and suggests to students, teachers, and any observers that the FL is not being taught. However, in any language classroom the primary goal is that "*the teacher will teach the learners the L2*" (Üstünel and Seedhouse, 2005, p. 310, original emphasis). Therefore, teaching the FL in the most effective way is also programmatically and primarily relevant in the FL classrooms.

The educational goals of such classrooms (i.e. effective teaching of the FL and the use of the FL) seem to be nested, and oriented to as such by the teacher. In Segment 4.5, the teacher does not formulate the action of explanation in the L1 completely; instead the L1 is used only for a possible translation of Japanese, and the differences between Japanese grammatical system and that of English are explained in the FL. So, by minimizing the use of the L1, the teacher displays his orientations to the rules in the FL classrooms. By constructing the priority ordering in formulations of explanation-for-a-correction that are determined by

effectiveness of teaching the FL while minimizing the use of the L1, the teacher is teaching the FL to the students in the classrooms. Priority and FL classrooms are reflexively constructed: in other words, priorities are for teaching the FL.

4.4.3 The way OPI interviewers formulate questions: Priority is for testing competence

The OPI role-play task aims to elicit samples of speech that will be seen in several occasions of everyday life, such as an occasion to request someone to do something, or an occasion to negotiate with someone over a schedule. In order to achieve the aim, the interviewers use several interactional techniques to manage the role-play interaction (Okada, 2010b). Questioning is one of the techniques which are employed by the interviewers.

The importance of questioning that we have seen previously also holds for OPI role-plays: it enables the interviewers to gather evidence about the candidate's linguistic and interactional competencies. As this questioning is an essential and pervasive tool for the interviewers, it has to be designed or formulated carefully so that the interviewers can collect "ratable" speech samples in the form of replies in a valid and reliable way from the candidate. The interviewers' formulation of questions in the following segments displays their orientation.

Segment 4.10 [33b828RP: Cleaning] ("IB" for Interviewer B, Male; "C" for Candidate)

```
28    IB:  hello ma'am, (0.4) ↑may I help you
29         (0.2)
```

30 C: y↑es I want you clean my- (0.2) my jacket.
31 → IB: mm hm. what's uh: what's the stain °that-°
32 you put on that.°
33 C: uhm (0.3) they're lo- they are some ↓ki:nds
34 of dirty.
35 IB: uh ↑huh=
36 C: =of (0.8) here?
37 (0.3)
38 → IB: uh huh [do you know what that is?
39 C: [°okay°
40 C: .hhh m::[::
41 → IB: [is it a ↑coffee: stai:n or,
42 (0.3)
43 C: I'm not sure but (0.2) m:: maybe (0.4)
44 foundation or soap.
45 IB: okay makeup shouldn't be a problem uh: when
46 do you need (0.4) your jacket by

The role-play task in this segment requires the candidate (C) to play the role of a businessperson who needs to ask a drycleaner, played by the interviewer (I), to clean her jacket. The sequence starts with the interviewer/drycleaner's greeting in line 28, including a ritualized service-encounter ("may I help you"), which indexes the (pseudo) institutional nature of the talk and helps accomplish the transition into the role-play section of the test. The candidate accepts the offer (line 30) and then initiates a new sequence by asking the drycleaner to clean the jacket, the focal task in this role-play. The interviewer gives a brief

uptake ("mm hm") in the next turn and immediately initiates another sequence, a pre-expansion that extends the talk and helps shape his just-prior uptake as a receipt token rather than as an acceptance of the request. The interviewer's turn asks for further information about the stain and therefore initiates an insertion sequence, since the appropriate response (second pair part) to the customer's request is still pending. It is this line of questioning that is of interest here, focusing on how the interview pursues an appropriate response.

Notice that the candidate's initial response in lines 33 to 36 is somewhat vague. Quite apart from the obvious grammatical limitations, the cut-off "lo-" (lots) and its immediate replacement with "some" suggest uncertainty and the word "dirty" is not hearable as a sufficiently complete response to the question "what's the stain?" The interviewer shows that he hears the candidate's response as inadequate by re-initiating a second version of the question in line 38, this time using a simpler polar (yes/no) format.

However the candidate does not produce a prompt response and the in-breath and placeholder (".hhh m:::") in line 40 seem to indicate she is having trouble in responding, and so the interviewer initiates a third version of the question "is it a coffee stain or", this time proffering a candidate answer (i.e. "coffee stain"). This not only clarifies the propositional content of the original question, but also allows the candidate to access what category of answer the original question requires (i.e. noun or noun phrase). In addition, by attaching "or" at the end of the turn, the interviewer leaves room for the candidate to compose her own answer rather than just responding with "yes" or "no". After a 0.3-second gap, the candidate

responds to the interviewer (lines 43–44) and her answer, "foundation or soap", fits the proposed category "things that could stain a jacket". The interviewer acknowledges the candidate's answer and progresses the role-play with a new question (line 45–46).

The following segments show that the same strategy is employed by different interviewers in initiating questions to pursue an appropriate answer to keep on role-play tasks.

Segment 4.11 [22a102RP: Cleaning] ("IC" for Interviewer C, Female; "C" for Candidate)

```
61  →  IC:  >(so that) did you do< anything to the ↑stain?
62         (1.6)
63     IC:  .hhhh
64         (1.5)
65  →  IC:  did you try to wipe it or clean it or do anything?
66         (0.4)
67     C:   .hh no since this is a kinda like you know mud,
68         (0.2)
69     IC:  uh huh [uhhuh
70     C:          [a:nd it was:hh (0.2) wet,
71         (0.3)
72     IC:  °okay.°
```

The task in this segment is the same as that in the previous segment. The segment starts with the interviewer's information-seeking question regarding whether the customer/candidate did anything to the stain on the jacket (line 62). This question does not receive an immediate

answer and there is a long gap of silence which is attributable to the candidate (lines 63 and 65). In line 66, the interviewer rephrases the original question replacing the abstract "do anything" with a more concrete example, "try to wipe it or clean it", which could potentially help the candidate to answer the question by proffering the class of expected answer. At the same time as it clarifies the content of "anything" it works to solve the possible interpretation trouble on the candidate's part. In addition, the interviewer also leaves the candidate with the possibility of answering with something other than the suggestions by attaching "or do anything." After a 0.4-second gap, the candidate finally answers the polar questions with "no" and provides an account that supports her response. The interviewer then initiates a continuer ("uh huh") in line 69 that indicates he acknowledges the appropriateness of the candidate's response, and, after the candidate account is brought to completion (line 70), in line 72 the interviewer claims acceptance of the second pair part by using the sequence closing third pair part "okay" (Schegloff, 2007a, p. 120).

Segment 4.12 [27b079RP: Pharmacy] ('IA' for Interviewer A (Male), 'C' for Candidate)

```
23   IA:  .hhh okay, can I help you Miss?
24   C:   okay, I have stomachache do you have (0.4)
25        uh: recommend uh do you have some good
26        medicine (0.2) for stomachache?
27   IA:  okay what seems to be the problem, °what's
28        the cause of the stomachache°?
29        (0.6)
30   C:   cause uh: (0.2) .hh I think maybe (0.2) uh:
```

31 oyster (.) .hhh I (0.6) ate oysters last

32 night so: (0.9) u- (.) yeah in this morning

33 I have (0.3) uh: stomachache.

34 IA: [oka:y, do you have any other symptoms?

35 C: [mm hm

36 (0.7)

37 C: pardon me?

38 IA: do you have any other symptoms?

39 (0.5)

40 C: .hhh mm no

41 IA: just pain?

42 C: just pain . [so:

43 IA: [you don't have any vomiting,

44 C: uh:: [it ( )] mm: (.) uh no.

45 IA: [diarrhea.]

46 (0.4)

47 IA: °mm no°=

48 C: =just- uh- just uh: stomachache and uh

49 feeling not so good so ↓um:

50 → IA: °mm hm° (.) o:↑kay, (.) .hhh hm: (0.3) was the-

51 → uh can you describe the pain? (you said)

52 (0.6)

53 → [a sharp pain or dull pain or,

54 C: [.hhh

55 (0.5)

56 IA: .hhh [°do you°

57 C: [it's just- (0.2) it's like a squeeze

58 pains, u::n uh:[::: (.) it's like squeeze=

59 IA: [mm hm

The role-play task in this segment requires the candidate to play the role of a traveler who feels sick. She has to ask a pharmacist, played by the interviewer, for some medicine. The sequence starts with the interviewer/pharmacist's greeting in line 23, including an offer ("can I help you Miss?"). The candidate accepts the offer (line 24) and then initiates a new sequence by asking the pharmacist to recommend some medicine for a stomachache, which is the focal task of this role-play. The interviewer accepts it ("okay") in next turn and immediately initiates another sequence, a pre-expansion that extends the talk and helps shape his just-prior uptake as a receipt token rather than an acceptance of the request. Notice that in line 27-49 the interviewer asks for more details of the candidate's sickness; however, when the candidate answers, except for the cause of the stomachache, she does not give details of the symptoms but simply keeps saying she has a stomachache. In lines 50-51, the interviewer stops asking for other symptom and instead asks the candidate to describe the pain which she has mentioned. However, the candidate does not produce a prompt response but instead remains silent for 0.6-seconds. The interviewer initiates a second version of the question " a sharp pain or dull pain or", proffering candidate answers (i.e. " a sharp pain or dull pain"). As seen in the EFL classroom segments, this not only clarifies the propositional content of the original question, but also allows the candidate to access the category of expected answer the original question requires (i.e. a noun phrase composed by a qualifier plus "pain"). In addition, by attaching "or" at the end of the turn, the interviewer leaves room for the

candidate to compose her own answer rather than just responding with "yes" or "no". After a 0.5-second gap, the candidate responds to the interviewer (lines 57–58). While her answer, "squeeze pain", is not grammatically correct, as "squeeze" is a verb and it should be "squeezing", it fits the proposed category, at least to the interviewer. The interviewer briefly receipts the answer with "mm hm", which shows his uptake of the candidate's answering.

Segment 4.13 [58a025RP: Camera] ('IG' for Interviewer G (Female), 'C' for Candidate)

```
31   IG:        [↑okay? yes, good morning¿ can I help
32        you?
33   C:   .hhh uh:m (.) my camera is broken, so: .hh
34        uhn:: .hh (0.2) oh would you repair it?
35   IG:  yes, (.) oh (.) what happened?
36        (0.6)
37   C:   .h[hh
38   IG:    [what's the problem?
39        (0.7)
40   C:   uh: (1.1) ↓uh::: (0.9) it was (0.4) fallen?
41        (0.4)
42   IG:  uh-huh-huh so, .hhh ↓uh:: <when did that
43        happen>
44        (1.4)
45   C:   uh::m (0.3) £yesterday£
46→  IG:  yes, so, .hh where did you drop- (.) where did
47→       you drop it¿
48     (0.2)
49→       did you drop it on the ↑ground on the car↑pet, or
50     (0.2)
```

51 C: uh::: .hhh (0.9) uh- uhm: on the ↑concrete.

52 IG: ↓uh::m [concrete. uh::: .hhh so, (.) we-=

The task in this role-play requires the candidate to act as a traveler who has a broken camera. She has to ask a camera store clerk (played by the interviewer) to repair the camera. Like the previous segment, this sequence starts with the interviewer's greeting and an offer for help (lines 31–32). The candidate accepts the offer and asks him to repair her camera (lines 33–34), which is the focal task of this role-play. In next turn, the interviewer agrees to her request ("yes") and initiates another sequence with "what happened" in which the topic becomes the details of the problem with the camera. In this part of the sequence, the interviewer first asks, "what happened" (line 35) and then rephrases it into "what's the problem" (line 38) following the candidate's non-response. After the candidate's answer to the question ("it was fallen" in line 40), the interviewer initiates another question, "when did that happen" in lines 42–43. The candidate gives a response "yesterday" in next turn. Then, the interviewer asks one more question "where did you drop it" in lines 46–47. The interviewer's subsequent question in line 49 is similar to what we saw in Segment 10: the question proffers candidate answers with turn-final "or" ("did you drop it on the ground on the carpet, or"). The candidate picks up on the proffered format of answer and gives the response "on the concrete" in next turn. The interviewer repeats the key element "concrete" with falling intonation, which shows her receipt of the candidate's answer.

The following segment shows another example of how the interviewer in Segment 4.11 (Interviewer C) pursues an appropriate response with a different candidate in the same role-play task. However, here the interviewer also employs an additional practice to revise her original question: adding an increment.

Segment 4.14 [12a002RP: Cleaning] ('IC' for Interviewer C (Female), 'C' for Candidate)

```
61      C:   It's a spaghetti. [ehhhe hehehe hah
62      IC:                    [my:: god >tomato sauce,<
63   →      did you [try to remove it or do anything?
64      C:           [>°yeah yeah°<
65           (0.3)
66      C:   uh:m, (0.4) can you remove it?
67           (0.3)
68      C:   [°(   )°
69   →  IC:  [okay did you try to: wipe it or dry it
70           o:ff or clean it with anything?
71           (1.2)
72   →  IC:  before you brought it to me?
73           (1.2)
74      C:   uh: okay. I wiped the- >anyway it's< core part
75           of tomato sauce by tissue papers, °but that's
76           it°=
77      IC:  =o:kay [okay .hh uh: an' I might suggest=
78      C:          [um
79      IC:  =that uhm sometimes that pushes the stain
80           further into the fabric so may[be the next=
```

As in the previous segments, here we find the interviewer initiating an action-sequence to which the candidate does not respond appropriately. In line 63, the interviewer asks the candidate about her action (i.e. whether or not she tried to remove the tomato sauce on her jacket), however, the candidate counters with another question (line 66), which recycles language used by the interviewer ("remove it") but does not address the interviewer's just-prior question. Since the interviewer is attempting to initiate an insertion sequence, her response to the candidate's question ("can you remove it?") is conditional on the candidate's still-due response to the question in line 63. In other words, the candidate's question at line 66 is sequentially inappropriate. The interviewer displays this to be her understanding in lines 69 and 70 by proffering a reformulated version of her question which includes candidate answers. However, the candidate does not immediately respond, and a rather long 1.2-second gap of silence occurs at the point when the second pair part is due (line 71). The interviewer then adds a turn increment "before you brought it to me?", which sharpens the content of the question being asked by making the time frame clearer (see Kasper & Ross, 2007 on increment to a question). After another 1.2-second gap, the candidate picks up "wipe" from the interviewer's previous turn (line 69) and provides an answer that includes that word. Again the interviewer claims acceptance of the candidate's answer with the sequence closing third "okay", which allows the talk to progress to a new action (i.e. the advice-giving sequence from line 77). The turn increment used in line 72 differs from the sort of subsequent versions that we saw in segments 1–3 in that it is constructed as part of the prior question

rather than as a stand-alone question in itself, but it does serve the same purpose of re-initiating the question and treating the candidate's (non)response as inadequate.

Each of the five segments displays that the interviewers employ the strategy of proffering candidate answers to pursue an appropriate response to keep role-playing when it is not available after the original questions. It would be easier for the interviewers to get a response when the original question is (re)formulated with the strategy. However, this is not suitable for the objectives of the role-play interaction, which aims to obtain and evaluate ratable speech samples from candidates. Proffering candidate answers gives too many hints to the candidates in that it tells the candidates the expected category of answer and clarifies the propositional content of the question in detail. For that reason, it limits the chance to test the candidates' competence of discursive practical reasoning (i.e. to understand what is being asked by the question and what can fit to the expected category of answer to the question as well as to provide a response to fit the category). Therefore, a question packaged in proffering candidate answer form is given the least priority: it is the last resort to pursue an answer for the aim of OPIs.

4.3.4 OPI interviewers formulate repair-initiation: Priority is for non-directive testing

In the following segments I will examine another case of priority in formulating an action that orients to the interviewer's knowledge of the task, and therefore seems more

specific to the role-play situation: that is, the interviewer's formulation of repair initiation.

Segment 4.15 [18a054RP: Taxi] 'ID' for Interviewer D (Male), 'C' for Candidate)

```
32      ID:  I'll start (0.6) uh: yes sir can I help you?
33           (0.9)
34      C:   so:: I would like go to::: (1.9) e: airport.
35      ID:  ↑okay.
36           (0.8)
37      C:   .hhh so:: can I eh:: uh: take a taxi?
38           (0.3)
39      ID:  uh: do you [want:
40      C:              [at the: at hotel?
41   →  ID:  do you wanna go now? or: >or wh- when do
42           you want to go there.<
43           (0.3)
44      C:   so:: so yeah, eh:: now.
45   →       (1.4)
46      C:   hm? n(h)ow i(h)t'shhh (0.4)
48   →  ID:  excuse [me, WHEN DID YOU WANNA GO?<
49      C:          [(   )
50           (1.1)
51      C:   so: I'd like to go to: eh: (1.3) airport,
52           (.) tomorrow, (0.3) [tomorrow morning.=
53      ID:                      [oh tomorrow  oh:=
54      C:   =[tomorrow morning.
55      ID:  =[oh I see oh not now, tomorrow morning I
56           get it  uh- ↑okay uh what time is your
57           flight?
```

The task in this segment instructs the candidate to play the role of a hotel guest. The candidate is required to ask a hotel staff member (played by the interviewer) to book a taxi to the airport for the following morning. The candidate manages to convey that he wants to go to the airport and by taxi (lines 34 and 37). Since a time has not been specified, the interviewer extends the talk with a post-expansion, asking the candidate if he wants to go now and adding an increment that makes it easier for the candidate to choose an alternative response (line 41–42). After a 0.3-second gap, the candidate says "now" (line 44), which constitutes a deviation from the task he is engaging in. The interviewer chooses not to react to the candidate, but instead leaves a long gap of silence (line 45). In line 46 the candidate seems to discover something is going wrong: his repair-initiating "hm?" displays that he has realized there is some repairable located in the prior talk. The "no(h)w i(h)t'shhh" treats his previous answer "now" as laughable (see Jefferson, 1979 on "laughable") and thereby orients to it as the trouble-source. However, he does not immediately provide an appropriate choice (i.e. "tomorrow morning"), leaving a 0.4-second pause. At this point (an incomplete TCU), the interviewer re-poses the question, this time omitting "now", and asking "WHEN DID YOU WANNA GO?" with a strong emphasis. This question explicitly repairs the candidate's trouble in addressing the original question. After a long gap, the candidate manages to provide the correct choice (in terms of the task instruction). The interviewer receipts the action and moves on to a new question.

The main point to note here is not that the interviewer explicitly reworks the same question with a stronger emphasis, but rather that the interviewer remains silent after the candidate's inappropriate answer. In real world communication, if a customer asked a hotel clerk to call a taxi "now," the clerk would most likely respond to it promptly. The role-play is supposed to simulate real world communication. In addition, the OPI is two-party talk, and in that type of interaction, if an interlocutor remains silent upon receiving an answer from the other participant, the moment becomes "odd" as the answerer finishes his/her turn by answering and the next turn after the answer is usually taken by the questioner (Sacks, 1992). Moreover, as mentioned above, in ordinary conversation, even when the initiator of an action sequence locates a trouble source in the response (third turn other-initiation of repair), he/she usually registers a receipt of the response first before initiating repair (Schegloff, 2000). Although it can be seen that the 'other' withholds initiation of repair in order to give the trouble-producer a chance to initiate repair by him/herself, the gap of silence which occurs as a consequence of the preference for 'self-initiation of repair' is just "a bit" (Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks, 1977; Schegloff, 2000, p. 225). In Schegloff (ibid.) the lengths of the gaps were from a micro-pause (less than one tenth of a second) to 0.8 of a second. It is difficult to consider a 1.4-second gap to be "a bit", so the interviewer's silence is quite unusual. He tactically employs silence in order to implicitly initiate repair. In fact, the candidate sees the interviewer's silence as an indication of some trouble (line 46). The explicit repair in the form of a question is used only after the candidate displays his noticing of some trouble and tries to

repair his prior turn.

The same pattern can be seen in the next segment. Here, the interviewer and the role-play task are the same as those in Segment 4.15.

Segment 4.16 [45b111RP: Taxi] ('IE' for Interviewer E (Male), 'C' for Candidate)[7]

```
29    IE:  .hh <can I: help you ma'am?>
30         (1.3)
31    C:   yes uh:m (.) I'd like to: (1.7) get o:n (0.4)
32         taxi? a con- (0.3) get on taxi,
33         (2.1)
34    C:   plea:se (0.8) call me a taxi?
35    IE:  'kay where would you like to go
36         (1.0)
37    C:   uh:: to Buffalo
38         (1.2)
39    IE:  .hhhh (0.5) <you want to take a
40          ↑tax[i:    [to Buffalo?>
41    C:        [ahaha [n(h)o n(h)o n(h)o hahaha
42         heh huhhuhh sorry uh:: (2.6) to- (.) to
43         the airport.
44  → IE:  to the ↑airport °£okay I see£° you want to
45         go now?
46         (1.0)
47    C:   yes.
```

[7] The 1.2-second gap in line 38 and the following exchange in line 39–41 might be seen as the same practice, but in fact they are not in the same category of the pattern seen in the previous segments and the later exchange of this segment. As the task instruction says that the candidate is supposed to be in a place quite far from Buffalo, N.Y., it seems natural for the hotel clerk to react this way.

48 (2.2)

49 C: hm?

50 (0.7)

51 → IE: do you want to go now?

52 (0.3)

53 C: now?

54 (0.9)

55 C: yeah.

56 (1.6)

57 C: huh .hhh n(h)ohhhh .hhh >£tomorrow morning.£<=

58 IE: =tomorrow morning °£okay£ huhuhuhu° .hhh °£okay£°

59 .hhh ↑what time would you like to go.

As with the previous example, the candidate fails to follow the task directions and in line 47 answers "yes" to the interviewer's question, "you want to go now?". This is followed by a 2.2-second long gap of silence. After this silence, in line 49 the candidate shows that she has located some trouble in the interaction with the same repair-initiator used by the candidate in segment 5 ("hm?"). After a 0.7-second gap, the interviewer re-asks the question emphasizing "now" (line 51). It is possible to view the question as directed at the candidate's "hm?". The "hm?" can be treated as the candidate's self repair-initiation on her previous answer (i.e. "yes" to the interviewer's question on "now"), the interviewer's question in line 51 can be considered as a clarification request to the candidate's answer which is ambiguous at the moment of line 51. That is to say, the interviewer's question is seen as coming from the hotel clerk, not from the interviewer as the monitor of the task progress. The candidate, however,

does not notice the trouble-source; she eventually reaffirms "now" in line 55. Another long gap follows the candidate's confirmation (line 56) and while I do not have access to video data of this interaction, it is possible that there may have been some sort of embodied display of action from the interviewer during this silences, such as raising an eyebrow or pointing to the task instructions, which may have served to help re-initiate the repair. Even if the interviewer did not conduct any such non-verbal behavior, it seems that withholding a response for 1.6 seconds is sufficient to let the candidate know that her response is inappropriate and she finally repairs her answer in line 57. The interviewer acknowledges the candidate's repair and goes on to the next question (lines 58–59).

The priority which the interviewers' orient to in formulating repair-initiation we have seen is also found in another interviewer's conduct during a different role-play task.

Segment 4.17 [21b053RP: Airport] ('IE' for Interviewer E (Male), 'C' for Candidate)

```
69    C:   a:n I like to make an (.) other reservation
70         an .hhh I'd like to uh:n (0.8) an: (0.8)
71         going the plane as soon as possible? huh
72         (0.9)
73    IE:  ↓a:lright. >well we do have a flight at two
74         thirty< this afternoon.
75    C:   mm hm.
76         (0.5)
77    IE:  that's pretty booked.
78         (0.3)
79  → IE:  I have to put you on standby. I [can't=
```

80 C: [ah

81 → IE: =promise.

82 (0.7)

83 C: okay.

84 → (1.0)

85 C: [hm?

86 IE: [↓uh::m (0.3) I can't promise it like

87 it's a: [it's a: pretty booked flight.

88 C: [ah:

89 (1.0)

90 C: uh: [so:

91 IE: [(you) got to be standby.

92 (1.0)

93 C: uh::: (0.7) so: when is the next flight?

94 (0.9)

95 IE: well >next flight will be tomorrow morning.<

The task here requires the candidate to play the role of a businessperson who has just missed her flight while the interviewer plays the role of an airline clerk. The candidate has to ask the clerk to book a new flight which will get her to her destination as soon as possible. As a response to the candidate's request (executed in lines 69 and 71), the interviewer tells the candidate that the airline has a flight but the seats are pretty booked up and the availability cannot be promised (lines 73–74, 77, 79 & 81). The candidate claims acceptance of the offer with "okay", which can be hearable as a deviation from what is required by the task, since the task instructed her to book the soonest flight. The interviewer actually analyzes the

candidate's "okay" as a deviation: he does not reply to it but instead leaves a 1.0-second gap. It is difficult to imagine that an airline clerk would not respond to the customer's confirmation of a question he/she has asked. It is also unusual with regard to the turn-taking system. As in the previous two cases, the candidate orients to her notice of some trouble after the gap with "hm?" in line 85. The interviewer restates his previous turn in lines 86–87 and 91 and this time the candidate does not say "okay" but instead asks for another flight (line 93), to which the interviewer responds in full (line 95).

All the candidates in the previous examples find that there is some trouble in the interaction when they are met with the interviewers' silence after their answers to his questions. However, what if the candidate does not notice the trouble? The next segment illustrates such a case.

Segment 4.18 [48a083RP: Wallet] ('IF' for Interviewer F (Male), 'C' for Candidate)

```
23    IF:  =a:nd I made a reservation at really nice
24         French restaurant. shall we go?
25    C:   .h ↑oh yes
26    IF:  o:[kay.
27    C:      [of course.
28  →      (0.5)
29    IF:  uhm I'll just get my bag and my coat and
30         we'll- (0.2) we'll go ↑oka[y?
31    C:                             [°mm hm.°
32  →      (0.2)
33    C:   °'kay.°
```

34 → (3.0)

35 IF: tch okay you ↑ready?

36 (1.0)

37 C: yes.

38 → (0.4)

39 IF: ↓al[right .hhh o:ka:y.

40 C: [°yeah°

41 (0.2)

42 IF: .hh uh: do you have your wallet?

43 (1.0)

44 C: ↑oh yes of course.

45 → (1.3)

46 C: oh (0.4) I- (0.2) I can't- >I can't believe

47 it< I forgot- (1.4) °↓oh° (0.5) uh::: (0.3)

48 °is (.) is that French restaurant so:

49 (0.9) uh:: (0.5) huh (0.5) so costly?°

50 (0.5)

51 IF: it is a little bit expensive,=yeah it's

52 probably gonna cost us about fifty dollars.

In this role-play, the candidate and the interviewer play the role of co-workers at a company. The situation is that they are about to go to lunch, but the candidate realizes that he does not have his wallet. The task requires the candidate to ask the interviewer if he can borrow some money to go to lunch. In line 24, the interviewer initiates the sequence with the invitation and the candidate accepts (line 25 and line 27). The candidate's acceptance can be taken as a deviation from the task requirement, in that he has been instructed to borrow money before

he goes to lunch. The interviewer acknowledges the candidate's "yes" in line 26, but his "okay" is prolonged, which might display his uneasiness to the candidate's action. Then, after a 0.5-second gap, in line 30 the interviewer again seeks confirmation from the candidate with "okay?" The confirmation check is prefaced with the interviewer's announcement that he will get his bag and coat in line 29, which may be taken as a hint to the candidate to think of his wallet. Again, the candidate simply receipts this with "'kay" in line 33. After a long 3.0-second gap, the interviewer takes the turn and asks for another confirmation "okay you ready?" in line 35 and again the candidate re-confirms it with an emphasized "yes" (line 37), effectively preventing the occasioning of the sequence that is required by the task (the noticing of the missing wallet and the request to borrow money). The interviewer acknowledges the candidate in next turn (line 39), however, the utterance seems to indicate a certain amount of irritation toward the situation: "alright" is uttered with a downward intonation and the "okay" is prolonged. The candidate overlaps the interviewer's "alright", saying "yeah" in line 40, which intensifies his confirmation. After a brief gap, in line 42, the interviewer resorts to explicitly asking whether the candidate has his wallet. The candidate affirms this with "oh yes of course" in the next turn (line 44) and this is again followed by another long 1.3-second gap of the sort seen in the previous segments. After the gap, the candidate finally repairs his confirmation and tells the interviewer that he has forgotten his wallet.

The interviewer's formulation of repair-initiation is both similar to and different from

the sort of other-initiated repair seen in ordinary conversation. The similarity is in the ordering of several repair initiators. As noted earlier, in ordinary conversation "if more than one other-initiated [repair] sequence is needed, the other [repair] imitators are used in order of increasing strength" (Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks, 1977, p. 369). Through narrowing the point in the interviewer-repair initiations found in segment 18, the strength of the initiations is increased. The difference comes in the use of the gap of silence, as also discussed in segment 15. The length and the placement of the gap are 'unnatural' compared to other-initiation of repair typically found in ordinary conversation. The combination of the 'unnatural' and the 'natural' practices forms a role-play specific repair-initiation priority.[8] In OPI role-play, the repair-initiation that identifies the trouble-source should be avoided, as it is considered *directive* and leads to the candidate's specific action. On the contrary, the silence does not tell the candidate what the trouble is and is *nondirective*: it does not tell which party (i.e. interviewer or candidate) produces the problem, but only implies there seems to be some sort of interactional trouble going on in the talk. As we have seen, the interviewers in segments 15–17 initiate the repair in the form of questions that are directed at the trouble-source only after the candidates display their noticing of some trouble. In segment 18, the interviewer initiates repair through the combination of silence and explicit

[8] Teachers' display questions (or 'questions with a known answer') seem similar to the interviewers' questions in OPI role-plays in that the questioner (i.e. the teacher and the interviewer) knows what is the 'appropriate' response. However, teachers tend to use the students' 'inappropriate' responses as a resource to initiate further questions to the other students to help them understand the lesson content (see Macbeth, 2003; Lee, 2006a), rather than as trouble-source which would suspend the progression of interaction.

repair-initiations, but the silence comes first and the questions are asked only after the candidate does not deal with the trouble during each silence. In addition, questions follow a specific priority ordering: that is, questions that only ask for confirmation are initiated first and the questions that are explicitly directed toward the trouble-source are initiated last. The institutionality of the priority in interviewer's repair-initiation is a manifestation of the interviewers' orientation to achieving the aim of the interaction in a nondirective manner.

4.5 Discussion

The analysis in this chapter revealed that the teachers and the interviewers formulated actions, such as question and explanation for correction, to achieve the programmed aims of the kinds of interaction in the most effective manner out of the possible ways available at the moment of selecting the formulation. As we have seen, the procedure appeared as "priority".

Priority in formulations emerged in interaction in different ways. In the context of EFL classrooms, the priorities were manifested as the teachers' orientation to the effective teaching of the target language: the priorities were not simply determined by the rule of the TL use, but instead they were constructed according to the nested pedagogical goals in a specific sequence of classroom interaction. It should be noted that teachers were not forced to obey the goals of EFL classrooms; they actively constructed them as a local educational order by unpacking a priority within a sequence organization. That is to say, there is reflexivity in priorities and educational goals in EFL classroom interaction. In this sense, priorities are for

teaching. By the same token, priorities are also for testing. In the OPI role-plays, the priority in the interviewer's formulation of questioning was aimed at three programmatic relevancies: testing the candidate's speaking proficiency, keeping on task, and avoiding over directing the candidates. The interviewers' orientation to simultaneously achieving the three interactional values constituted the priority. Therefore, it can be concluded that "priority" is a context-free social mechanism across (at least) two types of interaction. At the same time it is context-sensitive: priorities appear as specific structures according to the contexts of talk.

These findings offer a number of implications regarding EFL classrooms and OPIs. The first regards the arguments for and against the teacher's use of the students' L1 in EFL classroom. Thus far, studies on this issue have focused on the reasons why they do so (see, for example, Cook, 2001; Kim & Elder, 2005; Rolin-Ianziti & Brownline, 2002; Turnbull, 2001). What is missing in the previous studies is an explication of teachers' complex orientations to the context of FL classrooms when they initiate a codeswitching from TL into the students' L1. The reason for the switching is not simply that it is preferred to maintain a pedagogical focus at a particular moment of interaction (cf. Üstünel & Seedhouse, 2005); rather the codeswitching is just one formulation with which to do so. What this chapter has shown is that teachers orient to priorities in multiple formulations of actions in order to teach the FL in the classroom. "Priority" produces and explains the teachers' socially and educationally ordered practice of codeswitching at a particular moment of interaction in FL classrooms.

The notion of priority is important in another sense as well: it can inform teachers' ability to teach the FL in the classroom. Üstünel and Seedhouse (2005) claim that "talk in interaction is systematically organised, deeply ordered and methodic" (p. 309) and therefore there is "*rational design*" (ibid., original emphasis) in teachers' use of the students' L1 in FL classrooms. However, it should not be considered that all teachers rationally use the students' L1 in FL classrooms. Actually, to be strictly rational is beyond human capacity (Bilmes, 1986). There will be individual differences among teachers, especially as to the effective use of the students' L1. As mentioned before, the analysis of formulation provides an account for a member's interactional competence. Therefore, the analysis of formulation priority or how teachers select a specific formulation of action or expression to achieve a pedagogical goal can tell us about their ability to efficiently accomplish a pedagogical task in FL classrooms.

The value of priority for interpreting member's competence is also true for the OPI interviewer. OPIs are required to be valid and reliable in testing a candidate's proficiency in TL speaking, since they have consequences for the real-world. The results of OPIs have been used for high-stake decision-making such as program admission, job promotion and hiring, overseas placement, and even assigning citizenship. Thus, it is programmed that the interviewers collect candidate's speech samples in a valid and reliable way. If an interviewer's testing procedure is different from other interviewers, the test's consistency could be called into question. By the same token, the construct of the candidate's proficiency could also be doubted, because if it is co-constructed by the interviewer's actions, the performance would

vary from interviewer to interviewer. Accordingly, the interviewers' collection method has to be standardized. This is even more serious in the role-play section, since it is conducted in accordance with a set of role-play instructions. As the act of questioning is an important tool for testing candidate's proficiency and maintaining a role-play task and it is employed ubiquitously, the interviewer's formulation of the act is even more crucial. Therefore, it is important to analyze each interviewer's testing procedure for developing a standardized procedure so that a role-play task can be valid and reliable.

Previous studies of OPI discourse have demonstrated that interviewer variance exists and it can actually affect the candidate's performance and subsequent rating (e.g. Brown, 2003, 2004; Lazaraton, 1996; Ross, 1992, 1995, 2007; Ross & Berwick, 1992). However, the close analysis of the role-play interaction in this chapter suggests that the interviewers do not differ greatly in terms of their strategies for pursuing an 'appropriate' response in the role-play interaction. They are careful not to over support the candidate and not to deviate from their roles in the task. The priority which appears in the interviewers' formulation of questions is exercised carefully in order not to lead the candidate to simply confirm the proffered item in questions: the interviewers in segments 4.10, 4.12, and 4.13, for example, used a turn-final "or" in order to give the candidates a chance to construct their own answer, while repairing the understanding of and speaking (answering) for the original questions. In segments 4.15–4.18, the interviewers tactically used silence in order to nondirectively indicate that there is some trouble. These findings suggest that interviewer variation in the management of

interactional trouble is not seen in the role-play data I have collected. The interviewers' consistency lends qualitative support to the reliability of role-play in OPIs with regard to situations in which an 'appropriate' response needs to be pursued by the interviewer.

4.6 Concluding Remarks

The findings of this chapter suggest that formulation is not merely a matter of *recipient design*. If the efficiency for understanding of the meaning of action is considered first, the teachers' and the interviewers' formulations of their actions would be different from what we actually saw in the segments of the data: questions formulated with the students' L1, Japanese, and with the proffering answers would be initiated from the beginning, as they seem to be more understandable for the recipients (the students and the candidates). However, the teachers' and the interviewers' actual formulations were oriented to the objectives of the types of interaction they were engaged in rather than to just their immediate recipients. In addition to the interactional detail, we also need to investigate the "context" of interaction, the aim of the interaction as well as the relationship between the actor and the recipient, in order to understand why a given formulation is selected at a particular moment in the interaction.

As we have seen in the examples, formulating actions in a priority manner is a method of doing interaction. Thus, in addition to being an analytic lens, it can be taught as a strategic way of teaching and testing through interaction. Considering what is programmatically relevant and what formulation priority will be normatively expected can

help inform the professional training of language learning practitioners. It is suggested that following studies examine other procedures of formulation in the types of interaction investigated here so that we can strike for a better language teaching and language testing practices.

5 Generalization and Scaling of Identity in EFL Classroom Interaction: Visibility and Effectiveness of Formulation

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter revealed how the intelligibility of a participant's practice of formulating a referent in a particular way is not solely based on shared knowledge of the target referent, but also on the objective of the interaction in which the participants are engaging. This chapter further explores some of the procedures of formulation practices and also considers the issues of intelligibility and effectiveness of formulation through an analysis of EFL teachers' practices in formulating their own and their students' identities and how those formulations become a discursive resource for accomplishing pedagogical tasks in classroom interaction. First, we will review some of the main ways identity has been investigated in second language (L2) studies and then we will go on to examine the CA approach to identity, with special reference to studies on identity in conversations involving L2 speakers. After that, some segments of interaction from EFL classrooms will be analyzed in detail. Finally, the chapter concludes with a discussion of identity-related formulation and provides some suggestions for pre- and in-service language teachers.

5.2 "Identity" as a topic in L2 research

Identity has been an issue in second language (L2) research for some time now. The relationship between aspects of one's identity, such as ethnicity, gender, social status, and one's development of interlanguage has long been a concern among applied linguists (Zuenglar, 1989). One of the major identity researchers in Applied Linguistics is Bonnie Norton (1995, 2000). She argued that the learning of a second language (L2) involves a learner's *investment* in the L2 community and culture: the degree to which the learner desires to assimilate to the community or culture is closely related to his/her success or failure in learning. Norton's dynamic view of identity not as a single, static label but as a complex and changing construct drew considerable attention from L2 researchers resulting in an increased interest in identity issues over the past decade. In addition to the relationship between identity and L2 learning, currently one of the other directions identity research has taken is the study of the teacher's identity in L2 learning classrooms (e.g. Braine, 1999; Clark, 2008; Morgan, 2004).

A teacher's identity is considered to play a critical role in shaping the learning that takes place in L2 classrooms. Identities such as race, gender, and native speaker status, along with the teacher's beliefs and attitudes, seem to affect the sociocultural and sociopolitical dimensions of the classroom (see Varghese, Morgan, Johnston, & Johnson, 2005 for a review). Most recent studies on this topic offer a view of identity as not a unified but a multiple and dynamic phenomenon which is negotiated and constructed in relation to others,

such as other teachers, mentors, and students. However, methodologically, almost all such studies rely on the teachers' own accounts of their perceptions through diary records or interviewing. However, since teaching in classrooms is conducted within interaction, the question of how a teacher's identity is discursively constructed and thereby becomes an issue in classroom interaction is one that requires further investigation. Some studies have investigated how the *role* of teacher is enacted and how the teacher and the students orient to their role-specific methods of interaction, such as turn-taking, repair practice (e.g. Seedhouse, 2004; Aline & Hosoda, 2006). To the author's knowledge, however, there is no study that examines how a teacher's (so-called) identity is interactionally constructed, apart from Richards' (2006) conversation analytic study of ESL classroom interaction in the United Kingdom.

Richards employed Zimmerman's (1998) concept of *identity as context* as an analytical lens to investigate the ways the teacher and students' identities are constructed and procedurally consequential for the classroom talk. The idea of identity as context proposes three types of identity: *discourse identity*, *situated identity*, and *transportable identity*. Discourse identity is identity that emerges in the action at each turn in interaction (e.g. current speaker, listener, questioner, answerer); situated identity means a situation-specific role (e.g. teacher or student); and transportable identity is identity which accompanies the person across contexts and is intersubjectively visible to (and therefore invokable by) others through the person's physically or culturally based features (e.g. Japanese, Canadian, old man,

young girl, disabled). Through his analysis of ESL classroom interaction, Richards found that there were cases in which teachers and students stepped away from their default discourse and situated identities (doing being [questioner], [evaluator] or [answerer], and doing being [teacher] or [student]) and thereby potentially reproduced so-called "real communication" within the classroom. However, Richards argued that while invocation of teacher and student's transportable identities may result in a potentially more productive form of teacher-student interaction in terms of authenticity, practical, pedagogical and moral reasons prevent teachers from bringing up their (and their student's) personal identities in classroom interaction. The practical reason is that moving away from situated identities (teacher and student roles) to personal identities *may* lead to the teacher losing control of the classroom. The pedagogical reason is that the teacher should adhere to the identity of [teacher], as someone who only does what is counted as teaching in the classroom, not activities of a personal nature. Finally the moral reason is that the teacher should not disclose his/her own personal beliefs or values that would be an obstacle to teaching, but instead try to keep playing the role of a professional teacher.

While the potential value of the teacher's orientation to their own and their students' transportable identities in classroom interaction was mentioned, Richards' study does not touch on whether it is possible for teachers to orient to their transportable identities in order to conduct teacher tasks while remaining in the role of "teacher" in the classroom. Therefore, the present chapter describes the ways that teachers formulate their own transportable

identities to perform their jobs in classroom interaction. The data used for this chapter are taken from the EFL classroom corpus.

5.3 CA Studies on Identity Construction in L2 speakers involved interaction

Richards (2006) is a typical example of CA studies into identities. CA views identities not as something we possess but as something we *do*: identities are not a matter of a possible categorization to a person, but a matter of a participant's actual orientation to them through publicly observable and reportable action in interaction. Zimmerman's (1998) *identity-as-context*, employed by Richards, is a means of documenting the details of participants' orientation to their own and others' identities in interaction. From the CA viewpoint, any possible categorizations that can be applied to a participant, or his/her situated as well as transportable identities, are resources for interpreting and (re)producing the participant's identity; however, such orientation to one's identity has to be viewed and reportable by co-participants in the interaction in which they are engaging. Besides Richards (2006), several CA studies have examined the ways that L1 and L2 speakers interactionally construct their own and co-participants' identities, and some of these will be reviewed below in order to demonstrate the point of the CA approach to identity construction.

Nishizaka (1995) investigated how a radio talk show between a Japanese host and a non-Japanese person learning Japanese become an intercultural exchange between [*nihonjin*

(Japanese)] and [*gaikokujin* (foreigner)]. Through actions such as giving advice on how to speak Japanese and identifying river names, the participants oriented to their own and each other's identities by claiming expertise on the Japanese language and features of Japanese nature such as rivers and mountains. In doing so, they were not only constructing the two contrastive category sets; they were also invoking a collection of "cultural memberships" under which the paired categories were assembled.

Mori (2003) examined the way that American students learning Japanese and L1 Japanese speakers made relevant the identity categories of [American] and [Japanese] in a Japanese classroom at an American university. In the interaction, the participants were introduced as American learners of Japanese and L1 Japanese, although the conversational topics were not determined but freely negotiated by the speakers. Through asking and answering category-related questions such as "When did you come to America?" they discursively constructed their identities as [Americans] and [Japanese] within the interaction. In addition, since the American and Japanese participated in the interaction as groups, the identity-specific participation structures were made relevant through their choice of languages and the initiation and conduct of repair.

These studies have revealed that participants' transportable identities are discursively constructed through their actions such as asking and answering category-related question or switching languages. In addition, it has been found that the participants can invoke one another's transportable identities though the interpretive mechanism known as the *standard*

relational pair (Sacks, 1992). What should be noted, however, is that these studies do not cover how participants invoke their transportable identities that are not introduced in the situation: the participants are already introduced as [*nihonjin*], [*gaikokujin*], [American], or [Japanese] in the situations, so their situated identities indexed (one of) their transportable identities from the beginning. While Richards (2006) presented examples in which participants orient to their transportable identities that are not introduced as their situated roles, e.g. [father of two sons], what procedures the participants employ or practice in referring to their transportable identities was not mentioned. The present chapter focuses on the procedures participants employ in making relevant aspects of their transportable identities that are not indexed by their situated identities in the interaction in which they participate.

5.4 Analysis of Practices of Formulating identities in Language Classrooms

Eight cases in which the teachers invoke their own and students' transportable identities were found in the data. Three particular extended excerpts have been selected for the detailed analysis shown in this chapter. In the following sections, I present analyses of the procedures that teachers use in making relevant their transportable identities to conduct their teaching tasks in the classrooms. Accordingly, the implications for teachers are discussed. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the interactional practices found in the analysis.

5.4.1 Taxonomic (co)construction of "intercultural communication"

The first case is taken from a communication and writing classroom, in which Derek (a Canadian) is the native English-speaking teacher. The activity documented in the segment below is a student-teacher question and answer session. As well as other tasks such as writing down a suggestion for improving the classroom and Derek's teaching method, the students have been required to come up with a question for the teacher within a group for 20 minutes and the representatives of each group are aware that they are to ask their questions to the teacher. The segment starts as the teacher initiates the session by calling on a team called "smile".

Segment 5.1 [TCWT3W6-6] ('D' for Derek, 'E' for Eri, 'S' for some students)

```
19     D:   £↑O:KAY LET'S CON(h)TINUE. SMILE.£ ((raps twice
20          at question #2 on BB=blackboard))
21          (1.0)
22     E:   why: do- do ↑you, (0.4) choice: this music.
23          (1.3)
24     D:   why choose music?
25          (0.8)
26     D:   ↑ah:: why choose music. ((starts writing "why
27          choose this music" on BB)) why this music.
28          (finishes writing)) well, (4.1) ((takes a CD
29          and shows it to students))
30          this is: most famous number one famous Canadian
31          band.
32          (0.6)
```

33 D: the TRAGICALLY: (.) hip.

34 (3.8)

35 D: so this is ↑number one famous Canadian band.

36 tragically hip.

37 D: ((takes out the CD leaflet from the CD case and

38 shows the picture of the vocal member of the

39 band in the leaflet)) so this is the singer,

40 (2.7) so this music, (0.5) really hits (0.7)

41 Canadians.

42 (1.0)

43 D: kono bando no ongaku, sugoku kanadajin

this band LK music very Candian

44 no kokoro ni hibiku.

LK heart O resonate

"This band's music really gets to Canadian's heart."

45 (1.8)

46 D: gaikoku ni sunde temo kore

foreign country O live in even this

47 kiita ra ah! kanada! (0.4) °(sono)° kanada

listen if oh Canada that Canada

48 no (0.4) daisougen no setsunasa ga (0.2)

LK prairie LK pain SP

49 tsutawatte kuru.

come through come

"Even living in a foreign country, when I listen to this, oh! Canada! The pain of the Canadian prairie comes through to me."

50 (1.4)

51 D: the TRAGICALLY HIP. ((writing Tragically Hip

on the blackboard)) tragic, (0.3)

higeki. higekiteki ni kakkoii. hip.

tragedy tragic LK hip

S: °hm.°

(0.9)

D: hip wa kore janai. ((raps at his hip))

TP this CP-NEG

"Hip is not this."

hip wa kakkoii ((raps)) °yukoto desu.°

TP hip/cool mean CP

"It is cool that hip means."

(0.5)

tragically hip.

(0.3)

D: tch so ABOUT SIX YEARS AGO, THERE was a movie

(1.3) ca:lled (0.6) ((starts writing "Sweet

Hereafter" on BB)) SWEET HEREAFTER. ((finishes

writing))

(0.8)

D: uh:: no. eight years ago. kore hachi nen

this eight year

mae no kanada san no eiga.

before LK Canada production LK film

"This is an eight-year old Canadian film "

((taps "Tragically Hip" on BB)) kono bando

this band

no kyoku wa (.) yoku detekuru.

LK song TP often appear

"Uh, no. eight years ago. The band's songs

are used a lot (in this eight-year old Canadian

film)."

70 (0.7)

71 D: touji no Derek wa Oita ken ni

then LK TP prefecture in

72 sundete: chotto homesick datta.

live-CONT little CP-PST

"At that time, Derek lived in Oita prefecture and was a little homesick."

73 (0.7)

74 D: de kore o mi-te eigakan no

then this O watched movie theater LK

75 naka de boroboro nakimashita.

in with big drop cry-POL-PST

"I watched this, then and cried big tears in the movie theater."

76 (1.6)

77 D: monosugoku ii eiga desu.

extremely good film CP

"Extremely good film."

78 (0.7)

79 D: mou zehi mite kudasai. .hh sweet hereafter.

oh definitly watch please

"Please do watch (it)."

80 (0.3)

81 D: okay? .hh this is the band.

82 (0.3)

83 D: so this is real Canadian (0.5) band for me.

84 ↑right?

85 S: hm.

86 (0.6)

87 D: jibun kanadajin dakara (0.2) kore sugoku

self Canadian because this very

88 jibun ni hibiku.

self O get to

"Because I'm a Canadian, this really gets to me."

89 D: so ↑WHAT is: (0.2) the good (0.2) Japanese band.

90 nihonjin no kokoro ni hibiku bando to ittara,

Japanese LK heart in get to band QP say-COND

"Speaking of the band getting to Japanese heart,"

91 (0.4)

92 D: what is the good Japanese band.

93 (3.6)

94 E: mister children.

95 D: mister children is (0.5) the band.

96 (0.2)

97 D: ↑okay very good. ((claps hands)) excellent.

The interaction starts with Derek's request to a student group to ask a question to him. In line 4, Eri, the representative of the group, asks a question "why do you choice this music". Derek always plays various kinds of music while his students work in groups. After his repair-initiation in line 6, in lines 8-9 Derek treats Eri's question as "why (did he) choose this music" and then starts answering the question.

Derek's response becomes a narrative. First, showing the CD, he categorizes it as the "most famous number one famous Canadian band" (lines 10-11), and he offers the name of

the band, "the Tragically Hip" after a 0.6-second gap, to which the students do not show any verbal response. In line 15, Derek repeats what he said after a long 3.8-second gap, and then offers some further detail on the band, showing a picture of the singer. Then, he gives an upshot of the information up to that point with the "so" prefaced utterance (Raymond, 2004) in lines 19-20, "so this music really hits Canadians". This is again met with no verbal-reaction but a 1.0-second gap, after which Derek initiates medium-repair (Gafaranga, 2000) by switching the language in lines 22-23: "*kono bando no ongaku, sugoku kanadajin no kokoro ni hibiku*." (This band's music really gets to a Canadian's heart). The language alternation implies that Derek categorizes the students as Japanese speakers in this talk. His next turn in lines 25-27 seems a further explanation of how the music "hits Canadians": "*gaikoku ni sunde temo kore kiita ra ah! kanada! sono kanada no daisougen no setsunasa ga tsutawatte kuru*" (Even living in a foreign country, when (I) listen to this, oh! Canada! The pain of the Canadian prairie comes through (me)). Derek then writes the band name on the blackboard and explains the English. Some students receipt this with "hm" in the next turn (line 31), which makes a public claim of their understanding of Derek's explanation. However, Derek further clarifies one of the English lexical items, "hip", both formulating the meaning of hip as a body part and proffering an equivalent Japanese word "*kakkoii*" in lines 33-34.

The interaction so far can be summarized as follows: Derek puts forward a band which is bound to the category of [Canadians], and makes a claim that [Tragically Hip] is the

most famous band in the category. Derek's account for this claim is that the band's music emotionally affects Canadians, making them feel the pain of the Canadian prairie, even when they are abroad. The categorization works through three cultural items, [Canadian Band], [Tragically Hip], and [Canadian], and his explanations of the relationship between them implicate Derek as a knowledgeable person on Canada. Actually, he is a Canadian and the students know that since he has told them that he is Canadian and often talks about how Canadians and Canada are different than Americans and the USA. Therefore, the narrative so far seems to imply the answer, "I chose this music because I'm Canadian" (in response to Eri's question about why he chose the music), even though he has not mentioned it explicitly at this particular moment in the interaction. In the following turns, before ending his account, he offers further information about the band, himself, and other Canadians.

Derek's "so about six years ago there was a movie called Sweet Hereafter" in lines 38–41 starts with "so", which makes the content of the turn connected to the talk which has occurred so far (Raymond, 2004). Following a 0.8-second gap in lines 44-45, he repairs the part of the previous utterance with "no eight years ago" and switches the language into Japanese. However, he does not simply provide a Japanese equivalent of the previous utterance but instead adds further information on the movie: it is a Canadian film and the band's songs are used a lot in it. Then, from lines 48 to 52, he tells a short story involving the movie and himself which can be taken as evidence that what he said earlier about how the music of this band moves Canadians: when Derek got homesick in Japan, he watched a

movie which uses the band's music and that made him cry. He then gives an assessment of the movie "*monosugoku ii eiga desu"* (it's an extremely good film) in line 54. He then recommends that students watch the movie "*mou zehi mite kudasai*" (please do watch it) and follow this with a confirmation-relevance tag question "okay?" in line 58. The meaning of the following utterance "this is the band" is ambiguous; however, "so this is real Canadian band for me" in line 60 seems to be a repair on the previous turn. The utterance is also a summary of the narrative so far, being the last unit with a turn-initial "so" (Raymond, 2004). The turn again ends with Derek initiating confirmation, "right?". The confirmation seems to be directed to Eri, who asked the original question to Derek, suggesting that the utterance is a completion of his answer to that question. While some students verbally demonstrate their listenership to Derek's utterance in the following turn with "hm." (line 61), he repairs his utterance by switching to Japanese after a 0.6-second gap (line 62): "*jibun kanadajin dakara kore sugoku jibun ni hibiku*" (I'm a Canadian, this really gets to me). The utterance does more than merely repair his previous turn; Derek explicitly orients to his transportable identity [Canadian][9] and makes relevant the cultural item [Tragically Hip] (referenced by "*kore*") to himself. He follows that turn with "so what is the good Japanese band. *nihonjin no kokoro ni*

[9] One's nationality can be a transportable identity when it is shared between participants as a visible or hearable resource for possible categorization of the person. Transportable identities "are identities that are … assignable or claimable on the basis of physical or culturally based insignia which furnish the intersubjective basis for categorization" (Zimmerman, 1998, p. 91). Since the students know Derek is Canadian, some aspects of him such as the color of his hair, the color of his eyes, the way he speaks English can be signs of his nationality to his students, not merely his foreignness. His nationality "Canadian" therefore can be claimed as a transportable identity in this classroom.

hibiku band to ittara" (speaking of the band getting to Japanese heart), which is later repaired in English to "what is the good Japanese band" in line 68. The turn not only composes a question but also retroactively constructs (the end of) Derek's response to Eri's question.

Derek's answer that we have seen so far is only one possible formulation of an answer to the question "why did you choose this music?" Two points should be noted with regard to Derek's actual formulation of the answer. First, the answer is *content-rich*. The answer would be simpler if Derek formulated it as something like "Because I like it". In contrast, Derek's formulation of the answer is composed of five cultural items: [Canadian band], [Tragically Hip], [Canadian], [Sweat Hereafter], and [Canadian movie]. The relationships between the items are explained in his narrative. The formulation offers students plenty of opportunity to learn about Canadians and Canadian culture. Second, the formulation allows him to initiate a sequentially and topically appropriate question immediately after finishing his answer. The question and Eri's response "mister children", along with Derek's narrative, co-construct an episode of *intercultural communication* in the classroom.

Derek's question categorizes Eri as [Japanese] by requesting information about a point of Japanese culture (the good Japanese band) as well as switching languages into Japanese. In addition, the lexical choice "*nihonjin*" explicitly shows Derek's orientation to Eri's *Japaneseness*. Moreover, by asking a question about Japanese culture, he is implying his epistemic position as *less-knowledgeable* (Heritage, 2008a) about Japanese culture, which invokes a contrastive category based on one part of his transportable identity, [Canadian], in

this specific sequence. In so doing the standard relational pair [Canadian-*Nihonjin* (Japanese)] is further invoked. However, what is being done in the interaction is not only implicating these two co-categorized cultural memberships, but also invoking an upper level category in which the two belong. This is by virtue of the *hearer's maxim* (Sacks, 1992): "If two or more categories are used to categorize two or more members of some population [i.e. lower level categories], and those categories would normally be heard as categories from the same device [i.e. an upper level category], then hear them that way" (vol. I, p. 247). Derek's question asks for [the good Japanese band], which is a lower level category of [Japanese]. While his Japanese version of the question is asking a slightly different matter, "the band getting to Japanese heart", which does not have to be a Japanese band, is later repaired to "the good Japanese band": so, what he is asking in the question is "the good *Japanese* band". Moreover, his lexical choice of the definitive article "the" seems to suggest that he is co-categorizing as well as contrasting [the most famous Canadian band] and [the good Japanese band]. The two categories [Canadian] and [Japanese] have lower level categories [the good Canadian band] and [the good Japanese band] respectively. Therefore, the upper level category (or membership categorization device: MCD, Sacks, 1992) that co-categorizes as well as contrasts [Canadian] and [Japanese] is logically implied from the talk as well as through the action they are doing, namely asking and answering about their cultures. Although it is not mentioned explicitly, what can co-categorize the two ([Canadian] and [Japanese] which further categorizes [the good Canadian band] as well as [the good Canadian

movie], and [the good Japanese band]) is the (upper level) category of [interculturality]. Eri's answer "mister children" (line 76) and Derek's confirmation (line 76) collaboratively complete the discursive construction of [interculturality]. In other words, the participants are demonstrably performing *intercultural communication* within the classroom. The intercultural communication finishes with Derek's high-grade assessment for Eri, "okay very good. ((claps hands)) excellent." in line 79 (see Antaki, 2002 on high-grade assessments to close a sequence).

Bilmes (2009b) suggested two guiding questions for the analysis of formulation practice: (1) why is a referent formulated at this level, in that direction and (2) what is the consequence of the particular formulation? Derek's formulation of the answer for Eri's question is generalized at the level of his nationality, "Canadian." If he answered, "Because I like the band" instead of "Because I'm Canadian, this band's music really gets to me", the next question he could ask at a third turn position would be something like "what music do you like?" It could not be "what is the good Japanese band", since the "I like the band" answer is formulated at the level of individual and it does not logically invoke the nationality of the other-participant. Only when the answer is formulated at the level of one's nationality, can the other's nationality be related as a contrastive item under the same category (or MCD). By generalizing the answer to the level of [Canadian], Derek becomes able to refer to Eri's (and the other students') nationality "Japanese" and to invoke [interculturality] with no logical breakdown. The intercultural communication is taxonomically constructed through the

generalization, specification, contrasting, and co-categorization of cultural items. Each formulation is sensitive to the taxonomy-so-far, and at the same time, it renews that taxonomy by adding elements and finally constructs the taxonomy of interculturality.

One more important point which should be mentioned is that the sequence is categorized as a type of teacher-centered classroom talk. The sequence starts from Derek's assigning a turn to Eri's group, "smile." Eri, as the representative of the group, takes the turn and acts on the task: that is, asking a question to the teacher. The two moves between Derek and Eri constitute IR parts of the familiar *IRE/IRF* (initiation, response, evaluation/ feedback) pattern (Mehan, 1979; Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975), which is the prevalent format of teacher-centered classroom interaction. The sequence which began with Derek's initiation (lines 89–92) ended with Derek's assessment at line 97, which comprises the E/F part. So, the whole sequence can be characterized as teacher-centered classroom. In other words, through the *discourse identities* of questioner and evaluator to a student's response which controls the sequence transitions (i.e. start and end), Derek is performing his *situated identity* of [teacher]. That is to say, here Derek demonstrated that it is possible to employ the teacher's transportable identity for doing a teacher job. Derek is not only making students participate in the routine question and answer sequence; he is also constructing intercultural communication by invoking his own and students' transportable identities. The communication can be thought of as poor in terms of the amount of L2 input provided, since Derek used a lot of Japanese, and also poor in terms of the quantity of the TL output the

students came up with. However, from the point of view of the L2 classroom as a place for learning cultures attached to the target language and for intercultural communication, it was rich in content. In fact, such learning of the target language cultures was one of the topics asked in the end of semester student survey. The communication we have analyzed requires the students' active (though peripheral) participation in the interaction between Derek and Eri, which afforded learning of cultures for the other-students (see Okada, 2010a).

5.4.2. Specifying a taxonomy through scaling by a transportable identity

The previous segment shows that the teacher uses a transportable identity, nationality/ethnicity, for generalizing an answer formulation and makes relevant the students' nationality to the ongoing talk so as to embody an intercultural communication. The following segment is another example of a teacher's formulation of his transportable identity for doing the jobs associated with teaching. It also shows another procedure of practicing a formulation, namely *scaling*.

The segment below (Segment 5.2) is taken from the intermediate writing course. The native English-speaking teacher is Ethan, who is in his 60's and his gray hair and mustache are available to the students as visible indicators of his advanced age. All students are Japanese whose ages are around 20. The conversational situation is that the teacher has asked some students to read a news article out loud. A writing task, which requires students to write

an opinion on the article, was assigned after the students finished reading the article. Although the teacher did not explain the writing task before he assigned the reading article task, the course syllabus, which students were supposed to bring to every class, clearly explains a writing task is to be assigned that day. The students were familiar with the routine of reading an article and writing an opinion on it, as they had been through it on several occasions by the time this interaction took place.

Segment 5.2 [PS061219-5] ('E' for Ethan; 'A' for Aya, a student; 'S' for some students)

```
1   E:   uh: Aya (.) yeah.
2        (1.7)
3   A:   ((reading ))within twenty five years, (0.5) combined
4        gross domestic products of China and India would exceed
5        those of the (0.5) group of seven wealthy nations,
6        he said.
7        (0.5)
8   E:   okay does that <SHOCK> you?
9        (0.2)
10  E:   that sentence? anyone?
11       (2.0)
12  E:   within twenty five years  ato    nijuu  go   nen.
                                  later  twenty  five  year
                                 "twenty five years later."
13       (0.2) ato   nijuu  (.)  go   nen   watashi
                 later  twenty     five  year  I
14       mou     nakunatta    kamo   shiremasen.
        already  have passed  might  would be
```

"Twenty five years later, I'd already have been passed away."

(0.6)

E: mo(h)u kawa(h)i[sou se(h)nse(h)i,=

oh sorry teacher

"O(h)h (I'm) so(h)rry fo(h)r the tea(h)che(h)r,"

S: [hahaha

E: =.hh by(h)e[by(h)e hahahah .hh oh(h) £my gosh£=

S [haha oh(h)

E: =hehe .hh £s- seventy one eighty one nine- yeah

muri muri desu ne£ .h mu(h)ri

impossible impossible CP-POL IP impossible

"impossible, (it is) impossible. .h impo(h)ssible"

haha ato(h) ni(h)juu go(h) ne(h)n

later twenty five year

"haha Twe(h)nty fi(h)ve yea(h)rs la(h)ter"

£okay bye bye£ .hhh HOW OLD ARE YOU?

(0.3)

E: £oh you are very genki genki genki£ .hh

active active active

S: haha

E: so uh (.) this is- this- [(0.2) £THIS INFORMATION=

S: [hahaha

E: =CONCERNS YOU:, (.) more than me.£

(0.5)

E: I'm bye bye,

(0.5)

E: you are very very s- strong. you'll have nice family:,

and (.) children and everything but uh (0.5) £oh: my

teacher said, (0.9) in those day:s in those da(h)ys,£

36 (0.6) that uh in twenty five years, that's uh:, (1.7)

37 today's uh: two thousand six,

38 (0.7)

39 E: so uh (0.5) sixteen twenty six, (.) uh: nine- (0.8) uh

40 two thousand three:, (0.4) one? (that's right)

41 (1.2)

42 E: ni sen sanjuu ichi nen desu ne.

two thousand thirty one year CP-POL IP

"(It is) the year two thousand thirty one."

43 (0.2)

44 E: uh:: (0.9) that's very near (.) not very far away.

45 (1.0)

46 E: uh: would you please continue, (0.4) uh Tomomi.

The segment starts from Ethan's assigning a turn to Aya (line 1). After a 1.7-second gap (line 2), Aya reads a part of the news article out loud. Before Aya, several students have already read some parts of the article, so Aya starts reading from the next part. After a 0.5-second gap, in line 8 Ethan gives an assessment to Aya "okay" and follows his turn to initiate a question, "does that <SHOCK> you?" which strongly emphasizing "<SHOCK>". However, neither Aya nor the other students respond to the question, instead leaving a 0.2 second gap of silence (line 9). Ethan repairs the question by specifying the referent of the indexical "that" as well as rephrasing "you" with "that sentence? anyone?" in line 10, efficiently increasing the number of possible selected next-speakers. The second version of the question, however, does not elicit a response from students again, but instead again results in a long 2.0-second

gap (line 11). Then, in next turn Ethan takes a segment of the article "within twenty five years" and starts to explain how it would be in 25 years: "within twenty five years *ato nijuu go nen*. (0.2) *ato nijuu* (.) *go nen watashi mou nakunatta kamo shiremasen*." (In twenty five years' time, I will have already passed away). No student gives any (verbal) reaction to Ethan's re-formulation of the article (line 15). Seeing a 0.6-second gap, then, Ethan *animates* (Goffman, 1981) the students' unspoken voice by "*mo(h)u kawa(h)isou se(h)nse(h)i*," (oh (I'm) sorry for the teacher). Ethan's animation is doing three kinds of interactional work. First, the students are made to participate in the talk as the *author* (Goffman, 1981) of the voice. Second, one particular stance toward Ethan's talk, that is, to feel sorry ("*kawaisou*") for the teacher ("sensei"), is imposed; and third, the identity category [students] is indexed in the contrastive position to [sensei] in the talk via the implied standard relational pair. This utterance animating the students' unspoken voice is interspersed with laughter and some students laugh along with Ethan, which shows the students are listening to Ethan's talk and understand it as humorous. In line 20, Ethan explicitly mentions his age, which is a feature of his transportable identity, and calculates what it will be 25 years later. He goes on to say that it is impossible that he will be alive in 25 years (lines 21-23). Then, he concludes his turn with a question to the students, "HOW OLD ARE YOU?".

Within the interaction so far Ethan has been trying to topicalize the notion of the world in 25 years to students. The segment of the news article that Aya read states that the economies of China and India will exceed those of the seven wealthiest nations within 25

years. Japan is one of those seven nations, so the news should come as a shock to the students, which is the point of Ethan's question in lines 8 and 10. However, no student gives a reaction to either the article information or Ethan's question. This is what prompts Ethan to explain how he is related to the world in 25 years. Age is the key for accounting for the relationship. His question of the students' age focuses on the point of the taxonomy he is drawing.

Subsequently, as no student replies to Ethan's question and there is a 0.3-second gap left in line 24, Ethan gives an answer to his question by himself: "£oh you're very genki genki genki .hh£" (you're very active active active) (line 25). This explains the relationship between the [students] and [the world in 25 years]. In addition, it explicitly constructs the contrastive relationship between the teacher and the students that belong to different collections under [the world in 25 years]: namely, [the generation that will have passed away] and [the generation that will be active] respectively.

The students show their listenership by laughing at Ethan's talk in lines 26 and 28. The laughter indicates that they are not taking what Ethan has said seriously but as a kind of joke or something humorous. However, they stop laughing at line 30, which is the turn after Ethan's explicit and strongly stressed warning on how much the information is related to the students ("£THIS INFORMATION CONCERNS YOU:, (.) more than me.£"). His utterance is articulated with a smiled voice, as he did in line 25, so students can laugh as they did in line 26. The fact the students do not laugh in line 30 may indicate that they take Ethan's explanation seriously at this point.

In lines 31 and 33, Ethan repeats his assertion "I'm bye bye," "you are very very s-strong". His next utterance lists a number of actions and attributes bound to the category [generation that will be active][10] in 25 years: "have nice family and children and everything". Listing up category-bound attributes leads to an explanation what the category [generation that will be actively involved in the world] is to be like, as well as reinforcing the contrast with the category [generation that will have passed away], as implied by Ethan's "bye bye". Ethan's next action in lines 34-35 is another animation of the students' hypothetically spoken voice in 25 years: "£oh: my teacher said, (0.9) in those day:s, in those da(h)ys,£": The animation imposes on the students the category [generation that will be active in the world in 25 years] through the action of "looking back to the past", which cannot be done by [generation that will have passed away in 25 years]. He then calculates what the year will be after 25 years, which is 2031, and after a brief gap in line 43 he stresses that that is "very near (.) not very far away". After the students' non-verbal reaction during a 1.0-second gap in line 45, he assigns the next student, Tomomi, to continue reading the article.

In short, we have seen Ethan's orientation to his and his students' ages in formulating an explanation of one segment of a news article. The procedures he used in the formulations are *generalization* and *scaling*. The topic in the article concerned the world in 25 years time. In the future world, China and India are depicted as economically stronger than the present

[10] "Generation that will be active" is an MCD from the viewpoint of "students" but it is a membership category from "the world in 25 years". Categories/collections are a matter of perspective.

seven wealthiest nations, including Japan and the USA. The students are Japanese, so they are closely related to the topic, as is Ethan, who is American. Taxonomically speaking, the individual students and Ethan are in the same position under [the seven wealthy nations] which is a part of (i.e. *parton* of) the collection [the world in 25 years]. However, since the students did not show any verbal reaction to the news, Ethan clarified the relationship between the students and the world in 25 years as an explanation.

The conversation taxonomy drawn by Ethan and the students in formulating the explanation can be depicted according to Figure 5.1 below. The arrowed line indicates the whole-part relationship between the items; the line shows the general-specific relationship between the items; the thickness of a line suggests the intensity of the relationship between the items; and the horizontal two-sided arrow displays the scaled relationship between the items.

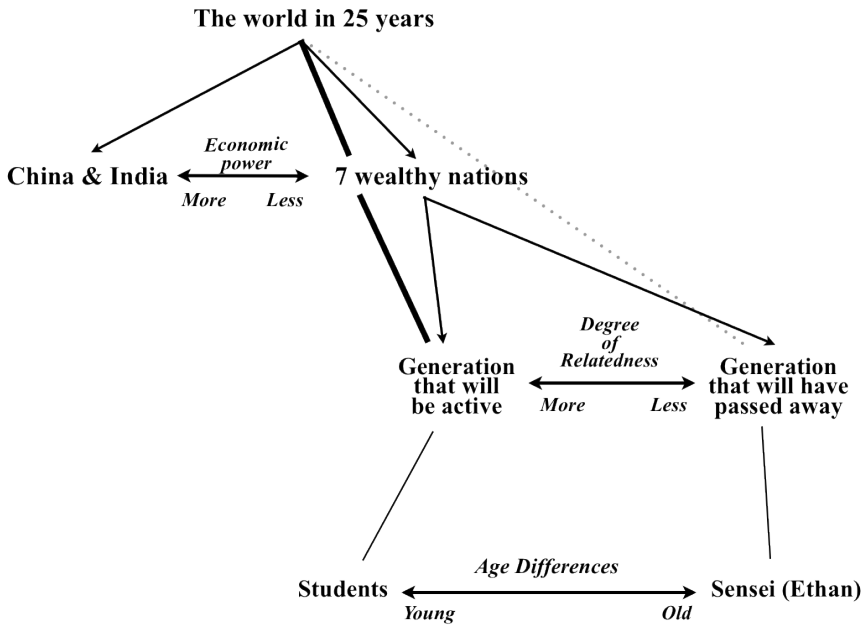

Figure 5.1 The world in 25 years.

Ethan first generalized himself as one of the [generation that will have passed away] through both implicit and explicit references to his age. Along with these references, he also categorized himself as [sensei] and made relevant the contrastive category/collection, [students] through animating the students' (unspoken) voice. The categorization is a generalization from individual persons to the level of collection; but the categories are not generalized at the level where [generation that will have passed away] is located. The contrastive relations between [sensei] and [students] were explicitly made relevant by Ethan's question "how old are you". Here, Ethan was invoking the scale, [age difference]. The contrastive category to [generation that will have passed away] was invoked by Ethan's answer to his own question "you are very *genki genki genki*". The students were assembled into the collection [generation that will be active]. The two collections [generation that will have passed away] and [generation that will be actively involved in the world] are not just contrastive; they are also in different positions on the scale, [degree of relatedness to [the world in 25 years]]. This is explicitly mentioned by Ethan in lines 27 and 29 when he says "£THIS INFORMATION CONCERNS YOU:, (.) more than me.£". The students seemed to understand Ethan's talk with some seriousness, as they did not laugh at his talk at this point.

What Ethan was doing in the interaction is explaining the news article on which the students were required to write an essay. To explain information which is used for a writing task is one of a teacher's ordinary jobs. If students understand the information by themselves, a teacher does not need to clarify it, but usually in language classrooms and especially if the

information is presented in the target language, students do not understand it and therefore the teacher's explanation is required. The students in these data did not show any form of verbal understanding to the segment of the news article, which was supposed to be worthy of as "shock" according to Ethan. By invoking his and the students' age differences, he seems to have successfully taught the students how much "THIS INFORMATION CONCERNS" them (lines 27 and 29). However, he was not only generalizing himself and his students into certain age groups; he also *scaled* the relationship between the world in 25 years and the students (as well as himself) in terms of their degree of relatedness through the invocation of the other scale, namely their age differences. The scaling works effectively to accomplish the teacher's job, to make the students understand the information to be used for a writing task.

5.4.3 Negotiating scales: Transportable identities and the effectiveness formulation

In the segments above we have seen that the students accepted the formulations proffered by the teachers. However, any formulation is in fact negotiable as it is a discursive phenomenon (see Bilmes, 2009b). In the following example, a teacher and a student negotiate over scaling. The example clearly shows what status transportable identities have in formulation.

The segment below (Segment 5.3) is taken from interaction recorded in an intermediate communication course. At the time of recording, Ethan was 62 year-old.

Kumiko and Remi were 20 or 21 year old students. They are engaging in a feedback session: Ethan gives comments to a pair of students who have just taken an in-class speaking test in which the two students talked to each other on given topics. As it is quite a long excerpt of data, I divide it into four parts and analyze them in detail step-by-step.

Segment 5.3A [STPS070601E] ('E' for Ethan; 'K' for Kumiko, 'R' for Remi)

```
1     E:   and Remi san your English is really fluent.
2          my sh- my- my question for ↑you is¿ (0.7)
3          <what are you doing in this cla:ss with absences.>
4     K:   huhuhuh.
5          (0.3)
6     R:   £so[:£
7     E:      [you know it's girigiri.
                            utmost limit
8     R:   yeah.
9     E:   ta[ihen  desu ne.  it's <so> terrible (   ).
           terrible CP   IP
           "It is terrible."
10    R:     [<↑I:> I-
11    E:   it's terrible.
12    R:   I going to (.) Tokyo (0.4) an- (0.5) <I[:,>
13    E:                                          [I went to
14         Tokyo¿ I [go-
15    R:            [I ha:ve:, (0.4) un: kega?
                                      injury
16         (0.7)
17    E:   uh:: uh:
```

18 R: an- hiza ura=

knee back

19 E: =I see hiza aa sou.=

knee uh huh

20 R: =I hospital:, (0.5)

21 K: hospital? I hospital chau ehehehe

no

22 E: uh went to- uh: rihabiri? or something [you know

rehab

23 R: [↑yeah.

First, Ethan gives a positive assessment of Remi's English in line 1. Subsequently, he initiates a question, "<what are you doing in this cla:ss with absences.>" at line 3. Ethan then explains how Remi's attendance in the class is terrible over several lines. Remi starts answering the question in line 10 but stops as it overlaps with Ethan's turn. She resumes her response in line 12. With Ethan, she (co)constructs an answer by line 23: that is, she went to a hospital in Tokyo for rehab since she had an injury in the back of her knee.

Segment 5.3B

24 E: what's the problem with your uh:: (0.4) nen-

25 ano (0.3) hi- hiza no ano nan desu ka ano

that knee LK that what CP Q that

"well, what is that, knee's well."

26 R: jintai?=

ligament

27 E: =jintai sonsho?

ligament injury

28 R: yeah:.

29 K: o(h)h.

30 E: itsu kara.

when from

"from when"

31 (1.9)

32 R: spring.

33 E: spring, oh sprin[g. I see I see aa sou

uh huh

34 R: [in April April.

35 (0.3)

36 E: de gibusu wa? ( ) matsubazue ga arimasu ka?

then cast TP crutch SB have Q

"*then what about a cast? ( ) do you have a crutch?*"

37 (0.5)

38 R: matsubazue a:nd (0.5) s- s- ↑supportaa

crutch supporter

39 E: supporter and brace arimasu aa sou.

have uh huh

40 (0.6)

41 R: [↑but

42 E: [April itsu kara. uh: April when, (0.2) >no no no<

when from

"from when"

43 April. [hm.

44 R: [ah: >no no no no.< (0.3) uh:

45 (3.3) °sangatsu tte koto wa° ↑March?

March QT thing TP

"it was March, that is,"

46 (0.3)

47 E: March? I see ( ).

48 R: March.

49 E: do you take a train? from uh: Awaji? Uh not Awaji

50 no [uh >no no no<

51 K: [Awa[ji? huhu [huh

52 R: [Awaji? hu[huhuh

53 E: [oh Arima?

54 (0.6)

55 R: uh:m (0.4)

56 E: no you live in Kyoto?

57 R: ↑yes [yes

58 E: [ah I see hm.

59 (0.5)

60 R: very near.

61 (0.3)

62 E: so how do you get to school, you walk? bicycle? no.

63 R: bicycle=

64 E: BICYCL[E! abunai.

dangerous

65 R: [hehe

66 R: it's rihabiri.

psysiotherapy

67 (0.3)

68 E: oh rihabir[i >I see I see I see<

69 R: [yeah yeah

70 (2.0)

71 E: m↑h::↓m.

72 (0.6)

73 R: huhuh

74 E: yeah.

75 (0.6)

76 E: [↓alright

77 R: [uhm I:: (.)

Ethan asks for further detail about Remi's injury in lines 24-25, and Remi provides it in Japanese with "*jintai*?" (ligament). The upward intonation seems to work as a try-marker, displaying her uncertainty about whether Ethan knows the Japanese word or not (Sacks & Schegloff, 1979). At the same time, it also could be seen as a request for help in finding the English equivalent. Ethan immediately picks up the word and produces a clarifying response "*jintai sonsyo*?" (ligament injury) that demonstrates he is indeed familiar with the Japanese medical register being used. Remi confirms this with "yeah:." in the next line (line 28). Ethan continues to ask for further detail with "*itsu kara*" (from when) at line 30 and Remi responds with "spring" at line 32. Ethan shows his understanding verbally. Remi provides a further detail, that is, "in April" overlapping Ethan's turn at line 34. Ethan initiates another question on the details of Remi's injury, "*de gibusu wa*? ( ) *matsubazue ga arimasu ka*?" (then what about a cast? ( ) do you have a crutch?) in line 36, to which Remi replies with "*matsubazue* a:nd (0.5) s- s- ↑*supportaa*" (crutch and supporter). Ethan displays that he understands the answer (line 39). Remi tries to take a turn to provide information that seems to be contradicting what she has said ("↑but" in line 41); however, she stops when her turn overlaps with the onset of Ethan's. Ethan asks "*itsu kara*" (from when) again but he seems to realize that he has asked the question and has already received an answer in lines 42-43.

Remi takes the opportunity and repairs her own earlier turn that it was not April (lines 44-45) but March, which Ethan acknowledges in line 47.

So far Ethan and Remi have collaboratively constructed the details of her injury through a series of question and answer sequences. In line 49, Ethan initiates another question again, but it is not about the injury but whether she uses a train from Awaji to get to school. Awaji is a town in Osaka and it takes more than an hour to get to the university by train and bus from there. However, on asking the question, Ethan immediately repairs his presupposition that Remi is from there. Kumi and Remi laugh at the presupposition. Ethan then gives the try-marked "Arima?" as a repair, but on receiving a 0.6-second gap of silence (line 54) and Remi's reluctance to giving a clear answer in yes/no form (line 55) (see Bilmes, 1993 on reluctance marker), he further repairs his utterance with "no you live in Kyoto?" (line 56). Remi gives a strong affirmation to this latter's proposal and Ethan displays his understanding. Remi specifies the place she lives in is "very near" (line 60). Linking up the information provided by Remi with the turn-initial "so", Ethan asks Remi, "how do you get to school, you walk? bicycle? no." in line 62. Remi picks up "bicycle" as her reply. Ethan immediately responds to it by giving a negative assessment "BICYCLE! *abunai*." (dangerous). (line 64). However, on listening to Remi's reply, "it's *rihabiri*" (physiotherapy) (line 66), he shows a change in his epistemic stance regarding Remi's getting to school by bicycle from a negative attitude to an affirmation in line 68 ("oh *rihabiri* >I see I see I see<"). Then Ethan stops asking the question; instead he produces confirmation markers "yeah." (line

74) and "↓alright" (line 76), which indicate a sequence transition.

Segment 5.3C

```
78    E:  sensei also has the same problem.
          teacher
79        (0.4)
80    R:  yeah?
81    K:  really?
82    E:  (hai) ((rolls up his trousers))
           "here"
83    K:  oh [shippu       oh  shippu.
              compress         compress
84    R:     [o(h)h:: oh:
85    E:  demo shippu        mo-  mou      juichigatsu (ni)
           but  cpmpress      al-  already  November    LK
86        jintaisonsho    shita n  desu. Matsubazue [san  shukan.
          ligament injury  did  LK CP   crutches      three weeks
          "but compress also, it was November (I) got the
          ligament injury. (I used) crutch for three weeks"
87    K:                                            [↑eh:
88    R:                                            [h:m.
89        (0.4)
90    E:  ato  gipusu datta  desu  ne.
           also cast  past  CP   IP
          "(I had) also a cast on"
91        (0.7)
92    E:  [mou-
           already
93    R:  [last year?=
```

94 E: =last year.

95 (0.4)

96 E: no- not like you, mine was much worse.

97 (0.5)

98 E: [motto hidoi.

much bad

"much worse"

99 R: [ah::.

100 (.)

101 E: I didn't miss any class.

102 (1.9)

103 E: £I DIDN'T MISS ANY [CLASS.£

104 R: [↑ah:↓:

105 E: £okay?£

106 (0.6)

107 E: £you understand?£

108 R: £yeah:.£=

109 E: =£you do(h)n't miss any more cla(h)sses.£

110 R: ye[::s yes.

Ethan's utterance "sensei also has the same problem" at line 78 is not only a proposal of another topic, but also a generalization of himself from individual to a level of category, [sensei (teacher)]. Both Remi and Kumi ask for confirmation with a surprising tone, and Ethan responds to their confirmation check with the embodied action of showing his leg (line 82). By uttering "oh" (lines 83 and 84), both students make public their epistemic stance: at this point, the students realize Ethan has a problem with his leg. Ethan then gives details of

his injury. Prefacing it with "demo" (but), he makes a claim that the injury was much worse than its current appearance: that is, he got the ligament injury in November and was using crutches for three weeks. Kumi shows her surprise to Ethan's explanation of his injury with a high-pitched news marker "↑eh::"; however, Remi seems unsurprised by his injury, although she shows her understanding of what he said with a receipt token that does not denote the information as particularly newsworthy "h:m.". After a 0.7-second gap (line 91), Ethan continues his talk, "*ato gipusu datta desu ne*" (I had also a cast on) at line 90. He tries to continue further in line 92, but on hearing Remi's overlapping question "last year?" he abandons his original turn and responds to the question with a repetition "last year". Then, after a gap of silence, Ethan gives an assertion, "no- not like you, mine was much worse." in line 96. After the 0.5-second gap in line 97, he repairs his assertion by switching languages, "motto hidoi" (much worse), which is actually overlapped with Remi's "ah:::." that displays her understanding of Ethan's claim. Ethan further claims, "I didn't miss any class." (line 101). He repeats the same assertion in line 103, which elicits Remi's verbal display of understanding in line 104. Ethan initiates a confirmation check in lines 105 and 107 with "£okay?£" and "£you understand?£" Remi confirms with "£yeah:.£" in line 108. On hearing Remi's confirmation, Ethan immediately gives a warning "£you do(h)n't miss any more cla(h)sses.£". Remi agrees to it with "ye::s yes."

What has been done by the end of this segment is a negotiation of the reason for the absences, which was started by Ethan's question, "<what are you doing in this cla:ss with

absences.>" (line 3). Remi, collaboratively with Ethan, constructed an answer: she got a ligament injury last March and she had to use crutches and a supporter. Ethan's questions about the detail of Remi's injury are a display of his orientation to a scale, namely, [the degree of seriousness of ligament injury]. It seems that Ethan is orienting to another scale, [the degree of difficulty in getting to school], but Ethan stops invoking the scale as his supposition that Remi lives in a distant place from the school was denied by her. The scale of the seriousness of the injury becomes sequentially consequential as Ethan begins to talk about his own ligament injury. This talk is designed to contrast Remi's injury in terms of its seriousness: he got the injury last November and still has to use a medical compress; moreover, he had been using crutches for three weeks and also had a cast. On the other hand, it has become known through the question and answer sequence that Remi got her injury last March and can ride a bicycle now; although she used crutches, she did not have a cast on but a brace and a supporter, which is an indication of a lighter injury than that of a cast. The scale and their positions on it are accepted by Remi's showing her understanding at line 99.

On top of the sequential level, the scale of the seriousness of the injury becomes consequential at the discourse level. The main discourse function of this interaction concerns a teacher's scolding a student for having a lot of absences. By invoking the scale, Ethan becomes able to negate Remi's injury as a reason for being absent in class: he had a more serious injury but never missed any class. That being the case, how can Remi miss a lot of class? In addition, Ethan generalizes himself as a [sensei (teacher)] which invokes the

contrastive category [students] to which Remi and Kumi belong. It can be normatively supposed that the duty (or workload) for [sensei] is harder than [students], so it would be more difficult for [sensei] not to miss any class, but Ethan, [sensei], did not miss any class; This normative understanding also works to establish the effectiveness of Ethan's scolding.

So far, Ethan effectively tells Remi off through scaling her injuries with his own, and Remi confirms that she will not miss any more classes. However, in the next segment (Segment 5.3D), after 82 lines of interaction in which Ethan explains how attendance is important for her grade, the scale becomes jeopardized, causing Ethan to adopt another strategy.

Segment 5.3D

```
((82 lines omitted))
192   E:   uh:: I can't understand why ↓you'[re absent.
193   R:                                    [uhuhuhuh
194   R:   I'm [(sorry)
195   E:       [but I UNDERstand the problem with your knee.
196        but I had the <same> problem.
197        (1.0)
198   R:   °yeah.°
199        (0.4)
200   E:   and uh: I never miss class.
201   R:   ahah-hah
202        (0.9)
203   E:   in fact mine was much <worse.>
204   R:   ↓u::[n
```

205 E: [↓than yours.

206 (0.9)

207 E: uh: still I'm- (0.4) I'(h)m ha(h)rdly you(h)ng.

208 £m(h)y AGE is much different.£

209 (0.2)

210 E: .hh my age is much different than yours.

211 (0.6)

212 K: your,

213 E: <age.>

214 (0.5)

215 E: oji[isan.

old man

216 K: [↑young

217 R: ↑ah:: [ahuhuhu[huh

218 K: [ahuhuhu[huh

219 E: [you:ng [and

220 R: [ah: young e- [an-

221 E: [get well

222 quick[ly. this takes a lo:ng time.

223 R: [ah:.

224 R: ahuh huh[huh

225 E: [juuichigatsu.

November

226 R: [huh[huhuhuh

227 K: [huh[huhuhuh

228 E: [huhuhuh

229 (0.3)

230 E: £oh my go[sh£

231 R: [ah:

232 E: al[ready eight months.

233 K: [( )

234 (1.7)

235 E: terrible.

236 (0.3)

237 E: maybe one year it takes one year. you maybe two three

238 months to [get well. anyway, (0.3)=

239 R: [huhuhuh

240 E: =rihabiri ganbatte.

rehab work hard

"good luck with your rehab"

241 R: ↑yea:h.

242 E: but uh [<don't be late.>=

243 K: [( )

244 E: =and [wake up early.

245 R: [okay, okay. I promise.

246 E: >promise promise< 'coz I don't want to (0.2) fail you

247 I don't want to give you uh: ef. ((F))

248 (0.7)

249 E: it's not good for you ('coz) you have some talent

250 (.) and a future ↑company, sees your marks and it's

251 a oh my gosh.

252 R: okay.

It seems that Ethan initially tries to wrap up his telling-off at the start of this segment. While Remi has not disagreed with Ethan's talk at lines 193, 194, 198, and 201, she displays a reluctance to give a reply in line 204 ("↓u::n"). What Ethan said in the previous turn is "in fact mine was much <worse.>" and it followed with "than yours" in line 205 overlapping the

last part of Remi's turn. The 0.9-second gap in line 206 is attributable to Remi, in that Ethan has finished his assessment of his and Remi's injury in the previous line. Then, the gap of silence, with her use of a reluctance marker, further implicates Remi's disaffiliation with Ethan's assessment and (re)presentation of the scale [the seriousness of the injury] (Heritage, 1984a, 2008b; Pomerantz, 1984). It is at this point that Ethan's telling-off based on the scaling is undermined.

After the silence at line 206, Ethan takes a turn in lines 207-208. He might have tried to pursue the scaling of the injury, which is indicated by "uh: still I'm-", but he quits this path, and after a 0.4 intra-turn pause, he proposes a new scale, namely [age differences]. He repeats his assertion with an increment ("than yours") as well as an emphasis on "age" in line 210 after a 0.2-second gap, "my age is much different than yours". However, Remi does not display any uptake of Ethan's assertion, so Ethan self-repairs his utterance again at a slower speed "<age.>" in line 213 and "*ojiisan*." (old man) in line 215. Kumi also tells Remi that what Ethan meant is that Remi is "↑young", which is partly overlapping Ethan's "*ojiisan*". With those repairs, Remi understands the point, which is indicated by the change of state token "↑ah::" in line 217, although exactly what and how much she understands are unknown at this moment. Overlapping the students' laughter, Ethan initiates another scaling in the turn at lines 219, 221 & 220, "you:ng and get well quickly. this takes a lo:ng time." Here, Ethan scales himself and Remi in terms of [the speed of recovery from injury], which is based on the scale [age differences]. Remi shows that she is listening to Ethan's assertion in lines 220,

223, and 224. Ethan mentions the time he got the injury, "*juuichigatsu*"(November) in line 225. Ethan's explicit counting of how many months have passed since he got the injury in line 232 ("already eight months") acts as an account for his previous utterance "£oh my gosh:£" at line 230. After a 1.7-second long gap, at line 235 he gives a negative assessment "terrible.", which refers to the extent of his injury; it also serves as a stance marker for his previous utterance at line 232, providing the recipient with information about how that utterance is to be heard. After a 0.3-second gap, he takes a turn in lines 237-238 and 240 to scale himself and Remi again in terms of the speed of recovery. While his scaling is prefaced with "maybe" this time, he is not making a judgment about whether or not his injury will take longer than Remi's to heal; rather, he is simply saying that his injury may take one year and Remi's may take two or three months. Ethan never states that the two positions are interchangeable, so the contrastive positions on the scale of speed of recovery are still effective. While laughing softly, Remi seems to show her agreement to Ethan's proposed scaling. The scale [speed of recovery from injury] as well as the other scale of [age differences] have been formulated as a counter proposal for the scaling [seriousness of injury], which was disapproved at line 204 by Remi. In addition, no-indication of contradiction to the proposed scaling implicates her acceptance of them (see Bilmes, 1988b). No matter how Ethan uses "anyway", which is a topic-shifting marker (Drew & Holt, 1995), it does not affect the fact that the scaling is interactionally co-constructed in the moment.

After a 0.3-second intra-turn pause, Ethan changes the topic and says "*rihabiri*

ganbatte" (good luck with your physiotherapy). Remi replies "yea:h." in the next turn (line 241). Then, in the next turn, Ethan gives a warning "but uh don't be late and wake up early." (lines 242 and 244). Prefacing the turn with "but", he is pointing out that physiotherapy, which is part of Remi's answer for Ethan's initial question, cannot constitute a reason for absences. Remi, in line 245, makes a claim of understanding of Ethan's warning and promises with "okay, okay. I promise.", which is a stronger form of agreement than her "ye::s yes." at line 110. At this moment, Ethan's scolding of Remi is effectively accomplished. After this, she leaves the classroom without any further disagreement or complaints to Ethan.

We have seen a negotiation of scaling for achieving part of a teacher's job, scolding a student for being a lot of absences. In order to negate Remi's ligament injury as an adequate reason for absences, Ethan scaled Remi's injury against his own in terms of the seriousness of that injury. While this was initially accepted by Remi, it was later disapproved of by her and withdrawn by Ethan. Later, Ethan proposed another scale "age differences" and further proposed an additional scale [the speed of recovery from injury]. The scales were acknowledged and agreed to by Remi and she never argued about either the scale or Ethan's scolding in general, instead promising not to be late. However, based on these observations, one question that logically emerges is, what is the difference between the initial scaling and the other two?

The initial scaling, [seriousness of injury], was based on a verbal account. There was no visible proof to explain the seriousness of the injury such as a supporter, a set of crutches,

a cast, or a medical certificate, with the possible exception of the hot pack on Ethan's leg, which was initially hidden by his trousers. In other words, the trajectory of the scaling depended on whether or not Remi believed Ethan's verbal account. On the other hand, another scaling, [age differences], is visibly available in the interaction between a teacher over 60 years old and students around 20 years old. The other scaling, [speed of recovery], was based on their [age differences]: it is normatively understood that an older person takes more time to recover from injury than a younger person. Thus, it can be said that the trajectory of a proposed scaling largely depends on the extent to which it is (non)negotiable.

I do not insist, however, that any scaling based on a transportable identity necessarily succeeds. For instance, even the transportable identity "age" is negotiable: blood vessel age, bone age, and physical age are not always correlated with actual age, and are therefore negotiable. However, it is difficult to imagine a situation in which a participant around 20 years old could argue that her physical age (or blood vessel age, bone age) is older than that of a co-participant who is over 60 years old, and this is precisely what we have seen in the previous segment. One of the advantages of formulation employing a transportable identity is in its visibility: normative understanding of the transportable identity results in a higher acceptance of the proposed meaning of the formulation.

5.5 Discussion

This chapter aimed to describe some procedures that teachers use to formulate their own transportable identities in order to execute their jobs effectively in classroom interaction. The detailed analysis of three segments revealed that the teachers use the following procedures: generalization, specification, contrasting, co-categorization, and scaling.

In Segment 5.1, the teacher generalized himself to the level of nationality and contrasted himself with the student (as well as the rest of students) in terms of cultural memberships. By doing so, he (co)constructed an intercultural communication with the student taxonomically and made the interaction with students rich in content. In Segment 5.2, the teacher first generalized himself as an "old man" and then scaled the relationship between himself and the students in terms of age differences in order to specify the relationship between the students and the information in the news article. In Segment 5.3, the teacher initially scaled himself and the student in terms of the seriousness of an injury, but later withdrew that scale and reformulated the relationship between himself and the students into one based on a scale of age differences. He then further scaled the relationship in terms of the speed of recovery from an injury in line with those age differences. It is important to note that these scalings are not just simple word games: they are occasioned within the broader project of accomplishing various social actions and achieving certain interactional goals. With the scaling in terms of the speed of recovery, the teacher managed to give the student an effective warning on her class attendance. It should also be noted that the conversations of the

segments were taxonomically constructed: each practice was sensitive to the taxonomy-in-progress as well as refining the taxonomy through specifying it.

While the teachers in each segment made relevant their own and their students' transportable identities, they were also actively engaged with their situated identities as "teacher" in the conversations. The sequence organization of the talk in Segment 5.1 is characterized as a teacher-centered IRF/IRE format of interaction. The teacher's narrative in Segment 5.2 takes place at the E/F part of the sequence. Segment 5.3 is composed of the teacher's question and the student's response sequences. In addition to the sequential feature, the teacher in Segments 5.2 and 5.3 categorized himself as a "sensei" (teacher), an identity category which became procedurally consequential to the development of the conversations. The teachers did not lose control of the classroom nor bring unpleasant results by invoking the transportable identities, but instead effectively used them for doing their jobs.

The tasks the teachers performed in these segments are reasonably common: they are parts of the routines conducted in any language classroom. Therefore, how to execute these routines effectively is one of the mundane concerns of teachers. This chapter has indicated that formulating transportable identities is one of the ways teachers perform such routines in an effective way. One advantage of formulating transportable identities in language classroom interaction is that it enables teachers to get around individual differences among students. By categorizing others according to the publicly available indicators of a certain identity, such as ethnic background or age group, teachers can interact with a student as a

person of a certain category, not as an individual person who is different from other students. In grouping students into a category, teachers also make it possible to (re)specify the relationship between the topical information of ongoing talk and students in terms of contrast and scale. The less-negotiable nature of transportable identities supports the advantage of formulating the identities for teaching in language classrooms.

It is worth remembering, however, that the data segments analyzed in this chapter are cases taken from Japanese EFL classrooms, in which students were all first language speakers of the same language, all around 20 years old and all the same nationality. This fact clearly affects the interpretation of formulations. For example, it is difficult to generalize all the students into a certain age group in an ESL classroom in which students from a variety of age groups are studying. In addition, a teacher's categorization of a student's nationality can lead to a rejection and be a controversial factor in ESL classrooms (e.g. Talmy, 2004). Formulation employing transportable identities in such situations might bring an unwelcome result, as Richards (2006) suggests.

However, the above consideration does not lead to a devaluation of the findings of this chapter. Whatever trajectory draws a formulation of teacher and student's transportable identity in language classroom of different linguistic and cultural environment, the transportable identities are resources for teachers to perform their routine work in classroom as has been demonstrated earlier. What is important is the detailed description of actual instances such as those in this chapter; therefore, the actual trajectory of formulation of

teacher and student transportable identities in such a situation should be underway, even though it is beyond the scope of this chapter.

5.5 Concluding Remarks

Among the procedure of formulations documented in this chapter, it is worth remarking further on scaling. From the perspective of taxonomy, generalization and specification are ways of formulating a referent in terms of vertical relationships and contrast and co-categorization are formulations in terms of horizontal relationships. Bilmes (2010) documented participants' orientation to scalar relationships of information that appeared in a conversation, so he found that scale is a discursive phenomenon that specifies the horizontal relationships between conversational items. However, as the analysis displayed, scaling cuts across both the horizontal and vertical relationships. In Segment 5.2, the teacher scaled himself and the students in terms of age differences and specified the extent to which the students will be related to the world in 25 years. In Segment 5.3, the scaling of the teacher and the student in terms of the speed of recovery from their respective injuries, which is based on another scale "age differences", became a discursive resource that the teacher used to deny that the student's injury constituted a reason for absences. By specifying the horizontal relationship in terms of positions on a scale, the act of scaling also refines the vertical relationship.

The analysis in this chapter, therefore, found the following three points: first, the view of conversation as a taxonomic construction is a valuable means to understand the participants' practices in interaction and this point confirms Bilmes' suggestion (2008, 2009a, 2009b, 2011). Second, the procedure of scaling cuts across a conversation taxonomy both vertically and horizontally. Finally, a participant's transportable identity can become a useful resource for formulation due to its visible and less-negotiable nature.

6 Minimization of Knowledge Dissolution and Maximization of Knowledge Reclamation: Formulation Practices at Pre-response Position in Q&A Sessions at an Interactional Scientific Conference

6.1 Introduction

The previous two chapters examined how the aims in which the interactional participants are engaged and their practices of formulation are reflexively related (Chapter 4) and how the participants' transportable identities are employed for formulations to effectively achieve the actions the participants need to perform (Chapter 5). Through these investigations, it was found that background information that participants are supposed to have (e.g. the knowledge about the situational contexts of the conversations and the knowledge regarding the co-participants' identities) is indispensable in understanding what a particular formulation achieves and why and how the participants select that formulation. However, what *being knowledgeable* on a certain matter in interaction is has not been addressed so far in this dissertation.

Therefore, this chapter aims to describe how co-participants' knowledge on a specific issue is related to their formulation practices or how choosing a specific formulation and their knowledge on an issue are reflexively co-constructed. The data used for this chapter are from the Q&A session corpus, because that is a type of interaction in which the participants'

knowledge is the central issue. Wulff, Swales, and Keller (2009) mention that "a major function of DSs [discussion sessions, i.e., Q&A sessions] is to act as an evaluative forum" (p. 81), where it is discussed how and in what way the presenter's research study is "newsworthy or significant for the profession and uniquely different from prior work in the area" (Jacoby & McNamara, 1999, p. 230). Therefore, as Stubbs (1983) notes, questions from the audience members in Q&A sessions "will be interpreted as challenges to the position the speaker has presented; and the speaker's response will be interpreted as attempts to defend the presentation" (p. 172). It follows that in the Q&A session the main task for the presenter is to construct him/herself as knowledgeable on the contents and related research of what he or she talked about in the paper presentation through answering a question(s).

In the following text, a number of previous CA studies on knowledge in the question-answer sequence are reviewed. After that, actual excerpts from the data corpus are analyzed in detail. The findings of the analysis are discussed in relation to the context of the interaction. Lastly, this chapter concludes with a discussion of the tactical nature of formulation practices and the importance of conventional meaning of word and behavior for such practices of formulation.

6.2 CA studies on knowledge in question-answer sequence

The act of questioning reveals any given participants' knowledge on the issue that the question addresses. As we have seen in Chapter 4, questioning makes an answer conditionally relevant (Schegloff, 1968): therefore, when an answer is not given to a question, an implication is drawn. In two-party face-to-face ordinary conversation, for example, when one participant asked the other "what time is it now?" and the other does not provide an answer but instead remains silent, it is implied that the other is insulting to the questioner. In types of interaction in which the participants' knowledge is a central issue, failing to reply to a question suggests that the respondent does not have enough knowledge either to understand the question or to give a response to the question. For instance, in language learning classrooms, if a student does not answer a teacher's question, the implication can be drawn that the student does not have enough linguistic knowledge to understand the question or to compose an answer in the target language. Recall that in Chapter 4 we saw the teachers' orientation to their students' lack of linguistic knowledge that emerges in their reformulation of the un-responded questions. In debate where an opposition to a challenging question is programmatically relevant (Bilmes, 1993), failing to oppose an interlocutor's question means the respondent's failure to defend his or her position on the issue raised by the question (see Bilmes, 1999, 2001 on how questions are tactically employed in debate). The power of questioning is very strong and one cannot "'naively choose' not to answer" a question (Schegloff, 1968, p. 1086).

Not only is the participant being asked a question required to show his or her knowledge on the issue, but the participant who initiates the question is also displaying his or her knowledge on the matter through the design of the question (e.g. Koshik, 2002; Heritage, 2008a, 2010; Raymond, 2003). For example, each of the following questions indicates a different amount of knowledge the questioner is supposed to have on the issue being asked by the questions (Heritage, 2010): "Are you married?" (yes/no interrogative question) suggests that the questioner does not have definite knowledge on the issue; "You're married, aren't you?" (statement plus interrogative tag question) shows that the questioner is fairly certain about the issue and has a strong expectation of a specific response type (in the example case, it is "yes"); and "You're married" (yes/no declarative question) displays that the questioner is more certain and holds a stronger expectation of a specific response on the issue than the statement plus interrogative tag question (ibid., p. 48). Not only the types of polar (yes/no) question, but also so-called wh-questions show the questioner's knowledge on the questioned issue. Koshik (2005) found that in the context of talk in which a participant gives an assertion on a certain issue, the following wh-question initiated by the co-participant is typically a challenge to the assertion. Therefore, the questioner's knowledge on the question topic emerges as a particular stance toward the topic. In this way, CA treats a participant's knowledge on a certain issue as a displayed epistemic stance, which is discursively and temporally constructed as a visible phenomenon within the interaction regardless of whether or not the participant really has the knowledge in his head.

The design of a question also accomplishes discursive knowledge construction in another way: the format of question turn limits or biases the format and amount of the response to the question. For example, a yes/no declarative question strongly invites a "yes" response, and a detailed account or information in addition to the simple confirmation is not called for. On the other hand, a yes/no interrogative question "invite[s] elaboration and sequence expansion" (Heritage, 2010, p. 49) more than a simple "yes" or "no."

The pre-second position is the sequential slot in which a respondent can show his or her epistemic stance free from the question format on the issue being topicalized by the question: that is, the sequential position before the second-pair part which is relevant to the second pair part rather than the first. Some studies have investigated what so-called response tokens appear in the pre-second position accomplishes (e.g. English "oh" [Heritage, 1984a, 1998, 2002, 2005], "well" [Schegloff & Lerner, 2009], "uh" [Schegloff, 2010], Japanese "eh:" [Hayashi, 2009], and German " ach ja" [Beltz & Golato, 2008]). Heritage (1998) found that "oh" used in the pre-second position indicates that the respondent treats the question as inappropriate to the flow of conversation. Schegloff and Lerner (2009) revealed that "well" suggests the upcoming answer is not straightforward to the question and takes a long turn. Hayashi (2009) discovered that Japanese "eh:" is employed to show that the respondent does not expect the question. These studies demonstrate that such tokens are not the manifestation of the participants' cognitive states; rather, they are used for indicating the respondents' epistemic stances regarding the topic issued by a question.

This chapter focuses on the presenters' practices of formulation at the pre-response part, since that is the first place in which the presenter displays his or her epistemic stance to the issue raised by the question and also the slot in which the presenter can choose a formulation free from the form imposed by the question design.

6.3 Analysis

In this section cases in which "uh" and "okay" are employed at the pre-second position will be particularly analyzed in detail. The reason these two response tokens has been chosen for analysis is that (1) "uh" is frequently used and recognized as a sign of the speaker's disfluency in cognitive psychological studies and therefore can be considered an indication of the speaker's lack of knowledge or competence, and (2) "okay" is frequently used at the third turn position and has been studied extensively but "okay" in the pre-second position has not been studied even though its use is seen in the Q&A session data. Close analysis of these two items as part of the presenters' practices of formulation will reveal the relationship between the participants' knowledge, practices of formulation, and the context of the talk.

6.3.1 "Uh" to postpone answering a question

psycholinguistic studies interested in cognitive speech processing have addressed "uh" as one of the so-called *fillers* that fill a gap of silence: that is to say, "uh" is uttered when

the speaker is having cognitive troubles in producing an utterance, such as trouble in searching for a word(s) or phrase(s) suitable for a planned answer (e.g. Brennan & Williams, 1995; Clark & Fox Tree, 2002). In such a genre of studies, "uh" has been typically identified as a sign of disfluency (e.g. Bortfeld, Leon, Bloom, Schober & Brennan, 2001).

Schegloff (2010), however, closely analyzed "uh" and related versions of "uh" such as "uhm" and the phonologically lengthened "uh:" in ordinary conversation and found that "uh" is not always related to trouble in speaking. "Uh" is also used when speakers initiate a new topic, try to close a topic, or give a dispreferred response. While it is not mentioned in Schegloff (2010), the "uh" can also be used for opening up a new conversational topic to make the listener attend to what follows (see Fox Tree, 1993).

Therefore, on one hand, "uh" is treated as an indication of the speaker's lack of knowledge or competence but on the other hand it is considered to achieve some important interactional effects. Thus, it is worth investigating what "uh" at the pre-second position does in the Q&A sessions in which the presenter's knowledge is central issue. The point to be addressed is the reason why the presenters choose "uh" as an utterance at this position before they give an answer to a question.

Through an investigation of the Q&A session data corpus, 17 cases in which the presenters use "uh" and its variations were found. It should be made clear that the object of the analysis is "uh" (pronounced as [əː]) and its varieties such as "uh:" and "uhm," which is distinct from the Japanese change of state token "a" (pronounced as [ɑ]) (Ikeda, 2007; Saft,

2001). While the presenters of the 17 cases are all Japanese, there is no case found in which the presenter's utters [ɑ].

In the 17 cases on which the present analysis is based, "uh" is used for accomplishing a particular kind of interactional work. See the following segments as the examples.

Segment 6.1 [07QA: 1-D-I-5] ('Q' for Questioner, 'P' for Presenter)

```
7       Q:   so is there ↑any: of representative Reynolds
8             Number:? something like (it)?
9            (1.0)
10  →   P:   uh:::: (1.3) so, (1.3) this micro↑phone's
11            Reynolds Number is (0.2) uh:::: (0.4) very
12            important. .hh so uh::m many microphone (.)
13            has a low Reynolds Number.
14            (0.8)
15      P:   a::::nd °these are-° (.) the these operation.
16            (0.6)
17      P:   so this microphone's Reynolds Number about (.)
18            uh:: rounds (0.4) uh:: (0.4) one hundred.
```

The question in lines 7–8 asks whether the presenter's study has a Reynolds Number or a similar ratio. The presenter fails to give a reply in the next turn, instead remaining silent for 1.0 second (line 9). Then, he produces "uh::::" in line 10. What follows that utterance is a 1.3-second pause and a continuing-intonation "so," (line 10). While another 1.3-second pause follows it, the presenter holds the turn and goes on to construct an answer to the question.

Segment 6.2 (11QA: 1-D-IV-2: Q for Questioner, P for Presenter)

```
9        Q:   a- t- uh: please show me the uh the aerosol index
10            uh the >maybe< in the s-s- source. s-s- uh seven uh:
11            slide °maybe.°
12            (0.5)
13       Q:   °the seventh,°
14            (1.7) ((P shows the PPT slide in question))
15       Q:   uh the e- eleven, or: to uh the (wavelength)¿
16            (3.9) ((P changes a PPT slide to another))
17       Q:   ah yes. hh .hh uh:: (1.4) which uh the- maybe (0.4)
18            ↑why is the: eleven uh micrometer uh the ↑two
19            micro↑meters bands the:: ↑why do you uh the use.
20            (1.1)
21   →   P:   uh: (1.1) this is (1.1) eh: foo- eh- (0.7) silicate
22            dusts (0.4) particles (which) best on the (0.4)
23            silicate dusts particles characte↓ristics.
```

The question is delivered in lines 17–19. It is apparent that the questioner is having trouble in constructing a question. He begins with "which uh the- maybe" (line 17) but in the middle of the construction, he abandons it. He then reinitiates a question with "↑why is the: eleven uh micrometer uh the ↑two micro↑meters bands the::" (lines 18–19), but before finishing up a syntactically complete question he further modifies it with "↑why do you uh the use." (line 19). The presenter does not respond to the question and a 1.1-second gap of silence is produced in line 20. After this, the presenter says "uh:", and following a 1.1-second silence,

she moves on to answer the question. While the question has some syntactical problems, the presenter does not orient to it as a problem and does not initiate repair such as by checking confirmation of her hearing (e.g. "why do I use two micro meter bands?"). The questioner likewise does not repair his question during or after the silence in line 20: to the participants, the clumsy question construction does not cause a problem in understanding. The surrounding sequential environment of "uh:" in line 21 is certain amount of gap of silence, which is similar to the environment of the "uh" in the previous segment and the "uh" in the following segment.

Segment 6.3 [17QA: 1-E-II-1] ('Q' for Questioner, 'P' for Presenter)

```
13      C:   yeah I- I- I have one question. (0.3) ↑in
14           your (arms), (0.3) uh:: situation (0.2) the
15           total ↑(worm), of the:: (   ), (0.2) decrease
16           >even the: (chemical) of reaction,< (0.5) because
17           the one hydrogen (0.7) and a half, (0.3)
18           oxygen (0.4) reacts (.) to the one, (.) ↓uh::
19           (0.8) water, is to for (0.6) most. so that-
20           (.) volume of the total gas, (0.3) should be
21           increased °due to (chemical reaction).° (0.3) but-
22           (0.4) the: heat generation occurs, (0.3) >the
23           temperature rises,< (0.4) >the total volume
24           increase< °in it tem- uh:: (chemical reaction).°
25           .hhh which uh- ↑which effect, (.) is stronger,
26           (0.8)
27  →    P:   uh: (0.5) in the (doubt) in react, (0.4) a:nd
```

```
28          the temperature is very- much- (0.2) higher
29          than the, (ron) reactive places, (0.6) and
30          the (0.6) density, (.) ee:: decreases. and
31          eh:: (0.9) the effect of (0.2) expansion (0.7)
32          is more strong, (0.4) but, (0.2) the (0.2)
33          variation is not, (0.4) eh:: (rapid) (0.3)
34          uh: (1.1) nearly ↑flat distribution? .hhh
35          and the: effect of uh: heat (   ), (0.4) eh=we
36          cannot (0.3) eh:: ↑remarkably, eh: (0.5) eh:
37          founds, (0.3) eh: in the- (0.5) uh: (0.4)
38          structure of the (turbulence) (0.7) in the
39          develop (   ).
40          (0.8)
41      C:  °thank you very much.°
```

After clarifying the point in lines 13–24, the chairperson asks a question "which uh- ↑which effect, (.) is stronger," in line 25. The question does not obtain a response from the presenter in the immediately next turn but a 0.8-second gap of silence is left (line 26). Then, after the gap, the presenter uses "uh:" and after another 0.5-second pause, he starts to answer the question.

What we have seen in the three segments of the Q&A sessions is the same sequential pattern: first, a question is initiated; second, a certain amount of silence that is attributable to the presenter is produced; third, "uh" is employed by the presenter; fourth, a certain amount of silence follows; and finally, an answer is initiated. It might be considered that "uh" is

being used as a filler to fill in the gap of silence while the presenters are searching for a word or phrase to construct an answer; however, the following two cases suggest that the use of "uh" does not necessarily involve such a cognitive process for constructing an answer.

Segment 6.4 [07QA: 1-D-I-5] ('Q' for Questioner, 'P' for Presenter)

```
23      C:   any question?
24      Q:   how do you define the efficiency of the pump (    ).
25           (2.2)
26      Q:   how did you define it.
27           (0.3)
28  →   P:   uh:: (0.2) ((coughs)) (1.7)  is that a: compo
29           efficiency?
30            (1.1)
31      Q:   no. last- (.) last conclusion (   ), (0.3)
32           efficiency of the pump is ze↑ro five zero one
33           percent.
```

The question "how do you define the efficiency of the pump ( )." is asked in line 24, but the answer is not given by the presenter and a long 2.2-second gap of silence is produced. The questioner modifies his question in the next turn at line 26: he changes the tense of the modal auxiliary "do" to "did." However, this does not get an immediate reply either. Then after the 0.3-second gap in line 27, the presenter says "uh::" and after a 0.2-second pause, a cough and a 1.7-second pause, he initiates a confirmation check "is that a: compo efficiency?" in lines 28–29. In this segment, what follows "uh" is not an answer but a

repair-initiation to the question. The same interactional phenomenon can be seen in the next segment.

Segment 6.5: [06QA: 1-D-IV-1] ('Q' for Questioner, 'P' for Presenter)

```
100     Q:   °o-kay° well (    ) and uh (0.7) uhm: actually
101          I don't know if there's a mistake or not but
102          uhm do you have any comment if uhm (2.6) by
103          applying a convex (.) uh surface.
104          (0.7)
105          does it also effect the >characteristics when<
106          you change the number of the jets.
107          (2.9)
108     Q:   o:r then does this distribution is one effect
109          to the other.
110          (1.9)
111  →  P:   uh (0.4) mo- more slowly pleas(h)e.
112          (2.3)
113     Q:   uh:m (0.7) in this presentation (  ) two kinds
114          of uh:m (0.5) dis[cuss two kinds of effects.=
115     P:                    [yeah.
```

The questioner asks a question "do you have any comment if uhm (2.6) by applying a convex (.) uh surface." in lines 102–103. However, the presenter does not reply to it in the next turn. Following the 0.7-second gap (line 104), the questioner modifies the question to "does it also effect the >characteristics when< you change the number of the jets." in lines 105–106.

However, this modification also fails to get a reply and a 2.9-second long gap is left at line 107. The questioner further pursues a response with another question in lines 108–109: the question "o:r then does this distribution is one effect to the other." gives another answer option to the presenter, but again this does not get a response. After the 1.9-second gap (line 110), the presenter utters "uh" and a 0.4-second silence follows at line 111: however, what follows the pause is a repair-initiation to the questioner "mo- more slowly pleas(h)e.".

These two cases show that "uh" at the pre-second position does not always indicate the speaker's trouble in finding out a suitable word or phrase to a planned answer to a question, since it is not an answer but a repair-initiation that is performed after the "uh." That being the case, it is worth asking what "uh" is being employed for at this position? What is common to the previous five segments is that there is a certain amount of silence between the presenters' "uh" and their next utterances. That is to say, the questioners do not take a turn in the silence but they wait for the presenters' next action: in other words, the silence is oriented to as an intra-turn pause, which belongs to the presenters' ongoing turn. Therefore, by producing "uh," the presenters project or are considered to project an upcoming response and hold the turn. It is true that the presenter can make him/herself look more competent and knowledgeable on the questioned issue if he or she produces a response immediately after a question compared to the case if he or she uses "uh." However, compared with being silent, showing an orientation to take a turn to give a reply (regardless of whether he or she can actually answer the question) is better in that the former action implies a lack of competence

or knowledge to give an answer and can harm the quality of his or her research study. In addition, the presenter can gain time to prepare an answer to a question with "uh." It can be said that the presenters' choice of "uh" instead of silence is tactical in postponing an answer to a question as well as being evaluated as incompetent and unknowledgeable.

6.3.2 "Okay" to suggest competence and knowledge to answer a question

Out of the 41 Q&A-sessions data, four cases were found in which the presenters used "okay" in the pre-second position. "Okay" has been a fairly frequent object of CA studies (e.g. Beach, 1993; Gurthrie, 1997; Pillet-Shore, 2003; Schegloff, 2007a): it has been found that "okay" is used at the third-turn position (i.e. the turn taken by the initiator of an adjacency pair after the second pair part is performed). "Okay" in this position shows that the initiator of an adjacency-pair accepts the second pair part performed by the co-conversationalist and also displays the initiator's orientation to close the sequence and the topic developed by the adjacency pair. However, what "okay" performs at the pre-second position has not been addressed so far. The segment below is an example of that type of "okay."

Segment 6.6 [10QA: 1-D-IV-1] ('Q' for Questioner, 'P' for Presenter)

```
11      Q:  °thank you very much for your presentation.° thank
12          you very much for your: presentation. I have some
13          question. (0.3) the: there is uh (.) eh three components of
14          (.) turbulent (0.3) heat flux. (0.3) you show the::
```

(.) ehto ehto- ehto- (0.3) (the) components (0.3) eh:to
of the dublyu (("W")) (0.2) seeta (("θ")) (0.2)
to the .hh (0.5) ↑did you, (0.5) observe (no) measure (.)
(than the) there are the other (.) components.
(1.2)
Q: (than-) three components.
(0.7)
→ P: uh okay a:nd uh: (0.2) the- uh: (0.4) open spaces is
maybe uh: the: cases are heat sources are (.) uh
the- surfaces uh (0.5) uh >ground surfaces.< .hhh
an' then the: are: ↓the:: (.) this cases uh maybe
uh the: ↓uh:: measure of heat transfer from the
vertical uh directions. .hhh
but (0.4) a:n' then the: (0.2) >(urban)< spaces in the:
↓uh the (0.3) wall and (.) uh:: road (.) .hh this
case is maybe uh:: (0.5) uh: >maybe-< very
complicated but .hh the: uh: from the surface, (0.4)
uh: the heat transfer (0.5) uh:: w- (0.3) we can (.)
exact- eh- (0.2) uh: exact uh: the: (0.2) ° ↓u:n°
measure- (0.3) measures (.) is: (0.2) very- uh
difficult. .hhh
an' then a- another po- uh the maybe the (adbiction)
te:rms (0.4) from the: (0.4) horizontal (0.3) uh maybe
the ex (("X")) and wai (("Y")) (0.4) uh: component.
maybe uh the: (0.3) uh some cases very important. .hhh
but uh this cases are only uh the: uh: (0.3) ↓u::n
(0.4) my uh: our: uh attention is this uh: (0.2) uh
heat=transfer from the vertical heat transfer only.
.hh uh: (0.9) y- uh (0.2) i know uh what you say uh:
the very important uh: point.

```
45          (0.2)
46      P:  uh: the in the future that i: would try it.
47          (1.5)
48      Q:  °(i'm okay)°
```

In line 22, the presenter uses "okay" before specifically addressing the question initiated in lines 13–18 and 20. Therefore, the "okay" appears in the pre-response part of the question-answer adjacency pair. In order to find out what and why "okay" appears in this position, I will analyze the conversation in detail.

Looking at the question turn format, we can see it is prefaced with a specification of the point which is delivered in the presentation lines 14–17 and is formatted with a kind of negative interrogative "did you, (0.5) observe (no) measure (.) (than the) there are the other (.) components." (lines 17–18). The design of this question suggests that the questioner expects that the presenter did not measure besides the components introduced in the presentation and this question format invites a negative answer (see Heritage, 2010). Therefore, the design of the question-turn can be considered as challenging: if the presenter answered "no," then the next question would be "why didn't you measure it?" or some similar kind of accusation would be issued; if the presenter replied "yes," then "why didn't you talk about it in the presentation" would be a possible next question. So either way, the presenter has to give a detailed account on the issue and this of course requires a certain amount of relevant knowledge. However, in the next turn after the question, which is normatively

attributable to the presenter because of conditional relevance (Schegloff, 1968), he does not respond to the question and a 1.2-second gap of silence is produced.

The questioner treats the 1.2-second gap of silence as the presenter's trouble in understanding the question and executes a repair for a possible trouble source, that is, a part of his question by rephrasing "(than the) there are the other components" (line 18) to "(than-) three components" (line 20). However, this does not result in getting a reply, with a 0.7-second gap of silence being left. Then, after this gap, the presenter says "uh okay a:nd uh: (0.2) the- uh: (0.4) open spaces is" in line 22. His reply extends to lines 46. The questioner accepts the presenter's answer with the third turn position "okay" in line 48.

In this segment, although "okay" is used in the pre-answer position, it does not come immediately after the question; a certain amount of silence precedes the "okay." As reviewed in the previous section, the presenter's job in the Q&A session is to defend his or her position delivered in the paper presentation part, because the main activity of the Q&A sessions is an evaluation of the presenter's point of view. Therefore, if the presenter fails to give a response to a question, an unfavorable inference is normatively made (Bilmes, 1993). That is to say, the presenter is seen to be unknowledgeable on the topic of the question, although a question in Q&A sessions is normatively supposed to be related to the contents of the presentation. While the silence in line 19 is constructed as a questioner-caused trouble due to the questioner's repair (line 20) of his clumsy question construction in line 18, silence occurs after the repair in line 20, which retrospectively implies that the silence in line 19 is caused

by something other than trouble in the construction of the question. Therefore, in this segment of interaction, the presenter's being silent in line 21 and also in 19 retroactively implies that he cannot answer the question because of some kind of trouble of his own.

"Okay" is used in this sequential environment and it seems to achieve three interactional effects in the pre-second position: first, it indicates the presenter's acceptance of the previous question; second, by displaying his acceptance, "okay" puts a period on the sequence in which the presenter's knowledge on the issue is questioned; and third, since "okay" works as a quasi-answer to the question, it invalidates the bias made on the answer format by the questioning turn design. The first two points are made possible by the conventional meaning of "okay" which is seen at the third turn position. Because the conventional meaning, "okay" in the pre-second position makes the presenter look competent enough to at least understand the question and move to the postponed second pair part. The last interactional value of "okay" is specific to the "okay" employed in the pre-second position. Although it is not a corresponding answer to the question and therefore cannot be categorized as one which appeared in the pre-second position, it is a kind of reply to a question: after the "okay" any form of answering is acceptable. This is what the presenter does in line 22: his response to the question is neither "yes" nor "no" but after the "okay" is " a:nd uh: (0.2) the- uh: (0.4) open spaces is". A similar pattern is found in the segment below.

Segment 6.7 [04QA: 1-B-III-2] ('Q' for Questioner, 'A' for Audience members; 'P' for Presenter)

Q: ( ) is Mitsui °from ( ) university.° uh- uh- I understand the: £flow pattern of the ( )£

P: haha

A: hehehe

Q: but >I JUST WON-< (0.2) wonder uh: the (0.3) can we ss (0.2) call this tube as micro channel?

(1.1)

Q: yeah because uh: the I think uh the ( ) flow is dominant and the du- due to maybe due to the very low (0.5) uh:::n density ratio. °I thi[nk °

P: [yeah.

(0.9)

Q: so (0.3) i- it too looks uh: uh ( ) conventional ch- ch- uh ch- channel.

(0.3)

Q: so: i- (0.8) u- usually (.) in the mini channel or micro channel. uh: the ( ) or (0.6) ( ) flow is dominant and the ss sometime¿ (.) nyean .h very often (0.2) uhn the:: (0.6) the:: very big, (0.6) (bubble)

(1.3)

Q: such as two hole of the two and thus (0.7) the flow pattern is a (0.2) ↓very different from this:.

(2.1)

P: yeah. so- [so- so(h)rry. heh .h

Q: [( )

(0.3)

39 Q: difficult question but (1.4) yes. [( )

40 P: [eh::

41 (1.4)

42 → P: oka(h)y. (0.4) ((turns to the slide)) eh (0.8)

43 this uh: (0.4) this period show uh shows the flow

The question is initiated in lines 16–17 "but >I JUST WON-< (0.2) wonder uh: the (0.3) can we ss (0.2) call this tube as micro channel?". Prefaced with "but", the question explicitly suggests its challenging nature to the presenter's viewpoint given in his paper presentation. The presenter does not respond to this question and a 1.1-second gap of silence is produced. Then, the questioner clarifies his standpoint with "because" (line 19). His use of "I think" in the beginning and ending parts of the turn (line 19 and line 21) invites the presenter to tell his own point of view. However, the presenter does not clarify his viewpoint but instead produces a continuer (line 22) and remains silent (line 23). Subsequently, the questioner self-selects to take a turn. Prefacing his turn with "so" (Raymond, 2004), he continues explaning his idea on the issue being raised by his question that it is not a *micro-channel* but a *conventional channel* (lines 24–25). The questioner explicitly opposes the presenter's position. However, the presenter still remains silent (line 26). After this non-answer, the questioner takes a turn again: This turn is also prefaced with the turn-initial "so" and he gives a further account of why he wonders what the presenter called as a *micro-channel* cannot be so (lines 27–31). The presenter again fails to reply to the questioner in the next line again

(line 32). After waiting 1.3-seconds for the presenter to take a turn, the questioner further explains his viewpoint on the issue: his use of the extreme case formulation "very" in line 34 indicates the questioner's strong disagreement to the presenter's position (Pomerantz, 1986; Edwards, 2000). After another 2.1-second long gap of silence (in line 35), the presenter takes a turn and says " yeah. so- so- so(h)rry. heh .h". The meaning of his utterance is ambiguous: it can be interpreted either as a repair-initiation to the questioner, as an apology for being wrong and giving a false categorization (*micro-channel*) to what in fact is a *conventional channel*, or as an apology for remaining silent and being unable to answer. The questioner interprets this presenter's utterance as an apology for his being silent and failing to give a reply: his "difficult question but" in line 39 indicates that he understands it is reasonable for the presenter to remain silent because the question is difficult. However, by attaching "but" he suggests the presenter has a duty to answer the question. "Okay" appears in the presenter's turn in line 42 after a 1.4-second gap in line 41. In his turn, firstly the presenter says "okay," secondly he turns his body to the PowerPoint slide displayed on the screen and finally he starts answering the question ("this uh: (0.4) this period show uh shows the flow").

It is obvious that the presenter's knowledge on the question topic is cast into doubt because of his silence in the face of a challenging question and the questioner's subsequent explicit disagreement to the presenter's position as well as the questioner's categorization of the question as a difficult question. In this interactional environment, "okay" seems to achieve the same interactional effects that we saw in the previous segment: that is to say,

"okay" indicates that the presenter understands the question and projects he can answer it while invalidating the imposed answer format and the tilted answer type by the questioning-turn design. The question was "but I wonder, can we call this tube as micro channel" (lines 16–17), so this design invites a negative answer, but after "okay" in line 42, the presenter does not start with "not" but rather an explanation of the diagram shown in the PowerPoint slide.

In the segment below, "okay" is used after a repair-sequence initiated by the presenter, which is directed to a part of the question asked by the chairperson.

Segment 6.8 [18QA: 1-E-II-2] ('C' for Chairperson, 'P' for Presenter)

```
6       C:   any questions?
7            (10.6)
8       C:   okay >a- a- a- I-< I have a a one- one question.
9            s- very very simple- question. ↑how about, (0.2)
10           the increase (   ) in the pressure track.
11           (1.2)
12      P:   yeah ↑increase grade of what.
13      C:   pressure track.
14           (0.6)
15      P:   pressure?
16      C:   pressure.
17           (1.0)
18      C:   required for the: (0.3) making the flow.
19      P:   oh okay. the PRESSURE TRACK.=
20      C:   =yes.
```

```
21 →   P:   okay .hh and the pressure track, (0.4) uh uh:
22           we did a measure (     ) (0.3) but i- it's
23           (       ). yeah it (would not) be small.
24           (1.0)
25      P:   yeah okay [thank you.
26      C:              [fine.
```

The question is initiated in lines 9–10, which is performed by the chairperson ("↑how about, (0.2) the increase ( ) in the pressure track."). After being silent for 1.2-seconds (line 11), the presenter asks a repair for a specific part of the question with the utterance "yeah ↑increase grade of what." (line 12). The chairperson clarifies "what" with "pressure track" in the immediately following turn (line 13). In the next turn, the presenter asks a confirmation of what he heard with "pressure?" (line 14) and the chairperson gives a confirmation to it with "pressure.". However, after this confirmation sequence of turns, the presenter does not take a turn (line 15). The chairperson then gives further information: it is the "pressure" that is "required for the: (0.3) making the flow." (line 16). The presenter makes public his change in understanding with "oh" (Heritage, 1984b, 2005) and the subsequent "okay" and "pressure track" claim that he understands the point of the question (line 19). It should be noted that this "okay" appears in the third turn position of the repair sequence that is initiated by the presenter. In the next turn at line 20 the chairperson gives confirmation to the presenter's

understanding. The repair-sequence inserted in the post-first position[11] ends there by the repair-initiator's (the presenter's) display of his understanding and the repair-performer's (the questioner's) confirmation. This sequence cannot be considered a pre-second because it is concerned with the part of the first position item. The pre-second position "okay" comes in the presenter's next turn in line 21. The construction of the turn shows that "okay" is not oriented to the previous repair-sequence but to the question delivered in lines 9–10. It does not appear as an isolated item but as a part of a turn-constructional unit: the prosody of "okay," indicates that more items to be produced and in fact the in-breath and "and the pressure track," follow. Although a 0.4-second pause is there, the prosody of "pressure track," suggests that the presenter does not yield but holds the turn and in fact the presenter continues speaking (and in addition the chairperson does not take the turn), executing a reply directly relevant to the question ("uh uh: we did a measure ( ) (0.3) but i- it's ( ). yeah it (would not) be small."). The meaning of the utterance "and the pressure track," works as the presenter's (re)setting of the question agenda.

It is not certain whether the presenter's "okay" in the pre-answer position of this conversational segment is successful in invalidating the forced answering format, since the question ("how about") invites a variety of response forms. However, it can be seen that the "okay" is employed to make a sequence transition to move on to executing an answer to the

[11] The repair-sequence is relevant to the item of the first-pair part: therefore, it is a post-first expansion sequentially placed in the post-first position (see Schegloff, 2007a).

question, announcing the presenter's ability to respond to the question. The following segment is the final example of the type of "okay" that is used in the pre-second position.

Segment 6.9 [26QA: 2-C-I-3] ('C' for Chairperson, 'P' for Presenter)

```
6       C:  =hh hehe so uh:: .hh £any ↑question °or° comment,£
7           (0.6) °suggestion from audience?°
8           (5.4)
9       C:  >↑okay< so:: >I have a question for you< so: .hh >uh
10          to be honest< so uh:: I'm so: (0.2) >not so familiar
11          with this field uh so< .hhh >I'd like to< make sure
12          so: (.) >what's the meaning< °of the° ah in the title
13          so you mention ↓so:: uh >experimental condition is<
14          twenty five degree see (('°C')) and- (0.6) pee eich
15          (('pH')) four point five.
16      P:  oh the [(   )
17      C:         [>↑what's the meaning.<
18          (0.4)
19 →    P:  [okay first (of all) (0.4) good point. we (control)=
20      C:  [°(    )°
21      P:  =these experiment (of) pee eich (('pH')) for forty
22          five. °(   )° .hh pee eich (('pH')) sixty °we didn't
23          want- didn't show you but it's quite interesting.° (.)
24          .hhh the (0.5) REASON for the particular choice,
25          (0.8) is that the (0.3) <purification> (0.4) lysozyme
26          is u:sually taken from precipitation from .hhh excess
27          (    ) is a precipitant. this is normally than,
28          (0.3) at- pee eich (('pH')) four point fi:ve.
```

The question "what's the meaning< °of the° ah in the title" is initiated by the chairperson in line 12. However, the chairperson does not yield the turn to the presenter, instead holding it to clarify the point of his question with " so you mention ↓so:: uh >experimental condition is twenty five degree see and- (0.6) pee eich four point five.", which (25°C pH 4.5) is part of the presentation title. The presenter's "oh" in line 16 indicates that he does not expect such a question (Heritage, 1998). Overlapping a part of the presenter's turn, the chairperson re-issues his question "↑what's the meaning.". However, the presenter's reply does not immediately follow it and a 0.4-second gap of silence occurs in line 18. The presenter employs "okay" in the next turn and this is followed by an assessment of the chairperson's question "first (of all) (0.4) good point". After this, his answer to the question follows. The "okay" makes a sequential transition by showing the presenter's acceptance of the question.

The microanalysis of the four cases shows that "okay" is employed at the pre-second position in a sequential environment in which a distance (either in the form of a gap of silence, a repair-sequence, or a combination of the two) is interactionally produced between the first-pair part and the second-pair part. In such an interactional environment, "okay" at the pre-second position works as a transition marker that announces the speaker's acceptance of the first-pair part and thereby closes the sequence which has postponed the second-pair part. This interactional effect of "okay" discursively constructs the knowledge in the Q&A sessions: it makes the speaker look knowledgeable at least enough to understand the question. In addition, as "okay" can serve as a kind of reply to the question though it is not a

corresponding answer to the issue delivered in the question, it invalidates the required answer format and the speaker can choose from a variety of ways to construct the answer turn.

A question arises here: why do the presenters choose "okay" in this interactional environment when there must be other alternatives? In the Q&A session corpus, one case was found in which one of the possible formulations "I understand" is employed at the pre-second position. A close analysis of the case (Segment 6.10) will indicate the differences between "okay" and "I understand" and suggest a reason why the presenters of the four cases employed "okay."

Segment 6.10 [41QA: 3-E-II-2] ('Q' for Questioner, 'P' for Presenter)

```
9       Q:   I'm minobe from hitachi univ so, (0.5) I: enjoyed
10           your presentation so much, .hh uh ↑please show me: uh:
11           first view graph so >relationship< (0.4) ↓uh:: (0.7)
12           heat dissipation ↑a:nd the (0.2) surface area.
13           (1.4)
14      P:   okay.
15           (1.1)
16      Q:   I'm very interest- (0.4) ↓in: this view graph.
17           (1.5)
18      Q:   my question i:s .hhh so- if uh::: ah .hh could you
19           tell me your idea if (.) uh you (0.5) uh use (0.3)
20           ah (0.7) choose (0.6) uh: (1.5) volume of product,
21           (0.5) in horizontal axis,
22      P:   ((looks upper left with a thinking face))
23      Q:   because so[: (0.5) okay I understand so surface area=
```

```
24      P:              [((nods 10 times))
25      Q:   =is directly (0.2) uh: proportional to the (0.5) the
26           heat transf-  (0.3) eh heat transfer coefficients.
27           [but .hh I- especially for natural convection (0.2)=
28      P:   [((nods twice)) yes.
29      Q:   =[↓casehh so some case (0.2) uh:: we- (0.4) we may=
30      P:    [((nods))
31      Q:   =use ↓uh: (0.9) volume of (0.4) >over the product,< (0.3)
32           >so,<=
33   →  P:   =>I understand< yeah.
34           (0.6)
35      P:   >uh sometimes< we: (.) use the unit of the volume
36           to ex (('X')) axis.
```

After clarifying the point he is interested in at lines 10–12 and 16, the questioner initiates a question on the point, "could you tell me your idea if (.) uh you (0.5) uh use (0.3) ah (0.7) choose (0.6) uh: (1.5) volume of product, (0.5) in horizontal axis," (lines 18–21). The presenter does not immediately reply to this question but shows he is thinking through his facial expression (line 22). Rather than waiting for the presenter to take a turn, the questioner starts clarifying the reason why he asked that question ("because so:") in line 23. Overlapping the last part of the questioner's "so:", the presenter nods numerous times (line 24), an action which strongly indicates that he has understood something, presumably the question because there is no other object of his action. It should be noted that his nods appear in a possible transition relevant place: the questioner's "so:," can be considered a stand-alone "so" which is

used at the turn-final position to prompt the co-conversationalist's response (Raymond, 2004). However, the questioner does not attend to the presenter's nodding but instead holds the turn to explain his motivation for asking the issue to line 32. His explanation is comprised of what he understands from the paper presentation (lines 23 and 25–26) and a validation of his question (lines 27, 29 31–32). The presenter does not remain silent during the questioner's talk, but displays he is listening to the talk by nodding (lines 28 and 30) and a verbal confirmation ("yes" in line 28). So it can be said that the presenter shows that he understands what the questioner wants to convey. After the questioner's response-prompting "so:," (Raymond, 2004) at line 32, the presenter immediately responds it with ">I understand< yeah.". The questioner does not take a turn this time, so, a 0.6-second silence is interactionally produced. After this, the presenter starts answering the question (lines 35–36).

The utterance "I understand" is directed to the question and the questioner's talk delivered during the lines 23–32. The subsequent talk is performed as a repair for his question: having seen that the presenter does not respond to his question but shows that he is thinking through his facial expression in line 22, the questioner starts adding some background information to his questioning. In other words, the questioner treats the presenter as not understanding his question because some necessary information is lacking. However, the presenter does not remain silent but instead shows he understands the questioner's talk. The presenter displays his understanding of the question in line 24 by nodding ten times; he confirms the questioner's understanding of his presentation with nods and "yes" in line 28;

and he nods in line 30. While his displays of understanding overlap with the questioner's turns, presenter's those actions in line 24 and 28 are performed at transition relevant places: that is to say, the presenter could take a turn to reply to the questioner but he waits for the questioner to finish explaining the background of his question. When the questioner completes his explanation and yields the turn to the presenter with ">so,<" (Raymond, 2004) in line 32, the presenter's "I understand" comes in. Since the questioner's talk is initiated as a repair in order for the presenter to understand the question, the presenter's understanding of the repair talk and the repaired question is in order before the sequence moves onto the second-pair part. In other words, "I understand" is employed explicitly to show that the presenter comprehends the question. The following "yeah." further strengthens the meaning of "I understand". Considering the fact that the presenter has made a public claim to understanding through nodding and a verbal confirmation "yes," the phrase "I understand" can be viewed as the strongest form to show understanding that announces no further explanation is necessary.

The difference between "okay" and "I understand" in the pre-second position can be seen in that the former implicates that the speaker (respondent) is competent to answer the co-conversationalist's question and the latter shows that the speaker understands the co-conversationalist's question. The former presupposes the speaker's understanding of a question because to respond to a question requires an understanding of the question, but the latter is simply a display of the speaker's understanding in the strongest way. The questioner's

utterance in line 39 of Segment 6.2 "difficult question but" shows the point: as we saw, in order to urge the presenter to respond to his question, the utterance appears after the questioner finishes telling his standpoint on the issue raised by his question and the presenter does not reply to the question. Upon listening to the questioner's utterance, the presenter of the segment uses "okay" and starts his answering. Therefore, "okay" is used when the presenter's competence to answer is in question. The next segment further clarifies the point of "I understand".

Segment 6.11 [33QA:2-D-III-2] ('Q' for Questioner, 'P' for Presenter)

```
11    Q:  my name is hirakawa from (   ) University.
12        (0.3) um you show the (0.2) uh: (0.5) the
13        consideration of the continuous background
14        (0.6) uh: (   ) uh >(influence),< (0.5) and::
15        (.) so could you ↑tell me the (.) uh thishh
16        method apply to the another (.) (   ) system.
17        (0.5)
18    Q:  uh it's except for your system,(0.5) and: other,
19        (.) uh (0.6) a:nd conversion condition.
20        (15.7)
21    P:  °so° (3.3) °so° (0.7)
22    C:  so °↑can I add some (to) (.) his question?°
23    P:  ↓uh::m
24    C:  he: asked that in this uh (0.6) conclusion uh:
25       (0.3) measurement technique can be applicable to
26        the: other system.
```

27 (0.8)

28 C: it’s except for your s- uh: (1.1) experimental

29 (0.4) uh (.) system.

30 (2.0)

31 → P: °u::n° (0.4) I ↑un- understand ↓um: (0.7) the

32 question (.) .hhh uh bu(h)t huh (3.8) ↓uh::

33 I answer, (2.4) I cannot- (0.4) .hhh (11.5)

34 C: okay I:’ll repl(h)y .hh huh instead of ↑you, .

The presenter's utterance "I understand" appears in line 31. The turn previous to this presenter's turn is the chairperson's repair on the question initiated by an audience member in lines 15–16. It is apparent in the sequence of this segment that the presenter is having a lot of trouble, so the chairperson's repair is aimed at helping the presenter understand the question. However, the presenter responds to the chairperson's repair with a claim that he understands, but cannot respond: "I ↑un- understand" (line 31) but "I answer, (2.4) I cannot-" (line 33). After that, the chairperson, who is in fact a co-author of the presenter, says that he will reply to the question instead of the presenter. "I understand" is therefore simply a display of the presenter's comprehension of the previous question and does not indicate he or she has the competence or sufficient knowledge to respond to the question.

The difference between "okay" and "I understand" suggests the tactical nature of the presenters' use of "okay" at the pre-second position. As discussed in the previous section, when an answer to a question is delayed, the presenter's knowledge is normatively doubted

because the context of the talk (a Q&A session) is programmatically relevant to the defensive response to a question raised by audience members and chairperson. Since "I understand" only suggests the presenter's understanding of the question, it is not enough to dismiss the doubt: understanding and being able to give a response are two different matters.[12] On the other hand, "okay" encompasses understanding of a question and also projects an ability to answer the question. In addition, it can invalidate a forced answering format by the question. Therefore, in the four cases, in which the presenters' answers are delayed, they select "okay."

6.4 Discussion

This chapter has aimed to discuss the relationship between formulation practices and the participants' knowledge. By focusing on the presenters' practices of formulations at the pre-second position of the Q&A sessions, the analysis in this chapter revealed that the presenters tactically select formulations to (re)claim their knowledge on the issues raised by questions asked by audience members or chairpersons. Q&A sessions are institutional talk in which the presenter's knowledge on his or her research study explained immediately before the session is challenged: therefore the presenter has to defend his or her position through answering the question asked by audience members or chairpersons. If the presenter fails to answer a question that is supposed to be related to the content of the presenters' studies, the

[12] Therefore, a competent response can come after an "I understand" pre-second position formulation as seen in Segment 6.10.

value of his or her study can be cast in doubt. In order to prevent or at least suspend for a certain amount of time such a negative inference, "uh" and "okay" are selected as formulations at the pre-second position.

As reviewed earlier, "uh" has been identified as a token to fill in silence or an expression indicating an upcoming dispreferred response; however, in the Q&A sessions, "uh" is also used by the presenters to postpone a reply to a question as well as being concluded as incompetent and unknowledgeable. This use of "uh" may be seen in other types of interaction in which participants engage in accusation. Bilmes (1988a) notes that

> in the context of a just completed attribution, silence or failure to address the attribution is likely to be interpreted quite differently from delaying expressions, such as *well* or *uh*. An absence of contradiction [to an accusation] is ordinarily taken as provisional confirmation, whereas the use of a delaying expression portends a contradiction (p. 174. emphasis original).

However, Bilmes does not present any instance of actual interaction in which "uh" (and "well") is employed for such purpose, so the analysis in this chapter provides empirical evidence to support Bilmes' idea on "uh." Bilmes called "uh" one of the *reluctance markers* which "are expressive of the speaker's reluctance to produce the response which follows" (ibid., p. 173). It is not a matter of whether the speaker is truly in a psychological state of reluctance but such markers are simply "expressions that conventionally indicate reluctance" (p. 173). This conventional meaning of "uh" as an indication of reluctance provides a

rhetorical force to "uh" at the pre-second position in the Q&A sessions: as we have seen, the "uh" at the pre-second position is oriented to as an indication of an upcoming response by the questioners and the presenters can gain some time and suspend an unfavorable judgment.

"Okay" is also employed at the pre-second position on the basis of its conversation meaning: it conventionally indicates understanding and acceptance of prior talk and orients to closing the topic. This conventional meaning of "okay" makes it suitable to be used in the pre-second position in which the speaker fails to give an immediate response to a question asking the speaker's knowledge on an issue that the speaker should know. "I understand" cannot be selectable in that sequential and contextual environment because it does not project the speaker's knowledge to answer a question; nor would the behavior of nodding be chosen, since the nonverbal behavior is more indexical.

The procedures of the presenters' practicing formulations are minimization of knowledge dissolution and maximization of knowledge reclamation. The best way for presenters to maximally advertise their knowledge on the issues raised by questions will be an immediate, direct, and clear-cut logical reply to the question. When a speaker's knowledge on an issue is once cast into doubt because of the failure to give such a reply, how to minimize the negative inference on his or her knowledge and how to maximize the re-advertisement of his or her knowledge on the questioned issue are called for. The use of "uh" at the pre-second position is a way to minimize knowledge dissolution and the employment of "okay" at the pre-second position is a way to maximize knowledge

reclamation. They are not incompatible but can be used within the same turn to achieve suspending a negative inference and then reclaim his or her knowledge on a question issue, which is seen in line 22 of Segment 6.6.

6.5 Concluding Remarks

Whether or not the presenters of the Q&A sessions truly intentionally employed the tokens for manipulating the implications drawn from different formulations, the tokens were in fact chosen as a formulation at the pre-second position after a question. That choice exerted rhetorical force on the interaction at that moment and worked favorably for the presenters. In other words, in terms of the interactional context, the use of "uh" and "okay" are tactical. The practices of formulation we have seen also suggest that knowledge of an issue is discursively constructed on a moment-by-moment basis: being knowledgeable or unknowledgeable is projected and oriented-to by what formulation is chosen. "Uh" and "okay" are seemingly small tokens, but they in fact have an influence on such knowledge construction in interaction.

The findings of this chapter show that the importance of conventional meaning of a word for practicing a formulation. As with the findings of Chapter 5, the question of *why a formulation is selected* and *what it is achieving* relies on the conventionality of a formulation. It follows that, to rely on such cultural knowledge in addition to sequential and contextual

features is necessary in order to explicate members' practices of formulations, as this is what they orient to when they practice a formulation.

7 Conclusion

7.1 Introduction

This study has investigated participants' practices of formulation, i.e, selection of particular ways of turning an object/objective into an observable-and-reportable phenomenon such as word or behavior. The extensive examination of the varieties of interactional data (i.e. the EFL classroom conversations, the OPI role-plays, and the Q&A sessions at an interactional scientific conference) enabled a generation of findings that would otherwise have been inaccessible to the researcher. The study has captured generic practices that participants employ to select a particular formulation of a referent and context-sensitive nature of such practices. After presenting a summary of the findings of the analysis of Chapter 4 though 6 and drawing implications to the fields of CA and applied linguistics, this chapter concludes with a discussion of possible directions for future studies.

7.2 Findings and implications for CA

The guiding question this study has addressed is "*why and how is a particular formulation selected and what is it achieving?*" Chapter 4 through 6 examined issues regarding formulation to answer the question.

Chapter 4 investigated the practices of formulations of actions executed by the

teachers of EFL classrooms and the interviewers of an OPI and revealed that their formulation practices are not merely determined by orientations to the recipients' benefit in terms of the efficiency for understanding of the meaning of action. Rather, the teachers and interviewers formulated actions, such as questions, explanations for corrections, and repair-initiations, to achieve the programmed aims of the kinds of interaction in the most effective manner out of the possible ways available at the moment of selecting the formulation. The procedure of formulation practices appeared as priority or prioritization of a formulation over the possible others. It was shown that prioritization is applicable to formulations of initiation of action in addition to responsive action (cf. Bilmes, 1993).

In Chapter 5, the analysis of the teachers' practices of formulating their own and students' transportable identities suggested the generality of the procedures of generalization/specification, contrasting/co-categorization, and scaling of formulations. However, the investigation re-defined the interactional effect of scaling: it is not merely specifies the horizontal relationship between formulations (including both actually used and possibly selected), but it also (re)defines the vertical relationship between formulations (cf. Bilmes, 2008, 2009a, 2009b, 2010, 2011; Hauser, 2011). It was also found that a formulation embedded with transportable identities is highly accessible because of its visible and less-negotiable nature.

The examination of the Q&A sessions in Chapter 6 indicated the tactical nature of participants' formulation practices is based to some extent on the conventional meaning of

word and behavior. Minimization of negative inference and maximization of positive inference about the participant are enabled by the mutually shared understanding of the words (i.e. "uh" and "okay") between the speaker (formulator) and the recipient. In addition, these seemingly small words have an impact on the development of sequences of interaction as well as the categorization of participants as knowledgeable/unknowledgeable and competent/incompetent.

The procedures of participants' formulation practices found through the investigation of these chapters suggest the necessity of incorporating contextual and cultural factors into the analysis in addition to the interactional details. The practice of prioritization, while pervasive in at least two different types of interaction, is reflexive to the aim of the interaction as well as the relationship between the formulator and the recipient. Generalization/specification, contrasting/co-categorization, and scaling are practices made realized by the participants' understanding of each other's transportable identities, which are constructs of a culture. Management of positive/negative inferences is an exploitation of the culturally conventional meaning of the words. Without referring to contextual and cultural features of interaction, such as the purpose of interaction, the participants' conversational roles and transportable identities, and language the participants use, an analysis would be shorthand to fully capture what the participants do, let alone what types of interaction they (co)construct. As the same time, these contexts and culture are reflexively (co)constructed by the participants' references to them through the practices of formulations. Therefore, *pure* and

applied aspects of CA (ten Have, 2007) are two sides of the same coin: they are not mutually exclusive, but mutually constitutive. The comparative approach to participants' practices demonstrated in this study, considering the difference between what is actually chosen and what can be selected, is a promising way to reconcile pure and applied types of CA.

7.3 Findings and implications for language learning classroom, OPIs, and ESP

The findings of this study offer suggestions for several issues regarding language learning classrooms, OPIs, and English for specific purposes (ESP). The first is for the argument of the teacher's use of the students' L1 in EFL classrooms. Thus far, studies on the issue have focused on the reasons why they do so (see, for example, Cook, 2001; Turnbull, 2001; Rolin-Ianziti & Brownline, 2002; Kim & Elder, 2005). What is missing in the previous studies is an explication of teachers' complex orientations to the context of FL classrooms when they execute a codeswitching from TL into the students' L1. The reason for the switching is not simply that it is preferred to maintain a pedagogical focus at a particular moment of interaction (cf. Üstünel & Seedhouse, 2005); the codeswitching is just one formulation to do so. What the findings of Chapter 4 indicated is that teachers orient to priorities in multiple formulations of actions to teach the FL in the classroom. Prioritization practice produces and explains the teachers' socially and educationally ordered practice of codeswitching at a particular moment of interaction in FL classrooms.

As to the OPIs, this study suggests the importance to pay close attention to each interviewer's testing procedure. OPIs are required to be valid and reliable in testing candidate's proficiency in TL speaking, since they owe consequences for the real-world. The results of OPIs have been used for high-stake decision-making such as job promotion and hiring and even assigning citizenship. If an interviewer's testing procedure is different from other interviewers, the consistency could be called into question. By the same token, the construct of the candidate's proficiency could also be doubted, because if it is co-constructed by the interviewer's actions, the performance would vary from interviewer to interviewer. Accordingly, the interviewers' collection method has to be standardized. This is even more serious in the role-play section, since it is conducted in accordance with a set of role-play instructions. As the act of questioning is an important tool for testing the candidate's proficiency and maintaining a role-play task and it is employed ubiquitously, the interviewer's formulation of the act is even more crucial. Therefore, it is important to analyze each interviewer's practice of formulating a question and repair-initiation behavior for developing a standardized procedure so that a role-play task can be valid and reliable.

The close attention to teachers' use of their own and students' transportable identities in Chapter 5 showed the usefulness of the identities as resources for doing teaching in interaction. The examples presented in the chapter did not involve a case employing such identities for teaching of language *per se*; however, to make students engage in intercultural communication, to explain a material, and to give a warning to students on class participation

are what every language teacher may encounter. Therefore, while there are some concerns (cf. Richards, 2006), teachers' orienting their own or students' transportable identities is certainly a way to conduct their jobs effectively.

The investigation of Q&A sessions at interactional scientific conference presentations indicates the necessity of understanding the interactional detail to give educational advice about such sessions. There are several reference books about conference presentation that spend some pages on how to cope with Q&A sessions (e.g. Alley, 2002; Anholt, 2005; Morgan & Whitener, 2006). However, the tips in such books are based on the authors' account of their experiences and not on the methodical observation of Q&A sessions. The advice therefore ends up consisting of general suggestions, such as to be confident and not to fear the session too much, to always repeat any question to gain time to reply, or reply politely. Some books (e.g. Langham, 2007; Ohi, 1998) provide phrases that can be used in the Q&A sessions, but they only list up phrases without showing sequential contexts in which such phrases are used. What the analysis of Chapter 6 showed is that even small tokens like "uh" and "okay" have specific sequential environments in which they are employed to manage inferences about the presenters for better. While I do not deny the usefulness of advice based on first-hand experiences and phrase lists, it does not teach what, how, and when a presenter should do in interaction to make him/herself look knowledgeable on the subject being asked by a question. Knowledge and competence are interactionally inferred and constructed through the moment-by-moment sequential progress of interaction.

Therefore, it is valuable to explain what action is oriented to as unknowledgeable or incompetence, what is oriented to as knowledgeable or competence action, and what to do to manage negative and positive inferences about the presenter's knowledge and competence by showing sequential contexts in which such actions are executed. Such explanation with in-depth understanding of interactional detail of the Q&A sessions will teach subtle nuances, which is what novices need to know. The importance and necessity of a detailed examination of the target type of interaction to teach an ESP can be applicable to other types of interaction, not only to the Q&A sessions of a scientific conference (see Packett, 2005; Seedhouse & Richards, 2007).

7.4 Conclusion

As discussed at the very beginning of this study, interaction is the place in and through which society is enacted (Schegloff, 2006). CA has studied interaction for over 40 years, and its objective has been mainly the explication of orderliness of participants' procedures for executing actions or how such orderliness varies according to types of interaction. On the other hand, CA has not adequately addressed "organization of meaning in conversation" (Bilmes, 2011, p. 149) in favor of finding out the "organization of conversational interaction, with the organization of turns and actions" (Bilmes, ibid., p. 149). What the current study showed is that the comparative approach of this study to ways of

participants' communication of meanings through their particular choices of words and behaviors is simultaneously a systematic method that explicates both generality of their practices and their incorporations of contexts and cultures tagged along with the interaction in which they engage at the same time. I believe that the current study has revealed a number of new findings about the general procedures of social members' selecting a particular formulation of a referent in interaction; about their embodiments of contexts and cultures through a particular choice of a formulation in interaction; about issues of teaching in language learning classrooms, standardization of testing procedures of OPIs, and the development of ESP; and about the methodology of studying interaction.

The methodological findings suggest one direction for future studies: taking a comparative approach will contribute to the fields of sociology and applied linguistics as with the current study. Through the detailed and systematic analysis of members' practices of formulation in interaction, the relationship between the social actor and the society he or she lives in is to be explicated at the level of an individual actor's choice of his or her word or behavior. While the use of diagram and invented alternative examples and the inclusion of non-human based categories are beyond the current practices of CA, the current study has shown that such practices expand the reach of CA study as a sociology of (inter)action. The application of findings of the social members' language use is what the field of applied linguistics has practiced (see Schmitt & Celce-Murcia, 2010; Wilkins, 1999): the detailed and close understanding of how a particular choice implicates a specific meaning in a sequential

environment of a certain type of interaction will be the foundation of further discussion on issues regarding the type of interaction.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1 Transcription Conventions and Abbreviations

Transcriptions Conventions

(0.0)	Time gap in tenths of a second
(.)	Brief time gap
=	"Latched" utterances
[	The beginning of overlapped talk
( )	Unintelligible stretch
(( ))	Transcriber comment
-	Cut-off
:	Elongated sound
?	Rising intonation
.	Falling intonation
,	Continuing intonation
↑	Marked rise of immediately following segment
↓	Marked fall of immediately following segment
under	Emphasis
££	Smiled voice
° °	Decreased volume
> <	Increased speed

< >	Decreased speed

Abbreviations

CP	Copula
TP	Topic Marker
IP	Interactional Particle
LK	Linking
O	Object Marker
Q	Question Marker
QT	Quotation Marker

Appendix 2 Table summary of the data

Data source	Number of recordings	Length of each data	Participants	Aim of the interaction
EFL classroom corpus	10	90 minutes	Teachers (L1 English speakers), Students (L1 Japanese Speakers)	Teaching/Testing/ Learning English
OPI Role-play corpus	71	5-12 minutes	Interviewers (L1 English speakers), Candidates (L1 Japanese Speakers)	Testing candidate's conversational ability in English
Q&A session corpus	41	3-10 minutes	Scientists and Engineers (1 L1 English speaker, 40 L2 English speaker)	Discussing the presenters' studies

Appendix 3 Language use consent form

(Completed by the teachers.)

How can I use these recordings?

As part of my project, I have made audio recordings of your classroom conversations. I would like you to indicate below what uses of these records you are willing to consent to. This is completely up to you. I will only use the records in ways that you agree to. In any use of these records, names will not be identified.

Please check as many boxes as you like.

☐ The records can be studied by the researcher for the research project.

☐ The records can be used for publications and/or academic meetings.

☐ The transcripts and/or recordings can be used by other researchers.

☐ The records can be shown in public presentations to non-specialist groups.

☐ The records can be used on television or radio.

Signature..... Date.....

Adapted from ten Have 2007: Appendix C, based on a form developed by Susan Ervin-Tripp, Psychology Dept UCLA.