Title	A Conversation Analytic Study of the Emergence of Intersubjectivity and Space for Learning in Teacher and Learner Technology-Mediated Foreign Language Interactions
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Citation	大阪大学, 2020, 博士論文
Version Type	VoR
URL	https://doi.org/10.18910/76355
rights	
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A Conversation Analytic Study of the Emergence of Intersubjectivity and Space for Learning in Teacher and Learner Technology-Mediated Foreign Language Interactions

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A Dissertation Submitted to Graduate School of Human Sciences, Osaka University
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

December 2019

To *Khatereh*, my best friend ever,

and to my sisters and brothers watering the seeds of freedom

with their blood in my homeland: those who

"Grabbed the sky -like a blue bowl-

  Gulped down the scarlet morning,

  And then the sun rose in all [their] being."[1]

[1] Hooshang Ebtehaj (born 1928), Iranian poet

Acknowledgments

I would like to express my sincere and profound gratitude to my supervisors, Prof. Beverley Yamamoto, Prof. Scott North, and Prof. Atsumi Tomohide for all their support and constructive feedback during this journey. My sincere thanks also go to my former supervisor, Prof. Don Bysouth, to whom this research owes a lot.

Besides my supervisors, I am deeply grateful to the participants of this research and to Prof. Ikeda Keiko for introducing me to Collaborative Online International Learning (COIL) and providing me with the chance to collect data for my research.

I would like to express my appreciation to Japan's Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology (MEXT) for their generous financial support, which made it possible for me to stay focused on my studies.

Last but by no means least; I would like to express my immense love and gratitude to my wife, Khatereh, for her selfless support and continuous encouragement in all aspects of my life.

Abstract

Internationalization of higher education has gained more momentum recently and institutions in tertiary education have felt it incumbent upon themselves to foster this trend. Due to lack of resources student mobility has not always been a viable option and this has attracted attention to Internationalization at Home as an alternative to Internationalization Abroad. Empowering learners by making them interculturally competent is one of the main concerns in this trend. Foreign language education within a curriculum that promotes intercultural interaction is believed to play significant roles in realizing the internationalization agenda. Yet, conventional approaches to language pedagogy distinguishing competence from performance and upholding the former may fail to do so. For language pedagogy to serve such a purpose, it needs to value performance and step beyond considering it deficient. Far from being deficient performs in the L2, EFL learners are adept users of an interactional repertoire that gives sense to and organizes their interactions. In other words, gaps in L2 learners' linguistic system do not necessarily render them interactionally incompetent and this is exactly what language pedagogy in an age of international communications must focus on. Against this backdrop and with an ethnomethodological outlook, the present study has investigated Japanese and Taiwanese EFL learners' interactions in a Collaborative Online International Learning (COIL) program. The study has investigated how mutual understanding or intersubjectivity is achieved and how space for learning emerges in both teacher-led and learner-learner technology-mediated interactions in a COIL exchange program. The findings of this conversation analytic study have illustrated the significant role of teacher talk in facilitating or obstructing learner contributions and the emergence of space for learning. The analysis of learner-learner interactions has also shown how, despite their low linguistic proficiency in the L2, learners constantly manage their epistemic stance in their intercultural interactions to maintain intersubjectivity and avoid communicative breakdowns. The

mismanagement of epistemic stance, i.e. the knowledge claims speakers in a sequence of interaction make and defend on a turn-by-turn basis, is prone to disrupting intersubjectivity. The participants were found to prevent this, however, mainly through making adjustments in their use of short tokens of surprise, turn-taking organization and repair initiation and accomplishment. The findings of the study highlight the need for revisiting the currently dominant understanding of competence in a foreign language in a way that it encompasses learners' interactional capabilities to achieve and maintain intersubjectivity in collaboration with their peers. The findings also have implications for teacher training and materials development for foreign language teaching programs within a curriculum that strives to promote internationalization at home.

Table of Contents

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF EXCERPTS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CA: Conversation Analysis

CALL: Computer Assisted Language Learning

CEFR: Common European Framework of Reference

CIC: Classroom Interactional Competence

CMC: Computer-Mediated Communication

COIL: Collaborative Online International Learning

EFL: English as a Foreign Language

ELEAs: English Language Education Associations

ELT: English Language Teaching

ESL: English as a Second Language

ESP: English for Specific Purposes

FPP: First-Pair Part

FLA: Foreign Language Acquisition

IA: Internationalization Abroad

IaH: Internationalization at Home

IC: Interactional Competence

JLs: Japan Class Learners

JL1-JL16: Japan Class Learner 1-16

JT: Japan Class Teacher

LAD: Language Acquisition Device

MEXT: Ministry of Education, Sports, Science, and Technology

MOOCs: Massive Online Open Courses

OECD: Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development

RQ: Referential Question

SLA: Second Language Acquisition

SLC: Shaping Learner Contributions

SPP: Second-Pair Part

TAC: Turn-Allocation Component

TCC: Turn-Construction Component

TCU: Turn-Completion Unit

TL1-TL18: Taiwan Class Learner 1-18

TLs: Taiwan Class Learners

TRP: Transition-relevance Point

TT: Taiwan Class Teacher

ZPD: Zone of Proximal Development

Chapter One: Background of the Study and Introduction

1.1. Chapter Preview

This chapter provides the necessary background details to help the reader better understand the content of the study. It introduces the research problem, purpose, objectives, and questions. It also situates the research topic in the Japanese context where the study has been conducted.

1.2. General Overview

It is generally accepted by scholars from various fields in the world that learning a foreign language is a necessary skill in the twenty-first century. Among the many foreign languages taught and learned in the world, English is one of the most widely spread ones. The widespread use of English in the world can be discussed from a number of perspectives that may either favor such spread or criticize it. It can be described as neutral and beneficial (Crystal, 1997) implying that all individuals who learn English as a foreign language in the world will benefit from it. It can be viewed in terms of the diversity observed in the use of English around the world (Jenkins, 2003). English can also be viewed and studied as a lingua franca. That is, more attention can be paid to the way non-native users of English communicate with each other utilizing English as a medium and making changes in its syntax and phonology in order to adapt and utilize it as a part of their communicative repertoire (Seidhofer, 2004). On the other hand, there are more critical views of the spread and dominance of English in the world. There are scholars, for example, who believe that the spread of English has led to linguistic imperialism (Phillipson, 2009) marginalizing other languages or making them look less important and widening the gap between people from particular social and cultural backgrounds.

Whichever stance we may have more sympathy for, it is very difficult to refute the argument that English has been functioning as a shared language during the several past decades

playing an important role in globalization around the globe. It is important to note, however, that English in the era of globalization has transformed from being a national language of a few countries to being distinctly global belonging to whoever is speaking it around the world (Seargeant, 2011). It is this English that has had immense influences on globalization in the world. If we agree with this definition for English, we will most probably face difficulties with understanding how it is learned. The field of language teaching has been curious to find out how a foreign language is learned and how it can be taught more efficiently, but much of the research trying to answer these questions has dealt with the issue of language, in this case, English, as a system. The trouble with considering and studying learning English as system acquisition is that it does not take into account the many social aspects of learning a foreign language. Earlier theories of language learning, behaviorism, and cognitivism, for instance, tended to bring language out of its social context and study it in isolation in a laboratory experiment fashion. Evidently, in such a situation, it would not really matter who is speaking or learning a language in what context. Language would be considered the same for native speakers, non-native speakers, as well as its less competent and more competent users.

More recently, however, alternative approaches to theorizing and studying language learning have been introduced that are meant to resolve the abovementioned problem, including but not limited to identity approaches, language socialization approaches, the complexity theory approach and the conversation analytic approach (Atkinson, 2011). Elaborating on all of these relatively newer approaches to language acquisition research is beyond the scope of this introductory chapter. However, since the study reported in this dissertation uses Conversation Analysis (CA) as its methodological framework, the following section is devoted to addressing

some of the very basics in this approach leaving the rest to be discussed in the fourth chapter of this dissertation.

CA, in a broad sense, is the study of verbal and non-verbal social interaction and the sequential nature of its organization. However, more specifically defined, as Ten Have (2007) puts, it "refers to any study of people talking together." It is a method of studying and analyzing naturally-occurring spoken interactions. Since its introduction as a multi-disciplinary method of inquiry in social sciences, it has been widely used in a variety of different academic areas including Second and/or Foreign Language Acquisition (SLA, FLA). CA was first developed through the works of Harvey Sacks, who was influenced by Harold Garfinkel's ethnomethodology and Erving Goffman's definition of the interaction order, as a sociological "naturalistic observational discipline that could deal with the details of social action rigorously, empirically and formally" (Schegloff & Sacks 1973, p. 289).

SLA research has maintained a 'linguistic mentality' for years. What this means is that it has concentrated on language as an autonomous system that operates on its own free from the constraints imposed on it by language users. An ethnomethodological account of language learning; however, does not and cannot study such a system in isolation. In other words, as Seedhouse (2005a) explains

> […] there is a fundamental difference between the 'CA mentality' and the 'linguistic mentality' in relation to the status of language. CA's primary interest is in the social act whereas a linguist's primary interest is normally in language. CA, therefore, does not treat language as an autonomous system independent of its use; rather, it treats 'grammar and lexical choices as sets of resources which participants deploy, monitor, interpret and manipulate' (Schegloff et al. 2002, 15) in order to perform their social acts (p. 165).

Clearly, it can be expected that a shift from 'linguistic mentality' to 'CA mentality' bring about fundamental differences in the way foreign language research is conceived of. Within a CA

mentality, the autonomous language system will yield its long-held position to the social act of language use as the primary focus of inquiry. However, this necessitates a redefinition of what constitutes good data for SLA research and how it should be approached. Seedhouse (2005b) counts out four basic principles for conversation analytic research that can guide FLA research in this domain as well.

The first of these principles is that human spoken interactions follow order, which means that talk in interaction is systematic and organized and follows the methods produced and oriented to by the interactants. Secondly, every single turn in the sequence of interaction is context-shaped and context-renewing (Heritage, 1984). That is to say, the only way to understand an individual contribution to an interaction is to analyze it with reference to the turns preceding it and those coming afterward. Each single turn is shaped by the previous contribution, which in turn conditions the next turn as well. The third principle maintains that nothing can be dismissed a priori as disordered. Order is constantly defined and redefined by the participants in any given interaction. Finally, CA adopts a bottom-up approach to data analysis starting from and solely relying on the data at hand. No external theoretical assumption may drive data analysis.

In recent years, different aspects of second and foreign language pedagogy have been investigated within a CA framework. Results of research as such have also been very informative for researchers and practitioners in the field. However, a glance through the existing literature shows that the majority of CA research in SLA has been focusing on traditional language classrooms and the recent advancement in computer-mediated pedagogy has remained, by and large, unstudied.

1.3. The Research Problem

The introduction of computer technology into foreign language classrooms offers vast potential for CA research. Computer-Assisted Language Learning (CALL) in general, and computer and technology-mediated language education, in particular, has provided language teachers with new pedagogic roles, hence creating new teacher-learner interaction pattern. The research problem for the present research, therefore, examines different aspects of teacher-learner interactions in a technologically mediated learning environment. What is more, while great efforts have been made to study how languages are learned, relatively less work has been published looking at the language classroom as a social space with learners who are in fact active agents in the social context of the classroom. There seems to have been a tendency in SLA research to approach language learning from a deficiency framework (Cook, 2007) focusing on the gaps between the learners' current linguistic competence and the level they need to achieve to be able to communicate accurately and fluently in the L2. The points such studies seem to have missed is that first, L2 language learners are not deficient users of a language simply because they already have access to their L1 and know a lot about what language is and how it is used (Cook, 2007). Second, these studies have been limiting their outlook to accuracy and fluency leaving out the social norms surrounding the appropriateness of language use in various social settings. These are the problems the present research is hoped to be addressing.

1.4. The Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the present research is to shed light on the organization of teacher-learner interactions in technologically mediated language classes. Such interactional patterns have been investigated in classrooms not utilizing technology and the results have informed both research and practice in language education with wide applications ranging from classroom management to materials development. Technology mediated education, however, may well impose particular

patterns of its own and offer new affordances to foreign language practitioners and researchers. Furthermore, since learning is not limited to the language classroom, the present study is intent on investigating how L2 English learners engaged in a Collaborative Online International Learning program manage their interactions and language learning outside the traditional educational settings.

1.5. Study Objectives

The present study aims to expose the underlying structure in teacher-learner interactions within a technology-mediated context. The overall objective is to understand, at least partially, how teachers and learners orient to communicating in a foreign language in such contexts. Since CA data is analyzed without any predetermined analytic lens, various aspects of interactions will be the focus of the analysis. In line with the questions that will be introduced in the coming section, the main objective of this research is to understand the methods by which participants in this study produce and maintain social order and the way they open up space for learning to take place.

1.6. The Research Questions

CA studies do not usually start from specific questions. They instead start with broad analytical questions and after the initial encounters with the data more specific questions are formulated. The broad question the present research started from was:

1. How is social order produced in teacher and learner interactions in a COIL program?

And then the two following more specific questions were formulated to study the interactions in this study:

1. How is intersubjectivity achieved by L2 learners in a COIL exchange in the absence of a shared L1?

2. How is space for learning created or obstructed during interactions in a COIL exchange?

The two research questions include a number of theoretical concepts that will be elaborated on in the subsequent chapters in this dissertation. However, to make the research questions clear, I believe the two concepts of *intersubjectivity* and *space for learning* deserve a brief explanation at this point.

Intersubjectivity is a term often used in anthropology, philosophy, and sociology. What this term actually refers to in each of these fields might be slightly different but there is common ground in the way it is understood for sure. Intersubjectivity, in a general sense, denotes the state of shared understanding among the members of a social group. The reason for the shared or mutual understanding can be cultural similarities or common religious or ideological grounds as well as orientation to institutional regulations. In the context of the present research, however, an ethnomethodological account of intersubjectivity is adopted. Ethnomethodology, as shall be discussed in more detail in the fourth chapter of this dissertation, studies the way people use everyday conversation and the tools it offers to construct a common-sense view of the world. Therefore, in the present research, intersubjectivity refers to the way participants in a conversation achieve and maintain mutual understanding making use of the methods and tools available to them in the L2 they speak, including repair, turn-taking, sequence management and preference organization (Schegloff, 1992).

The concept of space for learning builds upon sociocultural accounts of learning (Vygotsky, 1978) according to which learning is materialized through participation and interaction. The view holds social interaction as a prerequisite for learning to take place. It is also central to the idea of Classroom Interactional Competence (CIC), which is defined as "teachers' and learners' ability to use interaction as a tool for mediating and assisting learning" (Walsh,

2013, p. 124). In other words, CIC is an attribute for all participants in an educational setting and any action that promotes dialogic and engaged participation in the classroom upgrades the participants' CIC.

1.7. English Language in the Context of Japan

Globalization, internationalization and the necessity of learning English are pervasive discourses in Japan now. A look back at the history of Japan, however, shows that it has not always been so. The main reason for the lack of contact between Japan and the outside world for centuries, as Pilling (2014) says was the prevalent idea of *shimaguni* or the island country, according to which Japan was a country detached from the world and had to remain so due to threats posed by its potential enemies. Apparently though, the strategy worked for Japan since unlike many of its Asian neighbors such as Singapore and Hong Kong, it does not have a history of colonial rule by a Western power (Seargeant, 2011).

It was not until 1867 and during the early Meiji Restoration period, a time often cited as the foundation for the development of modern Japan, and characterized by different social and political reforms, that Japan opened its doors to the world and stopped its relative isolation policy (Iino, 2002). Through trades with foreign merchants and sailors came the first contact of Japan with a Western foreign language in general and English in particular. What followed this was an influx of Westerners and more particularly English speakers as language teachers (Ike, 1995). The project of modernizing Japan was already underway. Soon, English found such an important place in Japan that Mori Arinori, a famous educational reformist at the time, even proposed to replace Japanese with English as the national language (Swale, 2000).

The second and the epoch-making contact of Japan with English came years later than the first one and after Japan's defeat in the Second World War. While during the years of the war

teaching English at Japanese schools was kept to a minimum, after the American occupation of Japan things changed radically. It was during this time that a highly standardized system of education was introduced to the Japanese context the influences of which can be observed throughout the following decades in the form of an increase in the efficiency of Japanese workplace as well as in the worldwide acknowledgment of Japan as a leading economic power (Horiguchi, Imoto & Poole, 2015).

The demands of modernization after the war made Japan more aware of the need to equip its citizens with the skills to communicate with the people of the world. During the 1970s, several regional English Language Education Associations (ELEAs) were formed to improve the teaching of English throughout Japan (Seargeant, 2011). As English was becoming more and more popular in the country, an important education reform was initiated under Yasuhiro Nakasone's premiership (1982-87). The reform, which was called *kokusaika* or internationalization, demanded substantial changes in the educational system in Japan. One noticeable outcome of the reform was the development the *Course of Study* or national curriculum documents by the Ministry of Education, Sports, Science, and Technology (MEXT) which was designed to prescribe the general layout of education in the primary and secondary levels.

More specifically, it can be argued that the 1989 and 2002 Reform Acts, as extensions of the general reforms underway in Japan, were the most influential in the status of ELT in Japan. These acts, which are believed to be notably innovative, necessitated the teaching of English with a communicative approach that was supposed to substitute the previously popular grammar-translation method in use since the Meiji era. This was also concurrent with a shift from Knowledge-based English learning to more practical and skill-based English learning implying

the increasing commitment and responsibility of Japan to the international marketplace (Yamada, 2016). This emphasis on the importance of ELT did not come with pure economic motivations. For instance, an official document by MEXT (2003) clearly indicates the belief that acquiring communication skills in English is necessary for children living in the 21st century for knowing and accessing the world.

The teaching of English in higher education in Japan is also reflective of many historical shifts in attitudes towards teaching a foreign language. As mentioned above, during the Meiji era the ultimate goal of teaching English was to open Japan to the outside world. Language teaching during that time, however, could be best described as an attempt to enable learners to read and write in English (Stewart and Miyahara, 2011). During the years culminating in the Second War, however, enthusiasm in learning and teaching English diminished understandably. The reason for this could be found in the conservative ideas prevalent in those years and the accelerating militarization in Japan (Fujimoto-Adamson, 2006). If language was taught for anything at this time, it was for the purpose of translating texts into Japanese with the hope of keeping Japan up to date with the latest technologies. Even after the war, for many years things did not change a lot and although English became a compulsory subject at schools and universities, the language was taught mainly through the grammar-translation method, which assigns primary importance to translation rather than communication. This method was deemed appropriate of course at the time as it could prepare students for university entrance exams.

The years following the burst of the bubble economy in Japan witnessed the first changes in teaching English in Japan (Hashimoto, 2007). Japan's economy was declining after a relatively long period of economic growth and at the same time, standardized English test scores were evidence for the fact that the Japanese were not competent speakers of English. Under the

premiership of Nakasone during the 1990s, the need for equipping Japanese students with communicative foreign language skills was felt and understood (Lamie, 2005). Along with advances in the internet and computer technology, new policies were being adopted in Japan prioritizing communicative language teaching and testing at schools. This could be argued to be a starting point in abandoning deep-rooted conservative policies towards language teaching in Japan.

Attempts for familiarizing Japanese students with international perspectives were not, of course, limited to improving English language classrooms. In recent years Japan has always had the target of increasing the number of international faculty and students in its universities. The Global 30 scheme initiated in 2009 provides good support for this claim, which allowed 13 universities with a 3.2 billion yen budget to host more international students (McNeil, 2010, cited in Stewart & Miyahara, 2011). Similarly, one could refer to other projects such as the Top Global University, which can be defined as a plan to "thoroughly internationalize Japanese universities by establishing linkages between them and the top-flight overseas universities" (Rappeley & Vickers, 2015, p. 1, cited in Bordilovskaya, 2018). For universities to be eligible for this project, they were expected to increase the number and ratio of foreign instructors and students, offer more classes and courses in English and boost the communicative English proficiency of Japanese students (Bordilovskaya, 2018). All of these which can be referred to as forms of internationalization at these higher education institutes could be designed in two principal ways: first, by encouraging domestic students to study abroad and gain international experience, and second, by designing innovative programs for developing the students' language proficiency on the campus and without outbound mobility (Horiguchi, Imoto, & Poole, 2015). These two strategies are reminiscent of the two approaches towards internationalization that is,

internationalization abroad and internationalization at home which will be discussed in the following chapter.

Not surprisingly, the internationalization of academia in Japan has not had purely educational purposes. Some even argue that the most important motivation for internationalization in Japan has been to prepare students in various fields for competition in the global human resource market. Such preparation mandates the development of foreign language skills for sure. Yonezawa (2014) refers to a report by the Council on Promotion of Human Resource for Globalization Development 2012 showing how this report summarizes the features of globally competent individual, also known as *global jinzai,* possessing "linguistic and communication skills," "understanding of other cultures," "a spirit of challenge" and "flexibility" (p. 39).

These latter features are also reflective of the newer trends and approaches towards language acquisition which highlight the need for individuals to be cross-culturally, interactionally and communicatively competent arguing that linguistic competence per se can no longer guarantee successful communication in a foreign language. There are different ways this goal can be achieved. Among these ways is making use of computer technology in providing students with the opportunity to use and learn foreign languages while enjoying cross-cultural interactions. One of the ways this has been realized is through the practice of Collaborative Online International Learning (COIL), which has recently gained momentum in many parts of the globe including Japan. COIL can bring together classes from across borders and allows students in two different and geographically distant areas to interact in real-time. The following literature review chapter will elaborate on COIL to a greater extent since the research presented in this dissertation has built upon data collected from COIL interactions between speakers of

English as a foreign language (EFL) in two universities in Japan and Taiwan. The studies reported in chapters five and six will use CA methodology to unravel interactional intricacies involved in the interactions among EFL learners and teachers participating in a COIL course with a particular focus on the establishment of intersubjectivity and the creation of potential space for learner participation and, as a result, learning.

1.8. Dissertation Outline

The present dissertation has been designed in eight chapters. After this introductory chapter, there will be two chapters devoted to reviewing the existing literature around two important themes in this research. Chapter Two introduces the idea of internationalization at home and elaborates on different conceptualizations of the term. It also focuses on the role of second language teaching and learning in internationalization at home programs and this introduces another key issue in this research: the nature of language and language learning. A historical account of different views towards language and how it is learned will be provided and the two concepts of communicative competence and interactional competence will be introduced. The chapter concludes with a section on COIL and its role in both language teaching and internationalization at home.

Building upon the concept of interactional competence, Chapter Three elaborates further on the skills and competencies required to speak a second language with sensitivity to the social context of its use. It introduces Conversation Analysis (CA) and CA-for-SLA and reviews the literature on how CA has informed SLA research. It also delves deeper and reviews research within a CA framework on the use of computers and the internet in teaching and learning a second language. Chapter Four will deal with methodological considerations in this research. Ethnomethodology and CA will be introduced and a number of key concepts in CA research that

will appear in the analyses and discussions in the rest of the dissertation will be defined. Sources of rigor in CA studies, particularly reliability and validity, will be discussed, and finally, the analytical procedures, the design of the study and the participants will be introduced.

Chapters Five and Six will present the findings of the study. The focus of Chapter Five will be on teacher-led interactions in the COIL program under study which provides answers for the two research questions. Displays of interactional competence realized in the achievement and maintenance of intersubjectivity by the participants will be presented from a CA point of view and sequential interactions that are more conducive to the creation of learning space in the presence of the teachers will be introduced. Chapter Six also answers the same questions, however, this time focusing on the interactions of learners in the absence of teachers.

Chapter Seven will be devoted to the discussion of the findings of the research reported in the chapters preceding it. The findings regarding what interactional practices are in place to establish intersubjectivity in teacher-learner and learner-learner interactions as well as how learning space is created will be discussed and interpreted in light of what is already known from the literature. Finally, in Chapter Eight, conclusions will be drawn based on the findings and their interpretations, implications of the findings will be introduced, limitations of the study will be discussed and suggestions for future research will be offered.

Chapter Two: Internationalization at Home and Second Language Pedagogy

2.1. Chapter Preview

This chapter reviews the relevant existing body of research on internationalization policies in higher education. One of the central issues in this research has been the perceived roles that foreign language pedagogy can play in realizing the goals of internationalization in higher education. Through introducing two broad forms of internationalization, i.e. internationalization abroad and internationalization at home, the chapter discusses how second language pedagogy has contributed to the realization of the latter. Moreover, this chapter tries to answer a key question: what conceptualizations of language and approaches for teaching can best serve the goals of internationalization?

2.2. Internationalization in Higher Education

The increasing demands of globalization have made it necessary for higher education institutions to embark on internationalization. For an institution to survive in a highly competitive market, it has to cater to the growing needs created by emerging situations. One such demand is that universities can no longer depend on domestic students. They need to develop strategies to attract students from overseas as well. Of equal importance is the fact that even domestic students might no longer be merely interested in acquiring domestic level skills. In other words, along with the increasing student mobility prospects and possibilities worldwide, universities are understandably expected to prepare students to compete for job opportunities globally. In order to achieve these two goals, universities need to come up with new ways both to become internationally recognized and to enhance the international experience of their faculty, staff, and students. In response to these demands, many universities around the globe have come to

recognize their role in promoting international and intercultural abilities in their students (de Wit, 2010).

There is not a unitary understanding of internationalization and there is a controversy regarding what it is and what it entails. However, one of the most cited definitions of the concept is the one by Knight (2004) who stated that internationalization is "the process of integrating an international, intercultural, or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of post-secondary education" (p. 11). The definition is particularly interesting because it explicitly denotes internationalization as a process and explicitly refers to international and intercultural aspects of this process. It also seems to be broad in scope encompassing almost any activity at the level of planning or implementation. Knight (2006) further explores the concept setting distinctions between Internationalization Abroad (IA) and Internationalization at Home (IaH). Internationalization Abroad, according to Knight, is characterized by education taking place across borders, mobility of students, teachers, scholars, programs, courses, curriculum, and projects. On the other hand, she argues, IaH comprises activities designed to provide students with the chance to develop intercultural awareness and international understanding while residing in their home countries. The distinction is not free from controversy though.

Beelen and Jones (2015), for instance, call the distinction problematic as it implicitly suggests that IA is incapable of developing international and intercultural skills in students and that IaH is merely done through implementing activities in the absence of a unifying core curriculum. Knight (2006) of course refers to other factors related to IaH including the international/intercultural dimension of the curriculum, research collaboration as well as area and foreign language studies. Her incorporation of curriculum into the idea of IaH opens up new

discussions regarding how this is to be achieved. Responses to this question would vary ranging from proposing solutions through internationalizing curriculum to campus internationalization.

The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) defines internationalized curriculum as the one "with an international orientation in content and/or form, aimed at preparing students for performing (professionally/socially) in an international and multicultural context and designed for domestic and/or foreign students" (OECD, 1996, p. 6). Campus internationalization is also often used interchangeably with comprehensive internationalization as proposed by Hudzik (2011). According to him, comprehensive internationalization is best conceptualized as a commitment realized through action encompassing all aspects of teaching, research, and services in a higher education institution. It is hence not limited to the campus life of students and should be instead extended to the institutions' "external frames of reference, partnerships, and relations" (p. 6).

The main goal of IaH would be to enable local students to experience international higher education in the absence of mobility. One of the first instances of such a proposition can be seen in the paper published by European Association for International Education (Crowther et al., 2000) which expanded the definition of internationalization and delivered a more comprehensive one encompassing university internationalization rather than being merely concentrated on student, staff and researchers mobility and international collaborations (Knight, 2004). This was quite interesting because student mobility programs are often reported to be dominated by students from socially advantaged families with the economic and cultural capital necessary for supporting a student living and studying abroad (Brooks and Waters, 2011). For this reason, IaH is believed to offer "democratization of the benefits of internationalization to a much wider segment of the society than that which could be, or wanted to be, geographically mobile"

(Harrison, 2015, p. 414). IaH, as envisioned by Crowther et al. (2000), had three major components.

First was the consideration of diversity as a resource. The idea here is that internationally mobile students can create a space in universities which is both socially and academically more diverse. This diversity can then be regarded as a potential resource for home students, which enriches their academic experience by making it possible for them to study in an educational setting different from that of their own country. The second was the existence of an internationalized curriculum that benefits from the addition of different cultural perspectives to the existing more conventional curriculum. The third component was culturally sensitive pedagogy, which required universities to consider their culturally and internationally diverse students as a resource and cater for their specific needs. (Harrison, 2015).

No matter how IaH is done, it will be a tenable position to argue that studying foreign languages, as referred to by Knight (2006), is an inseparable part of it. The ultimate goal of enabling domestic students to interact internationally will not be achievable without providing them with the tools to do so. However, language instruction, or more particularly speaking, second or foreign language instruction at universities with the aim of producing interculturally competent students will not be free from challenges. For sure, it will take conscious and deliberate efforts to redefine classrooms and campuses as common areas that have the potentials to promote intercultural learning among other things (Agnew & Kahn, 2014). The way one may try to achieve this grand goal will be closely interrelated with one's understanding of what a foreign language is and what it takes to teach or learn a foreign language. A look back at the history of second and foreign language teaching provides, at the very least, three main paradigms

for answering these questions, namely the behaviorist approach, the innatist approach, and the interactionist approach.

2.3. Second Language Acquisition (SLA)

In its early days as a formal subject of inquiry, language teaching was highly influenced by structuralist and behaviorist views. The famous behaviorist psychologist Skinner was at the forefront of research on the acquisition of language during the time. To him, language learning was pretty much the same as learning any other skills by humans. In other words, he believed that languages were learned through a linear stimulus, response, and reinforcement process. From this, it can be understood that the behaviorist theory underlines the role of the environment and does not believe in the existence of internal mental processes, which were regarded as "inaccessible to proper scientific investigation" during the time (Williams & Burden 1997, p. 8). The view was arguably useful in explaining how human children and foreign language learners come to learn the basic structures of the language. However, it would simply fall short of justifying how more complicated structures were learned too. This was, in fact, the criticism Chomsky leveled at the behaviorist accounts of learning f language learning.

Chomsky's (1959) review of Skinners' (1957) Verbal Behavior may well be considered as a turning point in language acquisition studies. In this seminal work, Chomsky criticized the emphasis behaviorism put on the role of input in language learning an argued that such views were not tenable not the least due to issues arising from poverty of the stimulus. To Chomsky, human infants could not be expected to learn the underlying system of their mother tongue by being merely dependent on the oftentimes insufficient and erroneous input they receive from the environment. After all, the input children are exposed to may not necessarily include all the complex structures of a language. Moreover, adult speech is usually characterized by deviations

from the correct grammar as well as the presence of false starts, self-initiated or other-initiated corrections, etc. Another justification Chomsky offered to refute behaviorist reasoning on language learning was the observation he made on how human infants make errors that they have probably never been exposed to in their immediate environment. He gives examples of children producing the wrong past tense verb *goed instead of the correct form went. He then argues that if children have not heard the erroneous forms in the environment, it cannot be tenable to claim that language learning is based on stimulus and response. Human beings, according to Chomsky, enjoy the presence of a so-called Language Acquisition Device (LAD) (also referred to as Universal Grammar by Cook, 1997) that processes the input in its own peculiar way enabling human children to learn languages. This position later came to be called an innatist approach to language learning which gave primacy to the human mind and psyche rather than the environment.

During the 1970s, however, with the advances in psycholinguistics, Chomsky's confidence in the human mind came under question too. Hymes (1971) was among the first psychologists to react against Chomsky's position on the grounds that learning the grammar system of a language cannot explain the exceptional phenomenon of communicating in a first or foreign language. Along the same line, he set a distinction between linguistic competence, which was characterized by the acquisition of the formal rules of a language, and language competence, which was in fact closely associated with the idea of communicative competence. This proposition literally shifted the focus from individuals as units of analysis to society particularly in research conducted on foreign or second language acquisition. This marks a significant turning point in SLA research also referred to as the social turn (Block, 2003) which was to a great extent motivated by a revival of Vygotsky's sociocultural theory of learning.

Central to this theory is a redefinition of the term "interaction." Contrary to the previous input and interaction models which valued interaction as a means of providing comprehensible input, the sociocultural theory contends that interaction should be treated "as a cognitive activity in its own right" (Ellis, 2008, p. 272). Van Lier (2000, in Ellis, 2008) also believes that interaction cannot be properly investigated by breaking it down into its component elements, rather, it is necessary "to look at the active learner in her environment" and study interaction in its totality. In other words, in sociocultural theory, interaction does not lead to learning, rather it is learning itself. That is, learning, as a social activity, emerges through social interaction. In other words, as Vygotsky (1978) put

> Every function in the child's cultural development appears twice: first, on the social level, and later on the individual level; first between people, (interpsychological), and then inside the child (intrapsychological). This applies equally to voluntary attention, to logical memory, and to the formation of concepts. All the higher functions originate as actual relations between human individuals (p. 57).

Another key concept in sociocultural theory is "mediation," which refers to the use of cultural tools and signs to bring about qualitative changes in thinking. According to Vygotsky (ibid), what distinguishes human beings from primates are the "higher psychological functions," or "higher behaviors." Contrary to primates that are merely equipped with some natural biological endowments, human beings, through mediated activities, that is through making use of cultural signs and tools, are able to perform higher-order psychological functions.

Mediation, according to Vygotsky, can occur in three ways: through the use of some material tool, through interaction with another person, or through the use of symbols. Vygotsky also describes the three stages of mediation human child must go through as object regulation,

other regulation, and ultimately self-regulation. However, as the order suggests, in order to become independent in doing a certain task, the human child needs to go through the other-regulation phase first. With the help of a "more knowledgeable other" in this phase, the human child will be able to perform tasks that he could not complete without help. This, of course, occurs only if the task is within the child's Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD), which as Vygotsky (1987, p.86) defines

> is the distance between the actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers.

Wood et al. (1976, in Anton and DiCamilla, 1999) developed the term "scaffolding" to refer to the "adult guidance" or "collaboration with more capable peers" as mentioned by Vygotsky. They also posit that the scaffolded help can be characterized by the six following functions:

1. Recruitment: Getting the learner interested in the task.

2. Reduction in degrees of freedom: Simplifying the task by reducing the number of constituent acts required to reach a solution.

3. Direction maintenance: Keeping the learner in pursuit of a particular objective.

4. Making critical features: Marking certain features of the task and providing information about the discrepancy between what the child has produced and the ideal solution.

5. Frustration control: Decreasing the learner's frustration and stress.

6. Demonstration: Modeling an idealized form of the act to be completed.

Having moved the learners' ZPD forward, the scaffolded help can be consequently removed when the learner has reached the self-regulation phase. When the learner or child can function independently to complete a task it means that he/she has "appropriated" the higher mental

function, and is within the self-regulation phase. In this phase the child's behavior is not controlled by immediate stimuli, neither is it molded by another person, but rather by an internally self-regulated plan. Anton and DiCamilla (1999) argue that

> Not a permanent level of development, self-regulation is relative to specific tasks and is best characterized as the attainment of an individual's potential for development in innumerable endeavors which are realized through complex interactions with others in one's culture and are mediated principally by language (p. 234).

Vygotsky himself describes the movement from the other-regulation to the self-regulation phases by saying that

> [a]ny higher mental function necessarily goes through an external stage in its development because it is initially a social function […] any higher mental function was external because it was social at some point before becoming an internal, truly mental functions. (1981, in Anton and DiCamilla, 1999, p. 234).

Lantolf and Thorne (2006) elaborate on this quotation and posit that "cognitive development results from social and inter-personal activity becoming the foundation for intra-personal functioning, and […] this process involves internalization" (p. 266).

The emphasis put on the social aspects of learning in general by the sociocultural theory was reflected in second language learning research, too. Clearly, within this theory, it is no longer tenable to assume that being able to communicate in a foreign language equals the mastery of its linguistic system. The theory brought to attention the fact that competent speakers of a foreign language have to be able to communicate smoothly in various social settings despite the potential gaps they may have in their linguistic repertoire. The question, was therefore what does it take one to be able to communicate in a foreign language?

2.3.1. Communicative Competence

As briefly discussed earlier in this chapter, inspired by sociocultural accounts of learning in general and language learning in particular, Hymes (1972) came to criticize formalist approaches to language learning which argued that language had to be studies in the vacuum of human cognition and out of the social context in which it is used. Chomsky's criticism of behaviorist approach is often cited as a revolution in our understanding of what language is and how it is learned. Hymes's criticism of Chomsky's cognitive approach deserves being recognized as a revolutionary move as well. With Hymes's works came the idea of communicative competence upholding the view that mastering the linguistic system underlying a language does not guarantee successful communication for language learners. It is rather the knowledge of using language in different social settings appropriately that determines how successfully a learner can communicate. Basically, and with reference to L1 acquisition, what Chomsky had proposed was that the human child's mind is capable of generating language rules if it has enough exposure to the language in a specific period of its life. This would imply that generation and mastery of the rules enable the child to communicate with ease with other people. To Hymes, however, this would not make sense. He believed that "a child from whom any and all of the grammatical sentences of a language might come with equal likelihood would be of course a social monster" (1974, p. 75). That is even if speakers of a given language follow linguistic rules generated by human cognition they may still fail to sound competent in that language without taking into account the social norms governing its use.

Following from Hymes's assertions, different models and frameworks were proposed to operationally define the communicative competence for the purpose of second language teaching and learning. In one of the earliest and most cited attempts to do so, Canale and Swain (1980)

proposed a model in which four components were identified to be contributing to the realization of communicative competence. Figure 2.1 illustrates the model and its components.

Grammatical Competence	Sociolinguistic Competence
Knowledge of lexical items, morphology, syntax, semantics and phonology	Sociocultural rules of use and rules of discourse
Communicative Competence	
Strategic Competence	Discourse Competence
Overcome language gaps, achieve conversational fluency and modify text for audience	How ideas are connected through patterns of organization, cohesive and transitional devices

Figure 2.1. The four components in Canale and Swain's communicative Competence

As Figure 2.1 shows, communicative competence is made up of grammatical, sociolinguistic, strategic and discourse competence. Grammatical competence seems to be the closest to what was proposed earlier by the innatist perspectives. Learners need to know the rules of the underlying system of the language to be able to communicate in it. However, they also need sociolinguistic competence which enables them to choose appropriate forms of the language based on the context in which they are being used. Strategic competence is also defined as the learners' ability to overcome communication breakdowns and difficulties by resorting to other available resources including both verbal and non-verbal ones. Finally, for L2 speakers to be communicatively competent they also need to display awareness towards the organization and flow of ideas through the use of cohesive and transitional devices.

Other models of communicative competence proposed so far also either directly or less directly refer to the four components in Canale and Swain's model. Some, however, have added other components to it as well. One of these components particularly interesting for the purpose

of the present research is *intercultural competence*. Elaborating on their proposed model of communicative language teaching, Usó-Juan and Martínez-Flor (2006) state that intercultural competence includes both cultural and non-verbal communication skills. They believed this competence requires knowledge of the target culture as well as the linguistic skills necessary to communicate in a foreign language.

Compared with what was proposed before it, Hymes's communicative competence expanded our understanding of the social aspects of language. The models proposed based on it also made it accessible to SLA practitioners. Yet this does not mean that it has been free from criticism. The main argument against work on communicative competence is that although it has channeled attention towards spoken modality of language, "it has done so often from a monologic perspective" (Pekarek-Doehler, 2019). That is to say, communicative competence has been often referred to as an individualistic attribute. A learner may or may not have it. A learner may or may not know how to use linguistic forms in different social settings. A learner may or may not be sensitive to discursive features and sociolinguistic rules governing interactions in various social contexts. The point this view is actually missing is that the ability to interact competently in various social settings can be co-constructed by the participants. In fact, establishing and maintaining mutual understanding or intersubjectivity is not an individual's responsibility and depends on what goes on between interactants (Walsh, 2013). Rather than looking for fluency in an individual learner's performance in a second language, one has to be more concerned with what McCarthy (2005) calls *confluence*, or the way one speaker makes spoken language fluent with the cooperation of another speaker. This view introduced another concept in language learning and teaching research, which was called *Interactional Competence.*

Although this concept is relatively a recent one, its building blocks were founded by Kramsch (1987) a few decades ago.

2.3.2. Interactional Competence

Interactional Competence was first introduced to SLA research by Kramsch (1987) and deals the way L2 learners manage to communicate in a second language without much difficulty despite being not yet fully competent in it. Kramsch's argument was that SLA research has too narrowly concentrated on accuracy and its aim has been finding ways to help L2 learners master the grammatical system of the second language. This, according to her, results in overlooking the dynamic process of human interaction, which is often characterized by collaboration, negotiation, and accommodation prioritizing content and communication over form and accuracy. This is why she proposed her "interactionally-oriented curriculum" (1986, p. 369) which for the first time considered the development of interactional competence necessary for the acquisition of a second language. This curriculum was designed to critically evaluate language use rather than language as a system of abstract rules. What came next was the exploration and evaluation of the construct of interactional competence by other scholars in the field.

Oksaar (1992), among other scholars, proposed a complex model for explaining what interactional competence would entail. Similar to Kramsch, he put spoken language ahead of formal written language in his model considering it a medium of communication. To Oksaar, culture was the essence of human interactions in multicultural settings. His analysis of the sources of miscommunications in multicultural settings led him to the identification of the factors that would impact interactional competence in L2 learners. Such factors included a range of nonlinguistic resources and his proposed definition of interactional competence was, therefore,

the ability of a person, in interactional situations to carry out and interpret verbal, paralinguistic, non-verbal and extraverbal communicative actions in two roles, that of the speaker and that of the hearer, according to the socio-cultural and psychological rules of the group. (1990, p. 530)

What distinguishes this definition from Kramsch's (1986) initial idea of interactional competence is Oksaar's addition of extralinguistic behavior.

Among other researchers who explored interactional competence was Hall (1995) who introduced the concept of interactive practices focusing on the reciprocity of human interactions in general and L2 interactions in particular. Hall argued that conversational practices share particular patterns, are goal-oriented and play significant socially cohesive roles in a community in that using particular patterns of verbal interaction serves as a sign of social affiliation for individuals. Doctors in hospitals or medical conferences, for instance, interact using particular patterns, which might sound alien to an individual not affiliated to medicine. The existence of such shared patterns creates expectations in the participants as well. This means that deviations from what is the norm in a social setting can be regarded as misconduct and can be therefore sanctioned by other participants. For these reasons, Hall believed that interactional competence is an indispensable part of the communicative competence many L2 learners struggle to achieve.

The idea was later developed by He and Young (1998), who added different components to interactional competence including discursive practices, rhetorical knowledge, management of turns and topics, and an awareness towards the boundaries separating sequences of speech. The most novel part of this distinction is that these researchers paid attention to the transition between distinct interactional events for the first time, which means that in their view a given conversation may not necessarily be an inseparable whole. It rather is made up of smaller interactional sequences designed by the participants to serve specific goals.

28

There are also researchers who have studied interactional competence from a conversation analytic perspective. Young (2008), for example, defines it as "a relationship between the participants' employment of linguistic and interactional resources and the contexts in which they are employed; the resources that interactional competence highlights are those of identity, language and interaction" (p. 100). Based on this definition, Young's contribution to the development of the concept of interactional competence is twofold. First, he argues that interactional competence is context-dependent, which in line with CA perspectives, implies that participants in an interactional sequence co-construct the context and that each turn is context-shaped and context-renewing. Second, Young mentions how identity is also co-constructed by speakers in any given sequence of talk. That is to say, identities such as gender, nationality, sexual orientation, profession, etc. can affect the conversational style in any given interaction. However, since not all participants in an interaction call on the same identity, there might be constant conflicts. Interactional competence, therefore, enables participants to reach mutually agreed upon methods of overcoming such difficulties.

More direct guidelines for the applications of CA in promoting interactional competence in L2 learners come from Kasper (2006) who advocates explicit teaching of pragmatic functions to language learners. To her, CA serves this purpose well since it unveils the underlying social structure of human interactions. Her proposition of the term "interactional competencies" instead of the more often use of its singular form can be regarded as her most important contribution to the field. The reason why she prefers the plural form, she explains, is that interaction competence represents an infinite set of resources and abilities that participants in a conversation bring along with them. This is even more so in the case of L2 learners and speakers who besides all other resources available to all individuals have at their disposal their L1 interactional competence.

Furthermore, the organization of the sequence of talk has been found to be different across various social settings. That is, individuals, depending on the social setting they are interacting in, switch between different sequential organizations. For instance, a father who is a businessman and plays golf with his colleagues on the weekend is expected to be competent in at least three social settings: family, workplace and entertainment. This, in turn, means that this individual has three interactional competencies in these settings besides the many more he has for other ones. The diversity of such interactional resources, therefore, has led Kasper to opt for the plural form for interactional competencies.

Inspired by other CA researchers, Kasper (2006, p. 86) counts out a number of functions for interactional competencies. First of all, such competence has to enable the speaker to be aware of the social actions in interaction and make contributions that are contextually relevant and take turns without disturbing the participation organization of talk. It also allows speakers to design their turns employing a wide range of linguistic or paralinguistic semiotic resources to display their epistemic stance. Interactional competence is also related to individuals' ability to repair problems that arise from their own understanding, speaking or hearing or those of their interactants. The use of various sequential patterns also enables speakers to switch on and off different discursive identities at different points in an interaction. Finally, it makes it possible for speakers to smoothly move across different speech activities in an unmarked way.

Kasper's reliance on CA principles in defining her interactional competencies illustrates the growing interests in using CA for SLA research. In fact, recent research in interactional competence in SLA has focused more on the social aspects of language learning instead of an emphasis on the acquisition of the linguistic system of the L2. This view towards language learning is, therefore, more likely to be of help in IaH projects in higher education. The

important question, however, remains unanswered yet: how can language teaching in internationalization programs promote interactional competence? Of particular interest is also the fact that in internationalization programs learners from diverse cultural backgrounds interact with each other and lack of intercultural awareness can create communication difficulties and misunderstandings among them. A next question to be asked therefore is how interactional competence can help learners with diverse cultural backgrounds achieve intersubjectivity and mutual understanding while interacting in a second language?

With the utilization of technology in the second language classroom, it has become considerably easier to come up with innovative approaches to foster both intercultural understanding and develop interactional competence in language learners. Computer technology has now made it possible for learners around the globe to get in touch with each other with relative ease. Advances in Computer-Assisted Language Learning (CALL) may well support this claim. Ally (2004) defines the incorporation of technology into learning in general and e-learning in particular as

> the use of the Internet to access learning materials; to interact with the content, instructor, and other learners; and to obtain support during the learning process, in order to acquire knowledge, to construct personal meaning, and to grow from the learning experience. (p.5)

It seems that CALL in its different forms is capable of meeting most, if not all, of these requirements. CALL can take place both in the form of asynchronous and synchronous communications among learners. In other words, learners can get in touch with each other making use of the webspace to post data that can be later retrieved by other peers. On the other hand, they can also get in touch via videoconferencing tools and interact in real-time. Both these techniques have been introduced in language teaching and can for sure offer numerous

possibilities. Research, as a matter of fact, has recently found how online interactions among learners can help them acquire collaborative learning behaviors (Nor, 2012). It is, in fact, argued that one of the most important ways to nurture interactional competence in L2 learners is providing them with the chance to try diverse sets of interactional devices and that interacting with people from different cultural backgrounds gives them such an opportunity (Pekarek-Doehler, 2017). What is more, such interactions are said to benefit L2 learners with any proficiency level. That is to say, contrary to the common belief that interactional competence is only displayed by and can be developed in proficient L2 speakers, very recent research has shown how L2 learners with very limited resources also possess interactional competence and can boost it through deeper interactions with their peers (Waring, 2019). Within the context of IaH and making use of computer and internet affordances a number of approaches have been devised in recent years that have the potential to make possible the development of interactional competence. One of such approaches is Collaborative Online International Learning (COIL).

2.4. Collaborative Online International Learning

While physical mobility of students through, for instance, study abroad programs was often regarded as the best way for the acquisitions of collaborative behavior and intercultural competence, developments in computer and internet technology have recently offered more options. Such options are not meant to substitute study abroad programs but can for sure benefit students in their home countries in many ways. Examples for such options are the massive online open courses (MOOCs) offered by some universities. These courses, however, lacked the collaborative component which is arguably essential for students to develop intercultural awareness and interactional competence. The introduction of other more collaborative models such as COIL has in part addressed this issue.

In its simplest form, COIL can be defined as a kind of online learning involving classes from two or more countries to heighten learners' awareness of intercultural differences (Shiozaki, 2016). Built into the context of IaH, COIL can prove very useful in promoting intercultural and interactional competence as well as other components of communicative language ability in L2 learners. Learners in distant areas can be brought together to enjoy cultural exchange and interacting in a shared foreign language. The interaction, of course, has to be planned and principled. It may also have challenges for practitioners and program planners regarding how to trace the development in learners. There need to be rigorous methodologies to monitor the learners' potential improvement in the different components of their language ability. If COIL is supposed to be a medium for the realization of IaH, it has to account for student learning.

Rubin and Guth (2015) argue that COIL is not simply a platform for intercultural communication and that it is rather a paradigm for the development of cross-cultural understanding across various shared multicultural learning settings. A variety of internet-based tools have the potentials to be used in a COIL model to link university classes in geographically distant areas which can help teachers and students engage in meaningful intercultural exchanges. There are universities in different parts of the globe that offer online courses for learners in different countries, too. Such programs, however, have a basic and very important difference with COIL. While online programs as such are unidirectional by nature, COIL, as the title suggest, can encourage bilateral exchange and collaboration. Moreover, as far as teaching is concerned, at least two teachers in the two collaborating universities will develop syllabus and content often with an emphasis on collaborative student learning. Not all sessions have to be online, of course. There may well be traditional lectures and teacher-led sessions and the online collaborative sessions can come in between these sessions. It is, therefore, easier to consider

COIL as a framework that can be adapted to the specific needs and expectations in particular settings. Depending on the overall aim of the course, COIL can take different forms. While for the development of linguistic and interactional competencies online live collaborations among learners might prove very useful, for other courses textual exchanges among students might serve the purpose too.

The popularity of COIL is currently growing and more higher education institutes are showing interest in internationalizing their classes and courses using this approach. Through the use of the internet and various innovative online tools, COIL seems to have the potentials to foster virtual exchange between teachers and students at universities. Research, however, on COIL seems to be in an embryonic stage. A glance through academic journals in the field of education shows how little, if any, has been done with regards to evaluating COIL projects. Prospective research in this area may take several forms. One could focus on the design of the programs and investigate how teachers across borders come to an agreement about a syllabus on the course, for instance, and design tasks for realizing their goals in the classroom. Another area would be to look at how students and teachers actually benefit from such projects in terms of their uptake from the course. Such research may come up with criteria to evaluate the outcomes of virtual exchanges students and teachers have had during an extended period. The present study, however, has taken a different approach. Instead of investigating and studying a COIL exchange in its totality, this study seeks to understand the minute-by-minute and microgenetic interactions of learners and teachers engaged in a COIL project. Particularly, it seeks to understand how learners from different background and across borders who do not share a first language and are not fully competent users of a foreign language, manage to achieve mutual understanding and intelligibility and organize their verbal and non-verbal interactions and also to

study how teachers' interactional practices can create learning opportunities or rather impede them. To the best of the researcher's knowledge, a similar study, utilizing CA as the methodological framework for the investigation of a COIL exchange, has not been conducted.

2.5. Summary

Internationalization seems to have become a necessity for many higher education institutes around the globe. It has been approached from a number of different ways, one of which is IaH. In IaH, goals of internationalization are believed to be realized without the need for students and faculty to move across borders. Among other factors, success in second language pedagogy has been thought to facilitate the achievement of IaH goals. Against this backdrop, this chapter reviewed different conceptualizations of language and language pedagogy concluding that a communicative approach would offer language learners more opportunities since its goal is to enable learners to use language appropriately in different social settings. The next chapter will, therefore, review the existing literature on the use of CA methodology in SLA research, which upholds sociality as a central concept. It will also review CA-oriented research on the use of technology in the second language classroom.

Chapter Three: Conversation Analysis and Second Language Acquisition Research

3.1. Chapter Preview

The present research has taken a CA approach to investigate technology-mediated foreign language interactions in a COIL program primarily designed to promote internationalization at home. The present discusses why CA can be a useful methodological framework for studies of interaction in the language classroom. Particularly, it reviews studies using CA to investigate technology-mediated interactions to provide a background against which the following chapters can be understood better.

3.2. CA in Applied Linguistics Studies

Since the recognition of Second Language Acquisition (SLA) as an independent field of study, both qualitative and quantitative methodologies have been employed to understand how languages in general and second and foreign languages, in particular, are learned. By extension, research in this field has also been interested in exploring the ways second and foreign languages are taught. Looking at the existing literature, however, indicates that the use of CA methodology in this research area has been relatively a new trend. Particularly, in line with the focus of the present research project, it can be argued that the use of CA in Computer Assisted Language Learning (CALL) is quite a recent development compared with other qualitative methods often employed in CALL research. Probably, Negretti's (1999) article could be singled out as one of the first instances of research studying web-based activities of foreign language learners from a CA point of view. This, of course, cannot come as a surprise since the wide introduction of the internet as a tool for communication between individuals is relatively new as well. It was since the publication of the above-mentioned article that CA started to find a more central place in

CALL studies. Even to date, of course, CA has been only marginally employed compared with other methodologies. Yet, a look at the quantity of the published works on CALL utilizing CA shows that it has gained more popularity among researchers in recent years (González-Lloret, 2011; 2015).

Although the literature on the applications of CA in language teaching research is not extensive, the growth of two distinct fields having CA as their principal analytical framework is noticeable. The first of these two research categories has a lot in common with pure CA studies that seek to unravel the intricacies of human verbal and nonverbal interaction in general in a computer-mediated setting. These studies include, but are not limited to, the investigation of turn-taking systems and the sequential organization of verbal interactions among interlocutors using the new medium of computers (Markman, 2005) and how such features of computer-mediated interactions compare to those of face-to-face interactions. Studies, for example, have investigated openings and closings (Rintel, Mulholland, & Pittan, 2001), repair organization (Schonfeldt & Golato, 2003), advice-giving (Vayreda & Antaki, 2009) as well as humor (Lazaraton, 2014). What binds most of these studies together is their use of textual data. In other words, a review of the research conducted on CA in CALL shows that the use of textual computer-mediated communication is the most common way of studying interactions in such settings. This, however, is not to say that audio and video communications have not been investigated at all.

Jenks and Brandt (2013), as a case in point, studied 23 audio conversations on Skype focusing on summoning patterns in the interactions in a setting where English was used as a lingua franca. Fischer and Tebrink (2003, cited in González-Lloret, 2015) looked into turn-taking and turn organization patterns in video conferencing and investigated the resources and

constraints offered by the new medium. The study of non-textual computer-mediated communications has not been limited to audio and video interactions and other, more novel, forms of interactions have been studied too. Among these, one could refer to the study of interactions in online gaming settings (Collister, 2008), social-networking practices (Meredith & Stokoe, 2014) as well as different mobile applications (Arminen & Weilenmann, 2009). Examples of the studies mentioned here, as noted earlier on, can be all categorized in the first group of research done with a CA framework in CALL. They have all been of a descriptive nature and have studied the organization of computer-mediated interactions in a foreign language from a general perspective. The second category, however, features research with more specific purposes.

As opposed to the first group of research contributing to CALL research with a CA methodology, the second group is mainly concerned with identifying, theorizing and tracking the development of language learning in a technology or computer-mediated environment. Studies in this group are also referred to as CA-for-SLA. CA was originally developed by the sociologists Harvey Sacks and Emmanuel Schegloff in the 1960s with the aim of investigating social interactions as verbalized by individuals and hence it made use of naturally occurring conversations in different settings. Overall, CA studies seek to unravel how participants in any given social interaction understand, orient to, and construct actions either in ordinary conversations or in institutional talks (Clift, 2016). The very fact that CA merely studies interaction implies that it takes it as an organized social enterprise in which every single contribution by participants is intended and makes a difference. It rejects the supremacy of written language over oral language on the grounds that while the latter may seem disorganized

and chaotic, it actually is not so. The data-driven microanalysis offered by CA suggests that systematicity and organization exist in all layers of oral interactions.

The rigor offered by early CA studies led to the development of Applied Conversation Analysis, which has been growingly used in sociology, anthropology, communication and linguistic studies (Kasper & Wagner, 2014). As far as second language learning studies are concerned, CA was not initially welcomed, however. In the early 2000s, there were SLA scholars who were skeptical about the potential benefits CA could offer to the field. Their main argument was that CA was not equipped to address the question of language learning simply because it was not a language learning theory (He, 2004; Hauser, 2005). This criticism was addressed by other scholars in the field at the time by coupling CA with other popular and widely accepted learning theories such as Sociocultural theory, Activity theory (Thorne, 2000) and Situated Learning Theory (Hellermann, 2006). These theories situated learning within a social framework and argued that learning could be broadly taken as a socially distributed cognition (Gonzalez-Lloret, 2015) and therefore shared with CA the emphasis on social aspects of learning.

Others did not suffice with using CA as a side methodology while investigating learning from another theoretical perspective. Scholars such as Markee (2008) and Seedhouse (2011) were among the forerunners of proposing CA as a self-sufficient methodology for studying language learning. To them this approach of CA, which later came to be known as CA-for-SLA, would adopt a wider definition of learning that not only emphasized the mastery of the linguistic system, but also attached equal importance to learning to orient to the organization of the interaction through turn-taking, sequence organization, adjacency pairs, eye gaze, etc. In other words, as Pekarek-Doehler (2010) states, from this latter CA point of view

Learning a language involves a continuous process of adaptation of patterns of language-use-for-action in response to locally emergent communicative needs, and the routinization of these patterns through repeated participation in social activities […] and the resulting *competencies* are adaptive, flexible and sensitive to the contingencies of use. (p. 107)

What is implied in this quotation is the fact that learning cannot be simply taken as the acquisition or accumulation of abstract knowledge. Rather, it can be only understood through participation. In this sense, as Seedhouse (2004) posits, CA investigates socially distributed learning, exploring how participants or language learners perform social actions in their interactional behavior. Refuting earlier claims which held that CA cannot track language development since it is not a theory of language, CA-for-SLA argues that learning can be observed, for instance, in the learners' development of "intersubjective resources to co-construct with their interlocutors locally enacted, progressively more accurate, fluent, and complex interactional repertoires in the L2" (Markee, 2008, p. 406). Longitudinal CA studies are, therefore, as opposed to earlier criticism, well-equipped to track the development of these interactional resources in learners by comparing how they participate in social actions using the L2 in earlier stages with their use of the second language in later stages (Kasper & Wagner, 2014).

This view offers a strikingly different perspective from more traditional cognitive models of language learning which evaluated learning with reference to accuracy of the language produced by the learners. As Markee's quotation above suggests, CA-for-SLA takes accuracy as a progressive and approximative process. It is, therefore, less concerned with the accuracy of the learner productions and more interested in understanding how learners manage to communicate meaningfully despite deficiencies in their L2 repertoire. A group of studies in CA-for-SLA has

looked at such interactions among language learners, their teachers and other speakers of the target language. Interestingly, these studies have shown how in different educational (Brower & Wagner, 2004; Gardner & Wagner, 2004) or non-educational settings (Hellermann, 2008; Seedhouse, 2004) learners resort to various resources at their disposal and engage in a variety of interactional activities in order to maintain meaningful communication with their interlocutors (Mori, 2004; Mori & Hayashi, 2006). This, once again, corroborates the insight offered by CA-for-SLA in that for language learners, it is often maintaining the flow of interaction that matters and not language issues such as grammar and accuracy (Wong, 2005). Learners are often reported to be able to engage in different activities and membership categories accomplishing the co-construction of meaning and understanding (Kasper, 2004; Kasper & Kim, 2007) employing competencies not only related to their L2 but also to their L1 and even related to non-linguistic resources.

Such new insights have recently started to be taken more seriously within CALL research too. Traditionally, CALL was more concerned with quantitative and qualitative methodologies from SLA and social psychology. Not surprisingly, therefore, with the appraisal of CA as a rigorous method of inquiry in these fields, CALL research has shown more interest in it as well.

CA was originally a sociological approach, but it has been used in linguistics as well as sociology and ethnomethodology. Heritage believes there are two kinds of conversation analysis: one that investigates the institution *of* interaction (pure CA) and the one that investigates the management of institutions *in* interactions (applied CA) (Heritage, 2004). Unlike Applied Linguistics, that as the name suggests has to do with the application, CA had not considered this perspective until recently. Seedhouse argues that "the development of an applied dimension in CA and its fundamental concern with language as a form of social action suggest a natural link

with [Applied Linguistics]" (2005). Applied Linguistics deals with language, and language, in turn, is realized through action. CA is a methodology that brings these two aspects together.

3.2.1. Teaching language (English) for specific purposes (ESP)

ESP is a subfield in English language teaching which is often contrasted with teaching English for general purposes. In ESP the main concern is to prepare language learners for using English in different work settings in the future. A similar area is also called English for Academic purposes (EAP) which strives to prepare learners for future academic encounters in academic settings. As far as the relationship between CA and ESP is concerned one can argue that insight from CA research can bring to attention differences in interactional organizations in various workplaces. Language teachers have limited access to knowledge about how interactions are organized (how turns are supposed to be taken or how repair can be done, for instance) in different work settings and hence ESP instruction fails to achieve its goals. CA, however, has a lot to offer for such situations. An example of how CA informed research can benefit ESP research and practitioners can be found in Packett's (2005) study of how aspiring journalists in an ESP course could learn about the interactional organization in radio interviews between the interviewer and interviewees. The study found how adding insertion sequences after questions in the form of extra explanation can clarify the point for the audience rather than the interviewee. The researcher suggested that such information can be very informative for authors who write textbooks for ESP in journalism. In another attempt employing CA in their ESP research Bowles and Pallotti (2003) also showed how teaching telephone conversations in different workplaces has to be sensitive towards the purpose and organization of talk in that particular setting.

3.2.2. Materials development for language teaching

Materials designers all over the world use conversations in their textbooks as a source of authentic material and/or inductive teaching of grammar. Research in materials development has

urged authors to make use of authentic conversations instead of making up conversations that might be rich in the use of particular grammatical structures. However, most available resources seem to prefer conversations that are designed for specific purposes. That is probably why research has found conversations in many textbooks inauthentic and insensitive to the complexities of real talk (Tomlinson, 2016). Wong (2002), for instance, studied four common sequence types in telephone conversation in American English and compared them to some telephone conversations presented in a number of ELT textbooks. She found that the sequences she identified were "absent, incomplete or problematic" (p.37) in the conversations presented in the books. CA, also could be used in case of comparing and contrasting the two languages (Contrastive Analysis), and provide useful information for designing materials and tasks for students with a specific L1 learning a specific L2.

3.2.3. Language proficiency assessment

Language assessment is one of the areas in applied linguistics research where CA has been very influential. There have been a number of studies regarding Language proficiency interviews and their differences with natural conversation (see Lazaraton, 1997; Young and He, 1998; and Kasper & Ross, 2003).CA, according to Seedhouse (2005), can be employed to monitor the validity and the reliability of the assessments. It can be used as a complement to the traditional methods of assessment and assessment validations. Seedhouse concludes from Jacoby & McNamara (1999) and Schegloff et al. (2002) that "CA is able to locate what counts as communicative competence in specific professional contexts. CA research can clarify the advantages and disadvantages of assessment formats and inform the design of assessment tasks" (p. 171). What is of paramount importance, here, is CA's approach to studying competence. As discussed in the previous chapter while competence was once regarded as an individualistic attribute, isolated from socialization processes, and as a fixed and static construct, CA redefines

competence dynamic and produced locally by all participants in an interaction. It also makes it possible to investigate the co-construction of competence and its maintenance by the interactants in a context-sensitive manner.

3.2.4. Interaction in the language classroom

A number of studies regarding L2 classroom interaction have been carried out using a CA perspective and have broadened our knowledge of classroom interactions (see Olsher, 2004; Carroll, 2005; Koshik, 2010). Using CA, Seedhouse (2004) introduced four classroom contexts, arguing that each has its own interactional organization due to its pedagogical goal. That is, each context has its own pedagogical goal and a specific interactional organization is developed to help achieve this goal. Along the same vein, Walsh (2006, 2011) suggests that classroom contexts comprise four modes. He, too, argues that each of these modes has its own pedagogical aim that results in different interactional features also called *interactures*. CA can be applied to classroom interaction so as to help better understanding the organization of interactions in classrooms.

3.2.5. Conceptions of CA in language learning and teaching research

There are a number of different conceptions about CA and its applicability on language learning and teaching. In his article, Seedhouse (2005a) proposes three approaches to the application of CA in language learning and teaching. First is the ethnomethodological approach to CA approaches the data with no a priori assumption and the results are only the interpretation of the data. No contextual factor is considered relevant unless proven by the data itself. It had been argued that the very strength of this approach lies in its so-called neutrality toward learning theories and teaching methodologies. The second approach is that of the sociocultural theory (SCT) approach to CA. Contrary to the ethnomethodological approach, this one seeks to use CA as a tool to explore different themes related to this theory (Markee & Kasper, 2004). According

to Mondada & Pekarek-Doehler (2004), there are similarities between CA and SCT in that both stress the role of context-bound interaction in the accomplishment of human actions. As Seedhouse (2005a) suggests, this is exactly where CA-for-SLA research fits: somewhere between ethnomethodology and sociocultural theory. What distinguishes CA-for-SLA from the mainstream research within SCT is the fact that while the former is agnostic to theories and builds on participant orientations and moment-by-moment interactions, the latter tends to interpret the data with a theoretical lens.

Yet the third approach is the linguistic approach to CA. Unlike other approaches to CA, the linguistic approach treats the data and the outcomes as "decontextualized coding categories" (Wagner, 1996, p. 231). SLA research adopting this approach is typically quantitative and hence concerned with things like quantifying requests, confirmation checks and so on. This approach, as Seedhouse asserts, has "deprived itself of the analytical power of the CA approach to repair by using only one small and isolated component of this complex organization." This approach to CA is therefore not regarded as CA by Seedhouse at all.

3.2.6. The relationship between CA and SLA

The relationship between CA and SLA can be discussed from a number of perspectives particularly in the light of the three approaches to CA, mentioned above. Except for the ethnomethodological approach that does not seem to offer any reconciliation with the field of SLA, the other two have contributed a lot and seem likely to continue contributing to the field. As mentioned earlier, CA-for-SLA falls within the SCT approach to CA which shows a tangle between the two.

Recently though, there has been another discussion relating the CA approach to the tenets of Complexity Theory. Seedhouse (2010; 2011) uses CA and Complexity Theory in a

45

complementary way. In fact, he claims to have used CA to analyze the micro details of verbal and non-verbal behavior and complexity theory to elucidate how L2 classroom interaction functions as a complex adaptive system. His work is grounded in Larsen-Freeman and Cameron's (2008, p. 183) suggestion that "CA, by offering careful description of the micro-level of face-to-face talk as a single coupled system, is compatible with the complex dynamic systems approach to discourse…and provides an important starting point for assembling a complexity toolkit for discourse."

3.3. CA and Research in CALL

The developments of computer technology created a new medium and platform for human interactions. This new medium featured important differences with face-to-face interactions and expectably led to a considerable bulk of research focusing on the specificities of the new medium. CA was also employed to make sense of how individuals participating in a technology-mediated interaction understand each other. Besides, a second line of research, which is more concerned with learning and understanding how knowledge is built and transmitted in technology-mediated educational settings, has used CA to address the need for theorizing learning in the new environment (Schulze & Smith, 2015). As discussed earlier on, since early research in sociology using CA (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974) had introduced it as a rigorous and sound methodology, in CALL research too, it was believed to be able to explain how learners use language resources to manage their interactions in digital environments as well as how technology itself would affect, shape and transform interactions.

Not all interactions in a technology-mediated environment are audio and visual, however. As a matter of fact, a great proportion of such interactions either in social media or mobile applications are textual. This would pose a threat to the validity of using CA in investigating

them on the grounds that CA, as the title suggests, is meant to study conversations and not written texts. The response to this criticism is interesting. Although Computer-Mediated Communication (CMC) looks textual, it, in fact, deviates to a great extent from the expected norms and standards of texts. This means that CMC is more like a conversation than a text and, as Beauvois (1998) states; it is a conversation in slow motion. Similarly, Danet (1997) argues that digital writing is more oral than written although "it lacks the social and physical cues accompanying speech" (p. 5). There are, of course, studies dealing with CMC as a text, yet these studies employ discourse analysis or genre analysis approaches in their investigations and not CA. There are also those who take CMC as neither oral nor textual and believe that it has its own unique qualities. Examples for this latter view include Crystal (2006) who uses the term "Netspeak" to refer to CMC, Yus (2011) who calls it "oralized written text" and Baym (2010) who contends that it "resembles both written language and conversation" (p. 63). Considering CMC as a new form of communication justifies further research in this area since as Wooffitt (1990) puts it conversational structures "are not fixed and hard-wired cognitive phenomena, but rather are normative and socially organized" (p. 27). Being socially organized implies that any conversational interaction in a new setting or over a new medium can feature differences with other interactions and needs being independently studied.

Regardless of how technology-mediated interactions and CMS are categorized, CA seems to be a good choice as a methodological tool to study the peculiar characteristics of the new medium and the intricacies involved in the interactional practices through "attending to the minute details of the interactional conduct" (Kasper, 2004, p. 564). Tsai and Kinginger's (2014) study provides a good example of how CA informed methodology can unveil intricacies that would otherwise remain unnoticed. They studied advice seeking and advice-giving practices in

text-based CMC practices among language learners and found that instead of offering advice, students often complimented the advice seeker in order to strengthen their friendship ties and avoid threatening the recipient's negative face. Let us imagine now what research not using CA would yield in terms of results. One way to approach the data would be to categorize the moves by the speech act of advising, in which case it could be concluded that advice was not provided and hence communication was unsuccessful. However, Tsai and Kinginger's (2014) CA-informed study showed how participants in interactions used sophisticated techniques to meaningfully and purposefully engage in an institutional activity without creating unnecessary conflict. The example provided above also shows how a combination of computer-mediated interaction and CA can provide opportunities to study language learners' interaction outside the classroom and in more naturalistic settings. This is not, of course, to say that the language classroom is not a natural setting. However, the fact is classroom interactions are heavily influenced by tacit institutional expectations about the patterns of interaction often resulting in very structured turn-taking sequences (Tudini, 2013). The use of CA in language teaching research, prior to the introduction of computer technology to the second language classroom interactions, was limited to learner and teacher interactions inside the classroom. After that, however, it has been made possible to track language learners' use of the foreign language in naturalistic settings such CMC. That is what makes a combination of CA and CALL interesting.

Thorne (2003) believes that the reason why the majority of studies using CA methodology focus on text-based CMC is that this medium best suits the purpose of "authentic interpersonal relationship building" (p. 48). The majority of these studies, however, target native speakers' online interactions and not those of language learners'. They are often comparative by nature in the sense that they investigate the nature of sequence organization and turn-taking in

the interactions mediated by technology on the one hand and compare the findings with the well-established sequence organization patterns proposed in early CA studies in sociology and other fields by scholars such as Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974) (for examples of such studies refer to Herring, 1999 & Hutchby, 2001). Besides, there are similar studies focusing on particular features of technology-mediated interactions such as openings (Rintel, Mulholland, & Pittam, 2001), repairs (Schonfelddt & Golato, 2003), face negotiations (Golato & Taleghani-Nikazm, 2006) and identity construction sequences (Stommel, 2008).

Interestingly, the results of these studies have generally shown how the sequential organization in CMC is different from face to face interactions. For instance, data from such studies have shown that participants feature higher levels of tolerance for split adjacency pairs (Smith, 2003) where the response to an initiated turn is provided later in the sequence rather than immediately following it (for more information on adjacency pairs and their functions refer to the fourth chapter in this dissertation). Another distinctive feature of textual CMC is the existence of disrupted turn adjacency (Schonfeldt & Golato, 2003). While the participants in a written CMC are engaged in interaction it may take a little while until a response for an initiation is provided. Meanwhile, another-initiation may occur and the number may increase if the interval between the first initiation and its response is more. This means that initiations may come without responses and then a series of corresponding responses follow without the presence of immediate initiations. These are hardly ever allowed or tolerated in face-to-face interactions, however. As a result, approaching such data from the viewpoint of turn-taking organization in face to face interactions is likely to create the image that textual CMC lacks sequential organization and is hence chaotic. Through closer scrutiny, however, this proves to be a simplification since participants come up with creative ways to maintain order in their interaction.

Besides, it would be a flaw to expect all conversations over different media to feature identical patterns of organization. An example of the attempts made by participants to maintain order, as Gonzalez-Lloret's (2015) research shows, is when they produce shorter turns in order to keep adjacency pairs closer to each other or the way they make use of emoticons and orthographic symbols to compensate for the absence of non-verbal communication clues.

The use of CA is not limited to textual interactions in technology-mediated interactions. Audio and video interactions, as well as in-game conversations, have been studied too. Few of such studies, however, have incorporated data from L2 speakers using language to interact in a learning setting or with the purpose of learning. They have mostly focused on interactional features of the medium instead (Jenks & Brandt, 2013). One caveat in such studies is that they have overlooked the important differences the use of an L2 may cause in interaction. Though informative in their own place indeed, such studies might provide a relevant background for the research underway in the present dissertation. For this purpose, it seems more appropriate to turn to those studies making use of data collected from L2 speakers and learners. Such studies can be broadly categorized into two main groups based on their primary focus: those that provide a descriptive account of computer-mediated interactions among L2 learners using CA informed microanalysis, and the other group that seeks to track the development and the learning of a second language through analyzing learner interactions often longitudinally. In other words, while studies in the former group deal with the description of interactional resources used by L2 learners to see if such resources are conducive to language acquisition, the ones in the latter group kept a primary focus on whether language learning has actually happened as a result of using the new media. In either case, to the best the researcher's knowledge however, the number

of studies is limited compared with other areas in SLA. In the following section, studies in both of these groups will be reviewed.

3.4. CA-Informed Descriptive Studies of Technology-Mediated L2 Interactions

Jenks (2009) argues that the first step to the investigation of social interactions in a new medium is a thick and detailed description of how participants transfer their interactional skills from an already existing medium to the new one in order to handle the cultural and linguistic differences that emerge. Studies dealing with data collected from both synchronous and asynchronous technology-mediated interactions seem to attend to Jenks' concern. Within such descriptive studies there seem to exist four main subcategories as well. The first is the group of studies looking at the *interactional structure* of L2 technology-mediated interactions. Such studies have either focused on the description of sequence organization and turn-taking patterns in interactions (Kitade, 2000; Tudini, 2013) or focused on particular interactional features such as openings or closings (Pojanapunya & Jaroenkitboworn, 2011). What we have learned from these studies is that L2 interactions are not chaotic and L2 learners are not deficient in making use of their interactional resources. This means that despite having lacks and gaps in their L2 linguistic repertoires, language learners bring along with themselves other skills that help them communicate in the L2 without disrupting the sequential order (Tercedor Cabrero, 2013). It is also implied in these studies that for language learners engaged in interactions with their peers content and meaning have priority over form. They seem to compensate deficiencies in their linguistic resources by orienting to meaning as well as other resources available to them in technology-mediated environments and CMC. That is why their use of the media features structural differences with that of native speakers of a language. Vandergriff (2013, 2014), for instance, found that L2 learners use twice as many emoticons as the native speakers in their

51

online interactions. This is so, he states, because while in face to face interactions L2 learners make use of non-linguistic cues to fill in the gaps in their L2 proficiency, in textual technology-mediated environments they have to be creative and come up with a substitute strategy, which in this case is the excessive use of emoticons. L2 learners are also reported to manage their online interactions in a way that mitigates disagreement and the use of *dispreferred* second part responses.

Studies focusing on one particular aspect of the interactional structure have also yielded interesting results. Gonzales (2012) and Pojanapunya and Jaroenkitboworn (2011), for instance, analyzing the closing sequences of language learners engaged in interaction in two different social networks found that closing sequences were most often preceded by pre-closing sequences. That is, prior to performing the act of leaving the conversation, participants tended to signal their intention to leave through producing certain structures. This, interestingly, bears resemblance with face to face interactional structure where participants make attempts to save the face of their interlocutor before closing down the conversation. What this similarity seems to imply is that the use of the technology medium does not make interaction and the urge to save the face any less important for language learners. Moreover, the fact that the two studies mentioned have found similar results across two contexts (in this case social network environments) indicates that normative patterns and expectations in conversation might be transferable to new media and contexts.

The second subcategory in descriptive studies of L2 technology-mediated interactions includes research focusing on *troubles and repairs*. As mentioned earlier, research has shown that learner-learner interactions in L2 educational and non-educational settings feature fewer instances of attention to form prioritizing meaning and content over linguistic accuracy.

However, L2 learners seem to initiate repair in various forms once linguistic inaccuracy leads to communicative breakdown and misunderstandings (Hellermann, Thorne, Lester & Jones, 2015). Repair work may take different forms most frequent of which are self-repair (or self-initiated repair) and other-repair (or other-initiated repair). Research in textual CMC has revealed that self-repairs of vocabulary and spelling mistakes are the most frequent among L2 learners (Tudini, 2002): a pattern that is observable in native speakers of any language too, though with a lower frequency. This is not very different from non-textual communications either. Tercedor Cabrero (2013) reported, for instance, that more than three-quarters of the repairs found in a video conferencing data were self-initiated and self-repaired. Other-initiation of repair is, on the other hand, more frequent once participants ask for clarification of a term or concept (Tudini, 2010).

The third category of research in descriptive studies has mainly dealt with the *affordances* of the new medium in use. The concern in this stratum of research is to see if a new medium, in this case a technology-enhanced medium, has the potentials to promote L2 interactions and make learning possible. This also shows that, to the researchers, context and the way it can influence the interactional structure is of significance as well. Three main media investigated for this purpose are emails, audio-based communications, and online gaming environments.

Emails are found to provide a very positive environment for noticing errors by L2 learners despite the fact that they do not often provide avenues for feedback from interlocutors (Kitade, 2000). Emails, by nature, are reported to feature fewer instances of negotiation (on either meaning or form) partly because the participants approach it with the standards of an asynchronous tool for communication. There might be such instances though, only if a request for clarification is explicitly made or if the source of trouble is repeated causing a

communicative difficulty. As discussed earlier on, in certain cases CMC can be regarded more as an oral rather than a written genre. Email communication, however, might be an exception. The lack of negotiation in emails can provide support for this position since troubleshooting and repair are generally more frequent in oral communication. Overall, situating this in the existing body of literature on SLA it can be concluded that while email communication might provide a platform for self-repair and noticing errors through recasts received from responses, it is not likely to assist L2 learners through providing them with ample feedback opportunities. For such an opportunity, CMC forms closer to the oral genre might prove better choices.

As opposed to emails, voice and video CMC (Skype, for instance) is more likely to provide feedback opportunities since the frequency of interactional trouble in synchronous communication is often believed to be higher particularly in voice CMC when participants are identifying their interlocutors or allocating the next speaker (turn allocation) or joining an ongoing conversation in multi-party interactions. For instance, the principle of "one speaker at a time" (Sacks et al., 1994) in audio interactions is difficult to maintain. The principle holds that participants in a conversation (particularly when there are more than two participants) tend to avoid overlapping turns and soon after one speaker takes the turn the other speakers stop speaking. This works often smoothly in face to face conversation unless there is an intention to overlap turns due to arguments or disagreement. Over a computer medium, however, there are sometimes technical issues such as delays in hearing one's utterance that make it difficult to maintain. Research, however, shows that once such difficulties happen, participants tend to use strategic silence to avoid overlapping talk (Gonzalez-Lloret, 2015).

Research has also explored the affordances of online or collaborative gaming environments for language acquisition. Hellermann et al. (2015), as a case in point, sought to

study how participants interact in a mobile augmented reality game designed to promote collaborative talk among L2 learners. In this study, each group of learners held a mobile phone device that gave them particular instruction for the completion of the game. The analysis showed how all members in a group oriented to the device holder for instructions and leadership and how turn allocation was organized by the device holder rather than the other participants. Other studies focusing on online gaming settings have also shown how participants step towards interactional synchrony through employing all their available resources including both linguistic and nonlinguistic ones (Piirainen-Marsh, 2011, 2012; Piirainen-Marsh & Tainio, 2014). CA research investigating L2 interactions in online gaming settings, however, seems to be in its infancy stage yet, and there is for sure room in this area for future studies to add to our current understandings.

The fourth subcategory of descriptive CA studies of technology-mediated L2 interactions features studies focusing on *social organization*. These studies have tried to understand how participants orient towards the social norms in particular settings regardless of the computer medium they are using for interaction. A number of studies, for instance, share the finding that if the interaction among L2 learners takes place for pedagogic purposes either inside or outside the classroom, participants tend to consider it as institutional talk rather than everyday conversation. Institutional talk comes with particular norms and expectations deviations from which can be sanctionable for the participants. Everyday conversation, however, has fewer strict expectations and features more freedom for the interlocutors. The fact that learners orient to L2 pedagogic interactions as institutional talk (Gonzales, 2012; Suzuki, 2012) has consequences for the social organization of their interactions. For instance, while disagreement is considered to be face-threatening (Brown & Levinson, 1987) and is dispreferred in regular conversations (Schegloff,

2007), in didactic settings it is an accepted norm. Disagreement is by nature on content, but a similar position can be taken for corrections on form. Explicit repair or correction of an interlocutor's linguistic error is considered as a sign of incompetence in regular conversation, however, when it comes to learning contexts, it is usually more accepted and welcomed. This has to be approached with caution, however, since although such instances are more acceptable, they are not necessarily so. Repairs are usually initiated with the explicit or implicit invitation of the participant who has produced an error, or as Tudini (2010) explains, other-repair instances are preceded by permission-seeking turns for correction. Such repairs are produced with various politeness mitigators such as explanations, encouragements, compliments or excessive use of emoticons in the written genre implying that even in pedagogic settings correction and repair are considered as threats to the participants' face. In order to understand this situation better, Seedhouse's (2004) concept of classroom contexts can be very helpful. He argues that the interactional structure of the L2 classroom varies based on the pedagogic goals of the moment. He argues that meaning and fluency, form and accuracy, task-oriented and procedural contexts. Walsh (2006) also has a similar idea and divides the classroom interactions into four main modes, which bear similarities to Seedhouse's contexts.

Similar to Seedhouse, Walsh considers the L2 classroom as multi-layered comprising different interactional patterns and pedagogical goals in each of the layers. Accordingly, he distinguishes four modes in the classroom: managerial, materials, skills and systems, and classroom context. The following table summarizes Walsh's categorizations of the classroom modes based on their pedagogic features.

Table 3.1
classroom modes (adopted from Walsh, 2006)

Mode	Pedagogic goal	Interactional features
Managerial	To transmit information To organize the physical learning environment To refer learners to materials To introduce or conclude an activity To change from one mode of learning to another	A single, extended teacher turn which uses explanations and/or instructions The use of transitional markers The use of confirmation checks An absence of learner contributions
Materials	To provide language practice around a piece of material To elicit responses in relation to the material To check and display answers To clarify when necessary To evaluate contributions	Predominance of IRF pattern Extensive use of display questions Form-focused feedback Corrective repair The use of scaffolding
Skills and systems	To enable learners to produce correct forms To enable learners to manipulate the target language To provide corrective feedback To provide learners with practice in sub-skills To display correct answers	The use of direct repair The use of scaffolding Extended teacher turns Display questions Teacher echo Clarification requests Form-focused feedback
Classroom context	To enable learners to express themselves clearly To establish a context To promote oral fluency	Extended learner turns Short teacher turns Minimal repair Content feedback Referential questions Scaffolding Clarification requests

As the table indicates, the four classroom modes have different pedagogical goals and as a result, feature different interactional patterns. Interestingly, the frequency of repairs and formal feedbacks in different classroom modes varies in line with its pedagogical focus. For instance, while form-focus feedbacks seem to be a normal practice in the materials and skills and systems mode, in the two other modes they do not simply exist. What these categorizations imply is that interactions cannot be simply regarded as educational or otherwise. Within educational interactions, there may be subcategories featuring different norms and expectations that are likely to frame participants' actions in particular ways. Although Walsh's classroom modes were

57

originally proposed for the formal setting of the language classroom, it seems that they are applicable to the interactions in online learning settings as well.

There are also studies focusing on the identity formation aspect of social organization in L2 online interactions within a CA framework (see Vandergriff, 2013, for instance). These studies try to understand how L2 speakers, despite not being completely proficient users of the language, tend to create membership categories verbally. The use of both linguistic and nonlinguistic resources allows L2 learners to dynamically create and recreate their identities and act (or in this case talk) accordingly. There are also studies investigating the cultural differences of participants in online settings. Gibson (2009), as an example, argues that the use of CA can provide a good tool for comparing native speaker and L2 speakers' verbal cultural practices in online forums helping us understand how differently these participants create membership categories. Not all studies using CA to investigate CMC are descriptive, however. There are studies tracking language learning and development as well.

The reason why most studies have so far been descriptive might be the fact that tracking the development of language competence in learners is very difficult if possible at all. Even where possible to track learners' use of the second language longitudinally, it will be difficult to prove a causal relationship between the use of computer technology and the development of the linguistic repertoire. Having said that, it should be noted that there seems to be a growing interest in employing longitudinal CA in applied linguistic, though the number of researchers using it is still minimal. The development of both linguistic resources and other related competencies such as interactional competence has been the subject of inquiry in such studies (Barraja-Rohan, 2011). As with interactional or pragmatic competence, Gonzales (2012; 2013), for instance, explored politeness and the development of closing sequences in L2 learners engaged in

interactions in a language learning social networking space. Gonzalez-Lloret (2011), similarly, studied the text-based interactions of L2 learners focusing on troubled-talk sequences over time. The results of these studies suggest that technology-mediated environments provide learners with the opportunity to engage in authentic communication rich in input, pragmatic and linguistic feedback and various speech act sequences that cannot be necessarily found in the traditional language classroom.

3.5. Summary

After the introduction of communicative language competence to SLA research, a considerable number of studies attempted to propose approaches that could fit within that model. Among such studies are those that have opted for CA and ethnomethodology. Such studies have either had a tendency to contribute to the ongoing debates in SLA and are hence called CA-for-SLA, or have had a more descriptive nature. Yet, considering the fact that ethnomethodology emphasizes context-sensitivity in research, there seems to be room to study L2 interactions in a COIL context. In fact, research on such interactions seems to be scarce. The next chapter introduces the theoretical and practical underpinnings of the study reported in this dissertation as an attempt to contribute to this gap in the literature.

Chapter Four: Methodological Considerations of the Research

4.1. Chapter Preview

This chapter presents the methodological underpinnings of the study reported in this dissertation. For readers less familiar with CA terminology and concepts, this chapter can serve as a reference while reading the two following chapters where data analysis is reported. Moreover, the present chapter introduces the research problem and discusses how the problems and the questions will be addressed in the subsequent chapters of this dissertation.

4.2. Addressing the Research Problems

The primary concern of this present research has been to explore the ways L2 learners create and maintain intersubjectivity in their computer-mediated interactions with their partners while still not fully competent in the linguistic system of the L2. This research also sought to understand how space for learning is created or obstructed in online L2 exchanges taking place during a COIL program. The data collected for the purpose of addressing these two concerns were video-recorded interactions of learners in and outside classrooms during their COIL exchanges. One way such data can be approached is through the lens of CA. CA provides an array of analytic tools for studying human verbal and non-verbal interactions.

The roots of CA can be traced back to ethnomethodological research particularly as developed by Garfinkel (1976). The underlying principle of ethnomethodology is that participants in social actions mutually employ their practical reasoning skills and competences to establish and maintain order mainly through the medium of language (Wooffit, 2005). This point is a crucial one in understanding the relationship between CA and ethnomethodology since, according to Seedhouse (2004), while the latter investigates the way people construct, prolong

and maintain their everyday realities, the former focuses on how people make use of the tool of language for interactions in their ordinary lives. In other words, as Schutt (2006) puts it, while ethnomethodology is primarily concerned with the discovery of socially constructed reality, CA keeps its attention on the construction of reality via language use. In the present research, CA has been employed as the main analytical tool. However, since the analysis of the data with this methodology entails the use of a range of technical terminologies, the next few sections in this chapter are devoted to the elaboration of some of the key concepts that will appear later in the results chapters and data analysis parts.

4.3. CA Terminology

A number of CA terminologies widely used in the analysis and presentation of the data will be introduced in this section.

4.3.1. Adjacency Pairs

The analytical procedure of CA methodology is based on a turn by turn investigation of verbal and non-verbal interactions in a given social setting. Turns of different speakers in a conversation occur one after the other and are often connected to each other. An adjacency pair is a special sequence in which a first pair part (FPP) uttered by a speaker necessitates the utterance of a second pair part (SPP) by the next speaker. Examples for adjacency pairs include greeting-greeting, question-answer, and offer-acceptance/decline (Schegloff, 2007). As can be inferred from these examples, adjacency pairs often include turns that initiate an exchange or offer and turns that provide a response to them. One issue to be wary of during the analysis is that the SPPs do not necessarily follow the FPPs and might be uttered after a delay due to intervening turns, which are called *inset expansions*. Paying attention to the details of the way turns in a sequence of conversation unfold is very important since it is the relationship between turns that enables the researcher to understand how talk-in-interaction is constructed. Normally, a

next turn is produced as a result of (either understanding or not understanding) the previous turn. In an adjacency pair, for instance, SPPs become relevant only if FPPs have been already produced. However, there are times that a relevant SPP is not produced after an FPP, and moments as such gain significance in the analytic procedure and the researcher, investigating the way the following turns may unfold, tries to explain why this deviation from the norm has taken place. The researcher, thus, first identifies an instance when a speaker fails to produce an interactionally relevant response and then investigates the turns prior and after the turn in question to come up with an answer. The question here would be: where, in the sequence, should the analysis start and where should it end?

Often, before the FPPs are produced, a *pre-expansion* takes place during which the participants "display an orientation in them to a base adjacency pair which may subsequently develop" (Schegloff, 2007, p. 28). A pre-expansion leading to a core adjacency pair may itself include instances of other adjacency pairs. An example of this would be the exchanges going on between two speakers before an invitation sequence is produced in which case the pre-expansion adjacency pairs are called pre-invitations. Identification of the pre-expansions is crucial in the analytical procedure since they can make a good starting point for the investigation of the turn sequences the researcher might be interested in. The study of adjacency pairs is often not possible without analyzing the pre-expansion going on prior to them. However, adjacency pairs are important in themselves as well since they contain important information about the organization of the talk-in-interaction. One key issue governing the turns in adjacency pairs is *preference organization.*

4.3.2. Preference Organization

Depending on the context in which a sequence of social interaction takes place, an acceptance or a decline might become the preferred response in an SPP of an adjacency pair. Usually, when a response is positive, it implies an alignment with the FPP while a negative response causes distancing from it. CA studies have shown that acceptance, granting, and agreement are often considered as *preferred* ones while rejection, declining, and disagreement are taken as *dispreferred* responses for an FPP. Interestingly, it is also known that preferred responses tend to be uttered more straightforwardly and faster than dispreferred ones (Pomerantz, 1984). In other words, speakers evaluate the responses they are about to provide before uttering them and if they find them preferred, they utter a response immediately, but if they think their response is dispreferred they often delay its utterance with another sequence or a pause. An example of this would be the FPP "can you help me with this?" where the preferred SPP "yeah, sure" would be uttered without pause or delay. However, the SPP "oh I would love to…but you know…I have to pick my kids up now" which is considered as a dispreferred response is delivered along with pauses, excuses and within a longer unit or sentence. Positive responses are not always preferred, however, and as was mentioned earlier, context may define what is preferred and what is not. In other words, there are instances when an agreement might be the dispreferred response. Schegloff (2007, p. 60) for instance, gives an example of the FPP, "would you like the last piece of pie?" where it is a rejection which is preferred and not an acceptance.

Dispreferred responses feature distinctive qualifications. They are usually mitigated to avoid a marked misalignment with the FPP which can be *sanctionable* in the sequence of interaction that follows the adjacency pair. They also usually include accounts, excuses, and disclaimers. The place these responses are uttered in the sequence of interactions is also important to understand their function. Schegloff (2007) identifies five types of dispreferred

responses according to where they are uttered. The first type of dispreferred responses includes *inter-turn gaps,* which are uttered as an overlap with the FPP, i.e. before the FPP is completed. The second type of such responses is followed by a delay in the initial position in the form of hedges, discourse markers, etc. and is hence called *turn-initial delay.* They can also come early in the turn and in the form of accounts and excuses to delay the utterance of the dispreferred unit and in this case, they are called *anticipatory accounts.* Speakers may also opt for uttering a seemingly preferred response first but then proceed to utter the real dispreferred response. An example of this type of dispreferred response that is called a pro forma agreement is when a speaker says "*yeah, but…*" Finally, a dispreferred sequence can also lead to a *pre-emptive reformulation with preference reversal* in which case after a silence following a dispreferred response, the FPP speaker reverses the initial FPP with the aim of eliciting a preferred response this time. Take this imaginary conversation as an example:

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1 A: Can you finish the report today, please?

2 B: Ah…I am sorry, but I have another report to finish today.

3 A: Oh. maybe you can do it over the weekend?

4 B: Sure.
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The FPP produced in turn 1 is followed by a dispreferred response in turn 2. However, this leads to the production of a new FPP featuring a reversal compared with the initial turn, which is immediately followed by a preferred response in turn 4.

4.3.3. Repair

Another recurrent concept in CA studies is *repair*, which is, in fact, an instance during which an error or a mistake is corrected by one of the speakers in a conversation. It can be the result of speaking, hearing or understanding problems, but everything in an interaction sequence might be potentially a source of communication trouble or a repairable. Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sacks

(1997) identified four types of repairs. The first category is called *self-initiation self-repair* in which the current speaker who has caused a problem initiates and repairs his or her own talk. In the second type, *other-initiation self-repair*, on the other hand, another speaker points out the trouble source, initiates the repair and then the speaker goes on to actually carry out a repair. The third type is called *self-initiation other-repair*. Here, as the title suggests, while the repair is initiated by the current speaker, another speaker accomplishes it. And finally, in the *other-initiation other-repair* another speaker (rather than the one causing the problem) both initiates and accomplishes the repair. The fact that repairs of any type are initiated implies that there is a disjunction between the current turn and the turns preceding it. The result of the initiation of a repair, on the other hand, is either the production of a solution or abandoning the problem source altogether. Issues regarding repair organization are numerous, but there are at least two things that need to be taken into account while investigating them.

As the categorization of the repair types above indicate, the first important issue in studying repair is the speaker who initiates it. It is interactionally very important to understand who initiates a repair in the sequence of talk and who accomplishes it. The second important point, according to Schegloff (2000) is *where* in the sequence the repair is initiated and/or accomplished. It is generally assumed that most repairs occur immediately after the source of trouble either within the same turn or in the turn following it. However, a repair might be extended to more than just one turn following from the source of trouble as well. Therefore, tracking the consequences of a repair initiation in the subsequent turns is sometimes necessary. *Who* initiates and executes a repair and *where* in the interactional sequence these happen might be interrelated as well. That is to say, while self-initiation and self-repair occur more flexibly

whether in the same turn or the following turns, other-initiation, and other-repair happen in the turns subsequent to the one containing a source of trouble.

Another issue that highlights the importance of studying repairs is the fact that the repair action in a sequence may put other actions temporarily on hold. That is, even if the speakers in a conversation are primarily focused on another activity such as storytelling, giving a compliment, inviting, etc. once a source of trouble is identified, they may defer that primary action to deal with the trouble source first. That is why repair actions are thought to have privilege over other actions in a sequence of talk. For the same reason and as mentioned above, repairs usually occur quickly after the trouble is identified or within a limited space after that. Yet, this is not always the case.

Schegloff (2000) identifies four types of repair that occur later in the conversation and not immediately after the source of trouble. The first type is called *multiple repair* which is, in fact, a case of other-initiated repair which does not lead to a resolution and instead causes a further source of trouble. The speakers, in this case, may stick to the latter repairable and it may take a few turns to resolve that. It is only when the latter trouble is resolved that the speakers may focus on the initial source of trouble again. This, of course, can go on and even a third source of trouble may emerge while dealing with the second one, which further delays the resolution of the previous troubles accordingly. The second type is called *larger unit in progress.* In this type of repair the first speaker may produce a turn containing a source of trouble but go on without responding to the other-initiation to complete his/her longer turn. However, once the turn is concluded the other-initiation of repair may be repeated by the second speaker and this is when the first speaker attends to the initiation of the repair and executes one. Next is the repair type called *addressed other goes first.* This type of repair can take place when there are three or

more participants in a conversation. Here, if the first speaker's turn contains a source of trouble for another speaker but is not addressed to him/her, he/she may wait until the one who has been addressed provides a response and then initiates a repair. Finally, in the *post response* repair type, even if the first speaker's FPP has trouble, the second speaker first provides an appropriate SPP and then initiates or executes the repair. In all these four categories, the repair may not be initiated immediately after the trouble source.

4.3.4. Turn-Taking

One criterion that can determine whether a social interaction is orderly or not, is the presence or rather the absence of appropriate turn-taking. Conversation as a form of social interaction is not an exception in this regard. That is, except in particular circumstances speakers in ordinary conversation organize themselves in a way that one speaker speaks at a time (Clift, 2016). This in itself opens up a discussion of how this can be achieved. Turns in a conversation are coveted commodity and therefore the speaker who intends to take a next turn should carefully plan for it and take the floor before another speaker claims the next turn. All this requires the speaker to understand the current turn and take action right in time and this is why turn-taking is often cited as an incentive for other speakers in a conversation to listen carefully so that they can judge when it is appropriate for them to claim a turn (Sacks et al., 1974). But what is it that helps a potential next speaker decide when to imply that he/she intends to speak next? The turn-taking system comprises various components and it seems that semantic understanding of an ongoing turn plays only a small role in how next turns can be taken. For instance, Sacks et al. (1974) believe that "while an addressed question requires an answer from the addressed party, it is the turn-taking system, rather than syntactic or semantic features of the 'question', that requires the answer to come 'next'" (p.725). It is, therefore, the social organization rather than the inherent linguistic features of an ongoing turn that helps a speaker take turns.

To understand this better, one needs to be clear at least about the two important concepts of *turn-construction component* (TCC) and *turn-allocation component* (TAC). TCC concerns the way one ongoing turn is considered to be completed as a result of which a *transition-relevance point* (TRP) emerges and other speakers can take turns. Any complete unit of utterance that ends in a TRP is therefore called a turn-completion unit (TCU). TCUs can be grammatically complete units or sentences. Not all turns comprise complete sentences, however, and elements below sentence level can construct TCUs too. A clause, a phrase or even a single lexical item can serve so. Once a turn is initiated there is a bias among the speakers towards progressivity in interaction which is the expectation for a current speaker to reach completion before turn transition. Completion can take different forms including syntactic completion, prosodic and phonetic completion and pragmatic completion (Clift, 2016).

While TCC concerns when a next speaker can take turns, TAC deals with who can be the next speaker in an interaction sequence. Next speaker selection can be very intricate and there are various studies about this issue in the literature. Generally, however, research has shown that next speaker selection is done through the deployment of turn-taking rules. For instance, when a TRP emerges, the current speaker has a few options. First, he/she can select and nominate the next speaker either by directly addressing him/her or through nonverbal communication hints such as gaze. If the current speaker does not nominate the next speaker any other participant in the conversation can self-select and take up the turn. In the absence of these two, the current speaker may continue. This is not always as simple, however. There are times that two or more speakers may take turn at the same time leading to overlapping turns, interruptions or choral productions as well. CA studies deal with all these issues in detail and depending on the research

goal may present different explanations for how turn-taking takes place in any interactional sequence.

The analytic procedure in CA maintains a primary focus on the analysis of talk-in-interaction studying in detail the practices of preference organization, turn-taking, turn-construction and repair among others, a brief summary of which has been given in the above sections. The premise here is that speakers organize their talk and create and maintain intersubjectivity through these practices (Kasper & Wagner, 2011).

4.4. Analytical Practices in CA Studies

One distinctive feature of CA studies is their reliance on data collected from mundane daily interactions which are *naturally occurring*. The reason such data is often regarded as mundane, albeit ironically, is that conversations occurring in everyday settings are not usually regarded as rich data deserving investigations. However, naturally occurring data constructs an important feature for data used in CA studies since it ensures that the setting is not set-up and the data are not primarily produced for the purpose of analysis. In other words, the data should not be produced with a research question in mind. Quality data is, therefore, the data from an interaction that would take place with or without the presence of the researcher. Examples of this in numerous CA studies include the data collected from doctor-patient conversations, family talk around the dinner table, etc. Drew (2005) believes that there is no limitation for the naturally occurring data to be used in a CA study since the data for such studies are simply everywhere.

> The primordial site of sociality, it is through activities managed in conversation that we conduct our ordinary social affairs, and the practices to be found in the highly organized structures and patterns in conversation underlie our ability to communicate meaningfully with one

another—hence they are fundamental communicative competencies (Drew, 2005, p. 76).

The first thing to be done after the collection of data from interactions occurring naturally or rather getting access to such data is to transcribe them with as much detail as possible. The details of CA transcriptions are meant to expose the sequential and temporal organization of the talk as well as the nonverbal interaction going on in a given interaction. The emphasis on reflecting as much of the nonverbal interactions in the transcriptions as possible is rooted in the early CA works showing that such nonlinguistic behavior brings about interactional consequences for the speakers (Kasper &Wagner, 2011). The real analysis of the data starts from this stage on.

CA researchers approach the transcribed data with *unmotivated looking* at or going through the transcriptions without trying to answer the research questions. It is during this preliminary stage that various interactional patterns are identified which are explicated in-depth in the next stages of the analysis. There are two main approaches to CA analysis namely single-case analysis and collection-based analysis. In the former approach, through the demonstration of prototypical examples, single fragments of talk are analyzed which can potentially lead to the understanding of the intricacies of talk and revealing the multimodal dimensions of the interactions (Goodwin, 2000). The focus on single cases of the interaction in this approach does not, therefore, compromise the results of the investigation since as Schegloff (1987) argues

An analytic machinery which is meant to come to terms with the orderliness of interaction, and especially the orderliness of conduct in interaction, and to do so by explicating the orderly practices of the participants in interaction (conversational or otherwise), should be able to deal in an illuminating manner with single episodes of talk from "the real world". There *is* a constitutive order to singular occasions of

interaction, and to the organization of actions within them. This is the bedrock of social life—the primordial site of sociality (p.102).

Studies in the second approach, also called collection-based studies, on the other hand, build upon large collections of interactional practices and aim at drawing generalizations from the structure of social order observed in their data. In a collection study, a cumulative series of single-case analyses are studied with a focus on one particular phenomenon and the results are compared across the whole data set to determine the degree the cases under investigation are similar or different (Mazeland, 2006).

While CA studies have been conducted within both these approaches, a look back at the existing literature shows that CA-for-SLA studies (as reviewed in the previous chapters of this dissertation) have been often more interested in the detailed analyses of single cases without looking for drawing generalizations from the data. What they are concerned with instead is to detect learning moments in the interactional sequences and explain, with a data-driven approach, how these moments will create learning opportunities for L2 learners. These opportunities do not need to be merely related to the acquisition of linguistic systems and any moment that can develop L2 learners' language competence can be counted as a learning opportunity (refer to Chapter Three for the difference between linguistic and language knowledge). In other words, the task of CA-for-SLA would be to show how L2 speakers create learning opportunities while interacting about various real-world topics (not necessarily language learning topics) (Kasper &Wagner, 2011). L2 speakers or learners, along with enjoying the learning opportunities in their interactions, learn activities necessary for social interactions as well and this has been a focus in CA-for-SLA too. Mori and Hasegawa (2009), for instance, studied the word search practices of JFL (Japanese as a foreign language) learners and showed how they made their cognitive states

71

available to their peers through talk, embodiment and the manipulation of the objects at their disposal such as the textbook. Other examples for this can also be found in studies conducted by Hellerman (2008), Markee and Seo (2009), etc.

Another important issue regarding CA data analysis is the stance an analyst is supposed to take with regards to external theories for interpreting the data. The basic premise of CA and ethnomethodology, in general, is that social order is constantly produced and understood by participants in interactions and therefore a priori interpretations cannot be made through the lens of particular exogenous theories. In other words, CA deliberately limits itself to the analysis of participants' verbal and nonverbal contributions to the ongoing talk. Instead of hypothesizing about a participant's intentions, CA finds proof for the interpretations from the interaction itself. The agents (or speakers as a matter of fact) in social interactions are considered as competent ones who conduct their social activities in an orderly manner and all the analyst is primarily expected to do is to expose the methods they employ to create and maintain order. Instead of resorting to an already-established social theory to explain actions, CA "considers the facts of social life to be practical constructions, produced in and through mutually recognizable common-sense reasoning methods used by members of society to achieve social order in their local contexts" (Hall and Looney, 2019, p. 2).

In CA, it is believed that using exogenous theory in a top down manner for the interpretation of such interaction is by nature incomprehensive because it leaves out the participants' emic approach to order production. In other words, it is claimed that when a theory is used to interpret the data only parts of the data that support or refute the theory are included and other parts are not attended to. Contrary to that, CA does not dismiss any segment of data as "uninteresting" a priori (Heritage, 1984). Though this basic principle requires researchers to

avoid analyzing the data with a particular theoretical lens, this does not mean that theories are not used after the analysis is done and for making interpretations and drawing conclusions.

In accordance with the principle of unmotivated looking discussed above, the analysis of the data in CA is not directed by exogenous theories (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008). Yet, the overall purpose and goal of research may entail the use of theory after the analysis part, and this does not violate any of CA principles because it happens after the analysis and is hence called post-analytic theory use. There are studies in the literature that have remained loyal to CA methodology in data analysis and then switched to feminist theories (Kitzinger, 2008), critical education theories (Talmy, 2009), etc. It is important to bear in mind once again, however, that even in such studies data analysis, that is the turn-by-turn analysis of sequences of interaction in the data, remains the same, and it is only after the data analysis that theories are brought to the scene to support the preliminary findings.

Closely connected to the requirement that researchers need to avoid influences from theoretical perspectives in their analysis of the data is the need for researchers to share research participants' cultural knowledge. In fact, since CA is intent on unraveling and understanding participant meaning, it is believed that a researcher who does not share any cultural knowledge with the participants fails to achieve this. This is probably what distinguishes ethnography from ethnomethodology in that in the former researchers are often expected to play the role of professional strangers (Duff & Talmy, 2011). In CA, however, researchers adhere to the role of a cultural co-member and this is why Hutchby and Wooffitt (2008) argue that "it is absolutely necessary that conversation analysts are either members of, or have a sound understanding of, the culture from which their data have been drawn" (p. 106).

4.5. Rigor in CA Research

Reliability and validity are often regarded as sources of rigor in research and CA is not an exception. However, prior to Peräkylä's (1997) attempt to specifically define these qualities for CA research, little research had been on this important issue. Reliability, in general terms, means that if a study is carried out in a similar context and with the same participants; it will have the same results (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011). In other words, it is a quality that ensures the results of a study are not affected by accidental circumstances. The concept is, of course, understood differently in various research paradigms. Validity, on the other hand, has more ramifications but overall it is meant to guarantee whether a study measures what it is meant to measure (Winter, 2000). Although the basic understandings of these two concepts in CA research are similar to what is mentioned here, there are issues that will be discussed in the following sections.

Peräkylä (1997) argues that central to the question of reliability in CA is the selection of what is recorded, how it is recorded, with what quality it is recorded and how accurately it is transcribed. Reliability, however, has another aspect as well. Another question it seeks to provide answers for is whether a study is repeatable or replicable (Bryman, 2001). Seedhouse (2005b) believes that the way CA researchers present their data in the final reports of their research minimizes concerns over this latter type of reliability. He believes that contrary to many other research methodologies, in which the final research reports only contain results of the analysis with fragments of the data for illustrative purposes, CA research results are often organized in a way that the raw data and the analysis are presented together. This makes the whole analytic process both transparent and accessible to other researchers. The fact that transcripts of the data are presented makes it possible for the analysis to be repeated by any other expert familiar with CA. It is also considered standard practice for CA researchers to share their data and analysis

with other experts in the field before publishing the final report. In many other methodologies, this is not necessarily the case.

The issue of validity in CA research can be expanded into the four types of validity Bryman (2001) associates with qualitative research: internal, external, ecological and construct validity. The first is internal validity, which asks questions regarding whether the findings are well-grounded in the data and whether the findings are credible. The fact that CA research depends solely on emic or participant perspectives for the analysis of the data, means that whatever comes out, as a result, is grounded in the data. Ten Have (1999) claims that obsession with trivial details in transcription and data analysis, avoiding the use of exogenous theory in the analysis and refusal to take into account contextual variables such as social status, gender, rate, etc. can all ensure the emic perspective and hence consequently internal validity in CA research.

The second type of external validity deals with the issue of generalizability or the extent to which the findings from a study conducted in a particular setting can be transferred to other similar contexts. With this definition, it can be argued that CA studies vary widely among themselves in the extent they are concerned about external validity. Like any other qualitative research methodology, CA is an attempt to bring into attention the importance of the particular. Yet, CA research can analyze interactions both at micro and macro levels. There are studies that focus on the mechanisms or the machinery employed by speakers in institutional settings. In other words, since interactions are believed to be organized in relation to their social goals (Levinson, 1992), those sequences of interaction that share a social goal can be expected to have similar organizations. This is reflected in Benson and Hughes' argument (1991, pp. 130-131) who said that although CA research analyzes single instances of interactions its

"ethnomethodological objective is to generate formal descriptions of social actions which preserve and display the features of the machinery which produced them."

Next comes the question of ecological validity or the extent to which research findings reflect people's everyday life. Seedhouse (2005b) states that this is a cutting edge for CA research since it collects data from the very ordinary everyday lives of individuals and analyzes them from the participants' perspective in particular ecological settings. Although participants may not be part of the analysis, it is their contributions to the interactions that construct the unit of analysis. The researcher avoids making hypotheses about any of the participants' intentions and contributions if they do not make them relevant in the flow of the talk. Instead of the researcher making interpretations of the participants' talk, the analysis in CA is grounded in participants' own interpretations of their interlocutors' prior turns that become "observable to analysts in the way each turn is responded to in the unfolding of the interaction" (Salaberry & Kunitz, 2019, p. 5). This is what Hutchby and Wooffitt (2008) called *next turn proof procedure*. Salaberry and Kunitz (2019) give an example to illustrate this point. They argue that the utterance *the window is open* can be interpreted in a number of different ways when treated in isolation without reference to the turns taken by other speakers either prior to or after it. The researcher can interpret it as a description or an announcement among others. The emic perspective, i.e. how the utterance was interpreted by the participants in that very moment, is only known when the next turn is produced. If the next speaker says *yeah, sure* while closing the window, it can be concluded that the original utterance was neither a description nor an announcement: it was a request. This also clarifies Wagner's (2015) point in that meaning resides in the actional consequences of an utterance and not in the words that construct it. The analysis in CA research often takes into account the relationship between linguistic formatting

and the institutional context in which the social exchange takes place. It is therefore tenable to argue that CA research can be ecologically valid.

The last kind of validity is construct validity, which is a central concept in positivistic and quantitative research paradigms. Basically, construct validity concerns the clarity of the definition of the construct being studied. In methodologies other than CA it is often the case that constructs are predefined etically and the data is analyzed in a way that fits within that construct. Anything deviating from the defined construct would be considered inappropriate and a threat to construct validity of research. In CA, however, the construct is not the researcher's. It is rather the participants in an interactional sequence that define the construct during their interactions (Seedhouse, 2005b). Epistemologically speaking, CA, as an emic approach located within a phenomenological paradigm (Lynch, 2000), seeks to interpret participants' social actions from their own point of view meaning that constructs in CA research are talked into existence by the interactants and do not exist independent from them. This also makes clear the ontological perspective of CA according to which truth is only what the interactants deem relevant.

4.6. Research Design

The present study was conducted within an ethnomethodological design which is, as explained in detail earlier in this chapter, mainly concerned with understanding how participants make meaning in a social context. It is, in other words, a method of analyzing social order in verbal and nonverbal interactions among participants and how it is created and maintained. Central to this design is the idea that *talk*, or human social and verbal interaction often accompanied by nonverbal aids, is orderly and therefore the task of researcher is to unravel the underlying order. CA studies, as detailed before, can be best situated in this design since, through turn by turn

investigations of human interactions in different social settings, they aim at understanding how interlocutors make and maintain order.

Therefore, ethnomethodology in a broad sense and CA in particular, shape the theoretical framework of this study. They provide appropriate tools for understanding how social order is produced in interactions and how participants in a foreign language interaction interpret each other's actions, design suitable responses, and consequently establish and create intersubjectivity or mutual understanding despite all the gaps they may have in their L2 linguistic repertoire (Seedhouse, 2004).

4.7. Data Collection

The data for this study was collected from a COIL intercultural exchange program between a university in Japan and another university in Taiwan. The Japanese university was one of the leading higher education institutes in the promotion of COIL in Japan. It had COIL partners from around the world but due to the issue of time differences, synchronous COIL was done mostly with its Asian partner universities. The researcher could have access to the COIL program running between this university and a public university in Taiwan through his personal connections. The program featured a number of qualities that would benefit the aims of this research. First, students in both countries were non-native speakers of English. In addition, the interactions taking place in this program were mediated by computer technology. Both these aspects were in line with the goals of this study, which was to investigate L2 interactions in technology-mediated environments.

During the program, two classes from the two universities held joint sessions using video conferencing software focusing on the development of oral English skills along with providing students with opportunities for intercultural experiences by assigning cultural topics to them for

discussions. The two instructors had virtually met each other prior to the joint sessions and planned for the content and collaborative tasks. The students were given cultural topics during the joint sessions and were asked to interact with partners from the other university while being recorded. It also goes without saying that the research project had received Osaka University's research ethics committee approval (registration number: OUKS1705) and that the informed consent of all participants was sought prior to the initiation of the program to record their interactions (Appendix B). As can be seen in the information provided in the consent form in Appendix B, the participants had the opportunity to opt out of the study at any time and were assured that the data would be analyzed and reported anonymously. The data collection took place in the autumn semester of the 2017 academic year resulting in 12 hours of recorded class-to-class interactions. In addition, the students in the two classes were put into mixed nationality groups and were given topics to discuss with their group members outside the classroom. This also resulted in more than 20 hours of video-recorded interactions. Besides the fact that class-to-class or big group interactions are structurally different from small group interactions, another important difference between these two data sources was the presence/absence of teachers. In other words, while class to class online interactions were mediated by two teachers (one in each of the classes), in the interactions that took place out of the class time the learners were on their own. These differences led the researcher to the decision to analyze the two data sets separately to investigate mainly the potential differences the presence/absence of teachers in online L2 exchanges can make in the structure of their interactions. That is why the results of the analyses in this dissertation will be reported separately in the two following chapters.

4.8. The Participants

The medium of discussions in both sets of data was English since the learners in the two university classes in Japan and Taiwan did not share a first language: Japanese learners spoke Japanese and English and Taiwanese learners spoke Mandarin and English. This is often the case with online intercultural exchanges where participants are from different countries and hence have to speak a shared foreign language. There were 16 students registered for the Japanese class and 18 students for the Taiwanese class, all of whom had English proficiency levels of pre-intermediate and intermediate (roughly equivalent to A2 and B1 in CEFR) according to their school placement tests. However, not all learners were present throughout the online exchange sessions so the number of participants would actually vary in each session. In line with the tenets of data collection in CA research, no demographic information except English proficiency level and nationality was collected from the participants. It is, as explained earlier in this chapter, the participants' turn-by-turn participation in the interactions that is a focus in CA and the emic perspective of participants is all a researcher needs access to.

The class-to-class online interactions (the first data set) were done with however many students present in every session in the two classes. The researcher could not, and was not willing to, control the number of students in any of the live communication sessions to satisfy the requirement of naturally occurring data in CA. CA studies limit themselves to naturally occurring data, which can be defined as human interactions occurring not for research purposes. In this regard, the data used in this study can be regarded as natural because the COIL sessions were not set up primarily for research purposes and would hence be in place with or without the researcher for the collection of data. Based on the purpose of each session, the theme of the interactions between the two classes would vary. However, what all the recorded interactions had

in common were cross-cultural topics particularly about the two settings of Japan and Taiwan. Moreover, since the title of the course in the Taiwanese class was Restaurant English, most of the topics revolved around food culture and hospitality. It is also worth mentioning that the title of the Japanese university class was English Skills Development, but the two teachers chose topics for interaction that would suit the purpose of both classes.

As for the small and outside classroom interactions, however, the teachers decided the number and composition of the groups. Yet, in the real recorded interactions, not all students in the groups were necessarily present. This also does not deviate from the principle of naturally occurring data since the fact that data were used for research purposes did not influence the way students were assigned into groups and the number of them interacting with each other in the recorded files.

4.9. The Recording of the Data

The class-to-class live online interactions were recorded using the software Zoom, which is a free teleconferencing tool with an option for recording and saving the interactions for further analysis. The students were also asked by their teachers to record small group and out of classroom interactions by any application or software available to them. While some of the groups chose the same software like the one used in class interactions, others chose different applications with a similar recording option. This made the final files sent to the teachers and the ones recorded during the class interactions similar in general terms.

Attempts were made to make the presence of the video recorder as unobtrusive as possible by placing it close to the monitor. However, the presence of monitors and microphones was completely visible in the classes since they were the primary tools for the students to see and talk to their partners in the other university. It can, therefore, be argued that in any online

exchange the tools for communication will have a dominant presence and although this can influence the performance of the participants (see discussions on Hawthorne effect for instance in Dörneyi, 2011), it cannot be dispensed with. Another important point is that the researcher was physically present only in the Japanese class. Yet, arrangements were made with the teacher in the Taiwanese class regarding how the video was to be recorded. Figures 4.1 and 4.2 represent the layout the two classes in Japan and Taiwan accordingly.

■ Student seats
□ Seats available to turn takers
■ Teacher's place
■ Monitor
■ Video recorder
■ Audio recorder
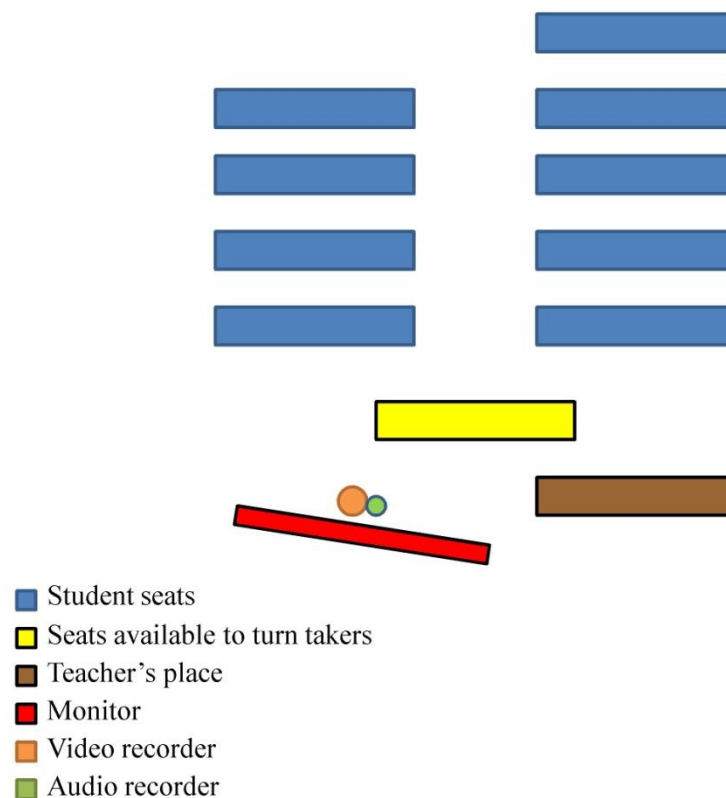
Figure 4.1. The layout of the Japanese classroom

As Figure 4.1 shows the Japanese class was small in size with enough seats for about 25 students. The seats available to students are represented by blue rectangles in the figure. Besides these, there were three seats and a desk available to students who were either willing to take turns or were called on by their teacher to come closer to the screen and the camera to interact with their

Taiwanese partners. As for the teacher, although he did not stay in one place throughout the sessions and would walk around the class at times, there was a *home* position shown in the figure by a brown rectangle. The monitor was also placed to the left of the teacher and very close to it there were the video and audio recording devices. Figure 4.2 represents the layout of the Taiwanese class.
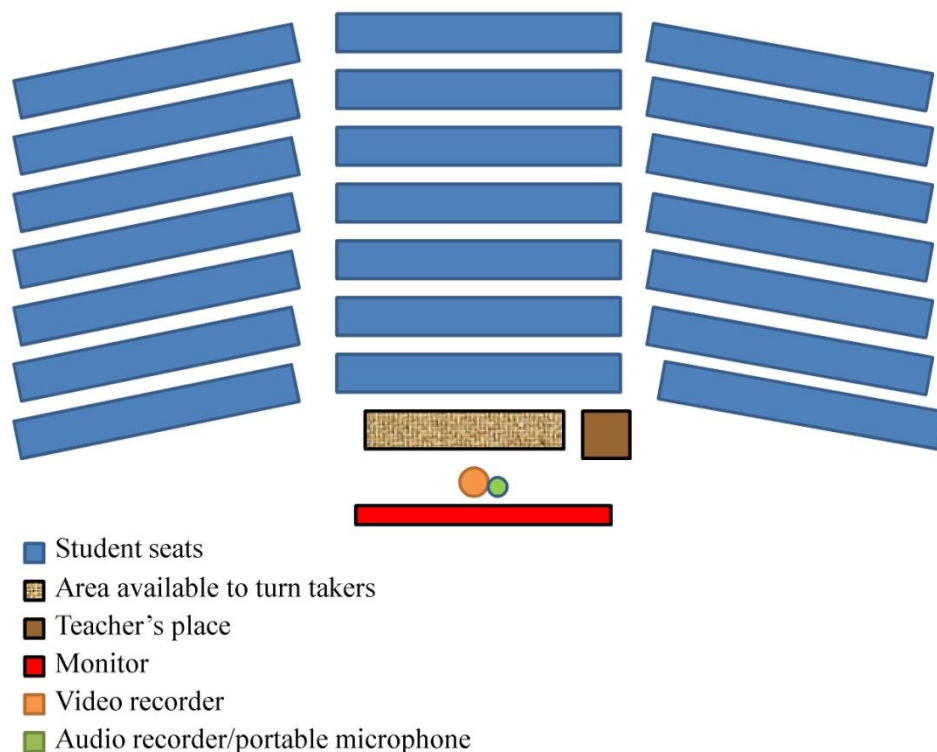
Figure 4.2. The layout of the Taiwanese classroom

The Taiwanese classroom as shown in Figure 4.2 was bigger than the Japanese one with space for more students. However, only the seats in the middle row were taken by students during the COIL session probably because the right and the left rows were not within the angle the camera could record. Another difference between this classroom and the one in Japan was the absence of a specific desk with seats for turn takers (as shown by a yellow rectangle in Figure 4.2). Instead, there was a space right in front of the monitor and the video recorder (the checked brown area in Figure 3.2) in which students willing to take turns could stand holding a portable microphone in

their hands. Contrary to the teacher in the Japanese classroom, the Taiwanese teacher's *home* position was in front of the monitor, which is marked by a brown square in the figure.

4.10. Data Analysis

The analysis of the data entailed the transcription of the data set by the researcher. CA transcriptions are different from the ones commonly used in other qualitative research methodologies since they pay more attention to the nuances in the interactions. Jefferson's (1984) transcription system was used for the transcription of the data set a summary of which can be found in Appendix A. Transcribing the data started by the researcher after each recorded session, although the whole process took several months. It is also worth mentioning that transcriptions were constantly checked by another independent researcher familiar with CA to ensure its consistency and accuracy.

What came after the transcription was the unmotivated looking through the data set. This stage, as explained earlier, is a prerequisite to data analysis in CA. Yet, in general terms, following Ten Have's (2007) suggestion regarding the design of CA research the analysis of the data in the present research went through the four main stages of making recordings of natural interaction, transcribing the recorded data, analyzing selected episodes; and reporting the research. In line with the research problem and the questions, the analysis also kept a focus on instances when potential misunderstandings could take place and the way learners overcame them to maintain mutual understanding. The analysis also focused on the way space for learning was created or obstructed in the data.

4.11. Data Presentation

Since the study builds upon two separate (yet interdependent) data sets, the analysis and reporting of the data were done separately in order to answer the two general research questions

introduced in the introductory chapter of this dissertation. First, the findings for class-to-class online interactions in the presence of the two teachers will be presented to answer the two questions regarding the maintenance of intersubjectivity and the creation or obstruction of space for learning. After that, the answers to the same two questions will be provided during learner-learner interactions in the absence of teachers. Comparisons are made between the results later on in the last two chapters of this dissertation to shed light on the points of similarity and difference.

Chapter Five: Teacher-Led Interactions

5.1. Chapter Preview

This chapter will present the results of the analysis of the data from teacher-led interactions. It seeks to provide answers for how foreign language learners come to understand each other (achieving intersubjectivity) in the absence of a shared L1 and without complete mastery over the linguistic system of an L2, and how space for learning a foreign language is created or obstructed with reference to the teachers' interactional practices. The findings will be presented along with illustrative excerpts from the data in two separate sections.

5.2. Achievement of Intersubjectivity

This section deals with the method used by participants in teacher-led interactions to compensate for their perceived gaps in their L2 linguistic system. The findings showed that using multimodal semiotic resources or translingual practice (also called translanguaging, which refers to instances in which interactants use more than one system of codes to convey meaning) was the most prevalent method employed by the participants to organize their actions and achieve mutual understanding.

5.2.1. Multimodality in Teacher-Led Interactions

One of the prominent practices in the teacher-led interactions in this study was the concurrent use of linguistic and non-linguistic semiotic resources for keeping the flow of talk and maintaining intersubjectivity. Different modalities such as talk, gaze, prosody, and gesture were often mobilized by the learners in these interactions and they were allowed and encouraged by the teachers as well. The use of multimodal resources in L2 interactions when the speakers do not have symmetric access to the linguistic code or when they evaluate their access as partial and

insufficient is a common practice. Employing non-linguistic competencies enables L2 speakers to compensate for their insufficient access or perceived insufficient access to the L2 system.

In the episode reported in this section one of the learners in the Japan class who has the experience of serving in a Japanese tea ceremony is asked by the teacher to come to the front, sit close to the camera and the screen, and explain the customs involved in a tea ceremony to the learners in the Taiwan class. The ceremony requires both the host and the guest to display decorum through particular gestures. However, in this episode, the Japanese learner (JL12) is instructing her peers in the Taiwan class (TLs) how to drink tea only as a guest in the ceremony. As the following excerpt indicates, she comes across a number of difficulties while trying to make herself understood, possibly due to gaps in her English vocabulary repertoire, to describe the moves involved in drinking tea. Despite this, she manages to make herself understood through multimodal interaction. Other participants in this interaction include the Japanese class teacher (JT), the Taiwanese class teacher (TT) and other learners in the Japanese class (JLs) and the Taiwanese class (TL1, TL2). Let us now take a look at the transcription of the episode. All verbal and nonverbal turns taken by the participants have been numbered for the ease of reference and a guide to the transcription symbols and abbreviations is provided in appendix A. Participant faces are also blurred for privacy reasons in the screenshots.

Excerpt 5.1. Multimodality in describing a tea ceremony

```
1    JT: ((asks JL12 to come to the front)) please come here (3.0)
2  JL12: ((walks to the front carrying a bottle, sits down and looks
         at the screen))
```

Screenshot 5.1

```
        my grandmother is tea ceremony and flower arrangement teacher
        so when I was (2.0) twenty years old I was (1.0) >(jaja)<twenTY
        (.) $twenTEE::N$ years old=
3    JT: =twelve?
4  JL12:=>twelve< ((laughter)) >machigaeta<((meaning "I made a mistake"
        in Japanese)) TWELVE years old
5    TT: ((laughter))
6   TLs: ((laughter))
7  JL12: I was teached about it (.) so (in Japanese)
8    JT: =so you mean your grandma TAUGHT you↓
9  JL12: yeah (.) we first to drink tea we should (.) right hands
        ((raises her right hand)) pick right hand ((picks up the bottle
        looks away from the screen to the camera))
```

Screenshot 5.2


```
         on (.) [on my left hand ((puts the bottle on her left hand))
10   TL1:       ((puts her right hand on her left hand as if she is
        holding a bottle too))]
11   TL2: ((hits her right hand on her left hand imitating JL and makes
        a loud noise))
12   TLs: ((laughter))
13   JLs: ((laughter))
14  JL12: and tu::rn (2.0) tu::rn ((draws a circle in the air
        clockwise)) right>two< two ((hold two of her fingers up))
        times[((demonstrates the action by turning the bottle clockwise
        twice looking at the camera))
15   TL1:      ((imitates JL12's action looking at screen))]
```

16   **JT:** $right right$ she's doing the right thing ((probably
        referring to TL1))
17 **JL12:** ((smiles, looking at the screen)) and drink (.) ((takes the
        bottle to her lips)) e::to ((eto is a filler in Japanese))
        drink (.) three times or four times
18 **TL1:** ((imitates JL12's action looking at screen))
19 **JL12:** a::nd at last we should sound >susususu< ((holds the bottle
        to her lips as if drinking from it and looks away from the
        screen to JT))
20   **JT:** make a sound↓
21 **JL12:** =make a sound ((looks back at the screen)) (.) this is called
        suikiri in Japan ((looks away from the screen to JT))

Screenshot 5.3

22   **JT:** =which mean:s?
23 **JL12:** sui- e:to °sui-° ((looks away as if thinking)) sui
24   **JT:** sui? water?
25 **JL12:** (2.0) ((shakes her head as if saying no)) SUI ((drawing the
        Chinese character or Kanji for the word sui on the desk with
        her finger)) suikiri the end
26   **JT:** =aha ending drinking↓
27 **JL12:** =yes (1.0) and by doing this we can (.) explain wish- (.)
        we:: can finish drinking ((holds the bottle to her lips again
        and looks at JT)) (1.0) and last e::to ((cleans the rim of the
        bottle with her hands, looks at JT as if seeking help with the
        appropriate vocabulary to refer to the rim)) (1.0) [my lip
        ((points to the rim of the bottle and looks away from the
        teacher to the screen))

Screenshot 5.4

```
28  TL1: ((imitates JL12's action cleaning the rim of an imaginary
         container in her hand))]
```

Screenshot 5.5


```
29 JL12: and clean? ((looks at the teacher as if seeking
         confirmation))
30  JT: clean [clean
31 JL12:       clean] and put ((puts the bottle on the desk in front
         of her)) and (.) bow ((bows))
32  JT: aha↓
```

As the detailed information in the double brackets throughout the excerpt indicates, there were several instances of multimodal interaction among the participants. In turn 1, JT asks JL12 who has the experience of serving in a Japanese tea ceremony to come to the front of the class and sit closer to the camera and the microphone. Interestingly, however, as can be seen in Screenshot 1, JL12 walks to the front equipped with a bottle. Carrying a bottle may seem like a random action at the first glance, but as the following turns unfold, it proves the contrary. As shall be seen in the followings the bottle turns out to be used as a scaffold for bridging the gap in JL12's linguistic repertoire. JL12 seems to have predicted that she would have to switch to another mode (such as gesture) if she failed to put herself across linguistically.

JL12 starts her turn after sitting down and putting the bottle in front of her on the desk by telling her peers about her background in tea ceremony. The following few turns (2-6) are devoted to the correction of an error produced by JL12. She referred to her age as *twenteen

which was followed by JT's corrective feedback. JL12 notices the correction in turn 4 and utters the correct form emphatically this time, which provokes laughter in TT and TLs. Another error occurs in turn 7 when JL12 says her grandmother *teached her which is followed by JT's corrective recast in turn 8. The use of these two incorrect words does not seem to hinder the flow of the communication since it seems that all other participants in the interaction understand what is meant. However, what JT does by providing JL12 with corrective feedback has interactional significance. JT facilitates the correction of the error by his feedback and this seems to prevent the potential communicative breakdown that could take place without corrections. In other words, JT preempts JL12's switching to a non-linguistic mode or making use of translanguaging by correcting her error linguistically. Not all instances of errors and gaps are treated like this, however.

So far, the two formal errors of JL12 were corrected by JT on the spot and therefore there was no need for JL12 to resort to a non-verbal resource to compensate for her insufficient linguistic performance. However, a more serious communicative gap appears in turn 9 where JL12 seems to evaluate her linguistic repertoire as insufficient and reaches for the bottle which she had prepared before to supplement her verbal instructions with gestures. In the same turn, JL12 illustrates how the guests in a tea ceremony should put the tea bowl on their left hand using the bottle instead of the absent bowl. She does so by looking directly into the camera as Screenshot 2 shows. In light of the way the following turns unfold, it can be argued that these actions, that is reaching for the bottle and looking directly at the camera, are preparatory phases for the initiation of non-verbal mode of interaction.

Apparently, JL12's gaze at the camera elicits nonverbal responses from TL1 and TL2 in turns 10 and 11 who imitate JL12's action. The two Taiwanese students' turns are reminiscent of

what Schegloff and Sacks (1973) call adjacency pairs. That is, talk occurs in responsive pairs and any first pair part (JL12's illustration) necessitates the second pair part (TL1 and TL2's imitation). This is particularly interesting because there is no "talk" actually occurring in the common sense of the term. What has substituted talk here is the multimodal interaction among JL12, TL1, and TL2 who have switched the modality from verbal interaction to nonverbal interaction. In more technical terms, what is happening at this moment is what Kress (2003) calls *transduction*. Through transduction, information coded in one modality (verbal in this case) is restructured into another modality (the use of gestures and nods). TL1 continues to respond to JL12's instructions by imitating her in turn 15 and this is noticed by JT who confirms her action in turn 16. TL1's second pair part responses continue until turn 18. The reason why only two of the learners in the Taiwan class respond to JL12's first pair parts may lie in the fact that TL1 and TL2 are closer to the monitor and the camera and may have taken it for granted that JL12 is addressing them. Furthermore, in such an interaction where no single TL is nominated by JL12 for taking the next turn, any of the TLs may self-select as the next turn taker and as soon as one of the TLs self-selects the need is obviated for other TLs to provide a second pair part.

In turn 19, JL12 signals a new subtopic by uttering a case opening *and* with a prolonged vowel. Here she is trying to explain the Japanese custom of *suikiri*, which may be best translated into English as the completion slurp. She tries to indicate that the guests at a tea ceremony are expected to slurp their last sip from the tea bowl but it seems that she cannot find the lexical item needed to describe this.

Instead of searching for the appropriate word, therefore, she switches to another mode and acts it out. In fact, she uses the non-word *susususu* to refer to the sound produced by the slurp and supplements it by taking the bottle to her lips and acting as if she is sipping from it. At this

92

moment, she looks away from the screen to JT signaling that she needs help with the vocabulary which is responded to by the teacher in turn 20. Of particular interest is the way JL12 is managing turn-allocation and turn-taking at this moment since she nominates, without uttering a word, the participant (her teacher in this case) who she prefers to take the next turn. It is not uncommon to observe that in the classroom context, where power relations exist, it is the teacher who either selects the next speaker or continues into the next turn. In this excerpt, however, it is ironically the learner who is selecting the next speaker by nominating him with her gaze.

In turn 21, JL12 acknowledges JT's help by repeating his words. However, she is still not sure if she has conveyed the meaning and therefore resorts to translanguaging by switching to Japanese as her L1 and uttering the term *suikiri*. What is interesting at this moment is that while translanguaging, JL12 looks away from the screen to the teacher (Screenshot 3) whom she guesses knows the meaning of the Japanese word. In other words, although she is making use of her L1 in this multilingual context, she seems to be aware of the fact that it cannot be of any help to her Taiwanese peers since they do not understand Japanese. For this reason, she does not orient to the screen or the camera (in terms of both gaze and posture) and instead looks at JT who is living in Japan and is more likely to understand the Japanese word. JL12 seems to be using both verbal and non-verbal semiotic resources at the same time skillfully deciding in real time when and for whom to use which semiotic medium.

The teacher does not seem to be sure since he has apparently mistaken the word *sui* (吸い切り, meaning ending) for another *sui* (水, meaning water), in Japanese with a similar pronunciation (turn 24). At this moment, JL12 quickly comes up with another solution and draws the Chinese pictographic character (called Kanji in Japanese) for the word *sui* with her finger on

93

the desk hoping that it will help JT understand the word. While doing this, she is still looking at JT since she believes the learners in the other class cannot use her translanguaging hint to make meaning. In turn 26, JT finally understands the referent for *sui* and verbalizes the meaning, which is quickly confirmed by JL12.

A final instance of translingual practice can be seen in turn 27 where JL12 is trying to explain one of the last moves involved in drinking tea in the ceremony. The guests have to clean their lip mark from the rim of the bowl from which they have drunk tea. To explain this, however, seems to be difficult for JL12 and the pauses in her turn indicate this. Instead of giving up the idea, however, she makes uses of the bottle once again treating it as a scaffold for putting herself across. She performs the action of cleaning the rim with her hand pointing to it with her finger while keeping an eye on the screen to evaluate TL1's response, as can be seen in Screenshots 4 and 5. These actions are in place due to JL12's decision to opt for a different mode, which can be called acting, showing, or referring in this case. This decision could be motivated by a number of reasons including JL12's evaluation of her own linguistic ability or simply her unwillingness to expose her linguistic performance. Either way, as a result of this shift in the mode of interaction, intersubjectivity seems to have been achieved.

JL12 seems reassured to see her Taiwanese peer imitating her action, which is a sign of the achievement of intersubjectivity. At this point, and in turn 29, she comes up with the verb *clean* and verbalizes it with a rising intonation at the same time looking away from the screen to the teacher once again. This look that serves the function of nominating JT for the next turn, elicits a confirmation response from the teacher in turn 30. JL12 then ends the episode by performing a bow as the final move in the ceremony, which is followed by JT's second pair part contribution with a case closing *aha*.

94

5.3. Creation and Obstruction of Space for Learning

With regard to the second research question it was found that while a number of interactional practices facilitated learner participation and created space learning, others had an obstructive role and hence limited learners' interactional space. Practices in both of these categories will be introduced in this section.

5.3.1. Meaning and Fluency Context

The underlying concept in this section was guided by Seedhouse's (2004) concept of classroom contexts. The concept holds that a class session is not a monolithic whole and is instead comprised of various distinct sub-contexts that vary according to the pedagogic goals of the moment and consequently feature differences in their interactional structure. Particularly, Seedhouse considers the second language classroom as multi-layered made up of different interactional patterns and pedagogical goals in each of the layers. Accordingly, he distinguishes four contexts in the classroom: form and accuracy, meaning and fluency, task-oriented, and procedural. These contexts are distinguishable in terms of turn-taking, turn allocation, feedback patterns, etc. Walsh (2006) also proposes a similar categorization albeit with different terminology and distinguishes four modes in the classroom namely managerial mode, materials mode, skills and systems mode and classroom context mode (refer to Table 3.1). The analysis of the data in this study showed that the dominant context throughout the online communication sessions between the two classes was meaning and fluency, which is closest to Walsh's idea of classroom context mode. The main pedagogical goals of this mode include enabling learners to express themselves clearly, establishing a context for learner agency and promoting oral fluency. In accordance with these goals, the interactional features identified in this mode include the presence of extended learner turns and short teacher turns, minimal repairs on form, content feedback, referential questions, scaffolding, and clarification requests. These interactional

features seem to be consistent with the often-stated goal of a COIL classroom, which is to promote student-student interaction and intercultural exchange. Excerpt 5.2 is representative of the interactions in this context.

In the following excerpt, learners are invited to share their experiences of dissatisfaction with restaurant services in their home countries. One of the learners in the Japan class (JL1) takes the floor and the teacher interacts with her. Of particular interest here is the way the teacher aligns his feedback strategies with the pedagogic goals of the moment.

Excerpt 5.2. Meaning and fluency context in teacher-led interactions

```
1   JT: So let's start here ((looks at the JLs))
2  JL1: uhhh (.) mmm (.) ah when I:::  o- ordered uh maybe kind of
         dishes like I don- I don't remember well dishes I ordered but
         emm (.) it was (1.0) uhhh different dishes emm so I asked the
         clerk and I tell this is different dishes so please cha::nge
         the dishes (1.0) so:: e:: >after that< the (.) [clerk
3   JT:                                                 waiter↓]
4  JL1: brings e:::  bring eh? brou::ghtem certain dishes I ordered
         (1.0) so it is not problem for me↓
5   JT: ok↓ you you were just uh kept waiting a little more↑ to [make
         the new food
6  JL1:                                                         yeah]
7   JT: but I mean the mood↑ how was the mood? Your reaction was like
         very (.) with a smile? Or (2.0)[angrily
8  JL1:                                 ehm]
9   JT: or
10 JL1: (2.0) not so angry but em [yeah
11  JT:                           >uh-huh<]
12 JL2: but not smile ((laughs))
13 JL1: ((laughs))
14  JT: ((laughs))
15  TL: ((laugh))
```

After JT's bid for the initiation of the interaction in line 1, JL1 who is seated closer to the screen and the camera, self-selects and shares her dissatisfaction experience with her peers. Apart from

JL1's self-selection which is in itself conducive to the establishment of a meaning and fluency context, her relatively long and extended turn and minimal interruption from the JT create a context where JL1 can express herself as clearly as she could. In the extended second turn of this excerpt, JL1 makes a few formal mistakes (related to the linguistic system of L2) including using incorrect verb tenses and inappropriate choice of words. These could be repaired and corrected on the spot in a form and accuracy context where the focus is to promote accuracy in learner talk. Here, however, JT tends to overlook most of the mistakes and to initiate repair minimally and less saliently. As can be seen in turn 3, JT offers the more suitable word "*waiter*" instead of "*clerk*" but this is done in passing and, as the brackets indicate, JT's utterance almost overlaps with that of JL1. The learner does not indicate any sign of noticing this repair in passing in the following turn and ends her sentence with a falling intonation in turn 4. Only here, when a TRP emerges, the teacher explicitly takes up the floor paraphrasing JL1's previous comment. The referential question he asks in turn 7 also indicates his intention to create more interactional space for the learner. JT's question in turn 7 also takes the form of a clarification request aiming at eliciting a further response from JL1. This is accompanied by scaffolding within the question as well. Faced with a silence of 2 seconds towards the end of turn 7 and in order to fill in this gap and hence help JL1 initiate a response, JT offers options from which JL1 could potentially choose a word for the formulation of her next utterance. JT even tries to offer another option indicated by the utterance *"or"* in turn 9, but he gives it up since after a 2-second pause JL1 uses the previously provided option in turn 10. Notice also how JT's non-verbal backchannel *"uh-huh"* is produced with minimal interference encouraging JL1 to go on. Interestingly, however, it is JL2 who responds to the invitation to respond in turn 12. Her self-selection also provides yet another example of how turn-taking and turn allocation patterns are fluid in this meaning and fluency

contexts. While in other contexts, teachers can be considered as the sole distributors of turns among learners, here, along with the pedagogic goals of the moment, learners are tacitly allowed to self-select and this happens twice in a relatively short excerpt.

5.3.2. Referential Questions

The analysis of the data showed that teachers' questioning practices in the COIL classroom had an influence on the creation or obstruction of learning opportunities for the learners. While it was found that the majority of the questions asked by the teachers across the data were of *referential question* (RQ) type, the microanalysis of the turns in interactions revealed that not all referential questions led to the initiation of more extended learner turns and as a result space for interaction and learning. While some of the interactional practices within question-answer sequences were more conducive to the creation of learning opportunities, others were not so. The following table summarizes the results.

Table 5.1

Interactional practices related to referential questions and their outcome

Outcome	Interactional Practice
Facilitation	Asking RQs at TRPs,
	RQ follow-ups (clarification requests) at communicative breakdowns,
	Teacher echoing,
	Paraphrasing an RQ
Obstruction	Undue elaboration on questions,
	Answering self-posed questions,
	Prolonged teacher turns,
	Undue interruptions,
	Completion of learner turns

Now let us take a look at two sample excerpts from the classroom interactions and see how certain teacher interactional practices could create or obstruct learning opportunities.

5.3.2.1. Facilitation

In what follows three excerpts from the data will be analyzed to exemplify the interactional

practices that are likely to encourage extended learner participation.

5.3.2.1.1. RQ at TRP and Paraphrase

In Excerpt 5.3, where Taiwanese learners (TLs) are interacting with Japanese learners (JLs) via a

monitor interface at the presence of the Taiwan class teacher (TT) and the Japan class teacher

(JT), the topic is the range of activities people can do in bars in Japan. At the beginning of this

sequence, a Taiwanese learner (TL12) has taken up the turn to pose a question. JT's interactional

practices featured by asking RQs at the right time when a TRP emerges and providing

communication-driven paraphrase facilitates the creation of interactional space for JLs.

Excerpt 5.3. Facilitation through RQs at TRPs and Communication-driven paraphrase

```
1 TL12: ((self-selects)) in a BAR what do you usually do beside
        drinking? (3.0)
2   JT: in a bar what do you usually do BESIDES drinking?
3 TL12:=yes because now we have e: maybe even play DART or you can
        play (1.0) table tennis or maybe:::
4  JLs: ((laugh))
5   JT: PLAY? >After drinking<?
6  JLs: ((laugh))
7  TLs: ((laugh))
8   JT: ok these are actually what you can DO in Taiwan (.) dart or
        table tennis↓ if you are not too drunk of course↓
9  JLs: [((laugh))
10 TLs: ((laugh))] (2.0)
11  JT: ok anything you can do in a bar in Japan?
12 JL8: e::h ((she is sitting in the back of the class but at this
        point stands to come to the front closer to the camera))
13 JL8: so I::: ((takes a seat in front of the screen and the
        camera)) I::: have never gone to bar but and there >in Japan<
        there are a lot o::f (.) some kind of bar like (.) to em drink
        with (.) dri::nkwi::th watching spo::rts>game<
14   JT: hum
```

```
15  JL8: or drinking wi::th the like DARTS play darts or nantake are
         ((in Japanese: what is this? With a gesture for billiard
         sports))
16  JL12: billiard?
17  JL8: billiard? biliardo? biliardo ((Japanese for billiard))
         ((laughs)) or like some (1.0) UUUHHHH there are (3.0) kinds
         o::f GAME like playing game game ball? ((looks at JL12))
18  JL12: ((nods))
19  JL8: game bar↑like play game↑ video game [to
20  JT:                                    but] not in ALL bars >I
         mean< if you wanna play there's [a specific
21  JL8:                                    yes]
22  JT: bar you wanna [go to
23  JL8:              yes] or like (.) drinking with the music like a
         just music
24  JT: live music?
25  JL8: yes
26  JT: aha↓
27  JL8: so lots of kinds of bar (.) there are lots of kinds of bar
28  JT: [greatgreat
29  JL8: yes]
```

In turn 1, TL12 asks a question which is followed by a three-second silence: a duration which is usually enough for self-selection by other interlocutors in an interaction. However, since none of the JLs takes up the turn and volunteers for an answer, JT initiates a repair-driven paraphrase in turn 2 characterized by the emphatic pronunciation of the word "*BESIDES*" aiming to correct the use of the word "*beside*" by TL12. This repair, however, is provided in passing and remains unnoticed by TL12 who quickly starts another turn (notice the latching sign) elaborating on his previously asked question. The unfolding of the following turns also reveals that JT's intention in turn 2 was to paraphrase TL12's question for communication purposes since the repair was not attended to neither by the learners nor the teachers later on. This could potentially create a space for JLs to gain the floor but as mentioned before TL12's latching turn that follows this paraphrase limits this space. Throughout turns 3 to 10 and in a post-expansion sequence the interactants make brief jokes about the idea of playing after drinking until turn 11 where JT, once

again, provides a delayed communication-driven paraphrase for TL12's question in turn 1. At this moment one of the Japanese learners (JL8) sitting at the back of the class utters a filler sound (e::h) with a prolonged vowel indicating her self-selection for the next turn. She then steps towards the front of the class where the screen, the camera, and the microphone are located. In turn 13, JL8 starts her relatively long response to the question and paraphrased question, which continues towards the end of the sequence with minimal interruptions by JT. The only question asked by JT occurs in turn 16 which is a short form for the RQ "*do you mean billiard?*" as a response to JL8's request for help in turn 15. This question is asked at a time when the previous turn has come to a prosodic, syntactic and semantic end and hence a transition relevance point (TRP) has emerged. For this reason, JL8's flow of talk is not interrupted and she continues until she brings her turn to a close.

5.3.2.1.2. Follow-ups to RQs

According to the data in this study, asking follow-up questions after a response has been given to an RQ allocates learners more interactional space and can elicit longer and more complex responses from them. In other words, as shown in the previous excerpts, asking RQs does not necessarily lead to longer learner responses and certain accommodations need to be provided for them to serve this purpose. The following excerpt introduces another interactional practice, which has the potentials to make RQs work.

In this excerpt, JT poses a question about the responsibility of governments in Taiwan and Japan regarding food health. More specifically, he wants to know whether Taiwan and Japan have taken any measures to ban the sale of unhealthy foods in these two countries. At first, this RQ is not well received by the TL who self-selects to answer it, but in a series of interactional

practices including paraphrases provided by TT and a follow-up question asked by JT, TL10 is

given the chance to contribute to the interaction more.

Excerpt 5.4. Facilitation through RQ follow-up moves and paraphrase

```
1    JT:  so I've I've got a question about this↓ehm we ALL know that
          >some< MOST fast foods a::re are NOT healthy and ehm probably
          the people in the government know that too right? So we know
          that they are not healthy but ehm they don't do anything that
          we can see: to ba::n these kinds of unhealthy food↓ is that
          the case in Taiwan? Does the government take any actions for
          banning or limiting the number of fast food restaurants? ((to
          the JLs in the front row)) And I have the same question about
          Japan maybe you can think about that ((to all JLs)) or anybody
          ok if have any answers you can come to the front↓ so first
          about Taiwan↓
2   TL10:  ((picks up the microphone and looks confused. Looks away from
          the screen to TT))(3.0)
3    TT:  ((to TL10)) ehm government tries to ban? These restaurants
          (.)is government doing anything to ban?
4   TL10:  ((looks at the screen again)) .hhh (3.0) hi
5    JL7:  ((waving at the camera)) [hi
6    JL1:                           hi]=
7    JT:  =hi
8   TL10:  hi ((looking at the camera)) I haven't listened eh I haven't
          heard that government takes eh (.) some (.) practice to ban
          the:: dangerous restaurants cause in Taiwan like McDonalds and
          is (.) have no bigger ((inaudible)) (1.0) it was >normal size<
          for Taiwanese and is (.) ehm so:: government will not banish
          kind of food (.) yeah=
9    JT:  =I'm sorry you said McDonold is not BIG SIZE?
10  TL10:  ehm cause in (.) ehm the USA they have the:: ehm LARGE size
          of >hamburger< and have two or three ehm (.) piece of (.)
          meat=
11   JT:  =hum
12  TL10:  big meat yes and in Taiwan there's ehm ((looks at TT as of
          searching for a word)) we seldom see ((inaudible)) so we have
          the >normal< normal size ehm offered to the:: >Taiwanese<
          (2.0)
13   JT:  ok↓
```

JT's RQ asked in turn 1 which is delivered in an extended teacher turn faces silence and an expression of confusion on TL10's face as well as her body language. Extended teacher turns as shall be seen in the rest of this chapter can have negative interactional consequences and limit learner contribution opportunities even when an RQ is asked. The same thing happens in turn 2. TT, however, having noticed TL10's bewilderment manifest in her facial expressions and a relatively long silence for 3 seconds, comes to her rescue. In turn 3, she paraphrases the RQ already asked by JT. TL10, who was looking at TT with an expression of confusion on her face, then quickly looks at the screen and the camera again signaling that she is ready to give an answer. There is another 3-second pause in turn 4 but it is not as threatening as the one in turn 2 could be since it occurs after her out-breath (.hhh) indicating that she is ready to start any second hence rendering the silence as an intra-turn one. That is why the 3-second pause in her turn is no more interrupted by one of the teachers in an attempt to help her start. She does start in turn 4 and after a few greeting exchanges she manages to deliver a relatively long and complex response to the original question and its paraphrase in turn 8. Once her turn comes to an end indicated by the emergence of a TRP in the form a falling intonation at the end of her syntactically and semantically finished segment and a case closing *"yeah,"* however, JT's quick uptake of the turn to ask a follow-up question and clarification request, allows her a second chance to contribute to the interaction. JT could have provided a positive assessment in turn 9 and brought the sequence to an end. He, instead, posed a follow-up move, which in return necessitated another response on TL10's part. Notice how in turns 10 and 12 TL10 manages to give an elaborate response to JT's follow-up move. The sequence then comes to an end by JT's case closing *"ok"* indicating his satisfaction with the prior response move. In short, the follow-up move to the RQ led to a more extended learner response.

Teacher echoing of a learner turn after an RQ has been found to be another interactional practice,

which can serve the purpose of eliciting longer learner responses. Echoing can be defined as the

repetition of an utterance made by a previous speaker by the current speaker. This can take

different forms and may result in different interactional sequences. What is a focus here,

however, is the time a teacher echoes a learner's response to an already asked RQ with the

purpose of eliciting a lengthier response. The following excerpt where questions are asked about

a special kind of Japanese pub or restaurant called an "*izakaya*" illustrates how JT's echoing of a

JL's contribution provides her with an opportunity to contribute more to the class interactions.

Excerpt 5.5. Teacher echoing of learner turns after RQ

```
1    TL17: >wa<- what is (.) izakaya? ((a kind of Japanese casual
            restaurant for drinking and eating)) Wa- what is iza- what is
            izakaya?
2    JL2:  uh it provides alcohol. It is which we must do alcohol. In
            izakaya we can drink many and many alcohol. So:: many
            customers drink eh? ((searching for a word and looking away
            from the screen)) drunk?
3     JT:  get drunk↓
4    JL2:  get drunk too much↓
5     JT:  but it's not only for alcohol I mean you eat food and you
            drink alcohol=
6    JL2:  =yes yes and there are also we can choose soft drink like
            juice (5.0)
7     JT:  another question similar question HOW is an izakaya
            different from other traditional Japane:se [restaurants?
8    JL2:                                              u:::h]
9     JT:  are they the same or are they different?
10   JL11: different
11    JT:  different↑
12   JL11: main purpose is drinking↓ (.) in izakaya
13    JLs: uh ((nodding)) (2.0)
14    JT:  in izakaya↑
15   JL11: izakaya↑ehm (3.0) ((TLs are not looking at the screen and
            camera and are instead talking to each other))
```

```
16    JT: in izakaya↑ (3.0)
17  JL11: ((staring at the screen while TLs are still talking and not
           looking at the camera or screen))
18    JT: oh they don't listen ((laughs))
19   JL2: ((laughs))
20    JT: ((louder voice)) so one of my students is trying to tell you
           the difference between an izakaya and a traditional Japanese
           restaurant ((to the Taiwan class))
21   TLs: ((stop talking and look at the screen))
22    JT: ok (.) in izakaya↑
23  JL11: in izakaya main purpose is to drink alcohol and (.) a::nd
           Japanese restaurant the main purpose is to eat dishes I think
           (1.0)
24    JT: eat dishes?
25  JL11: yeah (.) enjoy Japanese food with family and friends↓
26    JT: uhuh↓
27   TLs: ((nod))
```

The excerpt starts with TL17's RQ about a special kind of Japanese restaurant called "izakaya."

JL2, who is seated closer to the screen and the camera self-selects for the next turn and provides

a response to the question. She goes on until turn 4 and in the middle, she implicitly asks for JT's

help for the phrase *"get drunk"* towards the end of turn 1. JT evaluates JL2's comment as

incomplete and prompts her to explain that izakaya is not merely a place for drinking and that

food can be ordered too. After JL2 does so in turn 6 and after a long pause at the end of this turn,

JT poses a similar question presumably to elicit more from JLs. In turn 9 JT also offers a

simplified version of the question to scaffold JLs: JT changes his original information question to

a yes/no question which is less demanding to answer. This works and JL11 says in a short turn

that traditional Japanese restaurants and izakayas are *"different."* JT's echoing of JL11 with

rising intonation functions as a follow-up move requiring JL11 to elaborate on her answer. JL11,

who seems to have oriented to what is required, initiates a response in turn 12 saying *"main*

purpose is drinking" with a falling intonation signaling the completion of her turn. After a very

short pause, however, she says *"in izakaya"* showing her will to continue. JT who seems to have noticed JL11's wish to continue echoes her words in turn 14 with a rising intonation to signal JL11 that she can continue. At this point, a nuisance takes place that inhibits JL11's compliance with JT's demand: TLs are not looking at the camera and are instead talking to each other. This has a simple implication for JL11 who thinks that she should pause until those with whom she is interacting are actually listening to her. JT echoes JL11's words once again in turn 16, yet JL11 is still staring at the screen waiting for her Taiwanese peers to indicate that they are ready to listen to her. JT notices the source of the trouble, and in turn 20 makes an explicit attempt to gain TLs' attention. But even after the TLs stop talking, JL11 seems to need another prompt to continue her turn and this prompt is provided by JT in the form of one final echo in turn 22. JT echoes another utterance produced by JL11 in turn 24 and as a result, JL11 is able to bring her turn to completion with a falling intonation.

5.3.2.2. Obstruction

The previous section illustrated how a teacher's interactional practices particularly regarding when and how to ask a referential question may create more space for interaction in the COIL classroom. This, however, may become even more noticeable once cases featuring the opposite are also studied. In what follows three excerpts from the data will be analyzed to demonstrate how particular interactional practices may block the space for learner participation and hence limit learning opportunities.

5.3.2.2.1. Answering self-posed questions and prolonged turns

In Excerpt 5.6 interactional space is wasted due to the teachers' extended turn and his self-answering of an already posed question. In the following sequence, TL1 is asking her Japanese peers about echo-friendly restaurants in their home country. She, however, does not receive any response from JLs.

Excerpt 5.6. Teacher's answering self-posed questions and prolonged teacher turn

```
1 TL1: we don't know about Japan (.) like↓ do they have such
        restaurant or something?
2  JT: oh well we were just discussing this and we we didn't come (.)
        up with any conclusion if we have actually any restaurants like
        that here↓ uh do you think ((to JLs)) in Japan (.) here↓ is
        there any restaurant that takes care of this thing (.) food
        mile↓ or envi- or >being environmentally friendly<?
3  JT: (5.0)
4 JLs: ((silently look at each other))
5  JT: No (.) probably the answer is no↓
6 JLs: ((laugh))
7  JT: $no answer means no$
8 JLs: ((laugh))
9  JT: yeah↓
```

TL1's question in turn 1 in this excerpt is quickly followed by JT's turn. This happens while there is no pause or silence after TL1's RQ meaning that JLs did not literally have any chance to self-select for an answer. Within JT's relatively long response in turn 2, he paraphrases TL1's question. But notice how this paraphrase is both longer and structurally more complex than the original question posed by TL1 in turn 1. The JT's extended turn is followed by a five-second silence in turn 3. Although this silence length is often long enough for the uptake of a turn by the next speaker, it cannot be considered too long due to the cognitively demanding nature of the question asked by JT in the previous turn. At this moment and while JLs are looking at each other and can possibly gain the floor any second, JT answers his own question with a "*no*" followed by a short pause in turn 5. This serves as a case closing indicator particularly because it is followed by another case-closing remark "*probably the answer is no*" ending with a falling intonation. This raises laughter in JLs and quickly afterward JT makes another attempt to close the case by laughingly saying "*no answer means no*." It might not be possible to predict what *would* happen if JT had not provided an answer to his own question. What is evident, however, is that answering self-posed questions closes any window of opportunity for learner contributions.

Obstructive interactional practices after RQs are not limited to prolonged teacher turns and

answering self-posed questions. Two other such practices identified in the data include *undue*

interruptions and *completion of learner turns*. Turn interruption occurs when a next speaker does

not wait for a TRP and cuts short a current speaker's turn. In the data, this usually happened

when the teachers seemingly tried to *oil* the interaction with their interruptive turns while the

results often proved the opposite. Turn completion, on the other hand, occurred when a potential

next speaker completed a current speaker's turn presumably in an attempt to predict what the

current speaker intended to say. The teachers in the data also usually did this and the result was

that what could potentially be an extended learner turn after an RQ turned to a minimal learner

response. The following excerpt illustrates a few instances of turn interruption and turn

completion as obstructive interactional practices following an RQ.

In excerpt 5.7, after a discussion with TT and TLs, JT initiates a new subtopic to ask

students (primarily addressing JLs) whether they have had a negative experience about eating out.

The teacher, as the current speaker who has initiated the sequence, nominates the next speakers

(JL14, JL6, and JL9) explicitly. Yet, what happens after some of the RQs asked throughout the

sequence proves to be inhibiting elaborate and extended learner contributions.

Excerpt 5.7. Undue interruption and completion of learner turns

```
1    JT: well another question I have is about how you react to::: I
         mean (2.0) bad experiences in a restaurant >I mean< if you
         ORder some food and the food is too late how do you react to
         that I mean you GO to a restaurant you wait for thirty minutes
         twenty minutes your food doesn't arrive what do you do (.)
         maybe YOU can start↓ ((pointing to JL6)) (2.0)
2    JL6: I don't feel bad so:: I don't feel bad can wait
3    JT: you keep waiting?
```

```
4   JL6: yeah (1.0) but (.) too (.) too long too late I I maybe I say
         (.) to:: (1.0) [waiter
5    JT:                       uhum]
6   JL6: so where is my dish? Maybe I ask but=
7    JT: =how long is too much for you like ten minutes? Twenty
         minutes?
8   JL6: over (2.0) over thirty minutes=
9    JT:=u::h over THIrty minutes you wait (1.0) really patient
10  JL6: ((laughs)) after ↑ (.)
11   JT: that's good after thirty minutes of waiting you will kindly
         and politely ask the waiter excuse [me where is my dish
12  JL6:                                    ((nodding)) yeah yeah yeah]
13   JT: you don't get [angry
14  JL6:               yeah] because I I my part time job is (.)
         >restaurant< so: if restaurant is busy the dish is (.) it is
         difficult (.) to give to::: give? The dishes to [customers
15   JT:                                                 to serve]
16  JL6: so:: (.) yeah I think the feeling (.) of waiter so I can wait
         [in the
17   JT: uh] so that's because you actually are working as a part time
         ((inaudible)) [so
18  JL6:               yeah]
19   JT: you understand the [situation
20  JL6:                    yeah] ok good (.) what about you ((to
         JL14))
21 JL14: I think after waiting for twenty minutes I will ask waiter↓
         (1.0)
22   JT: but how do you ask? Politely and kindly with a smile or ehm
         getting a little angry fisting your hand
23  JLs: [((laugh))
24   JT: punching on the table] WHERE is my FOOD? (1.0)
25 JL14: politely and [smi-
26   JT:              but] you've been kept waiting twenty minutes
         >that's that's< that's a lot
27 JL14: yeah=
28   JT: =but still you don't forget to smile
29 JL14: if they are very crowded I=
30   JT: =u::::h [right
31 JL14:         I] will ask with smile
32   JT: ok a::nd↑ ((referring to JL9))
33  JL9: I (.) little get angry
34  JL6: ((bursts out laughing))
35  TLs: ((laugh))
36  JL9: ((laughs))
```

```
37   JT: get angry ok good and what do you do when you get angry?
38   JL9: no smiling ((laughs))
39   JL6: kowai ((Japanese for scary))
40   JL9: and ehm=
41   JT: shouting
42   JL9: sh- ((laughs)) not shouting but=
43   JT: =not shouting (.) ok how do you how do you show that you're
        angry I mean you should show the waiter that you are angry
44   JL9: if you you cannot serve the dish early I (.) I can go ((tries
        to show the outside with hand gesture)) to↑=
45   JT: =u::h you can go to another restaurant to [the
46   JL9:                                        to] the waiter↓
47   JT: waiter oh yeah yeah yeah so you threaten them if you don't
        get the food as soon as possible I will leave here
48   JL9: yeah yeah↓
49   JT: hemmm good good↓
```

After the initial RQ asked by JT a nomination of the next speaker occurs and JT prompts JL6 to provide a response to his question. JL6 fills in the *response* slot in the already initiated IRF sequence in turn 2. The organization of the following turns indicates JT's intention to provide learners with more interactional space by eliciting more responses from them. This becomes evident with JT's constant follow-up question instead of the *feedback* move in the IRF sequence. An example is turn 3 where JT does not evaluate JL6's response and instead prompts her further with a follow-up question. This interactional practice seems to be aligned with JT's pedagogic goal until turn 6. In this turn and while JL6's turn has not come to a prosodic, phonological or semantic end, JT cuts her short. Notice the latching sign at the end of turn 6 and after JL6 says *"but"* which signals the initiation of JT's unwelcomed next turn. As the structure of the following turns characterized by multiple follow-up moves unravel, JT does so to help JT6 keep talking. His untimely follow-up question in turn 7, however, opens up an insertion sequence demanding JL6 to respond to the newly asked question. This happens in turn 8 where JL6 says *"over twenty minutes."* Yet this is an answer to JT's *"how long is too much for you like ten*

minutes? Twenty minutes?" and there is no more any room for her original sentence that could potentially follow her *"but"* in turn 6. Quickly after this, another instance of untimely interruption occurs. JL's continuing sentence in turn 10 where she says *"after"* with a rising intonation is soon curtailed by JT who summarizes JL6's previous contribution. In the following turns, JL6 does not find any space for what she wanted to say in turn 10 either. JT's interruptions happen once again in turn 17 with very similar interactional results. In turn 16, and when JL6 is arguing how her part-time in a restaurant has taught her to be patient as a customer, JT's summary turn cuts her short. In turn 16 when she was saying *"I can wait in the…"* but the bracket before the end of her turn shows JT's utterance is concurrent with JL6's ongoing turn and this causes her to surrender her turn. Once again, she never finds the chance later to complete what she started in turn 16. All she can do before JT turns to another speaker is to utter a *"yeah"* in turn 18 as a confirmation for JT's previous turn.

At this point, JT nominates another next speaker who is JL14 with RQs asked and rephrased to elicit responses from her. Yet, in turn 25, another interruption happens which does not allow JL14 to have an extended contribution. While in turn 25 JL14 initiates a response, JT's next question does not even let her utter a word completely. JT's *"but"* in turn 26 shifts the focus once again and JL14 does not get a chance to complete the word "smile" (*smi-*) in turn 25.

Another type of obstructive interactional practice happens in turn 45 when JT's interruption takes the form of a turn completion utterance. Starting in turn 32, JL9 has been nominated by JT as the next speaker requested implicitly to answer the same question the other two learners in this excerpt had answered. After a few exchanges, in turn 44, JL9 says what she does if the food she orders comes later than expected. She says that after waiting for a long time she tells the waiter that she would leave the restaurant. Yet, it seems that JT could guess what

JL9 wanted to say before she actually did so and consequently takes the turn to complete her ongoing utterance in turn 45. JT's prediction appears to be correct since JL9 does not repair what JT says. However, notice how this turn completion act brings JL9's comment to a premature end. The sequence then ends with JT's case closing *"good good"* with a falling intonation in turn 49.

5.3.2.2.3. Undue elaboration on questions

Another obstructive interactional practice identified is *undue elaboration on questions* which can be defined as the sequence initiator's further elaborations on a question already asked. This practice is different from the obstructive role of *prolonged teacher turns* discussed above since while in the latter the whole turn is dedicated to asking a long RQ, in *undue elaboration* sequences the speaker talks *about* the question. In other words, while the question itself might be short and manageable, it is the extra elaboration on the question that causes hindrance for a potential next speaker. Excerpt5.7 illustrates this point. In this excerpt, TT poses a question about the effects of vegetarian diets on the environment. This RQ, in the remainder of the sequence, however, does not generate extended responses since JT elaborates on his paraphrase of the original question more than is interactionally required.

Excerpt 5.8. Obstruction by undue elaboration

```
1    TT: Do you think that ehmvegeTArian restaurant can be another kind
        of help for the environment? ((looking at the camera)) (5.0)
2    JT: can vegetarian restaurant be a kind of eco-friendly
        restaurant? ((to JLs)) (4.0)
3    TT: What do you think? ((to TLs)) (2.0) think about [it
4  TL12:                                        I] think it
        isn't I think it's not it's not necessary to be to see as a
        eco-friendly? Yeah eco-friendly restaurant because how you (.)
        how you dispose the trash or recycle it is (1.0) an big issue
        (2.0)
5    TT: but what if we consume less meat?
6  TL12: yes consume less meat is definitely ehm you less the carbon
        (.) footprint carbon footprint but I think it's not a (1.0)
```

```
             >it's not< a main factor of a definition of ((looks at TL15
             sitting next to him))
 7 TL15:  eco-[friendly
 8 TL12:        yes] eco-friendly restaurant
 9   JT:  but carbon is really important isn't it? I mean the production
             of carbon is one of the major sources of pollution in the word
             now so if if going on a vegetarian diet can reDUCE the amount
             of carbon footprint in people I believe it's a major step
             (1.0)
10   TT:  yeah
11   JT:  well research has shown that non-vegetarian diets produce lots
             of carbon whereas vegetarian diets tend to produce much less
             carbon dioxide so if this is REALLY the case it is worth
             investing (1.0) >don't you think?< (7.0)
12   JT:  ehm is there any a big e:::h well e:::hm a couple of years ago
             I remember organic food gained a lot of attention in many
             parts of the world (1.0) people >people< decided to spend a
             lot of money on organic food (.) do you remember anything? In
             Japan is that a like (.) kind of FAD like many people wanted
             to buy just organic food because they thought this is healthy?
             (2.0) e::hm has it been so in Taiwan? Specially younger
             generation AND the Female >if< if I'm not wrong (3.0)
```

The sequence starts with TT's RQ inquiring about the role vegetarian restaurants can play in saving the environment. There seems to be enough wait-time after this question but since none of the TLs or JLs initiate a response for this question, in turn 2, JT paraphrases the question probably with the purpose of prompting JLs. After another long silence, TT prompts TLs once again and finally TL12 volunteers for a response. There is a follow-up question after TL12's initial response, which elicits even longer responses from him. The interaction goes on in line with TT's apparent purpose which is to make TLs talk more until in turn 9 the teacher tries to initiate another follow-up move for the already asked and paraphrased question in turn 1. His lengthy elaboration about some other aspects of the question does not, however, lead to further responses and the opportunity seems to have been lost. This is evident with the long pauses in turn 11 and the complete surrendering of the topic by JT in turn 12.

5.3.3. Learner Initiation

The traditional IRF pattern of interactions in the classroom where the teacher is meant to *Initiate*

*(I)*an interaction, and then the learners are supposed to provide a *Response (R)* which will then be

followed by a *feedback (F)* turn from the teacher leaves learners with very little interactional

decisions to make. In fact, it is the teacher who is in total control of the interactional structure of

the classroom. That is why research has been suggesting teachers find ways to open up

interactional space for learners by stepping beyond such IRF moves. The analysis of the data in

this study has shown that under certain circumstances, learners can find the chance to reverse the

participation flow in a given IRF move by initiating the interactional sequence themselves. This,

in turn, will provide them with greater degrees of agency in their learning as well. The analysis

of the data has shown that this can be done both in a solicited and unsolicited manner.

5.3.3.1. Solicited learner initiation

Learners can break free from the lockstep IRF sequences often dominated by the teacher if they

are openly invited by the teacher to do so. This open and explicit invitation, according to the data,

can take the form of a whole class address by the teacher. The following excerpt illustrates this

point. This sequence of interaction occurs after some of the TLs present their ideas about an *eco-*

friendly restaurant. TT then requests JLs to comment on what TLs have already shared with them.

As shall be seen, while the sequence starts with the primary *initiation* position of the two

teachers, after JT's whole class address and invitation, JL6 initiates a new sequence where TT

and a learner from the Taiwan class fill in the *response* slot.

Excerpt 5.9. Whole class address to promote learner initiation

```
1 JT: ok (.) so it's maybe our turn to go↑ are you going to continue
        other students in Taiwan have any ideas?
2 TT: oh we have the first part before↓ we just finished (2.0) so we
        would like to::: hear that from YOUR response↓ (4.0)
3 JT: ok uh I I'm sorry I didn't hear you
```

4 **TT:** u::h are you going to give any comments↓ on the reports that MY
        students had just (.) [given
5 **JT:**   ok] tha that'll be great ((to the
        learners in the Japanese class)) Do you have any comments on
        THEIR ideas (.) uh how we can produce eco-friendly restaurants
        (.) so they said saving energy:: using LOcal produce a::nd
        doing charity work↓ do you think they can be good ideas for
        doing making a restaurant environmentally friendly? Do you have
        any other suggestions we can use in our discussions or any (.)
        >other things<? (4.0)
6 **JL5:** why doing (.) charity things is eco-friendly? ((looking at the
        camera))
7 **JT:** ok (.) good↑ (.) good question >could you< (.) maybe a little
        [louder?
8 **JL5:** oh ok] so WH::Y doing charity is eco-friendly? ((with a
        slightly louder voice)) (2.0)
9 **TL3:** well I think ehm because we use the LEFTover foods we: (.) uhm
        we we don't like to waste food so: we send ehm leftover food to
        charities I think that is a kind of eco-friendly (2.0) sort of
        ((laughs))
10 **TLs:** ((laugh))
11 **TL3:** [because
12 **TT:** yeah] and also because THAT kind of food could cause (.) ta-
        you know (.) trash and garbage and that could yeah [damage
13 **TL3:**   yeah]
14 **TT:** the environment
15 **JL5:** ((nods)) thank you

The sequence starts with a few exchanges between JT and TT who are deciding what to do next

(turns 1 to 4). In turn 5, JT first recaps what TLs had said prior to this sequence and then invites

comments or feedback on them. Towards the end of this turn, JT fills in the *initiation* move of

the IRF sequence. Yet, his whole class address, which is followed by a four-second wait-time, is

responded to with another *initiation* move by JL5. This is so because it starts a new topic

questioning the relevance of "*charity work*" to the idea of "*eco-friendly restaurants*" which, as

the following turns reveal, requires another *response* move. This initiation move in turn 6 is of

course quickly followed by JT's request who asks JL5 to repeat her initiation move louder so that

the Taiwan class can hear it better. JL5 does so and what happens next is that TL3 self-selects

herself to provide a *response* move after JL5's initiation. At this moment, it is, in fact, JL5 who is in control of the interactional sequence and has the right either ask to follow up questions or to simply assess what has been said by the respondents. After TL3's response, however, TT takes a turn (turn 12) to clarify the point raised by TL3. Both TL3's contribution in turn 9 and TT's in turn 12 can be considered as responses to JL5's initiation move. Further evidence for this is also provided by JL5 in turn 15 who nods and utters a positive assessment of the responses given saying "thank you." She had a few other options at her disposal for filling in this *feedback* move of the IRF sequence she had initiated earlier such as asking a follow-up question or requesting clarifications. Yet, she opts for a positive assessment for the *F* slot apparently because she has received a satisfactory response for her question. What is the most important in these exchanges is the level of agency JL5 could potentially exercise given the fact that she had the interactional right for the beginning and the ending slots in the IRF sequence. Compare this with the time when a teacher has this right and the learner is left with a minimal interactional space contributing only to the *R* slot.

5.3.3.2. Unsolicited learner initiation

Learner initiation can also be made possible without explicitly asking learners to make a contribution. There are two interactional contexts that seem to lead to unsolicited learner initiation including *extended post-feedback teacher wait-time* and *positive assessment of previous learner contribution.* The following excerpt is representative of the way extended wait-time practices by a teacher as well as the teacher's positive assessment of the learner's previous turn can create a chance for learners to take initiative in the interactions. It also shows how failure in giving learners enough time to fill in the first part in an IRF sequence wastes the emerging opportunities for doing so.

116

At the beginning of this excerpt, a Taiwanese learner (TL16) is responding to an initiation move previously projected by the Japan class teacher about the differences in the price of imported versus domestically produced food. After a few failed attempts, however, she manages to move out of the lockstep IRF sequence where JT takes hold of the first and third moves. Notice how JT's failure to allocate extended wait-time inhibits TL16's initiation in her first two attempts and how she finally manages to achieve this after JT's explicit positive assessment of her contribution as well as extended wait-time in turn 4.

Excerpt 5.10. Extended post-feedback wait-time and positive assessment

```
1 TL16: maybe in American the they have a lot of wheat and (.) they
        have a lot of em farm huge fa- (.) farm so they could just em
        they could em get a (.) lower price so I think ((in Taiwan))
        the local food will be (.) more expensive (3.0) ehm=
2   JT: =yeah yeah local food can be more expensive↓ (2.0) °right°
        (3.0)
3 TL16: and [em ((looks at her classmates next to her)) (2.0)
4   JT:      It] depends on the country for example some countries
        cannot cultivate like agriculture↓ they don't have much
        (incomprehensible) bringing in food from other countries is
        much less expensive than producing food↓ (1.0) OK good point↓
        (4.0)
5 TL16: ((nods)) ehm can I ask a question about Kobe beef?
6  JL5: ((nods))
7 TL16:  Is cows really $listen to music$ when [you
8  JL5:                                    so sorry] I couldn't
        (.) hear you
9 TL16: em do you really let the cows listen to music↓ (2.0)
        ((laughs)) because I heard that co- cow will be bred usually
        listen to music (1.0)
10  JT: cows listen to music? ((to JLs))
11 JL5: ((bursts out laughing)) hhh. ah sorry I don't know but hhh.
        $I I>don't know<$
12 TL16: $thank you$
13  TLs: ((laugh))
14  JLs: ((laugh))
```

The excerpt starts with a *response* move by TL16 after JT's *Initiation* move with a question about the price of domestic and imported food. Towards the end of turn 1, however, an extended silence for 3 seconds emerges which is potentially a good chance for TL16 to initiate another sequence. Her willingness to initiate a new sequence is also indicated by the filler *"ehm"* she produces meaning that she wants to continue with her turn and is not yet ready to hand in the turn to the next speaker. She is unlucky this time, however, since as the latches show, her turn is quickly followed by JT who jumps in to break the prolonged silence since it is believed to be threatening in an interaction. JT paraphrases TL16's previous comment and at the end of his turn yet another pause of 3 seconds emerges which is a second chance for TL16 to initiate a new sequence. Her attempt in turn 3, however, proves a failure once more since her initial words *"and em"* overlap with JT's turn as the words in brackets indicate. Even though another pause for 2 seconds emerges after this, TL16 seems to have given up the turn to JT who continues with a relatively long turn paraphrasing TL16 for a second time. After his turn comes to a semantic, syntactic and prosodic end, a short pause for one second occurs which is followed by an explicit positive assessment of TL16's previous contribution as in *"OK good point."* This is also followed by a silence of 4 seconds which functions as enough wait-time for TL16 who is still willing to initiate another sequence and this is shown by her nodding in turn 5. Notice how this wait-time emerges after a feedback move by the teacher and not after an initiation move. This is the moment TL16 finally manages to take the initiative and step out of the IRF dominated by JT. Her permission-seeking turn is followed by one of the Japanese class learners' (JL5) confirmation nods and then in turn 7 TL16 utters her initiation move, the one that she probably wanted to produce earlier at the end of turn 1 but could not do so due to the interactional circumstances mentioned above. From this moment on, it is JL16 who is in control of the first

and last moves in the IRF sequence and JL5 fills in the second slot, which is the *response* move. In other words, turn 9 serves as TL16's *initiation* move followed by a paraphrase in turn 10 by JT. Turn 11, is JL5's *response* move, and the case closing remark by TL16 in turn 12 is the final *feedback* move in the sequence.

5.4. Summary

Chapter Five sought to answer the two research questions in this research in the context of teacher-led interactions. It was found that the most prominent interactional device in the achievement of intersubjectivity was multimodality in interactions. The participants used a variety of multimodal resources such as gestures, gaze, as well as objects available to them to make sure their peers could understand them. As far as space for learning is concerned, it was found that the meaning and fluency context was more likely to generate opportunities for learners to participate more frequently. Asking referential questions was also found to be able to generate more learner contributions under certain circumstances. Yet, it was also found that referential questions would lose this potential in a number of other interactional sequences. Finally, learner initiation was also found to generate opportunities for learners to exercise agency, and as a result, contribute more to class interactions both in solicited and unsolicited manners.

Chapter Six: Learner-Learner Interactions

6.1. Chapter Preview

Chapter Six presents the results of the analysis of learner-learner interaction data in this research. As mentioned earlier on, learner-learner interactions took place outside the physical environment of the classroom and learners already assigned to different groups were required to interact over particular topics via a video call application of their choice. In response to the two questions of this research and for the sake of ease of comparison of the findings with those already presented in Chapter Five, this chapter is also divided into two main sections. First, the findings regarding the achievement of intersubjectivity in learner-learner interactions will be presented and then the findings about the creation and obstruction of space for learning will be reported.

6.2. Achievement of Intersubjectivity

The achievement and maintenance of intersubjectivity was found to be facilitated by the participants' mobilizing multimodal resources available to them and their management of their epistemic stance during their interactions. The two following sections present these findings along with illustrative excerpts from the data.

6.2.1. Multimodality in Learner-Learner Interactions

As discussed in the previous chapter, the data showed that there were numerous instances in the teacher-led and class-to-class online interactions where learners made use of multimodal resources available to them to resolve their (perceived) communicative difficulties. It was also discussed that while in contexts where L2 users share an L1 code-switching (switching the language of interaction from L2 to L1) is a common interactional practice, in contexts where individuals with diverse L1s are interacting, it can no longer be a viable option. Instead of

translingual practices, involving the switching of the code, therefore, multimodal practices, such as using gesture, gaze, and any object available in the context, become more helpful. Similar results were found in the learner-learner interactions as well. In other words, similar to teacher-led interactions, the use of gestures seemed to be very common among learners. What distinguishes multimodal practices in learner-learner interactions from the ones in teacher-led interactions is that in the former learners could make use of technological tools available to them as well. That is to say since learners were in control of their use of the technological interface, they could make use of different options to compensate for the (perceived) lacks in their linguistic competence. Such strategic uses of the technology led to the initiation of new ways of multimodal interactions largely absent in the teacher-led interactions. The following excerpt will illustrate this point.

In the following sequence TL18, JL15 and JL6 are discussing a picture that their teachers had given them as an assignment. The picture showed a notice on the entrance of a Japanese restaurant that asked foreigners not to enter the place. During the discussion, TL18 states that he first thought the picture was not real and that it was a political cartoon criticizing negative attitudes towards the presence of foreigners in Japan. Saying so he refers to the picture as a "*satire*" but once he realizes that his interlocutors do not know the meaning of the term, he switches to multimodal interaction by sharing his computer screen with them and illustrating what he means with a picture he looks up on the internet.

Excerpt 6.1. Using technology-enhanced multimodal resources in learner-learner interactions

```
1  TL18: so: my opinion i::s at first glance (.) yeah my first look at
             this picture (.) I thought this pictures was (.)
             SAtires((pronounces the words as /setaɪə/* instead of
             /sætaɪə/))was satires ((/setaɪə/*))(2.0)
2  JL15: satire ((/setaɪə/*))
```

```
3   TL18: Do you know about satire((/setaɪə/*))?
4   JL15: No
5    JL6: No:
6   TL18: ok (.) satire ((/setaɪə/*))is: (.) oh wait ((looks around his
            computer screen))let me sh- (.) let me share my screen to you
            (10.0)((shares his screen))
```

Screenshot 6.1
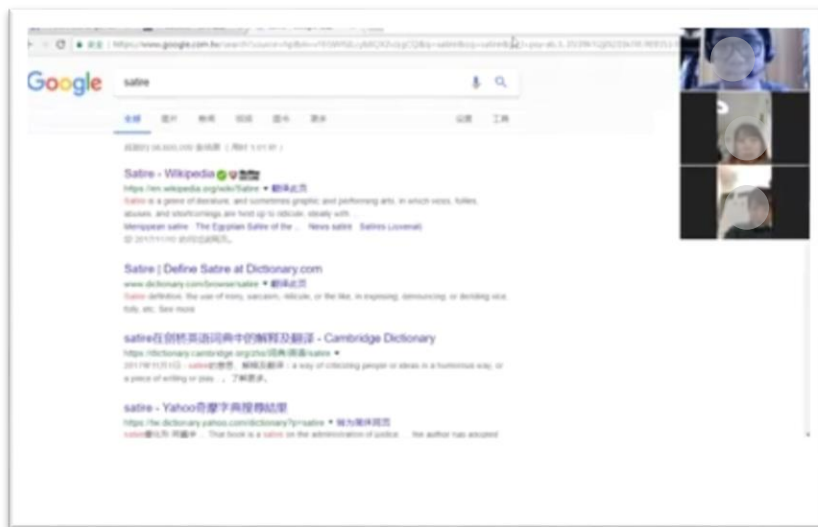

```
            can you see?
7   JL15: [yes
8    JL6: ye::s]
9   JL15: see
10  TL18: ok (2.0) so:: ((looks up the word satire on Google trying to
            find images that illustrate it))
```

Screenshot 6.2


```
            basically (.) satire is:: (3.0) ironic (.) literature >a kind
            of< ironic literature (.)
11   JL6: u:h yes yes [yes
```

122

12 **TL18:**   satire] and often written in: (.) like this (3.0)
       comic or::((puts up a political cartoon))

Screenshot 6.3
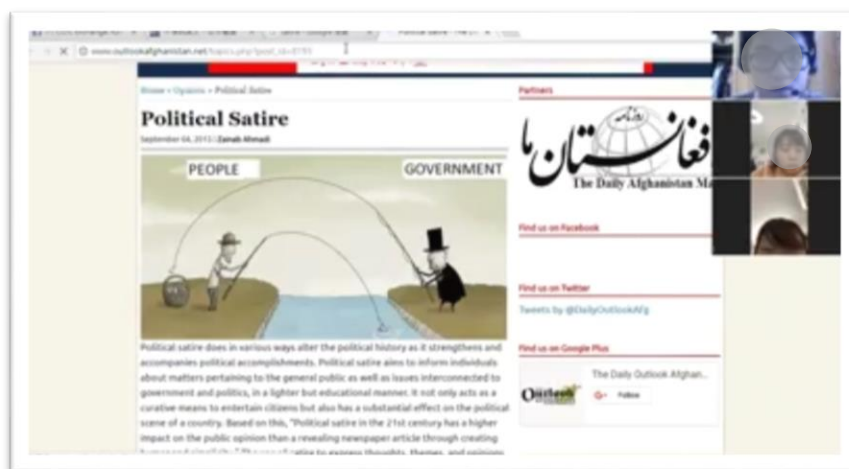
       maybe written in story .hhh so as you can see:((refers to the
       cartoon)) (3.0)the man on the right side ((draws circles
       around the man in the cartoon with a red pen tool on his
       screen))

Screenshot 6.4
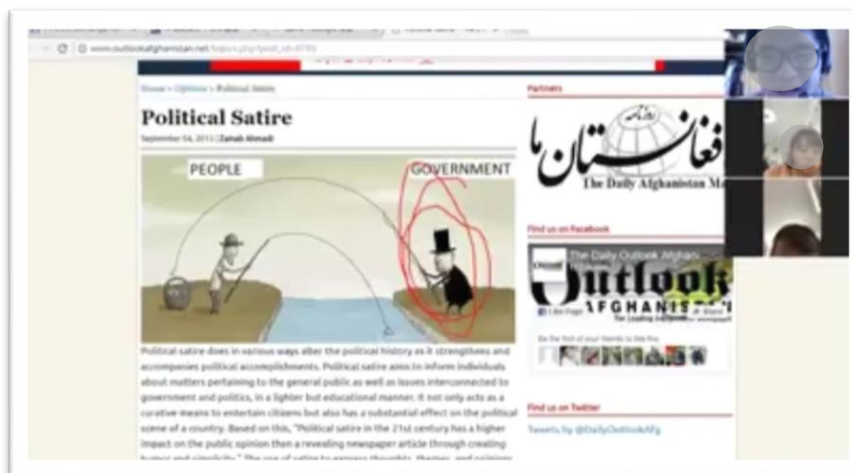
       oh cool (.) I have red pen ((laughs))
13 **JL15:** $uhum$
14 **TL18:** the man on the right side (3.0) he is on behalf of government
       (.)
15 **JL15:** [hum:
16 **TL18:** and] he is stealing the fish from (.)
17 **JL15:** [hum:
19 **TL18:** this] man.(1.0) and this man ((draws circles around the man
       on the left in the cartoon with a red pen tool on his screen))

123

Screenshot 6.5


```
        and this man stand for us (1.0) poor man (.) hard working for
        nothing (.) so THIS is satire
20 JL15: hum::
21  JL6: hum (.) ok (3.0)
22 JL15: I understand
23 TL18: and:: uh: (.) how can I stop this? ((trying to remove the
        picture from the screen)) uh ok. ((ends screen sharing))
```

TL18 starts the sequence expressing his initial thoughts after seeing the picture in question. He elaborates on how he first thought that the picture was meant to be a "*satire*," yet he mispronounces the word. Either due to this mispronunciation or simply because JL15 and JL6 did not know the meaning of the word, they fail to acknowledge what TL18 has proposed. This is evident towards the end of the first turn where a two-second pause takes place after which JL15 repeats the word that she does not seem to know. TL18 then goes on with a comprehension check question but the responses he gets from the two other participants in turns 4 and 5 make him sure that he needs to explain what satire is. He seems to be providing a verbal definition for the term at the beginning of turn 6 but in the middle of the same turn changes his mind and decides to change the modality to help his co-participants understand the meaning of the word. After a very long pause during which TL18 tries to share his computer screen with his peers, he is seen in the screenshot (6.1) taken from the data in turn 6 searching the word satire on Google.

Soon he changes the mode once again clicking on the "images" tab on his Google search page after which many images related to the search word satire appear on the screen (turn 10). He selects one of them, clicks on it and is then directed to another page. From this point, it becomes easier for TL18 to explain what satire is. The reason seems to lie in the fact that while referring to different parts of the image TL18 is able to use indexical references such as *"like this"* (turn 12) or "*this man*" (turn 19). An indexical reference, in linguistic terms, is a reference to a thing the referent of which could vary from one context to another such as this, it, etc. Each of these pronouns may refer to different things depending on the context. TL18's use of such pronouns accompanied by his use of a pointing tool, what he calls a red pen in turn 12 (Screenshot 6.4 in the same turn), makes it easier for him to execute what he plans to do. Once again, in turn 19, he makes use of the red pen tool and the indexical reference *"this"* to make himself understood. Such uses of multimodal resources and pointing to different parts of an image with indexical references were largely absent in the teacher-led interactions and are specific to learner-learner interactions where learners could exercise higher degrees of control and agency.

6.2.2. Managing Epistemic Stance

One of the ways interlocutors organize their interactions in different social settings is through recognizing each other's epistemic status and stance and orienting to them. Epistemic status and stance are the positions different participants in a social interaction take regarding who possesses what knowledge. For instance, when a doctor talks to a patient it is generally assumed that the doctor has more knowledge in the medical field. A failure to recognize and orient to this position on the part of the patient may create interactional repercussions and communicative breakdown, and as a result, disrupt intersubjectivity. In this example, however, since the position is decided based on the doctor's medical education and professional background, it is known as *epistemic status*. Yet, participants in social interactions may not necessarily adhere to the positions

125

determined through each other's status and hence other position-takings may emerge through the course of the interaction. These emergent moment-by-moment position-takings are called *epistemic stance* (Heritage, 2012).

Epistemic stance can be shown in many different ways. The use of different grammatical structures or lexical items can alter a speakers' stance from less knowledgeable (K-) to more knowledgeable (K+) or vice versa. Yet, it is not always shown in noticeable ways and there are subtler ways to either upgrade (K- to K+) or downgrade (K+ to K-) one's stance. In the following sections, based on the findings of this study, three of these subtle ways to establish an epistemic stance will be introduced along with excerpts from the data. The three interactional mechanisms found in this research include using short tokens and expressions of surprise, turn-taking organization, and repair initiation and accomplishment to manage epistemic stance.

6.2.2.1. Short tokens and expressions of surprise

The analysis of the data showed that one of the ways the participants could determine their epistemic stance was by uttering short tokens and expressions of surprise such as *"oh!"* This feature is particularly used when the speaker assumes a K- and wants to assign a K+ role to the other speaker in the interaction. The participants in this study had Japanese and Taiwanese nationalities and when it came to intercultural discussions, they had to shift swiftly between K- and K+ roles depending on the propositional content of the interactions. Yet, it was not only the epistemic status (their nationality in this case) that drove their epistemic stance. The following excerpts from the data illustrate this point.

In Excerpt 6.2 four Taiwanese learners and one Japanese learner are discussing their favorite sweets in Taiwan and Japan. More specifically, the Taiwanese learners, only two of whom take turns here, are telling the Japanese learner about desserts in Taiwan.

Excerpt 6.2. Managing epistemic stance by short tokens and expressions of surprise

```
1   TL3: So maybe we can talk (1.0) tell you some dessert in Taiwan=
2  JL11: =ok=
3   TL3:=in our school nearby our school↓ (1.0)
4  JL11: ok (2.0)
5   TL3: do you like dessert? ((holding her smart phone screen close
         to the camera so that JL11 can see the picture of a dessert.))
6  JL11: yeah (.) ((bringing herself closer to the camera/screen to
         see the picture shown by TL3)) [what
7   TL3:                                blue]berry [cake
8   TL5:                                    blueberry] [cake
9  JL11:                                                      cheese]
         cake?
10  TL3: [yes blueberry cheesecake
11  TL5: yes]
12 JL11: ye:::s wo:::w ((looks excited))
13  TL3: ((laughs))
14 JL11: yeah I like cakes so: >it is< blueberry?
15  TL3: yeah blueberry
16 JL11: cheesecake?
17  TL3: yes (.) ehm=
18 JL11: oh I like tha:t
19  TL3: ((chuckles)) you can [come
20 JL11:                      yea::h]↓
21  TL3: to Taiwan next time and eat this
22 JL11: oh↓
23  TL5: in Ilan ((a city in Taiwan))
24 JL11: what?
25  TL5: Ilan in Ilan
26  TL3: yes
27 JL11: o:::h↓
28  TL3: ILAN (.) it's next to Taipei (2.0)
30 JL11: a:::h (1.0) so::
31  TL3: ((shows JL11 another photo of a dessert on her phone))
32 JL11: a:::h↑matcha? ((a special green tea in Japan))
33  TL3: [yes
34  TL5: yes]
35  TL3: I love mota- matcha ((repeats trying to pronounce it better))
36 JL11: a:::h↑ yeah yeah yeah yeah↓
37  TL3: ((laughs))
38 JL11: so in Kyoto:↓ so many=
39  TL3: =uh=
```

```
40 JL11: =matcha dessert (.) in Kyoto
41  TL3: really?
42 JL11: ((nods))
43  TLs: o::h
44 JL11: yeah↑
45  TLs: ((talking to each other in Chinese))
46 JL11: Kyoto in Chinese how do you say Kyoto in Chinese?
47  TL3: huh?
48 JL11: Jingdu? ((Chinese for Kyoto)) Jingdu is Kyoto?
50  TL3: yes
51 JL11: o:::h↑Jingdu↓ in Jingdu you can lot of matcha desserts↓
52  TL3: o:::h
53  TLs: o:::h
54 JL11: yeah
55  TL3: uh so this is there↓
56 JL11: yeah↓ (1.0)
```

The excerpt starts with TL3's regulatory comment telling JL11 what they are doing from this point on. After a brief introduction, TL3 shows JL11 a photo of a dessert on her phone. It turns out that the dessert is a blueberry cheesecake. TL3 and TL5 refer to the dessert as "*blueberry cake*" in turns 7 and 8 and it is JL11 who for the first time refers to it as a cheesecake framed in a question-like utterance. What follows this is TL3's confirmation in turn 10 and in turn 11 TL5 also confirms JL11's proposition. JL11's prolonged "*yes wow*" indicates that she has understood her Taiwanese peers since she does not ask for further clarification at this point. However, notice how JL11 asks "*it is blueberry?*" again in turn 14. An interactional interpretation for this is that JL11 prefers to hold a K- stance regarding the topic at hand. Although from the previous turns it is evident that all participants in this interaction already know that the photo features a blueberry cheesecake, not asking this question and a subsequent one in turn 16 puts her in a K+ stance and requires her to expand the sequence. Another important point is that in turn 4 a two-second pause occurs after a completed utterance without TL3 or TL5 self-selecting as the next speaker. This can potentially pose a threat to the current speaker (JL11) if she does not wish to continue.

JL11's questions, here interpreted as attempts to downgrade her stance, leads to the initiation of a new sequence by TLs, which lasts until turn 21 where TL3 tells her that she could try the dessert in question in a city called Ilan in Taiwan. Once again, notice the short tokens in turns 22, 24 and 27 (*oh* and *what?*) uttered by JL11 that downgrade her stance and hence absolve her of the responsibility to expand the sequence.

In turn 31, TL3 shows JL11 a photo of another dessert on her phone and from here on the epistemic stances of the participants change. As the subsequent turns reveal the photo features a matcha (a special Japanese green tea) dessert. JL11's response to this is yet another short token but this time with a prolonged vowel and a rising intonation. Although this is also an expression of surprise, it features differences with the previous short tokens, such as the one in turn 27, which were uttered with a falling intonation. This rising intonation, as the following turns indicate, is an upgrade for JL11 to the K+ stance. In turn 38, JL11 explicitly claims epistemic superiority over the other speakers by initiating a new sequence saying that Kyoto (a city in Japan) has different kinds of matcha desserts. Now, notice how TL3 quickly aligns herself with JL11's new stance by expressing her surprise word "really?" in turn 41 which is followed by other TLs' short token *oh* in turn 43. Switching between epistemic stances occurs frequently even in this very short excerpt, another example for which can be found in the turns following turn 46. In this turn, JL11 wants to use the Chinese name for the city of Kyoto. For some reason, she already knows the name of the city in Chinese but prefers to frame it first in the question-like utterance "Jingdu?" with a rising intonation and then the more explicit question "Jingdu is Kyoto?" in order to keep a lower epistemic stance. Once she receives a confirmation from the allegedly more knowledgeable (regarding the Chinese language) speaker in turn 50, she quickly upgrades her stance in turn 51 after an initial expression of happiness by saying "Jingdu" with a

falling intonation and then completing her sentence at a TRP. Here, once again, TL3 and other TLs in the interaction, downgrade their stance to K- by saying *oh* as an expression of surprise with prolonged vowels.

Another example of how learners manage to maintain intersubjectivity and the flow of interaction by positioning themselves dynamically in different epistemic stances is provided in the following excerpt. In Excerpt 6.3, which is taken from the same sequence of interaction as the one presented above, JL11 initiates the sequence by positioning herself in the K+ epistemic stance about a topic which is generally accepted to reside closer to the epistemic domain of the Taiwanese students rather than her. What follows shows that she has prior experience in Taiwan and this puts her in the position to claim for a K+ stance. However, in one point, later in the sequence, JL11 retreats from this position and switches to a K- stance.

Excerpt 6.3. Moving outside and inside one's epistemic domain

```
1  JL11: and Taiwan is famous for (.) broken ICE↓ (2.0)
2   TL3: broken ice↓
3  JL11: yeah↓ mango: o::r=
4   TL3: =[yes
5   TL5: yes]
6  JL11: so broken ice (2.0) I ate (1.0) uh ice broken [ice
7   TL3:                                      cha bing] ((礤冰
         Chinese for ice))
8  JL11: like you know?
9   TL3: oh↑ I know I know↓ ehm (.) it's (.) it has a
         ((incomprehensible)) (2.0) cha bing it's (1.0) in Taiwan
         (1.0) say (.) cha bing↓
10 JL11: u:::h↑
11  TLs: ((talking to each other in Chinese, incomprehensible))
12 JL11: wait wait wa-wa-wa-wa-wa- (1.0) wait a second ((sending a
         photo to TLs via the Skype app on her smart phone))
13  TL3: ok↓ (3.0)
14 JL11: yeah (.) I take >I took< a picture in Taiwan
```

```
15   TL3:  o:h↑
16  JL11:  yeah yeah so I ate (.) I ate THIS ((sends the photo)) (2.0) I
            ate THIS
17   TLs:  ((talking to each other in Chinese while coming closer to the
            camera/screen to see the photo))
18  JL11:  I took this
19   TL3:  ok
20  JL11:  send a picture (.) can you the picture? Can you see the
            picture?
21   TLs:  yea::h
22  JL11:  yeah I ate this
23   TLs:  o::::h ((laugh, sound surprised))
24  JL11:  yeah it is very it was very delicious↓
25   TL3:  yes
26  JL11:  and so::: (.) yeah
27   TL3:  I seldom eat this in Taiwan (.) it's a little expensive
28   TL5:  yeah↓
29  JL11:  yeah↓ [u::h
30   TL3:        mango] is a little [expensive
31  JL11:                          ((nods quickly))]
32   TL3:  and it only (.) u::h eat in summer ((incomprehensible, to
            other TLs in Chinese))=
33  JL11:  =u::h↓ yeah yeah yeah yeah↓ so in Japanese oh >no nono no<ehm
            Japan has the same broken ice
34   TL3:  yeah↓=
35  JL11:  =but not fluffy (3.0)
35   TL3:  hum?
36  JL11:  not FLUFFY↓
37   TL3:  not profit↓
38  JL11:  yeah↓
39   TL3:  what's what's
40   TL5:  prof=
41   TL3:  =profit (5.0)
42  JL11:  yeah ((searching for an appropriate English word))
43   TLs:  ((in Chinese, incomprehensible))
44   TL3:  not profit ((in Chinese, incomprehensible))
45  JL11:  UH ok↓ >ok ok ok ok ok< shaved ice (2.0) shaved ice
46   TL5:  shaved ice?
47   TL3:  shaking ice?
48  JL11:  yes (3.0) ((TLs look confused)) so Taiwan is famous for
            mango?
49   TL3:  uh yes [it's
50  JL11:         o:::h] ((looks surprised))
```

```
51  TL3: trip (.) uh trap- ((talks to other TLs in Chinese))
52  TL5: TROPICAL
53  TL3: yes it's tropical fruit (3.0)
54 JL11: yea::h↑ nigh- when I went to:: Taiwan I went to night market
55  TLs: o::h
56 JL11: yes and I saw a lot of [tropical
57  TL3:                        which one?]
58  TL5: do you know which one?
59  TL3: do you know which one? Night [market
60 JL11:                               Shilin] ((name of the night
         market in Taiwan))
61  TL3: yeah↑ ((laughs))
62 JL11: so big night market the most big night market in Taiwan?
63  TL3: oh no↑ it's Feng Chia ((another night market in Taichung in
         Taiwan)) night market yes yes I'm from [Taichung
64 JL11:                                         o:::h]
65  TL3: ((laughs))
66 JL11: hu:::h (.) yeah↓ and and there I ate a lot food (1.0)
67  TL3: f food?
68 JL11: I had a lot dinner in Shilin night market
69  TL3: u:::h
70 JL11: yes it is very cheap=
71  TL3:=YES
72 JL11: yeah and very tasty so (.) yeah I ate a lot of food↓
```

In the beginning of the sequence, JL11 displays her knowledge in a domain, which should be outside her epistemic domain. She is Japanese but she states a fact about Taiwan. In fact, she argues that Taiwan is famous for what she calls now "*broken ice*" but later on refers to as "*shaved ice.*" TLs do not challenge JL11's epistemic stance since as the interaction unfolds it will be known that JL11 has prior first-hand experience about Taiwan and is hence legitimate to claim a K+ stance. The term "*broken ice*" however seems to be a source of difficulty earlier in the sequence. That is why TL3 in turn 7 says what the term could possibly mean in their own native language so that other TLs can follow what JL11 is talking about. Notice how JL11's short token and expression of surprise temporarily positions her as K-. This is temporary since as the following turns show JL11 still has a K+ role regarding the topic and it is only her lack of

knowledge about the Chinese equivalent for "*broken ice*" that makes her keep a K- role for a while. After that, and to clarify further what she is talking about, JL11 sends a photo of the object in question to TLs and in turn 14 ascertains that "*she*" took the photo in Taiwan, which solidifies her K+ claimed before. TL3's "*oh*" with a rising intonation verifies JL11's K+ role once again. This continues until the photo is sent and TLs have access to it and utter their surprise with a prolonged "*oh*" in turn 23. Although this short token posits them as K- here, it does not mean that they do not have epistemic control over the topic. This "*oh*" is rather a state changer downgrading TLs epistemic stance merely regarding the photo sent by JL11. In other words, although they know what the object in the photo is, they position themselves as not knowing since the particular object in the photo is less known to them and more known to JL11. Evidence for this can be found in turn 27 where TL3 upgrades her stance saying that she seldom eats "*this*" in Taiwan. "*This*" here has to refer to the generic form of the object in question and not the particular one in the photo. TL3 then goes on providing further details about the topic, but the details are not treated as "news" by JL11 who through nodding (turn 31) or agreement (turn 33) vies for an equal epistemic stance.

JL11 starts a sub-topic about the so-called "*broken ice*" in Japan, which is clearly a topic outside TLs' domain and well within her own domain. Following this, however, TLs do not readily display a sign of downgrading their stance and the reason is that they are not confident about a word (*fluffy*) used by JL11 to describe Japanese broken ice. After a few exchanges, JL11 comes up with a better word to describe the object being talked about offering "*shaved ice*" instead of "*broken ice*." Clarification requests by TL5 and TL3 in turns 46 and 47, however, prove this futile and the long pause in turn 48 indicates JL11's unwillingness to clarify the point any further. As a result, a very noticeable shift of epistemic stance occurs again by JL11 at this

133

point. While JL11 had positioned herself earlier in this sequence in turns 1 and 3 as K+ regarding Taiwan's being famous for "*mango broken ice*," in turn 48 she retreats from that positions and claims a K- one. Playing a K+ role makes one accountable for explanations and clarifications. After a long pause in turn 48, however, it can be inferred that JL11 is not willing to provide further explanations. She, therefore, asks a question "*so Taiwan is famous for mango?*" the answer to which clearly resides within the TLs domain. This way, along with her expression of surprise in turn 50, JL11's K- position becomes an acceptable one and TLs take on the K+ role once again. Such shifts often occur frequently in line with the interactional demands of the moment and can be seen in turn 54 too, where JL11 reverts to a K+ role this time about night markets in Taiwan. Her claim about the size of the market in turn 62, however, is repaired by TL3 and in the remaining of the sequence, both JL11 and TL3 hold relatively equal stances about the topic.

The two excerpts elaborated upon here indicate how shifting epistemic stance can be a tool for avoiding misunderstanding and communicative breakdown. It is realized through the production of short tokens and expressions of surprise among others regardless of the interlocutors' predictable epistemic domains, which in this case are their nationalities. Speakers make use of interactional devices to expose their desirable epistemic stance to their interlocutors. Once this implicit message is received by the interlocutors and oriented to, intersubjectivity has been achieved. In the following sections, two other tools for managing the epistemic stance will be introduced.

6.2.2.2. Turn-taking organization
A second way the participants were found to be managing their epistemic stance in search of intersubjectivity was through the management of the turn turning organization of the sequence. There was a noticeable inclination in avoiding self-selection for next turns among the learners

when they deemed the topic out of their epistemic domain. As soon as a sub-topic that could be within their epistemic domain was introduced, learners would make attempts to take turns and self-select for the coming turns. This was particularly evident in the way they treated inter-turn and intra-turn pauses. Inter-turn pauses refer to moments of silence that occur in a TRP in which other speakers have the chance to nominate themselves for the next turn if the current speaker does not do so. In other words, an inter-turn pause is the one right after a completed segment or utterance by the current speaker. Intra-turn pauses, on the other hand, occur within an ongoing turn. For different reasons including word search, self-repair, etc. the current speaker might become silent for seconds while his/her turn has not yet come to a semantic, syntactic or prosodic end. Such pauses, therefore, do not welcome the self-selection of a next speaker. That is to say since the current speaker is still having the floor, self-selection by other participants in the interaction is *dispreferred* (refer to the discussion on preference organization in Chapter Four, section 4.3.2) and can hence be sanctionable. To sum this up, one could argue that while inter-turn pauses introduce a chance for self-selection by a next speaker, intra-turn pauses lack this quality and hence discourage self-selection of the next speaker.

What is interesting, however, is the way these two types of pauses were treated by the participants in this study so as to determine or display their epistemic stance. In the following excerpt, four participants (TL7, TL13, JL 9 and JL10) are responding to a question assigned to them by one of the teachers. The question asks about the students' understanding of "*environmentally friendly restaurants*." TL7 starts the response sequence by talking about what she thinks an environmentally friendly restaurant is. JL10, however, displays her disagreement with TL7's definition thus upgrading her own epistemic stance. JL10, however, either self-

selects or avoids self-selection depending on her evaluation of her knowledge over the topic being discussed.

Excerpt 6.4. Epistemics management through turn-taking organization

```
1   TL7:  ok (2.0) u:::h for me: I think like environmentally friendly
          mea:ns like when you walk inside a restaurant you won't feel
          like somebody is like staring at you and ((incomprehensible,
          problem in connection)) friendly friendly restaurant↓ (3.0)
          am I am I being clear? Like can [you
2   JL10:                                        not]
3   TL7:  hear me?
4   TL13: no (1.0) you're not clear (2.0)
5   TL7:  oh (1.0) ok >I'll I'll< I'll say that again↓ (1.0) it's like
          I think (1.0) environmental friendly restaurant i:s when you
          walk into restaurant (2.0)other people don't stare at you or
          like point at you and talk about you (2.0) so that's kind of
          like environmentally friendly restaurant (3.0)
6   TL13: ((audible laughter))
7   JL10: ((smiles))
8   TL7:  isn't that clear?
9   TL13: ((laughs louder))
10  TL7:  [no? no?
11  JL9:  ((shakes her head while smiling))]
12  TL13: $probably not$ (4.0)
14  TL7:  sorry I'm on the bus
15  JL10: yeah that's ok (.) so like when you (.) come in (.) to the
           restaurant and people staring at you=
16  TL7:  no >no no< people won't like stare at you or look at you LOOK
          at you and say something bad about you (2.0) is that clear
          like ehm=
17  TL13:=[((audible laughter))
18  JL10: yeah] (wait wait) what do you think is environmentally
          friendly?
19  TL7:  for me it's like when you walk in you feel like relax but
          a:h(2.0)I give you ehm a example like if there's a restaurant
          in America and a black people walk in they will like look at
          the black people and discuss about him say something about
          him and I mean that's not ok↓ (2.0) not ok ((shakes
          head))(2.0)
20  JL10: ((nods))
```

136

21 **TL7:** so for me black people walk in and like everybody think
        that's normal and everybody can accept that that's I think
        that is environmentally friendly re- restaurant
22 **TL13:** ok
23 **JL10:** e::hm [((nods))
24 **TL7:**   that] (.) >can can can< can you [get my point there like=
25 **TL13:**   yes yes yes I think]
26 **TL7:** $yeah$=
27 **JL10:**=yeah but is it ENVIRONMENTALLY friendly? (3.0)
28 **TL7:** ((looks away from the camera)) I don't know (.) >maybe no<
29 **JL10:** ((audible laughter))
30 **TL13:** [what is environmentally friendly?
31 **TL7:** what is like environmentally friendly?]
32 **JL10:** [I think it
33 **TL13:** I think] it's not for example the restaurant setting or
        anything (.) I think the ENVIRONMENT means the (.) the (.)
        [atMOSphere
34 **JL10:** yes]
35 **TL13:** in a restaurant (4.0) maybe=
36 **JL10:** =[((nods))
37 **JL9:** ((nods))]
38 **TL7:** u::::huh (3.0) so::: (.) if that's the atmosphere I think I'm
        RIGHT? I don't know [really↓
39 **TL13:**   that's what] I think $I don't [know$
40 **JL10:**   yeah but]
        and also to:: (.) so like for ME an environmentally friendly
        restaurant is like (1.0) ehm using less air conditioner↑ (.)
        and (2.0) l::ike (things) >like that<
41 **TL13:** O::H environmentally en friendly uhu::h like (.) I know::
        (1.0) like they don't like waste food or something?
42 **JL10:** YEAH I think so [yeah
43 **TL7:**   u::h::]
44 **TL13:** u:::h (3.0)
45 **TL7:** I think you're right I think you're right they [ehm
46 **TL13:**   u:::h] that's
        eco friendly (2.0)
47 **JL10:** yeah eco friendly (1.0) yes
48 **TL13:** uh::uh (1.0) I saw that (1.0) hu:h (2.0) I don't have any
        thought about eco [friendly
49 **TL7:**   I heard about] THAT like in England there's
        a chef called J Oliver (2.0) ((connection seems to be slow))
50 **TL13:** I can't hear you (1.0)
51 **JL10:** I can't hear you
52 **TL7:** in England (1.0) can you? Yes or no?
53 **JL10:** now yes

```
54  TL7: no? (2.0) ok like in England there's a chef called Jamie
         Oliver (1.0) and he takes he like he takes a lot of attention
         about like environmentally friendly like he has a restaurant
         that only use like food that people don't like (.) like in
         England they don't like fish tail and fish head so he take
         that↑ and cook for everybody so that's I think that's kind of
         environmentally friendly right? >like< They use something
         that people don't want to foo- food for people
55 TL13: and yes [yes yes
56 JL10:         Uh] yeah
57 TL13: and I think Taiwan has that kind of restaurant
58  TL7: uhum uhum ((nods))
59 TL13: like when people go to the market they don't like to buy some
         ugly vegetables or fruit so the restaurant will use the fruit
         and vegetable which had been left over to make some dishes
         for the like (.) eh::m for CHARITY? O:r something↓ >I don't
         know<(4.0) like use the food to help those e:hm >people who
         need help<↓ (2.0)
60  TL7: u:h I heard about that before (1.0)
61 JL10: oh really
62 TL13: I think there is a restaurant do that and appears at the news
         recently (3.0)
63  TL7: yes I heard about that before like there is like a village or
         community they will buy those food and cook for the elders of
         their community so that the elders just need to pay like
         twenty dollars for a meal and they can have like a lot of
         food together (2.0) yeah
64 JL10: o:h that's nice
65 TL13: $it's cheap$
66 JL10: [yeah
67 TL13: very] cheap↓
```

At the beginning of the excerpt, TL7 is defining the concept of environmentally friendly restaurants in her own terms. The other three participants in this interaction keep silent while listening to her. Even when a TRP emerges towards the end of turn 1 with a three-second pause, none of the other three participants attempts to take the floor. The pause could be potentially treated as an inter-turn pause since it comes after a completed utterance and a lowered pitch marked by a downward arrow. Yet, the following few turns reveal the reason no self-selection occurs at this moment. The other participants in the interaction have difficulty hearing the

current speaker and both JL10 and TL13 request clarifications in turns 2 and 4. Even after TL7 paraphrases her previous comment in turn 5, potential inter-turn pauses occur but the result is the same: the absence of self-selection. It seems that other speakers still have difficulty understanding her, and TL7 initiates a comprehension check in turn 8 to address this problem and then apologizes for the low quality of her connection saying that she is on the bus in turn 14. JL10, however, who seems to have understood what TL7 meant at least partially, initiates another clarification request in turn 15 in an indirect way. What comes next is TL7's clarification of her previous comment in turn 16 during which two inter-turn pauses occur: one after the completion of TL7's utterance and another after her comprehension check. What is interactionally significant here is that JL10 treats the latter pause as an intra-turn one while considering the second pause an appropriate time for claiming the turn. From an epistemic standpoint, the reason could be that JL10 evaluated TL7 as a K+ interlocutor since she was talking about her own understanding of environmentally friendly restaurants. In other words, despite the fact that JL10 had disagreements with TL7's definition of the concept in question, as shall be seen in the following turns, she refrains from taking the turn in the first emerging TRP and waits until she makes sure that TL7 is willing to give up the floor. In turn 18, JL10 expresses her doubts for TL7's understanding of the term formulated in a question highlighting the concept of environmentally friendly restaurants. TL7 responds to this question and towards the end of her turn, another inter-turn pause emerges which is treated as an intra-turn pause by JL10 allowing TL7 to further elaborate on her view. JL10 who has not yet heard the exact answer to her question makes another attempt to gain the floor in turn 23 but this overlaps with TL7's comprehension check. Finally, JL10 uses the emergence of a relevant TRP at the end of turn 25 and after a brief agreement by saying "*yeah*" as save facing attempt utters her concern about

139

what TL7 had mentioned before in turn 27. Looking back at the excerpt so far it can be argued that JL10 could have uttered this disagreement in turn 15 but due to her perceived imbalance in epistemic stance she postpones it to turn 27 after TL7 overtly asks other speakers if they "*get [her] point there*." From this point on, it is JL10 who is upgraded to a K+ role and as TL13's and TL7's explicit and overlapping questions in turns 30 and 31 indicate, JL10 is held accountable for providing an answer she has asked earlier. It is not usual for speakers to be expected to answer the questions they ask and it is often the case that other speakers are supposed to respond to a question. Here, however, it is different. JL10 has questioned the epistemic stance of TL7 with her question in turn 27 and now has to account for it.

Knowing this, JL10 tries to initiate a response sequence but is cut short by TL13's overlapping turn. A few turns later, however, in turn 40, JL10 finds another chance to respond to her own question. This response functions as an "aha moment" suddenly upgrading TL13 and TL7 from K- to K+ indicated by short tokens of surprise uttered by these two speakers throughout turns41 and 48 (refer to the previous section in this chapter for details on short tokens of surprise). In the following turns, TL7 that considers herself K+ now offers examples and TL13 and JL10 confirm it without downgrading their stance in turns 55 and 56. Even in turn 57, TL13 offers another example from Taiwan, which clearly falls within her own and TL7's epistemic domain. That is why when towards the end of turn 59 a TRP emerges with a relatively long pause (4 seconds), JL10 does not nominate herself as the next speaker, treating the pauses as intra-turn ones. On the contrary, TL7 who assumes a more equal epistemic stance with the current speaker treats the last pause as an inter-turn pause and makes a statement in turn 60. Even more interesting is JL10's upgrading expression of surprise *"oh really"* after TL7's turn. What makes this significant is that JL10's expression of surprise has to be directed to TL13's example

from Taiwan and is supposed to come after turn 59 and not after TL7's confirmation. That is, JL10 is surprised by TL13's comment and not by TL7's confirmation of it. Yet, as can be seen in the excerpt, JL10 endorses TL13's K+ role and thus treats her pauses as intra-turn ones and takes a turn only after she has made certain that TL13's turn has come to an end due to TL7's self-selection as the next speaker in turn 60. A similar incident occurs in turn 62 where there emerges another TRP with a pause that is treated differently by JL10 and TL7. That is, while TL7 interprets it as an inter-turn pause, JL10 takes it as an intra-turn pause once again.   ***

6.2.2.3. Repair initiation and accomplishment

As discussed in more detail in the fourth chapter in this dissertation, repair can be defined as an instance during which an error or a mistake is corrected by one of the speakers involved in a conversation. Repairs can become relevant due to speaking, hearing or understanding problems, but everything in an interaction sequence might potentially be a source of communication trouble or a repairable. Both the formal aspects of the interaction, i.e., the linguistic features of the talk, and the content can be subject to repair. This applies to interactions in both the L1 and L2 of the speakers. However, since as opposed to L1, speakers of an L2 do not have equal access to the linguistic system, it might be assumed that more linguistically repairable instances occur in second language interactions. The speakers in an interaction to determine their and their interlocutors' epistemic stance as well can use repairs. According to Hutchby and Wooffitt (2008), repair sequences can take place in a number of ways.

1. Self-initiated self-repair: Repair is both initiated and carried out by the speaker of the trouble source.
2. Other-initiated self-repair: Repair is carried out by the speaker of the trouble source but initiated by the recipient.

3. Self-initiated other-repair: The speaker of a trouble source may try and get the recipient to repair the trouble-for instance if a name is proving troublesome to remember.

4. Other-initiated other-repair: The recipient of a trouble source turn both initiates and carries out the repair. This is closest to what is conventionally called a correction.

From an epistemic point of view, initiation of a repair puts the initiator in a K- position while its accomplishment puts the doer in a K+ position. What makes this more complicated, however, is that in L2 interactions one has to determine whether a particular repair is addressed to a linguistic error or a lack of mutual understanding over content. In other words, here the speakers are talking about two types of knowledge: linguistic knowledge and content knowledge. Failure to treat any of these types of repair according to the interactional demands of the moment has the potential to disrupt intersubjectivity or even create conflict. In the two following excerpts, the way the participants oriented to the perceived problems in the interaction while constantly switching their epistemic stance through the management of repairs will be exemplified.

In the first excerpt, one Japanese participant (JL6) is interacting with two of her Taiwanese peers (TL4 and TL18). There are two main topics in this excerpt. One is the way food can be ordered by a computer in Japan and the other one is having snacks in the afternoon. Two instances with obvious repairable utterances take place here one of which is dealt with through other-initiated self-repair and the second one through self-initiated self-repair. Since in both cases the current speaker, as shall be seen carries out the repair, the other speakers remain in the K- epistemic stance and do not claim a K+ one.

Excerpt 6.5. Self-initiated self-repair and the absence of competition over epistemic stance

```
1   JL6: U:h ok does:: (.) does restaurants in Taiwan use: computer
         system? In Japan we can order from computer like ipad↓ (2.0)
2   TL18: order from [COMputer?
```

```
3    TL4:              ((raises eyebrows))] [no
4    JL6:                            yes] like ipad this ipad [have
5   TL18:                                              a::]
6    JL6: English or Chinese menu↓ (1.0)
7   TL18: o::h so=
8    TL4: no we don't have it
9    JL6: no?↑
10   TL4: ((shakes head))
11  TL18: basically (.) a laptop or ipad (.) on every single desk?
        (2.0)
12   JL6: yeah↓
13  TL18: oh wow
14   JL6: like ipad↓
15   TL4: ((thumbs up))
16  TL18: that's good ((thumbs up)) I think we: just have [to
17   TL4:                                        we] should
        have one↓
18  TL18: we don't have↓
19   TL4: yeah we don't have (3.0)
20  TL18: .hhh (.) u:h so: here's my final question (1.0) ehm in Japan
        (1.0)
21   JL6: hum (2.0)
22  TL18: in Japan
23   TL4: EM↑ ((smiles and nods))
24  TL18: what do you USUALLY eat (.) in the: (.) afternoon?
25   JL6: in the afternoon?
26  TL18: yeah afternoon↓ (3.0)
27   JL6: u:h (2.0) ((looks away from the camera as if thinking)) not
        for dinner? (2.0)
28  TL18: ((squeezes his eyes as if making a decision)) >ok<↓ also for
        dinner (3.0) [e::h
29   JL6:            dinner?] (2.0)
30  TL18: because we have the dissert↑
31   JL6: u::h
32  TL18: in the afternoon
33   JL6: u:h dissert [u::h dissert
34  TL18:            in England] the:y
35   JL6: ehm
36  TL18: they eat some SNACKS at (.) three (.) three o'clock↓>maybe<
        (2.0)
37   JL6: ehm:: (2.0) ehm: (2.0)
38  TL18: or you >don't eat [anything<
39   JL6:                  we:] we don't eat anything
```

```
40 TL18: really↓
41  JL6: but when I was young (1.0) ehm I ate some snacks three
          o'clock↑=
42 TL18: =yeah I ( )
43  JL6: three o'clock ((showing three of her fingers)) is:: (2.0)
          snack time↓
44  TL4: ((laughs))
45 TL18: $snack time$ international [snack
46  JL6:                           $yes] in Japan$ ((laughter)) yes
47 TL18: you see TL4? ((calls TL4's name)) she always (.) she is
          actually yeah she is always eating she is always=
48  JL6: =[((laughs))
49  TL4: ((laughs))] that's a secret
50 TL18: seven a day (.) >no no< seven a week (.) seven days a week
51  TL4: ((laughter))
52 TL18: every minute↓
```

The excerpt opens with JL6's question about the use of computers in Taiwanese restaurants to order food. This question on its own would position JL6 as K- about Taiwan but right after the question, JL6's insertion of a declarative remark about Japan quickly puts her in a K+ position with respect to the Japanese context. The first instance of repair initiation happens right after this in turn 2 when TL18 repeats a segment from JL6's utterance "*order from computer*" formulated with a question like intonation and an emphatic pronunciation of the first syllable in "*computer*." Initiation of this repair positions TL18 as a K- and invites JL6, who is assumed to have the knowledge, to carry out the repair. JL6 orients to this repair initiation by accomplishing it through giving further details and examples in turn 4. TL18's brief expression of surprise in turn 7 upgrades his stance but saying "*so*" quickly after that is a sign that TL18 does not evaluate his knowledge as sufficient yet. He is interrupted by TL4 who seems to have understood the point of discussion and positions herself as a K+ by saying that computers are not used in Taiwanese restaurants for ordering food. In turn 11, TL18 finds another chance to initiate a repair since as his saying "*so*" in turn 7 indicated, he is not yet quite clear about how computers might be used

144

in restaurants. JL6 carries out the repair by saying a brief "*yeah*" in turn 12 that is followed by TL18's explicit expression of surprise indicating that he now knows what JL6 is talking about. The repairs initiated here by TL18 and carried out by JL6 position them as K- and K+ accordingly with respect to the content and not the linguistic system used in the interaction.

A similar repair-relevant incident occurs in turn 24 where TL18 asks JL6 what they eat in the afternoon in Japan. This seemingly straightforward question, however, turns out to create conceptual difficulty for the Japanese learner. She repeats the ending words of TL18's sentence with a rising intonation to initiate a repair. TL18 treats this as a repair originated from lack of accurate hearing and simply repeats what he had said. JL6's problem, as it turns out, was not due to mishearing and had a conceptual root. That is why she initiates another repair in turn 27 this time in a multimodal manner. The pauses along with her pensive expression on the face and the final vocalized repair initiation make this repair a multimodal one. The repair is then carried out by TL18 in a series of turns extending from turn 28 to turn 38. What is important here is that although the question is about what "*the Japanese*" eat in the afternoon, through initiating and not accomplishing repairs, JL6 positions herself as K-. This is at odds with the epistemic status one might associate JL6 with but what is happening here is that JL6 is falling into a K- role in response to the question and not to the answer to that question. In other words, TL18 knows more than JL6 about the question itself, while JL6 is expected to know more about the answer to that very question. So far, both of the instances of repair examined here were other-initiated self-repair, which, from an epistemic point of view, would put the current speaker in a K+ role and the repair initiator in a K- one.

Self-initiated self-repair instances also yield similar interactional results upgrading the current speaker or rather keeping the current speaker in the K+ epistemic stance. An example of

145

this type of repair can be found in turn 47 and 50 where TL18 jokingly refers to TL4's eating habits. In fact, TL18 wants to say that TL4 is eating "*seven days a week*." This, however, comes after two initial attempts "*seven a day*" and "*seven a week.*" In both cases, no one except TL18 notices the linguistic error involved and it is TL18 who both initiates and carries out the repair. Notice that what makes this kind of repair different from the previous one is the fact that it does not downgrade any other speaker's stance while upgrading that of the current. Not all repairs are so, however. In fact, repair carried out by anyone other than the current speaker has the potential to downgrade the current speaker's stance in terms of knowledge over either content or the linguistic system. This will be illustrated in the next excerpt.

In the following excerpt, two Japanese students (JL15 and JL6) are interacting with a Taiwanese student (TL18). JL15 explains why she believes Japanese traditional restaurants can be confusing to foreign visitors, but when she faces difficulty saying what an appetizer is in English, she initiates a repair that is carried out by JL18 later in the sequence.

Excerpt 6.6. Self-initiated other-repair and competition over epistemic stance

```
1  JL15: ehm I think that Japanese restaurants are NOT foreigner
          friendly (.) because (.) for example when you: eat at Japanese
          restaurant (.) sa- e: Japane:se (1.0) (side) bar ca:lled
          izakaya (.) in Japanese
2   JL6: ehm
3  JL15: you have som:e (.) otoshi (.) otoshi is appetizer (.)
          appetize:r i::s: ((looking away from the camera as if trying
          to remember something)) (3.0)
4  TL18: the dishes before the main dish. ((smiling)) (2.0)
5  JL15: ehm?
6  TL18: the ↑dish before the main ↓dish (.)[appetizer?
7   JL6:                                     yes yes] [yes
8  JL15:                                              yes] [yes
9   JL6:                                                     yeah]
          yeah yeah=
10 TL18: $ok I get it$
```

146

```
11 JL15: this is ↓appetizer (.) I think this custom (.) make foreigner
          confused (1.0) ↓so ((nods once)) (2.0) so:: I think that
          Japanese restaurant is not (1.0) e (.) fo (.) foreigner (.)
          friendly (1.0)
12 TL18: ok I get it I [see
13  JL6:                 oh]↓ok
```

The sequence starts with JL15's turn during which she explains why she thinks the traditional

Japanese restaurant-bars are not friendly to foreign visitors. After a brief agreement token by JL6

in turn 2, JL15's sentences go on into turn 3 where she refers to *otoshi* as the main reason why

foreigners might not feel comfortable in these restaurants. *Otoshi* is, in fact, a type of food served

without the customers ordering it but which they still have to pay for at the end. JL15, however,

prefers to refer to it simply as an appetizer and then tries to clarify what she means by an

appetizer towards the end of turn 3. The long pause that occurs at this point along with her

gesture and facial expression implying her struggle to recall information is interpreted by TL18

as a self-initiation of a repair. This claim can be supported by the fact that TL18 actually carries

out the repair in turn 6 by defining appetizers in English. From the viewpoint of epistemics, the

interpretation of what happens at this point can be twofold. First, both parties seem to agree that

it is JL6 who is the K+ speaker over the content since neither the initiation nor the

accomplishment of the repairable instance target the propositional content. As far as the

linguistic system is concerned, however, the self-initiation of this repair instance indicates JL6's

intention to downgrade her epistemic stance. TL18's accomplishment of the repair, on the other

hand, puts him in the more knowledgeable position linguistically. TL18's first attempt to carry

out the repair is not acknowledged by the current speaker and he repeats it this time with less

certainty as shown in the rising intonation and the question form of the repair in turn 6. This time,

the two other speakers in the interaction respond to the repair and show their acknowledgment.

Once again, it has to be underlined that the epistemic knowledge in question is related to the

linguistic system so far. In fact, TL18's accomplishment of the repair elevates her epistemic stance as far as English linguistic system is concerned. JL6 still has dominance over the content. This is illustrated in what TL18 says in turn 10. The utterance "*ok I get it*" levels the epistemic stance rather than claiming more knowledge for the speaker. In other words, turn 10 has the role of bringing TL18's epistemic stance to the level of JL6's as far as the content of her message communicated earlier on in turn 3 is concerned. A similar incident happens in turn 12 where TL18 explicitly acknowledges that he has come from a state of not knowing to a state of knowing the content because of JL6's explanations.

6.3. Creation and obstruction of space for learning

The previous chapter presented data regarding how space for learning was created and obstructed in teacher-led interactions. The same issue is addressed in this section about learner-learner interactions. Since such interactions take place in the absence of teachers, the nature of opportunities for learning and participation is different from the ones reported in Chapter Five.

6.3.1. Turn Distribution Bias

Turn-taking and turn distribution are two key areas in the study of social interactions. In the case of studying interactional competence, they even find more importance because the skills required to take turns can at least partially determine how interactionally competent one is. What is more, taking turns by learners in an educational setting can allow them more agency in the learning process. The opposite can also stand true. That is, a rigid turn distribution pattern by a teacher in a classroom may well limit the learners' chance to exercise autonomy by self-selecting for next turns. In the present chapter of this dissertation, however, teachers are absent in the data and this could potentially mean that learners had the chance to take turns more freely. It was not necessarily so, however. In fact, the analysis of the data showed that while in some instances self-selection took place and turn-taking was done in a more fluid manner, in many others there

was a bias in the distribution of the turns. As shall be seen in the two following excerpts, one of the learners would be assigned a teacher role in the interaction thereby disrupting free and fluid turn-taking by distributing turns among the other participants. The teacher-figure was often the one who was in charge of starting the video call and inviting the other members. What is even more important is the way other participants oriented to the position the learner/teacher figure assumed for him/herself by treating him/her as a participant with a teacher's responsibilities. Let us now turn to the first example in this section to clarify this point.

The following sequence of interaction happens in the absence of Japanese participants. Five Taiwanese learners join a video call hosted by TL18 to complete an assignment. The topic of the discussion was decided by one of the teachers and was about the issue of foreigner-friendly restaurants in Japan and Taiwan. As in this particular case Japanese learners are not present all discussions are about the Taiwanese context.

Excerpt 6.7. Turn distribution by a teacher figure in learner-learner interactions

```
1   TL18: so: $((coughs))$ $hello everyone$ ((laughs))
2    TL7: hello: [((waves at the camera))
3   TL14:         ((Waves at the camera))
4   TL17:         hi:] ((Waves at the camera))
5   TL18: ((waves back)) I'm glad to call the roll (.) so::
6   TL17: hum=
7   TL18: =TL17 ((TL17's name))
8   TL17: hey yeah ((raises his hand))
9   TL18: u:h TL2 ((TL2's name))
10   TL2: ((raises her hand while smiling))
11  TL18: a:nd u::h ((looks away from the camera as if trying to
              remember something)) and who? TL7 ((TL7's name))
12   TL7: [((raises her hand but revokes the action halfway as TL14
              takes up the next turn))
13  TL14: ↑TL14] ((her own name, notably louder))
14  TL18: $uh$ ((laughs))
15  TL17: [((laughs))
16   TL7: ((laughs))]
```

17 **TL18:** $hey TL14 ((her name)) yes of course TL14 ((her name))$
18 **TL14:** ((raises her hand)) (yeah)
19 **TL18:** ok so=
20 **TL7:** =(what) about me?=
21 **TL18:** =let's get (cracking)=
22 **TL7:** ↑$what about me?$
23 **TL14:** $yeah$ ((pointing to TL7))
24 **TL18:** yeah I ↑said TL7 ((her name))
25 **TL7:** $oh uh ok$ ((raises her hand and waves at the camera))
26 **TL18:** ok so (.) first question ((brings his head closer to his
         monitor to read the question from his screen))(2.0) are
         restaurants oh fu- (.)$are [restaurants$
27 **TL2:** $what?$]
28 **TL18:** $in Japan and Taiwan foreigner friendly$ >give plenty of
         examples to support your stance< .hhh (3.0)
29 **TL14:** ((raises her hand and waves))
30 **TL18:** ((notices TL14's gesture, raises his hand and waves back
         while smiling))
31 **TL17:** hey TL14 ((her name))
32 **Tl14:** oh (.) $oh me$ ((looks at her notes briefly and then looks
         back at the camera)) ↑yes (.) as my sister's experience in
         Chinese restaurant ((looks at her notes from time to time))
         they will provide many kinds of tableware such as knife and
         fork for the foreigners not only chopsticks (1.0) is is kind
         of is kind to foreigner ((thumbs up))
33 **TL18:** ((makes a funny gesture putting her fingers around her eyes
         and rolling her eyes))
34 **TL7:** ((laughs while pointing to her screen))
35 **TL14:** ((laughs))
36 **TL18:** ((shows thumbs up with both hands while laughing))
37 **TL17:** $yeah$
38 **TL7:** ((pointing to herself)) my turn my turn
39 **TL18:** $ok TL7 ((her name)) your turn$ .hhh
40 **TL7:** uh I think [that
41 **TL17:**   ((laughs))]
42 **TL7:** there's a restaurant called (Ting Tai Fong) [a:nd is
43 **TL18:**   Oh I hate it]
44 **TL7:** foreign friendly is ↑foreign friendly for foreigners because
         the menu has some English and Japanese (1.0) [so foreigners
45 **TL18:**   and it's expe-
         nsive]
46 **TL7:** come here to if they want to eat there they could see the
         menu easily
47 **TL18:** expensive (1.0) expensive

```
49  TL7:  good ((thumbs up))
50 TL18:  expensive [expensive
51   TL7:           delicious]
52 TL18:  yes delicious and expensive
53   TL7:  delicious (shoronpo) ((Taiwanese food))
54 TL18:  ((laughs))(shoron) best thing dumpling
55   TL7:  ((laughs))
56 TL18:  $I think so$ ok so=
57   TL7:  =ok
58 TL18:  next question (7.0) ((looking for the question on his screen
         while bringing his head very close to it and the camera))
59 TL14:  ((laughs))
60 Tl18: ((reads from his screen)) what can be done to make restaurants
         friendlier to foreigner visitors? [And who is going to
61   TL2:                                   ((raises her hand))]↑me
62 TL18:  ↑$o::h a::nd e:hm$ (1.0)
63 Tl17:  TL2 ((TL2's name))=
64 TL18:  =TL2 ((her name)) $ye::s TL2$ ((her name))(1.0)
65   TL2:  u:h I think we can cha- change the staff (.) u:hm make them
         (.) learn (.) some (.) foreign (.) language (.)and give some
         picture on the menu=
66 TL18:  ↑O:h pictures
67   TL2:  yeah
68 TL18:  good advice (2.0) >bravo< ((laughs))
```

The sequence begins with TL18 greeting the other participants as the host of the video call. Soon in the sequence and in turn 5, TL18 explicitly positions himself as the facilitator of the interaction by announcing that he is "*glad to call the roll.*" In an educational setting, this task is often performed by a teacher and therefore TL18 projects the assumption that he will be playing the role of a teacher, though all other participants can acknowledge that he is not really a teacher. TL18's announcement in turn 5 corresponds with what he does in the coming turns as well. He goes on by calling other participants' names and waits for them to react (turns 7 to 10, for instance). It is also interesting that other participants tacitly agree with the way TL18 has positioned himself. TL7, as a case in point, reminds TL18 in turn 20 that he has not called her name, and this is similar to what might happen in a real classroom in the presence of a teacher.

After calling everyone's names, TL18 moves the interaction to the next phase in turn 26. Similar to what a teacher might do, he starts his turn with the short token *"ok"* to indicate a change of topic and then reads out the first question of the assignment. The question comes to an end in turn 28 after which a three-second pause emerges. This can be interactionally interpreted as a chance for self-selection by the next speaker in the sequence and this is exactly what happens in turn 29. TL14 volunteers to respond to the question. However, treating her turn as a response to the teacher-figure's turn, she raises her hand waving at the camera and waits until TL18 explicitly allows her to take the turn. In other words, although self-selection takes place at this point, it is mediated through permission seeking which can be a sign of perceived power imbalance in turn-taking. Once again, this reminds one of the turn allocation patterns that take place in a classroom and in the presence of a teacher not in learner-learner interactions. It is also worth mentioning that it is not TL18's observable outward behavior that positions him as a teacher. Notice, for example, how in turn 33 he makes funny gestures that make other participants laugh. This might be very unlikely for a teacher in an institutional setting. It is rather TL18's interactional moves realized through the way he distributes turns as well as the way other participants orient to his tacitly agreed upon right to do so that makes him look like a teacher. Other examples for turn allocation can also be found in the excerpt. TL7 in turn 38 also nominates herself for the next turn but only starts to speak when TL18 explicitly invites her to do so. Turns 63 and 64 follow a similar pattern too. The sequence comes to an end with TL18's explicit positive feedback which provides even further evidence for the way he has positioned himself. Explicit positive feedbacks are uttered in the feedback slot of a tripartite IRF sequence by the same speaker who has initiated a given sequence.

All of the examples given above involve instances of mediated self-selection by potential next speakers. That is to say, in all of those cases the next speaker would self-select in a TRP but would not actually start her turn without seeking permission from the teacher figure. The following excerpt illustrates what might happen if the next speaker fails to seek permission before taking a turn while there seems to be a perceived imbalance in turn-taking rights by the speakers. The excerpt takes place within the same video call as the previous one with the same participants.

Excerpt 6.8. Sanctions in undue turn-taking in L-L interactions

```
1  TL18: ok (.) move on (.) let's move on (.) the next question=
2   TL7: =number four (2.0)
3  TL17: is my [question
4  TL18:       the last] [question
5  TL17:                 is e:h]=
6  TL18: ↑wait ((loud and in an angry tone))
7  TL17: ((laughs)) ok
```

After TL18 shows his intention to move to the next question in the assignment by uttering the transition marker *"ok"* TL7 briefly states what the next question is by referring to its number in the assignment rubric. After a short pause which introduces a TRP, TL17 self-selects and without waiting for TL18's indication of permission starts his utterance in turn 3. TL17's turn overruns with TL18's throughout turns 3 to 5. As TL18's reaction in turn 6 indicates, TL17's undue initiation of his turn is not tolerated by the teacher-figure who explicitly asks TL17 to *"wait"* with a higher pitch. This is referred to as a *sanction* that the speaker who made an undue attempt to take a turn has to endure. TL17's response to this also indicates his tacit agreement with TL18's superiority in allocating turns.

153

6.3.2. Extended Negotiations for Meaning

Negotiation for meaning is regarded as a key for making interactions in L2 comprehensible. The importance of comprehensible input in language learning has been underlined in the field particularly in the input hypothesis (Krashen, 1985) and interaction hypothesis (Long, 1996). The process through which incomprehensible input becomes accessible to speakers of an L2 is generally referred to as negotiation for meaning. When L2 learners come across a communicative breakdown as a result of gaps in their L2 system, they need to devise compensatory strategies to overcome that breakdown. What happens meanwhile is, in fact, negotiation for meaning. This shows the value of such instances in the learning process since as Walsh (2014) posits in educational settings learning and teaching are materialized through interaction and it is also argued that not only interaction leads to learning but that it *is* learning.

In the context of the present study, negotiation for meaning has more frequently happened in the absence of the teachers in learner-learner interactions. A comparison of the instances of negotiation for meaning in the presence and absence of teachers indicates that while in the former data set negotiations end more quickly with the teachers' interference, in the latter one learners keep negotiating until they reach a solution to resolve the communicative breakdown. The lengthier and deeper such negotiations are, the more space for learning can be created. Multiple instances of negotiations for meaning can be found in the following excerpt from the learner-learner interaction data.

In the following sequence of interaction, JL is interacting with five of her Taiwanese peers namely TL3, TL5, TL9, TL11, and TL8. Their discussion revolves around a photo, which featured a notice in the entrance of a Japanese restaurant asking foreigners not to enter the place.

A communicative breakdown occurs at the beginning of the sequence and it takes the participants quite a few turns to negotiate and find a way to solve that problem.

Excerpt 6.9. Negotiation for meaning in learner-learner interactions

```
1  JL11: So: I think the foreigner want to eat Japanese food in
          Japanese restaurant (2.0)
2   TL3: huh? ((smiling))(1.0)
3  JL11: so the (.) limit [like
4   TL3:                    uhuh]
5   TL5: hum=
6   TL8: =hum
5  JL11: like this is very: (.) I think is very (.)↑bad ((pronounced
          as /bʌt/ instead of /bæd/))
6   TL3: bu-?=
7   TL5: =bat?
8  JL11: ↑bad ((pronounced as /bʌt/))(2.0)
9   TL3: ↑bat. ((looks uncertain))
10  TL8: BAT=
11  TL5: =bat (.)[oh
12 JL11:         bad](1.0)
13  TL3: [()
14 JL11: like] this ↑photo,
15  TL3: huh=
16 JL11: [is
17  TL5: ( )]
18 JL11: is bad.(1.0)
19  TL3: o::h
20 JL11: yes.
21  TL5: e: (1.0)
22  TL9: b:at ((smiling))
23  TL3: ((laughs briefly))e::
24  TL5: e::(.) uhm (.) have another (.)word abo:ut bat?
25 TL11: bat=
26 JL11: e::h (.) [so:
27  TL9:          do you] spell it? (3.0)
28  TL3: [can you
29 JL11: what?]
30  TL3: spell it? (1.0) ↑sPELL (1.0)
31  TL8: can you spell it?
32  TL3: [hum
33 JL11: B](.) A (.) D? (.) B (.) A (.)[↓D
```

```
34  TL8:                                     ye-] oh ↑ba:d oh ↑ba::d [o:::h
35  TL3:                                                          Oh] bad
36  JL11: >yeah yeah yeah yeah<
```

At the beginning of the sequence, JL11 states her disapproval of the content of the photo which is the subject of discussion. After a few interjections by the Taiwanese learners that can be interpreted as their displays of listenership, in turn 5, JL11 says that asking foreigners not to enter a restaurant is bad. This soon turns out to be a source of communication difficulty. One may not expect a word as simple as "*bad*" to create a communicative breakdown, but apparently, JL11's mispronunciation of the words leads to misunderstandings. This in turns leads to extended negotiations for meaning during which some of the participants test their hypotheses until an agreement is reached.

Towards the beginning of the negotiations TLs tend to hold themselves responsible for not understanding JL11's utterance and this can be seen in the way they keep repeating the word or other words similar words or non-words (bu- or bat instead of bad for instance) throughout turns 6 to 12 while JL11 keeps repeating the original word. Since no agreement is achieved, however, JL11 gives up repeating and tries referring back to the photo in the assignment in turn 14. Following this, TL3 signals understanding and a change of state by uttering the short token *"oh"* with a long vowel. JL11 takes this as a sign of understanding and responds with a positive assessment in turn 19. Soon, however, in turn 23 and after TL3's brief laughter she finds out that mutual understanding is not achieved yet. In turn 24, TL5 employs another strategy and utters a clarification request asking JL11 to offer an alternative word. Before JL11 finds a chance to respond to this request, however, TL9 comes up with a different strategy and asks for clarification through spelling out the source of trouble. TL9's question "do you spell it" is then repeated by TL3 which provides further evidence that she had not understood the word earlier in

156

turn 19 despite having uttered the state changer "*oh*." In turn 31, TL8 repairs TL9's question saying "*can you spell it*?" instead. Finally, in turn 33, JL11 spells the word and this seems to resolve the situation since both TL8 and TL3 utter state changer tokens along with correctly pronouncing the trouble source, which is confirmed by JL11 at the end of the sequence. Notice how these opportunities for testing different hypotheses and trying different tools for achieving understanding could be wasted if a teacher with higher interactional authority had repaired the source of trouble quickly after its utterance in turn 5.

6.3.3. Managing Closing Sequences

The beginning turns in an interaction are called opening sequences and the ending turns are referred to as closing sequences. Both of these sequences are important from different perspectives. However, the latter of the two seems to offer even more complexities. The reason is that while in the opening sequences all participants know that the interaction will start any second and hence expect it, in the closing sequence there is often no clear hint about when the interaction coming to a close. Furthermore, closing an interaction in the absence of a shared understanding regarding the appropriate time for closure can be sanctionable. As a result, the speaker who intends to bring the conversation to an end often does so after a prelude to a closure which is hereafter referred to as a pre-expansion sequence. McLaughlin (1984) argued that there are usually three functions in closing a conversation namely signaling that there is a movement towards a state of decreased access, expressing appreciation for the encounter and a desire for future contact, and summarizing what the encounter has accomplished. In the case of the data analyzed in the present study what seemed to happen after a pre-expansion sequence was mainly an expression of appreciation and the desire for future contact. The following excerpt provides an example of how pre-expansions worked to prepare the other speakers for a closure.

In this excerpt, JL11 and a couple of her Taiwanese peers are discussing local specialties in their hometown. After the participants complete the assignment by answering the questions posed by their teachers, TL5 asks a question that does not fit into the content of its preceding turns. As the rest of the interaction unfolds, however, this question can be better understood. Excerpt 6.9 starts with this question.

Excerpt 6.10. Pre-expansion in closing sequences

```
1   TL5: ehm (.) so: (.) is time for you to go to bed?
2   TLs: ((loud laughter))
3  JL11: ((looks surprised))(3.0) [ehm
4   TLs:                              ((incomprehensible talk in Chinese
         among TLs))]
5  TL11: ehm ((incomprehensible talk in Chinese))
6   TL3: ehm actually e:h we ha:vesom:e time limit (.) ehm in our
         school dorm
7  JL11: ((nods))
8   TL3: ehm we need to take bath an:d wash our clothes=
9   TLs: =((brief laughter)) ((talk in Chinese))=
10  TL3: twelve o'clock so maybe we need to::
11 TL11: we can chat next time
12  TL3: we (.) we can chat next time
13 JL11: oh ok ((laughter))
14  TL5: so:: (2.0) see you next tim::e (.) by::e
15 JL11: [by:e
16  TLs: by::e]
```

As can be seen in the excerpt, TL5 asks JL11 whether she has to go to bed in turn 1. This is followed by the other TLs' laughter implying that they may know why TL5 is asking this question. JL11 looks surprised and is seemingly not sure whether she has understood the question well. TL3's comment in turns 6, 8 and 10, however, reveals the real purpose of the question asked by TL5 in turn 1. TLs seem to have a time limit in their dormitory and have to end the video call soon. Yet, since they perceive ending the call without prior preparations may be *dispreferred* and may cause trouble, they initiate a pre-expansion sequence before the actual

158

closing sequence. The plan would have worked better if JL11 had given a positive response to the question saying that she had to go to bed. But since she did not say so, TL3 had to explain why the question was asked. The closing sequence is then initiated by TL11 who expresses the TLs' will to continue the chat next time. The combination of the pre-expansion sequence and the closing sequence brings about a closure to the sequence after a number of exchanges.

6.4. Summary

The analysis of learner-learner interactions was presented in this chapter. The analysis focused on two main areas in accordance with the two research questioned posed. It was found that learners could achieve and maintain intersubjectivity with their peers through resorting to multimodal semiotics as well as management of their epistemic stance. The management of the epistemic stance was done using short tokens of surprise, turn-taking organization and repair initiation and management. The second focus of the chapter was on the creation and obstruction of space for learning. The data showed that turn distribution bias among the learners often restricted their opportunities for participation and learning. Their mismanagement of closing sequences in their video calls also was an impediment and did not allow them to end the calls more smoothly. Despite this, at the same time, this feature prolonged the interactions and allowed learners more interactional space. Similarly, extended negotiations for meaning also were a frequent feature of these interactions that led to the creation of more space for learning.

Chapter Seven: Discussion and Interpretation of the Findings

7.1. Chapter Preview

This chapter discusses the findings of the two studies reported in the two previous chapters, i.e. the emergence of mutual understanding and space for learning in the presence and absence of teachers in a COIL program. The first section discusses the teacher-led dimension of the findings and compares them with what is already known from previous studies in the area. The second section will address what was found about learner-learner interactions in this research situating them in the existing body of literature.

7.2. Teacher-Led Interactions

The analysis of the interactions taking place among the teachers and learners in the two classes in Japan and Taiwan revealed a number of prominent interactional practices that helped them keep the flow of the interaction and maintain intersubjectivity. Besides, a number of other practices were also identified that could either facilitate or obstruct the emergence of interactional space in the technology-mediated environment of these interactions. Among these groups of findings were the use of multimodal semiotic resources by the learners, the learners' initiation of sequential interactions, teachers' realization of meaning and fluency context and their questioning strategies. In what follows in this section first the findings regarding the initiation of sequential interaction by learners and the teachers' roles in facilitating them will be discussed. After that, features of meaning and fluency context will be introduced and its appropriateness for COIL interactions will be discussed. The role of asking referential questions in facilitating or obstructing the emergence of space for interactions is the next topic and finally, the findings regarding the use of multimodal semiotic resources will be discussed in the light of what is currently known in the literature. This also serves as a transition to the next section of this

discussion chapter, which will start by discussing how multimodality was used in learner-learner interactions as well.

7.2.1. Learner Initiations and Shaping Learner Contributions

In any educational setting, the achievement of pedagogic goals is realized through interactions among teachers and learners. Apart from being a medium for making it possible for teachers and learners to share their understanding of the pedagogic tasks in the classroom, interaction also plays very important roles in making learning happen. In other words, it is mainly classroom interaction that can bring learning opportunities into existence. Yet, while in older and teacher-fronted models of classroom interaction learners were considered to be on the receiving end of instructions, in more recent propositions about a favorable classroom interaction, learner participation has found more significance (Donato, 2000). This, however, does not mean that teachers have no responsibility regarding how learning opportunities are created and maintained in the classroom. In fact, in this view teachers have even more responsibilities for shaping learner contributions in the classroom and giving them the chance to play more principal roles. Such teacher responsibilities can take different forms varying from planning lessons and selecting or developing instructional materials that are more likely to enhance learner engagement in managing the interactional architecture of the classroom. The primary focus of the studies reported in this dissertation has been on this latter issue.

What we already know about the traditional teacher-fronted models of classroom interaction is that they assigned teachers the pivotal role of controlling the interactions in the classroom. One interactional characteristic of this model was the presence of lockstep IRF sequences in which the teacher would fill the *initiation* and the *feedback* slots while the learners could only contribute to the middle or *response* slot (Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975). A prerequisite

for this kind of interaction was then the fact that teachers had to distribute turns and direct the turn-taking flow in the classroom to ensure that learners would not deviate from the lockstep IRF patterns. To say this model is related to the *past* though may create the misunderstanding that such interactional patterns are absent in modern educational settings. This is obviously not the case. What it means, instead, is that this pattern was both commonplace and advisable in the past. With more recent understandings of how learning takes place, however, although lockstep IRF sequences and teacher domination might be commonplace, they can no longer be advised.

IRF entails teacher initiation of interaction sequences in the classroom and this comes at the expense of limiting learner initiation and as a result loss of learning opportunities (van Lier, 1996). Kasper (2001, p. 518) points out that adherence to lockstep IRF pattern is interactionally unproductive in that teachers control topic management and, as a result, learners are "not provided opportunities for developing the complex interactional, linguistic and cognitive knowledge required in ordinary conversation." That is probably why in the particular case of the second language classroom the need for moving away from teacher domination in IRF sequences and giving learners active roles have been emphasized by many scholars (Jacknick, 2009; Warring, 2012). But where does this emphasis on learner participation come from? A look at the theoretical underpinnings of the studies highlighting the importance of participation in learning shows the footprints of sociocultural theory of learning in all of them (Vygotsky, 1978).

In sociocultural theory, learning is defined as participation rather than a passive acquisition of knowledge from a more knowledgeable source. As a result, traditional knowledge transmission models of learning practiced in teacher-fronted classes are no longer tenable within this framework since the creation of opportunities for learning entails co-construction of interaction by all participants. Even though Vygotsky and other scholars following him

underlined the importance of scaffolding for learning to take place, the ultimate goal of the learning process has to be leading learners to independence. Scaffolding was introduced by Vygotsky (1978) in describing how help from more knowledgeable others enables a child to do tasks that it could not accomplish without that help. With the help of a "more knowledgeable other" in this phase, human children will be able to perform tasks that they could not complete without help. This, of course, occurs only if the task is within the children's Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD) or the distance between "the actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers" (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 86). Along the same vein, Vygotsky maintains that learning first happens on a social domain or inter-psychologically and then through scaffolded help within an individual's ZPD it becomes internalized and goes into an intra-psychological phase. Returning to the issue of interaction, it can now be said that since interaction constructs the inter-psychological phase in learning, it is a prerequisite to it and cannot be dispensed with.

What the above discussion on sociocultural theory suggests, therefore, is that quality interaction in a classroom can create better learning opportunities since learning can be realized through interaction. Among the many ways interaction might be boosted in the classroom, learner initiation of sequential interactions has attracted a great deal of interest recently. The concept might be referred to with other terms as well since van Lier (2008) calls it *learner agency* arguing that learning takes place if only the learner initiates it in various ways including commenting on previous talk, raising and asking questions and even providing corrective feedback to other learners. Waring (2011) uses the more often cited term *learner initiative* and defines it as attempts made by a learner to "make an uninvited contribution to the ongoing

classroom talk" (p. 204). She then explains that uninvited contribution may refer either to "not being specifically selected as the next speaker" or "not providing the expected response when selected." No matter what it is called, however, learner initiation requires moving away from a lockstep IRF sequential pattern in the classroom.

As far as the second language classroom is concerned, learner initiation has been studied both in pair and group work learner interactions (Mori, 2002) and in teacher-fronted interactions (Garton, 2012). What has been found in these two groups of studied is that other speakers in the interaction, including the other learners or a teacher, can play crucial roles in leading an individual learner to initiation of a sequence. This, in particular, means that teachers need to be made aware of how the turns they take in the classroom interaction can facilitate or inhibit learner initiations. Similar to the findings of the present study, it is also stated in the literature that learner initiation can take place in both solicited and unsolicited ways (Jacknick, 2009). Hale (2011) also came up with the conclusion that learner initiation happens both through extensive teacher prompts as well as learners' self-initiated self-repair.

The findings of the present research seem to be in line with what the literature has offered so far. Particularly, as far as Jacknick's (2009) and Hale's (2011) categorizations are concerned, part of the findings of the present study supports the fact that learner initiation can take place in both solicited and unsolicited manners. As was explained in the fifth chapter in this dissertation under the section on learner initiation, teachers' whole class address and invitation were found to be likely to generate learner initiation in a solicited way. On the other hand, learners were found to be initiating sequences after the teachers' extended post-feedback wait-time practice as well as positive assessment of previous contributions. Although the two categories bear resemblance with what is offered in the literature on classroom discourse, it has to be noted that in both of the

works mentioned above offering such categories, data were collected and analyzed from traditional classes. The present study, however, dealt with data from a technology-mediated class setting in which two teachers and two learner groups met and interacted with the use of a computer interface. This may indicate that the presence of technology does not affect this aspect of teacher-learner interactions and both solicited and unsolicited learner initiations can take place in such classes as well.

An interactional practice identified to encourage learner initiation was teacher extended post-feedback wait-time. Studies in various contexts, though not in a COIL context, have underlined the importance of teacher wait-time in promoting learner participation in the classroom (McNeil, 2011). Particularly, two types of wait-time, namely post-solicitation and post-response (Alavi, Pourhaji, & Yaqubi, 2016) are often cited as interactional practices encouraging learner initiation. Post-solicitation wait-time takes place after a teacher has initiated a sequence without nominating the next speaker for the response move. It is believed that extended wait-time at such moments, rather than nominating a next speaker, is likely to encourage learners to open a new sequence. The second type is post-response wait-time, which is the moment of silence after a learner has provided a response. In other words, it is thought that if a teacher delays the feedback move with an extended wait-time, learners will be able to start a new sequence. What was found in this study, however, was that a third type of wait-time, i.e. teacher *post-feedback* wait-time can also create a chance for learners to initiate a new sequence. Post-feedback wait-time takes place after a teacher has assessed a previous turn made by a learner or provided feedback to it. Yet, instead of moving directly to a next initiation phase, in this type of wait-time, the teacher waits until a learner who is willing to initiate the next sequence fills the silence.

The second interactional practice identified in this study to promote learner initiation was teachers' positive assessment of previous learner contributions. It was found that by acknowledging the relevance or importance of what the learners have already said, teachers can prompt them to initiate new sequences instead of just filling in the response slots in IRF sequences. Although it seems that this finding was not reported directly by other researchers in the field, there are studies that have implied such effects for positive assessments. A case in point is Waring (2011) who argued that boundaries of learner participation can be pushed if teachers make use of humor and language play. As a result of humor and language play, a friendlier learning environment can be produced and this is in turn more likely to witness learner participation. Reinders and Loewen (2013) also found that teachers' acknowledgment of the topics raised by learners in previous turns can encourage learner initiatives in the subsequent turns since it creates an environment in which the gap between the teachers' interactional authority and that of the learners' is minimized. What teachers' positive assessment of previous turns does, in a similar vein, is creating an opportunity for the learners to exercise agency interactionally.

Overall, it seems that all of the three interactional practices found in this study to promote learner initiation are in line with the current understanding in the field. Both direct solicitation on the part of teachers and indirect, subtler invitation of learners to initiate sequences through extended post-feedback wait-time and positive assessment of previous learner contributions provide learners with the chance to step out of lockstep IRF patterns and participate more actively in classroom interactions. What is particularly important as far as unsolicited learner initiation goes is the role of teacher turns. The title unsolicited may create the impression that learner initiations are created on their own, but this is far from what is found in this study. In fact,

quite the opposite seems to be true here since it is the teacher turns, whether materialized verbally or through silence, that can ultimately shape learner turns. This has gained a lot of interest recently among second language classroom researchers leading to the development of a new line of research within CA for SLA called shaping learner contributions (SLC).

Central to the concept of SLC is the responsibility of teachers in promoting learner engagement in classroom interactions. The idea was in fact derived from what Walsh (2006, 2011, 2012) called Classroom Interactional Competence (CIC). CIC can be broadly defined as teachers' and learners' ability to employ interaction as a tool for mediating and assisting learning (Walsh, 2006). In other words, the central idea here is that since teaching and learning are materialized through interaction, learning opportunities can be enhanced by developing teachers' and learners' CIC (Walsh, 2011). Teachers can develop their CIC by paying more attention to the consequences of their interactional decisions in the classroom and designing their own turns and those of the learners in a way that promotes more learner participation. One way to achieve this is through SLC.

What we already know is that SLC has two dimensions (Daşkın, 2015). The first one concerns encouraging learners who respond to teacher initiations to contribute more to the class discussions by avoiding giving short and simple responses. In fact, this dimension of SLC requires teachers to exploit elicitation techniques and make interactional decisions that help learners to do so. The second dimension, on the other hand, requires teachers to make sure that all other learners in the classroom, that is to say, those who are not directly involved in the interaction at the moment, can completely follow and comprehend what one of their peers in the classroom has already said. This second dimension of SLC is also reminiscent of what Schwab (2011) calls *multilogue,* a particular institutional interaction in which contributions are addressed

to more than one individual. To sum this issue up, SLC ascribes dual responsibilities to teachers: first to elicit more elaborate responses from a learner and second, to make sure that all other learners can understand what is said. Both of these aspects are crucial indeed. However, while SLC values learner contribution and participation in classroom interactions, it is less concerned about the nature of such contributions, considering all learner contributions similar in the interactional consequences they can produce. Looking back at the findings of the present research, for instance, one can argue that while learner contributions in the response move of IRF sequences do offer them a chance to take turns in classroom interactions, it is their initiation of IRF sequences that gives them the chance and space to exercise agency in their own learning.

Needless to say though, promoting learner agency and participation may not always be ultimate goals in all moments of class time. In other words, there may well be times in a class when a teacher intends to focus on other aspects of learning. In the case of the second language classroom, for instance, the teacher may devote some of the class time to teaching or practicing a grammatical point or checking learners' assignments. Would that be fair to argue then that such a teacher is not displaying acceptable levels of CIC by not giving the learners interactional space during these activities? In order to answer this question, one could refer to Seedhouse (2004) and Walsh (2006, 2011) who observed that the language classroom is not a monolithic whole and is dividable to a number of micro-contexts or modes based on two issues: the pedagogic goals and the interactional structure. It is, therefore, the alignment of these two, i.e. the pedagogic goals and the interactional structure of the moment, which can imply a teacher's CIC. The following section explores this issue in detail.

7.2.2. Meaning and Fluency Context

As briefly mentioned above, the alignment between teachers' pedagogical goals and their interactional decisions can party determine the level of their CIC. That is to say, depending on the goals teachers plan to achieve in any given sub-section of the class time, they need to alter the way they interact with their learners. There are currently two often-cited categorizations for the sub-sections in the language classroom each making use of different terminologies yet at the same time featuring general similarities. Walsh (2006, 2011) identified four categories and called them classroom *modes*, namely managerial mode, classroom context mode, skills and systems mode, and materials mode. He explains that the managerial mode includes a number of goals such as transmitting information, introducing or concluding activities or even simply organizing the physical learning environment. In materials mode, the goals may be to provide practice around a piece of material or checking learners' understanding about an aspect of the materials being used such as textbooks. The skills and systems mode focuses mainly on promoting accuracy in the use of language by the learners and correcting their mistakes. Finally, the goal of the classroom context mode is to allow space for learners to express themselves as well as promoting fluency as opposed to accuracy. The realization of these goals, however, is dependent on how teachers interact with their learners (refer to Table 3.1 in the third chapter in this dissertation for a list of dominant interactional features in the four modes). Walsh's model was introduced two years after Seedhouse's (2004) proposition about the four micro-contexts in the language classroom and was similar to it in many aspects.

There are four contexts in Seedhouse's proposed categorization, namely form and accuracy, meaning and fluency, task-oriented, and procedural contexts. The main pedagogic goal in the form and accuracy context is to present and practice linguistic forms. Therefore, it is the teacher who manages and controls the turns in this context. Moreover, there is little room for

self-expression here since it is not convergent with the goal of this context. In the meaning and fluency context, on the contrary, learner participation and self-expression are prioritized over accuracy. Formal feedbacks are therefore less frequent, turns are not merely distributed by the teacher and topics are not tightly controlled. The third context is task-oriented, meaning that learners are given a task and they need to stay focused on accomplishing it. The accomplishment of the task is more important than both accuracy and self-expression. Finally, the goal of the procedural context is to manage learning in the classroom. In this context, teachers assign activities and give instructions on various aspects of the learning process. Turn-taking literally does not happen or happens only occasionally since it is the teacher who might have a monologue in this context. These two categorizations can shed more light on the way the two teachers in this study interacted with the learners.

First and foremost, the data analyzed in this study were collected from COIL sessions. What these two categories offer in terms of the four contexts or modes applies better to a traditional language classroom in which accuracy and fluency are equally important. Language learners need to receive formal feedback to develop their linguistic repertoire. They also need space for interaction and self-expression to be able to use the language fluently. In a COIL classroom, however, this is not the case by definition. As mentioned in the earlier chapters of this dissertation, research on COIL is still in an embryonic stage. Most of what is said about this approach is anecdotal rather than data-driven. Yet, what is currently known is that the goal of COIL and other similar programs is to promote learner-learner interaction and the development of intercultural understanding (Rubin & Guth, 2015). COIL can take many different forms depending on the goal, but the current understanding is that its ultimate goal is to heighten learners' awareness towards intercultural differences. In the case of the program observed in this

study also it can be argued that although COIL interactions occurred in the platform of two EFL classes, the goal was not teaching the linguistic system of English. This claim can be supported by the interactional decisions the two teachers made during their joint sessions.

As the analysis of the data revealed, *meaning and fluency* was the dominant context throughout teacher-learner interactions. Interactional features of this context such as extended learner turns, short teacher turns, minimal repair, feedback on content, scaffolding, clarification requests and asking referential questions allowed learners more space for participation and practice. Clearly, this is convergent with the goals of a COIL program where accuracy and correctness come secondary to fluency and expressiveness. From among the range of interactional features mentioned here, referential questions seemed to be particularly prevalent. This brings us to the next section of this discussion chapter, i.e. the way referential questions were asked within the meaning and fluency context and the interactional consequence of asking such questions.

7.2.3. Referential Questions

The importance of asking questions in the language classroom was first brought to attention early in the 1980s at a time when the social interaction theory of language learning was finding more proponents. Social interaction theory came to criticize cognitivist views that attributed language learning to the human mind while underestimating the role of interaction. For the supporters of the interactionist view, asking questions would allow language teachers to generate more interaction in the classroom and was therefore valued. In a pivotal study, Long and Sato (1983) identified two broad types of questions often asked in the language classroom namely display and referential questions. The two question types differed from each other in terms of the purpose behind asking them. In other words, while in display questions the answer is already

known to the questioner and the purpose is to check or evaluate the respondent's understanding, in referential questions the answer is unknown to the questioner and it is the respondent who is expected to know the answer. Long and Sato then argued that while in real-world interactions referential questions are far more frequent than display ones (76% of all questions asked), in the language classroom referential questions are not asked as frequently (14% of all questions asked). This could have interactional consequences for the level of learner participation in the classroom as well. Brock (1986), for instance, found that referential questions are more likely to elicit more elaborate and syntactically complex responses from the learners while display questions often led to very short, simple or formulaic learner contributions.

The study of question types was not limited to the heyday of interactionist perspectives towards language learning in the 80s. Nevertheless, many of the results of the research that took place during that time have been corroborated by recent research as well. Shomossi (2004), for instance, found that while display questions were asked more frequently in the language classroom, it was the referential questions that prompted lengthier learner contributions. David (2007) also confirmed the appropriateness of referential questions in generating more complex learner responses while arguing that display questions may work better for learners with limited proficiency in the second language. Alduais (2012) also concluded that asking referential questions is more conducive to learner initiations in sequential interactions. It, therefore, seems that there is little doubt about the role referential questions can play in promoting learner interactions in the classroom. In the particular case of the present study, this was the case as well. As discussed in the previous section, since the goal of the COIL program studied in this dissertation was to promote learner engagement and participation, meaning and fluency context (Seedhouse, 2004) was the dominant context throughout the data. One feature of this context is

that referential questions are asked more that display ones in it. However, it was found that not all referential questions can be expected to generate long and complex learner responses. In other words, the microanalysis of turns coming before and after the referential questions indicated that the local context where the question is asked as well as other interactional practices by the questioner (teacher in this case) can determine whether or not a referential question can elicit elaborate responses.

Teachers' interactive practices before, during and after asking referential questions were categorized as either facilitative or obstructive for the elicitation of elaborate responses from the learners and maximizing their participation. Facilitative practices included asking referential questions at TRPs, asking referential follow-up questions when a communicative breakdown emerges, teacher echoing of learner responses and paraphrasing the referential question already asked. On the other hand, practices including self-elaboration, self-answering, asking referential questions in or after extended teacher turns, teacher interruptions and teacher turn completions were found to have obstructive effects on learners' responses. An implication of this categorization is that instead of taking an a priori approach in studying question types and their interactional consequences, it seems to be a better idea to study them in the local context of the interaction and identify the interactive practices involved. Along the same vein, these findings corroborate what has been suggested in the literature regarding the co-construction of interaction and the responsibility of all participants in a given conversation to make it work. Second language learners are often evaluated in terms of fluency. But is fluency an individual's attribute? Responding elaborately and smoothly to a question posed by a teacher does indeed indicate a learner's fluency. However, as the findings in this study suggest, it cannot be considered the learner per se that is making it happen. McCarthy (2005) uses the term *confluence*

instead of fluency to indicate that spoken language is made fluent by the endeavors of all speakers in a conversation and not only one of them. In the case of the present study, it can hence be argued that the way a teacher asks a question can influence how a learner responds to it. This can have multiple implications for how assessment, particularly the assessment of the speaking skill, is understood and undertaken in language pedagogy. This will be discussed in more detail later on in the concluding chapter of this dissertation.

7.2.4. Use of Multimodal Semiotic Resources

One of the findings of this study in the teacher-led interactions data was that learners, to compensate for gaps or perceived insufficiencies in their L2 linguistic system and therefore achieve intersubjectivity, often used multimodal resources. They were found to mobilize different modalities including talk, gaze, gesture or the use of objects at their disposal to maintain intersubjectivity with their peers. This finding was in line with the current knowledge in the field. The study of the use of multimodal resources, however, usually fits within the broader concept of *translanguaging* in applied linguistics research.

There are a good number of studies recently conducted within a CA framework both in real classroom contexts and in technologically enhanced environments aiming at investigating the development of different language skills in foreign language learners (Kasper & Wagner, 2011). Among these studies, there are those that have focused on the concept of translanguaging or the way foreign language learners make use of resources other than the target language being learned to communicate meaningfully with their peers (Wagner, 2018). The original idea of learners' translanguaging came from language learners' use of their first language to maintain intersubjectivity or mutual understanding of the task or topic with other learners. Interestingly, such findings have challenged the monolingual policies in language education that have had a

dominant presence in many language classes around the world. Monolingual policies, also called English-only policies have been around for a long time, but their presence was felt even more after the introduction of the *Communicative Approach* that dominated language teaching classes in the 1970s. According to Pennycook (1994), "as a whole, the Communicative Approach firmly believed the idea that monolingual teaching [excluding L1] with authentic communication in L2 was the best way to learn a language." Within this view, regulations were made with the intention of minimizing or even banning the use of L1 in EFL classes. Cummins (2007), for instance, posits that in many settings "instructional policies are dominated by monolingual instructional principles that are largely unsupported by empirical evidence and inconsistent with current understandings both of how people learn and the functioning of the bilingual and multilingual mind" (p. 222). Cummins's position that banning L1 use is not tenable is supported in various ways (see Turnbull & Dailey-O'Cain, 2009 for a review) one of which is the facilitative role of translanguaging in promoting meaningful communication among language learners. Translanguaging, or more accurately speaking translingual practices, are not limited to the use of L1, however.

A classic definition of translanguaging provided by some of the pioneers of CA describes the process as *recipient design* in interaction. Recipient design can be best understood with the various forms an interlocutor in a conversation displays his/her orientation and sensitivity towards the other party who is the co-participant in the conversation (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974). The emphasis on the various forms employed by a participant to accommodate the co-participants indicates that orientation and sensitivity is not necessarily verbal and linguistic (Hawkins, 2018; Canagarajah, 2017). Recent studies have shown that other aspects of communication such as gaze, gesture, body movement, etc. are employed by

175

participants in various contexts including the language classroom to keep the meaningful communication with their peers going (Wagner, 2018).

This latter point can be of significance particularly for the focus of the present research. That is to say, when EFL learners in a classroom share a first language, as is the case with many L2 classes, they may naturally resort to their L1 to compensate for the gaps in their L2 proficiency. In other words, as the literature suggests, L1 functions as a mediatory tool in the L2 classrooms for the language learners who have not yet mastered the target language. However, in multilingual classes where learners do not share a mother tongue, they will have to look for other semiotic mediations to cater for the emerging needs of their communications. Such non-verbal semiotic resources are often referred to as "multimodal resources" in the literature (Kupetz, 2011) and include hand movements, gaze, body orientation and referring among others. It might not be surprising to come across such classes having learners with different nationalities in an English speaking context. However, in non-native English speaking countries, one would expect EFL learners to share an L1. This is not, however, always the case.

As discussed earlier on, COIL has made it possible for EFL classes to join other classes across national borders with the aim of giving learners the chance to practice intercultural communication. This way, although the learners who are physically present in a class may share an L1, those who join them from another country can be expected to speak a different L1. As a result, in the case of communicative breakdowns between learners due to gaps in their L2 proficiency, resorting to L1 will not be an option, and learners need to opt for non-verbal or multimodal resources to bridge the gap. Although quite a few researchers have investigated the multimodal and translingual resources learners from different L1s use in the foreign language classroom with a CA framework (Mortensen, 2008; Kääntä, 2012), little is known about how

learners manage to maintain intersubjectivity or mutual understanding during an online interchange such as what happens in COIL. The findings of this study regarding the use of multimodal semiotic resources have shed light on COIL interactions too. The participants of this study used a combination of vocal and embodied resources in their interactions especially when they perceived asymmetric access to L2 linguistic resources compared with their peered (Taleghani-Nikazm, 2015). In line with the findings of Park (2017), the findings of this study also implied that the use of multimodal semiotic resources advances learners' level of CIC enabling them to make themselves understood better and easier.

The use of different modalities was not limited in teacher-led interactions, however. In fact, it was also frequent in the second data set in this study, i.e. in the learner-learner interactions. The types of modalities used by the learners in the learner-learner interactions, however, were not identical with those used in teacher-led interactions as shall be seen in the following section.

7.3. Learner-Learner Interactions

The most obvious difference between learner-learner interactions and teacher-led interactions was the absence of teachers in the former one. Yet, the two sets of data were different in another important aspect as well. There were fewer learners in the interactions taking place in the absence of the teachers. The smaller number of participants in each of the learner-learner interactions and the absence of teachers yielded differences from teacher-led interactions that will be discussed here. There were similarities too, however. Multimodality was found to be a prominent aspect of learner-learner interactions as well. Yet, as shall be discussed in the next section, the modes accessed and resorted to by the learners were different from the ones used in teacher-led interactions. The management of the epistemic stance through three main

interactional devices was another feature in these interactions. As far as turn-taking is concerned, a bias was found towards giving the role of turn distributor to one of the participants in the interaction. Learner-learner interactions were also found to feature extended sequences of negotiation for meaning and finally, the way the participants in these interactions managed closing sequences showed a particular pattern that will be duly discussed. First, let us return to the issue of multimodality and see how using multimodal resources in learner-learner interactions was different from how they were employed in teacher-led ones.

7.3.1. Using Multimodal Semiotic Resources

As the analysis of the data regarding the use of multimodal resources in learner-learner interaction showed, apart from using gestures and embodied actions, learners often made use of the options the computer interface provided them with. Particularly when a communicative breakdown or a misunderstanding occurred, learners would explore the many ways they could use the interface to resolve the problem including sharing screens, looking up words or illustrative pictures to define a difficult word or using drawing tools on their computers. Knight, Dooly, and Barbera (2018), who referred to learners' use of computer affordances to navigate their interactions as meta-modal talk, also reported similar findings. Such multimodal resources were not utilized in teacher-led interactions, however. One obvious explanation for this is difference between the way interactions were set up and controlled in the two data sets. In fact, while in teacher-led interactions the two teachers were in control of the computer interface and the adjustment of cameras, in learner-learner interactions the learners could literally control everything on their own computers or smartphones. This gave them more resources to draw on while facing difficulty in the interaction. The difficulty could either be their own or that of the peers with whom they were interacting. That is to say, multimodal resources were utilized both when learners estimated their own linguistic competence insufficient and when they realized a

difficulty on the part of their peers to understand what they had to say. These findings indicate that the use of multimodal resources is not limited to embodiment practices and switching modes can take place using other available resources such as those offered by a computer interface. The goal in both cases, however, is to resolve a communication problem.

The study of the affordances computer-mediation can provide L2 learners with has been a focus in CALL research in recent years. Depending on the nature of computer-mediated interactions, they are often categorized as synchronous and asynchronous interactions. The affordances available to learners in each of these two types of interactions are different. Although COIL interactions can take place both in synchronous and asynchronous manners, the interactions in the program under study in the present dissertation were synchronous. What a good number of researchers studying synchronous modes of CALL seem to agree on is that computer mediation creates "possibilities for action that yield opportunities for engagement and participation that can stimulate intersubjectivity, joint attention, and various kinds of linguistic commentary" (Van Lier, 2004, p. 81).

Unlike the present study, however, a great bulk of research in the field of CALL has investigated computer-mediated interactions among L2 learners in the presence of a teacher or teachers. That is why the role of teachers in exploring the potentials of computer-mediation in creating interaction and learning opportunities is often highlighted. Stockwell (2010), for instance, demands teachers to know the potential and limits of multimodal interactions that take place over a computer interface so as to maximize learning in the CALL classroom. Lamy (2012) also warns that failure to take into account such potentials and limits runs the risk of not being able to explain "the nuances in the learning process" (p. 121).

Another important difference between the present study and most of the research in the literature is that while the present research has focused on the moment-by-moment interactions of the learners with a conversation analytic approach, other studies have been more interested in the outcome of utilizing multimodal resources. Recently, telecollaboration tools have become popular in connecting L2 learners across borders (Guth & Helm, 2010) similar to what is done in a COIL program. As a result, a growing number of studies have investigated multimodality in these interactions and concluded that it fosters language learning (Blake, 2005; Hampel & Stickler, 2012). The present research, on the other hand, has been less interested in the uptake of language and more in how learners without high proficiency levels in English mobilize multimodal resources to overcome communication difficulties arising from their partial access to the target language system. Therefore, based on the findings of this study no claim can be made about the effects of using multimodal resources on learner uptake. This point is often treated with caution in the literature too since although the studies mentioned above show that multimodality in interactions leads to learning, other studies have a different argument.

A number of studies contend that while encoding information in multiple semiotic layers increases the chance for its comprehension, it can create a cognitive overload for learners with lower proficiencies in the target language. Comprehending a message in a foreign language is already a cognitively demanding task and the argument in these studies is that multimodal resources add to the layers of meaning and as a result increase the cognitive load of comprehension. Guichon and McLornan (2008), for instance, argue that although enriching the message with multiple modes of information enhances comprehension, it makes it harder for individuals to understand the message if the different modes are not directly related and

convergent. A case in point is when the textual message is accompanied by an illustration but the illustration does not directly match the message or different meanings can be understood from it.

7.3.2. Management of Epistemic Stance

In broad terms, epistemics in CA research concerns the knowledge claims that speakers in a sequence of interaction make and defend on a turn-by-turn basis. It is a common understanding in the fields of sociology, social psychology and linguistics that parties in an interaction are constantly seeking joint understanding or intersubjectivity partly through recognizing who knows what about the world and then organizing the structure of their interaction based on that recognition (Heritage, 2012). More specifically, this was pointed out earlier on by Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974), the forerunners of CA research, that *recipient design* guides the way individuals interact with each other which can be defined as adjusting one's turns in an interaction based on the other speakers' abilities, knowledge, etc. Having access to particular knowledge gives a speaker epistemic rights in the interaction and other parties need to recognize this right or else conflict may result. The right endowed to a speaker and recognized by other speakers in an interaction may reflect the social distribution of knowledge in predefined epistemic communities (Holzner, 1968). An example of this can be found in a doctor-patient interaction where epistemic rights over medical knowledge has to be given to the doctor and a failure to do so may create communication problems. To put it simply, the doctor, in this case, is socially recognized as belonging to a community, members of which possess medical knowledge. This concept is referred to as *epistemic status*.

Epistemic status can, therefore, be decided, agreed upon and oriented to even before an interaction starts. The interactants' status is defined on a continuum ranging from more knowledgeable (K+) to less knowledgeable (K-) (Heritage & Raymond, 2012). This means that

the two parties' status may vary from absolute inequality, to relative equality, and to absolute equality. The entitlement to a particular epistemic status does not merely concern professional knowledge and individuals may be deemed more knowledgeable on topics related to their own thoughts, feelings, relatives, and family among others (Raymond & Heritage, 2006). To sum up, epistemic status concerns *what is known by whom* as well as the possessor's *rights* and *responsibilities* regarding the knowledge.

While, as mentioned earlier, epistemic status is a result of social relationships and dynamics, *epistemic stance* deals with the moment-by-moment position takings of individuals in a sequence of interaction. It is, therefore, closer to the essence of CA studies that uphold the design of turns in interaction as a central concept. Rather than orienting to predefined social categories to determine individuals' epistemic status, parties in an interaction may use a range of resources to organize their epistemic stance. Alternation in grammatical structure is one way to do so. Heritage (2013, p. 377) gives the following sentences as examples to clarify the point:

1. "Are you married?"
2. "You're married, aren't you?"
3. "You're married."

As far as the propositional content of these three sentences is concerned, all are the same. However, while sentence 1 upgrades the recipient's stance to K+ and downgrades the speakers' stance to K-, sentences 2 and 3 gradually reverse it and put the speaker in a more knowledgeable stance. These epistemic stances bear interactional consequences as well. That is, while sentence 1 invites the recipient to expand the sequence and elaborate on the information; sentence 3 has a case closing function. Adhering to the responsibilities these position takings assign to parties is also crucial for establishing and maintaining intersubjectivity and while a K- speaker is expected

to use hedging, ask questions, etc., a K+ party has the right to make assertions. As the examples above indicated, grammar alternation can change one's epistemic stance. It is not the only way to do so, however. The use of adverbs such as "maybe" or "probably" or phrases like "I think" for hedging arguments (Karkkainen, 2003), using question tags (Heritage & Raymond, 2005) or the use of reported speech that serves as interactional evidential (Clift, 2006) are among the other ways epistemic stance is displayed.

Epistemics has been more studied in first language interactions. Less is known about how knowledge claims are made in second language interactions, especially in educational settings. Studies have not been limited to English, and interactions among native speakers of various languages have gone under investigation. In Japanese, for instance, Hayano (2011) discussed how the use of different end position particles *yo*, *ne* and *yone* can have different bearings on speakers' epistemic stance and primacy. Recently attempts have been made to map out strategies used by second language speakers who do not have complete mastery over the L2 linguistic system. Gablasova, Brezina, Mcenery, and Boyd (2015), for instance, found that the nature of tasks given to L2 speakers in the language classroom as well as their personal communication styles influences the way they manage epistemic stance.

No matter in what language and under what circumstances, decisions made about the epistemic stance of speakers in an interaction are crucial regarding how the sequential interactions following from them unfold. Only those evaluated to have sufficient epistemic access and rights are often allowed to initiate sequences and make assertions or else the claims made might be combated (Stivers, Mondana & Steensig, 2011). The findings of the present research also confirm the importance of epistemic position takings for L2 learners in keeping the flow of talk and maintaining intersubjectivity. In line with what has been suggested in the

literature, the findings of this research suggested that a number of interactional devices are used by participants in L2 interactions to manage their epistemic stance. Heritage (2012) uses a mechanical metaphor to describe the interactional devices at work and calls them the parts in an *epistemic engine*. The epistemic engine in the present study and in the learner-learner interactions seem to have been lubricated by short tokens and expressions of surprise, turn-taking organization and repair initiation and management.

The analysis of the data showed that the use of short tokens and expressions of surprise such as *oh* could either downgrade or upgrade the participants' stance regardless of their background. As the excerpts analyzed in the section on epistemic stance in the sixth chapter of this dissertation indicated, the participants' epistemic stance was more determined and oriented to with reference to the interactional dynamics of the moment rather than being driven by their background factors such as nationality. Apart from establishing this with short tokens and expressions of surprise, the participants in this study also resorted to management of turn-taking organization to establish their and their interlocutors' epistemic stance. This was mainly done through avoiding opportunities for self-selection and treating inter-turn pauses as intra-turn silence. That is, participants could position themselves as K- by not taking turns when they considered their interlocutor to have more knowledge regarding a topic.

A third way epistemic stance was found to be determined in this study was through managing repairs. More specifically, it was found that it is the repair accomplishment rather than its initiation that is likely to upgrade a speaker's stance. Both other-initiated self-repair and self-initiated self-repair instances would keep the current speaker in a K+ stance. Self-initiated other-repair and other-initiated other-repair cases, on the other hand, downgraded the current speaker to K-. What is more interesting, however, is the fact that since all participants in this study were

L2 speakers of English, knowledge claims made by a speaker and oriented to by other speakers were twofold. On one level, claims were made through the management of repairs about the content and propositional meaning of the interactions and on the second level, L2 knowledge claims were made as well. This means that while, for instance, other-initiated other-repair could downgrade a speaker regarding the L2 knowledge domain, it would not necessarily do so regarding the content of the discussions. This dual nature of the epistemic stance in L2 interactions does not seem to have been well studied so far.

7.3.3. Extended Negotiations for Meaning

The concept of negotiation for meaning has been around in applied linguistics for quite a few years. It fits well within the interaction-based accounts of language learning and was first introduced in Long's Interaction Hypothesis (1996). Its theoretical tenets, however, can be traced back to mid-80s and Krashen's (1985) Input Hypothesis. For Krashen, the key to the acquisition of a second language was exposure to comprehensible input. Not all input is comprehensible for a language learner. For input to meet the criterion of comprehensibility, it had to be just above a learner's current language level. Krashen called this level $i+1$. He believed that if the incoming information meets this criterion, there is a chance for it to be first comprehended and then acquired. Krashen's proposition was considered as an intuitive suggestion at the time, yet it suffered from a practical issue. Since $i+1$ would be different for each individual learner and also for one learner from one time to another, how could one make sure whether the input was comprehensible? In other words, how could teachers identify the "i" level of the learners in order to generate $i+1$ input? These were the question Long addressed in his Interaction Hypothesis later on.

Long argued that the best way to achieve comprehensible input is through interactional adjustments. Interactional adjustments mean that language learners can make incomprehensible input comprehensible by negotiating meaning during which clarification and modifications are made in the information until mutual understanding or intersubjectivity is achieved. At this moment, long argues, the information is brought into the learners' $i+1$ range. Individual learners with different language levels can modify the incoming information through negotiations until complete comprehension is achieved.

Krashen's Input Hypothesis and Long's Interaction Hypothesis served as theoretical underpinnings for later research. Although there have been slight differences in the definitions proposed for negotiation for meaning, there seems to be a shared understanding in the field about what generally constructs it. For instance, for Pica (1992, p. 200) negotiation for meaning was "an activity that occurs when a listener signals to the speaker that the speaker's message is not clear and the speaker and the listener work linguistically to resolve this impasse." Gass and Selinker (1994, p. 209) also argued that it comprises "instances in conversation when participants need to interrupt the flow of the conversation in order for both parties to understand what the conversation is about." Smith (2005), on the other hand, stated that negotiation for meaning is an explicit indication of non-understanding and the subsequent attempts to resolve it. From an interactional perspective, also van der Zwaard and Bannink (2014) argued that negotiations for meaning are a series of conversational turns that start due to an absence of understanding and continue until comprehension is achieved. Despite differences in their focus and terminology, these definitions have a lot in common: they all agree that negotiation for meaning is a response to a sort of what Long (1996) called *communicative trouble* or what

Mackey, Gass, and McDonough (2000) called a *communication breakdown* that continues until the problem is resolved.

Research on negotiation for meaning has shown how it can facilitate the uptake of new linguistic knowledge by the learners. A considerable number of studies in this area have investigated different task types that are more likely to generate negotiations and lead to linguistic uptake in the language classroom (Nakahama, Tyler & van Lier, 2001, for instance). A relatively smaller number of studies have also shed light on the interactional intricacies involved in negotiations for meaning (Zheng, Young, Wagner & Brewer, 2009) investigating turn-taking and repair organization during negotiations both in traditional instructional settings and in online learner-learner interactions. Although more research has been conducted in instructional settings highlighting the role of teachers in managing negotiations for meaning, studies focusing on how learners learn from each other have gained popularity in more recent years as well. Among these studies, there are those that are closer in scope to the study reported in this dissertation particularly because they have studied learner-learner negotiations for meaning in technology-mediated online settings. This latter group of studies has shown how various modes of online communication create different opportunities for negotiation for meaning (Yuksel & Inan, 2014). Having studied online video interactions among L2 learners Sert and Balaman (2018), for instance, found that learners negotiate different aspects of the task, including both linguistic and managerial aspects whenever there are problems of shared understanding, by generating regulations through repair initiation and accomplishment to maintain understanding.

One of the findings of the present research was that extended negotiations for meaning, including multiple instances of repair, were one of the features of learner-learner online video interactions. In teacher-led interactions, on the other hand, shorter negotiations took place.

187

Taking into account the theoretical principles reviewed in the above, it can be argued that deeper and lengthier instances of negotiations create better opportunities for language learners. Similar to what data-driven studies on negotiation for meaning counted out here have suggested, it was also found that such instances initiate as a result of a gap in understanding or a communication problem. Such problems could take different forms including syntactical, phonological or lexical. As a result of lengthy and extended negotiations, learners would generate hypotheses, test them and then either approve or revise them until intersubjectivity was achieved. The fact that such cases occurred less frequently in the teacher-led interactions can also be supported with what is currently known about the interactional structure of language classes. Sert (2015), as a case in point, argues that teacher-initiated teacher-repairs are very common in teacher-led interactions. Repairs as such correct learner mistakes on the spot and limit the space for negotiations among them. In the absence of teachers, however, as was found in this study, self-initiated repair may become more dominant resulting in lengthier and deeper negotiations for meaning.

7.3.4. Managing Closing Sequences

The way the endings of video calls were managed by the learners in learner-learner online interactions was another finding in the present research. In CA studies conversation is regarded as a system, which is comprised of different parts. Studies on telephone conversations, for example, have found that there are opening and closing sequences (Wong & Warring, 2010). These sequences allow participants to start and end conversations as smoothly as possible. There are also normative orientations towards these sequences meaning that the absence of an appropriate opening or closing sequence might create communication problems and even sanctions for the speaker who failed to initiate such sequences. This point is closely related to preference organization in interactions as well, as discussed in more detail in the methodology chapter of this dissertation. Inspired by the pioneering works of Pomerantz (1984) and later on

Schegloff (2007), research on preference organization has shown how while participants evaluate certain responses to an FPP as preferred, other responses might be considered as dispreferred. As a case in point, accepting an invitation is generally considered as a preferred response, while declining one is dispreferred. That is why acceptance responses are given very quickly and in an unmarked manner while rejection is usually prefaced with justifications or pauses. As far as telephone conversations are concerned, closing the talk without prior indications of the fact that it is going to be closed soon, is also considered as a dispreferred action. Avoiding this scenario, therefore, may indicate a speaker's level of interactional competence.

Compared with research on telephone conversations between L2 learners, fewer studies have investigated video calls among second language speakers. Although there are structural similarities between these two types of telecommunications, there are differences as well. Apart from the obvious fact that in the latter case there are both audio and visual modalities, there may be more than two participants in video calls as well. Similarly, more research has been done on L1 telephone and video conversations in comparison with L2 conversations. What we already know about closing sequences in L1 telephone conversations, however, might guide us in analyzing closings in multiparty video calls too.

In native speaker interactions, for instance, it is known that closings in telephone conversations come after pre-closing sequences, a dominant feature of which is exchanges of short utterances such as *okay, alright, good* or the like. These utterances often appear after inter-turn pauses and when propositional meanings of the previous turns are already understood. Take this example from Schegloff and Sacks (1973):

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1    A: O.K.
2    B: O.K.
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189

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3   A: Bye bye.
4   B: Bye.
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The argument here is that to mitigate the possible dispreferred bearing of an abrupt closing, speaker A provides hints for the upcoming action of closing. Once speaker A receives speaker B's approval in the form repeating his/her repetition of the short utterance, speaker A initiates the closing sequence. Notice that speaker B could have potentially opted not to allow A to end the conversation by saying *by the way,* for instance. The closing here is therefore constructed by both speakers. This may seem very straightforward and native speakers of any language may take it for granted. In a second language, however, no matter how simple it may seem, it can be challenging. As Wong and Warring (2010) posit, second language learners "do not necessarily know how to get out of a conversation or how to extend it in a second language" (p.11). Not knowing how to do so, therefore, they may end up either sounding awkward or impolite or devising their own strategies to end a call smoothly. The latter was the case with the learner-learner interactions in the present research.

The analysis of the closing sequences in learner-learner interactions in this study showed that the participants(s) who wanted to end the call would use two strategies both happening before the actual closing section. First, they would initiate a pre-expansion sequence justifying their upcoming closure of the talk by providing reasons. Doing so, they could actually test the water and learn about the other participant(s) intentions regarding either closing or continuing the video call. Second, they would offer to have another video call in the future to pick up from where they will leave in the current one. The strategy of offering to do something in the future in pre-closing sequences was also found in the study conducted by Curl (2006). Overall, both these

strategies served the purpose of informing the other participants' that a closing sequence would be ahead. This, as explained above, could mitigate the dispreferred bearing of an abrupt closing.

7.3.5. Turn Distribution Bias

The basic mechanism of turn-taking is central to social interactions. The amount of interaction taking place in any given conversation is closely correlated with how many turns are taken by the participants in that conversation. In the case of the second language classroom, it becomes important in another way as well. As discussed earlier, a number of language learning theories emphasize that learning is materialized through participation. Without turn-taking, literally, there will not be any participation. Taking turns is not always easy for language learners, however. To take a turn, particularly when one is not selected as a next speaker, requires mastery over linguistic and sociolinguistic knowledge and rules of language use. For instance, one has to be able to anticipate when a TRP is going to emerge to be able to take a turn without sounding improper or awkward (Pekarek Doehler & Pochon-Berger, 2015). And to make things worse, all this has to be done in milliseconds. Cognitive demand for taking turns is high for second language learners and that is why lower level learners are often reported to have difficulty managing turns at talk (Carroll, 2004). The literature on classroom interaction, however, has shown that teachers have traditionally played important roles in making it easier for language learners to take turns.

In the language classroom, turn-taking follows a particular system in which it is the teacher who often decides the next speaker. The reason for such a tendency is at least twofold. First, given the fact that there is limited time in a classroom there is a tendency among teachers and learners to be internationally economical (Kääntä, 2010). Classrooms follow syllabi that need to be covered and allowing all learners to take turns at any moment during the class time

might not simply be feasible. The language classroom is an "institutional context in which participants come together to achieve the specific goal of teaching and learning" (Garton, 2012, p. 29) and therefore classroom discourse is a form of institutional talk following its own rules and regulations. Second, there are asymmetrical role relationships between teachers and learners. This is especially evident in the turn-taking system: most often it is the teacher who has more interactional power and decides who speaks when (Walsh, 2006). This, of course, does not mean that learner self-selection and initiation does not take place. As was seen in the previous chapter and discussed in the current chapter of this dissertation, learner initiations of sequential interactions in the classroom do happen. Yet, in comparison, teacher initiations and turn allocations occur more frequently.

Taking these two reasons regarding why teachers often select next speakers in the classroom setting, it could be therefore assumed that learner-learner interactions outside the context of the language classroom and in the absence of teachers would feature more self-selection instances. The analysis of the data in this study, however, showed that this is not necessarily the case. Turn-taking in learner-learner interactions was not always fluid and voluntary. In other words, instead of making attempts to take turns in their interactions, the participants in this study seemed to tacitly orient to one of their peers in the interaction as a teacher. It was this teacher-figure who distributed the turns among other participants then. The decision regarding who had the responsibility to manage the turns was not explicitly made known, but both the teacher-figure and other participants seemed to accept this division of roles and orient to it accordingly.

What the data also showed was that the teacher-figure was often the member who would set up the video call and invite others to join. However, this has to be treated with caution since

there may well be other factors not identifiable with the design of the present research. One hypothesis would be that the learners who set up video calls and subsequently took up the teacher-figure role were perceived to have better English proficiency levels by their peers. As there is no information regarding the perceptions of the participants in this study, such ideas will remain hypotheses, however. The only thing the data actually shows is that constraints of institutional talk on turn-taking (Garton, 2012; Walsh, 2006) do not necessarily relax in the absence of teachers and when learner-learner interactions take place out of the physical environment of the classroom. Learners may co-construct the classroom context and hence follow the regulations of the classroom institutional talk outside the classroom as well. This is for sure in line with the pioneering works of Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974) who argued that turn-taking is "locally managed, party-administered, and interactionally controlled" (p. 727).

All in all, it seems that increasing the frequency of learner self-selection is important for the development of IC in them. Recent research has indicated that this can be achieved through learners' acquisition of the ability to monitor the ongoing sequence of talk and their appropriate use of interactional resources (Watanabe, 2017). Strict adherence to current speaker selection of the next speaker pattern, as was the case in the learner-learner interaction data of this study, limits learners' opportunity to improve such ability of theirs.

The next chapter provides a synthesis of the whole research project and elaborates on the implications of the findings for various areas in SLA research and practices.

Chapter Eight: Conclusion

8.1. Chapter Preview

This chapter summarizes the results of this research and while reviewing them in retrospect, provides an account of possible practical implications of the findings. It also pinpoints the limitations of the study based on which a number of suggestions for further research will be presented.

8.2. A Synthesis

This research set out to explore interactions among EFL learners and teachers in a technology-mediated environment in a COIL program. COIL has been used as an approach for promoting IaH in a number of universities worldwide and its application has gained momentum in recent years. However, the present research did not intend to explore the affordances COIL has to offer to IaH. COIL served as the context of this study during which EFL learners in two classes in two universities in Japan and Taiwan were able to interact using computer technology. The study kept a more microanalytic perspective to explore the moment-by-moment interactions going on between learners and teachers in this program.

COIL exchanges can take place in any language and over any content area. Students in such programs do not have to necessarily interact in English or be enrolled in EFL courses. In this study, however, all interactions took place in English and the aim of the two classes under investigation was to promote students' English proficiency. Not surprisingly, it is also implied in the literature on IaH that the development of foreign language skills, often English, constitutes an important aspect of internationalization in home campuses. Apart from providing a space for the development of intercultural awareness and exchange among students, therefore COIL can

potentially benefit IaH programs by allowing students the chance to use and improve their foreign language skills. The question, however, as explained in detail in the second chapter of this dissertation is: what exactly do we mean when we say the development of foreign language skills is aligned with the goals of internationalization? To answer this question, one has to be clear about what language is, how it is learned or should be taught, and how it is used.

Throughout the past several decades a number of theories were proposed to explain how languages are acquired. Such theoretical propositions have also led to more practice-oriented research aimed at finding better ways to teach a second language. Central to all such research has been an attempt to first define what language is and what it takes to learn a language. This has not been a question with a straightforward answer, however. In the early days of formal research on SLA, language was considered a skill very similar to all other skills humans can master. As a result, language learning was also considered similar to skill learning. It was believed that language and many other skills could be learned through habit formation following a stimulus, response and reinforcement model. This idea formed the foundation of behaviorist approaches to language learning. According to behaviorism, linguistic input would lead to an output that meant that a human child is able to speak because it receives input from the environment. This view, however, faced criticism from a cognitive perspective (Chomsky, 1959) which argued that the human mind or cognition is not simply a storage space for the input received from the environment.

The human mind, the cognitivist view contended, manipulates the input and creates a linguistic system of its own. Empirical research also found support for this stance. It was, found for instance, that human babies make mistakes while speaking that they had never heard from anyone around them. What this meant was that there was not a linear relationship between input

195

and output. Cognition was at work there making changes in the input and producing output that could feature deviations from the standard adult language at times. This was a revolutionary idea. Being revolutionary, however, did not protect it against criticism.

Hymes (1971) famously criticized Chomsky's view in upholding human cognition as the language generator arguing that the generation of the rules and their operationalization cannot happen in the vacuum of the human mind. To him, it was the social rules governing language use that would shape the linguistic rules generated by the human mind. Hymes's proposition led to the development of the idea of communicative language competence, which necessitated the study of language in its social context of use. Clearly, in this view, which was later on referred to as a *social turn* in SLA (Block, 2003), mastering the linguistic system of a language would not be sufficient without being aware of the subtleties involved in making use of the language appropriate in different social settings. Awareness towards cultural differences as well as sensitivity to discourse and genre specificities were considered central for a person to use a language appropriately. Communicative competence has been an influential concept in the past decades. Yet, some scholars including Kramsch (2002) have taken issue with the fact that it has been mainly regarded as an individualistic attribute. Kramsch approached the issue of the appropriate use of language from an ethnomethodological point of view, which proposes that being appropriate is the result of the mutual work of the interactants in a conversation and not an indication of a single person's ability. This argument was the foundation for the development of the concept of IC.

Now, back to the question of what definition of language and language learning may serve the goals of internationalization programs, one could argue that the conceptualization of language after the social turn which draws attention to appropriate use of language in different

sociocultural settings seems to be a more likely candidate. Models of communicative competence deriving from Hymes's propositions added an intercultural awareness component, among others, to language learning. Research has been prolific in this area as well. What seems to be less explored, however, is Kramsch's IC. The emphasis on context-sensitivity of IC invites more research on different instructional and non-instructional settings in which L2 learners interact. One such context is a COIL program, which provides learners with a ground for interactions that are structurally different from conventional language learning classes.

Against this backdrop, this study explored, within a conversation analytic framework, the interactions taking place in a semester among learners and teachers in two classes in Japan and Taiwan with a focus on two main issues. First was the way L2 learners who were not yet linguistically competent in English and did not speak the first language of their peers in the other class could achieve and maintain intersubjectivity or mutual understanding. Second, the study also kept a focus on the way space for learning was created or obstructed in these interactions leading to higher or lower levels of learner participation respectively. These issues were studies in the two different contexts of classroom and outside classroom. In the next section, the research questions in this study will be restated and answers will be provided for each of them in the two mentioned contexts.

8.2.1. Restatement of the Research Questions

The two following sections will recap the findings of the research in response to the two research questions. The first question dealt with the achievement of intersubjectivity and the second one targeted the creation or obstruction of space for learning.

8.2.1.1. The first question

1. How is intersubjectivity achieved by L2 learners in a COIL exchange in the absence of a shared L1?

The first research question in this study concerned the achievement of intersubjectivity by the two groups of participants in the absence of a shared L1. Intersubjectivity, in this study, was defined in ethnomethodological terms and denoted the way participants in a conversation achieve and maintain mutual understanding through using conversational methods and tools available to them in their L2, including repair, turn-taking, sequence management and preference organization (Schegloff, 1992) as well as multimodal resources.

The conversation analytic study of video-recorded interactions of learners and teachers in the two classes participating in this study revealed a number of multimodal practices used by the learners to achieve and maintain intersubjectivity with their peers despite the facts that they did not speak their partners' native language and were not competent users of English as L2. It was found that the use of multimodal semiotic resources such as gaze, body language and the use of physical objects in the classroom allowed participants to compensate for the gaps in their L2 linguistic repertoire. This was interpreted as a form of translingual practice in which interactants go beyond a linguistic layer to make themselves understood and display, as research on CA calls, recipient design. The achievement of intersubjectivity through multimodal semiotics was twofold. On the one hand, learners were found to be resorting to multimodality to bridge the gap in their own L2 ability. On the other hand, they were also doing so to make sure that their interactants could follow them without difficulty. The data also showed that even those learners who were not talking would use body language and other multimodal resources to send the message to the speaker that he or she was being understood. This is another example of recipient design that

contributes to the maintenance of intersubjectivity. The presence of intersubjectivity is also regarded as a sign for IC in learners.

Learners interacting in the absence of teachers were also found to be using multimodality to maintain mutual understanding. Apart from resorting to embodied practices, however, learner-learner interactions featured another form of multimodality as well. In contrast to teacher-led interactions during which the two teachers would control the computer interface, the camera, and the microphones, in learner-learner interactions learners were in control of their own screens. This gave them the chance to make use of semiotic resources available to them on their computers or smartphones. Examples for such resources were searching for the meaning of a word in English or looking up the equivalent of a word in their own language, and sharing photos or videos with their partners that would complement their ideas and, as a result, help them make themselves understood better. The use of drawing tools on the computer was another instance of multimodality in these interactions.

The second feature of learner-learner interactions relevant to the first research question was the maintenance of intersubjectivity through the management of epistemic stance. Epistemic stance refers to the knowledge claims made by a speaker in a conversation and the orientation of other interactants towards that knowledge claim. The participants in this study used a number of interactional devices to manage their epistemic stance that led to mutual understanding in their interactions. These devices included short tokens of surprise, alternations in treatment of inter-turn and intra-turn pauses in turn-taking practices as well as initiation and accomplishment of repairs. As shall be seen in the following section, the second research question dealt with the creation or obstruction of space for learning.

2. How is space for learning created or obstructed during interactions in a COIL exchange?

Space for learning refers to the amount of interactional space provided for the learners in an educational or non-educational setting. The concept is based on the sociocultural theory of learning which upholds interaction and participation as prerequisites for any learning to take place. The ability of learners and teachers to make this happen is referred to as CIC as reviewed earlier in this dissertation. CIC implies that the creation of space for learning is a result of learners' and teachers' mutual interactional practices. The analysis of data in this study also revealed the same during both the class interactions and the interactions taking place outside the classroom in the absence of teachers.

As for learning space in the classroom interactions, a number of facilitative interactional practices along with some obstructive ones were identified. First of all, creating a meaning-and-fluency context in which more attention is paid to self-expression and meaning and less to accuracy in L2 use was found to be conducive to the creation of learning for space for learners. Errors in learner productions were not corrected on the spot and the flow of interaction was not interrupted for giving feedback. Learner turns were longer and more frequent than teacher turns, repair was only done when there was a communication gap and not for the purpose of formal corrections, and referential, rather than display, questions were asked by teachers.

Asking referential questions was found to create space for learning in several ways; however, it did not necessarily promote learner participation. Referential questions were proved most useful when they were asked at a TRP when they were posed in the follow-up moves particularly in the presence of a communicative problem when they were accompanied by teacher echoing, and finally when they were paraphrased. On the other hand, they seemed to

yield no good result in the presence of obstructive interactional practices including undue elaboration on questions, teachers' answering self-posed questions, prolonged teacher turns, undue interruptions of learner responses and completion of learner turns.

Moving out of lockstep IRF sequences was another facilitative interactional practice that was likely to create space for learning. This was found to be done both in solicited and unsolicited manners. While in the former case teachers' direct request of learners to initiate sequences would give them a chance to initiate an IRF sequence instead of responding to it, in the latter case the two practices of extended post-feedback teacher wait-time and positive assessment of previous learner contribution were able to do so. In both cases, learners could exercise higher levels of agency in classroom interactions instead of playing peripheral roles constantly following teachers' initiation of interactional sequences.

Space for learning was also created and obstructed following certain practices in the second set of the data, i.e. in learner-learner interactions, as well. First of all, extended instances of negotiation for meaning among learners led to the creation of space for interaction and learning. In the absence of teachers, misunderstandings took longer to resolve during which learners had to devise alternative explanations to understand their partners and make themselves understood. On the other hand, their mismanagement of turns would obstruct learning space for some of the participants. Turn-taking was not always free-flowing and there was often bias in the distribution of turns. Although teachers were absent in learner-learner interactions and institutional turn-taking rules of the classroom did not apply, learners often oriented to one of their peers as a turn distributor and a teacher-figure and this would limit their opportunity to practice turn-taking.

Another key issue in learner-learner interactions was the way closing sequences in their video calls were managed. Before initiating a closing sequence learners initiated a pre-closing sequence preparing their interlocutors literally for saying good-bye. From the point of view of preference organization, this could be regarded as positive since pre-closing sequences toned down the dispreferred action of ending a video call. Furthermore, longer interactions in the form of pre-closings meant more interactional space. However, the pre-closing sequences could be dragging and too long and this would compromise the principle of economy in interactions.

8.3. Implications

Studies on different aspects of second language learning and teaching have drawn attention to the importance of IC in recent years. This is not to undermine the fact that acquiring the linguistic system including syntax and semantics in a second language play crucial roles in the overall performance of language learners. In fact, recent understandings of IC and its contribution to language learning have been a response to earlier conceptualizations of language learning as a purely cognitive process and regarding competence as an individualistic ability. In a recent publication, Sert (2019) proposes an agenda for the future of research on IC as Figure 8.1 shows on the next page. As can be seen in Figure 8.1, Sert argues that prospective research has to contribute to the current understanding of IC in four main areas. First, future research on IC needs to attend to L2 learning and development. What this necessitates at least in educational settings is researching how IC can be taught to learners. Teaching IC will not be realized without preparing and equipping teachers who have the necessary skills to do so. And finally, IC research needs to reconsider how a second language is to be assessed. The findings of the present research seem to have direct and indirect implications for all of these areas.
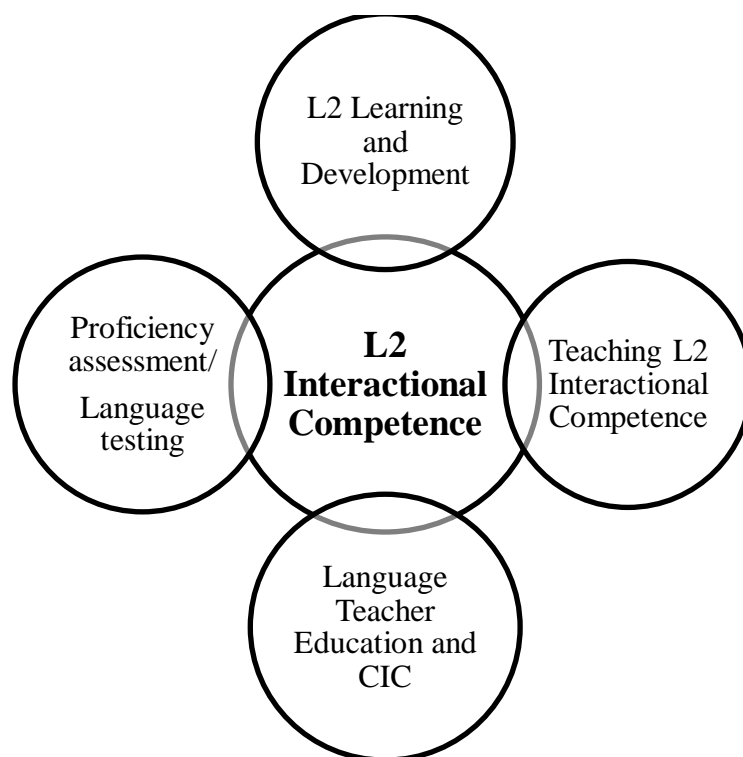
Figure 8.1. A research agenda for L2 IC across domains of investigation
(adopted from Sert, 2019)

This research showed that second language learners are able to employ a range of interactional devices to understand each other without actually having mastery over the linguistic system of the L2. This might mean that there is not a one-to-one correspondence between mastery of the underlying system and being able to use the language appropriately to achieve various interactional goals in real-world conversations. Although studying the correlation between the two has been beyond the scope of this research, what is implied here is twofold. First, development in L2 learners' abilities cannot be narrowly defined in terms of their knowledge of the L2 language system. In addition, there seems to be a need for the teaching of IC in the classroom as well. Tomlinson and Masuhara (2018), two of the leading research figures in materials development in SLA, argue that there is a disparity between the models of language use available to learners in published textbooks and the evidence of language use provided by

corpus-based research. It is very difficult to imagine how such artificial models of language use can contribute to the development of IC.

Apart from the necessity of providing L2 learners with examples of authentic conversations in the classroom, it also seems imperative for language teaching classes to equip learners with tools and strategies that can assist them in using language in the real world. Breakdowns and misunderstandings frequently take place in human interactions regardless of interactants' mastery over the linguistic system. The ability to overcome such problems is partly related to one's level of IC. Models of communicative competence, as referred to in the second chapter of this study, have added strategic competence as a component to the concept to highlight the importance of being able to maintain intersubjectivity even when learners do not possess sufficient linguistic resources to do so. Now the question is whether language teaching textbooks aim to train learners in this aspect or not. A glance through research on materials development for L2 learning and teaching shows that not much has been published to address this issue (Tomlinson, 2016). Also close to the development of strategic competence is training L2 learners in making use of compensation strategies. Compensation strategies are in fact communication strategies used by L2 learners to, as the name suggests, compensate for the gaps in their linguistic knowledge. Examples of such strategies include drawing inferences, guessing the meanings of words and utterances and their intentions based on the context and approaching comprehension in a top-down manner. Making learners dependent on what is said or read limits their chance to employ their world knowledge in making sense of the conversations in L2. This is a bottom-up approach in that it regards understanding every single part of an utterance or text crucial in making sense of its overall meaning. A top-down approach does the opposite. It upholds L2 learners' world knowledge as the primary source of meaning and thus contends that

204

understanding individual parts of an utterance do nothing but either confirming or rejecting the hypotheses L2 learners constantly make based on their world knowledge.

This is closely related to the functions of IC as proposed by Kramsch (1986). Kramsch's argument was that L2 teaching has to empower learners by assisting them to use the resources already available to them to both make themselves understood and understand others rather than emphasizing grammatical accuracy. To her, L2 learners' ability to find ways to compensate for the gaps in their linguistic system was the most important aspect of learning. This also has resonance with Cook's (2007) criticism of what she called "deficit models" of language learning, which perceive L2 users of a language inferior to L1 speakers by comparing their performance with that of L1 speakers. What is common in these two arguments is that L2 learners possess an array of interactional devices and hence are not deficient users of the L2. The present study also implied the same idea.

This study also had implications for language teacher training particularly with reference to CIC. One of the questions of this research, as explained earlier in this chapter, targeted the creation and obstruction of learning space. The analysis of the data revealed that teacher turns play very important parts in promoting learner participation. This necessitates raising awareness among pre-service and in-service teachers towards the interactional functions of their turns in the classroom. It might not be a realistic goal to expect teachers to become experts in CA and study the interactional consequences of their turns in the classroom. There seem to exist, however, two other opportunities. First, the development of CIC in language teachers has to become an inseparable component in teacher education programs. Consciousness-raising tasks, observations of other teachers' interactional practices and engaging in reflective practices can be among the tools that are likely to contribute to raising such awareness. Second, empowering teachers to

conduct small-scale action research targeting the interactional structure of talk in the L2 classroom seems to be necessary as well. Although knowledge building can for sure be empowering too, learning from and reflecting on one's own practices may well provide better opportunities for the development of CIC.

As far as proficiency assessment and language testing are concerned, the main implication of this study, and probably any other study focusing on IC, is that traditional models of testing the speaking skill fall short of handing in a realistic and accurate estimate of L2 learners' communication ability. Traditionally, language testing has been concerned with distinguishing right from wrong. This may well be appropriate as far as the use of grammar and vocabulary of the L2 are concerned. L2 learners' performance in such areas can be evaluated normatively since an utterance is either grammatical or not. The use of the vocabulary is either correct or incorrect. There is nothing in between. There are areas, however, that such normative-prescriptive frameworks for testing L2 learners' performance reach their limits. A case in point, Huth and Betz (2019) argue, is assessing IC.

The main issue in IC is that human interactions feature high levels of context-sensitivity and are co-constructed by all participants in a given conversation. A grammatically correct utterance might prove very inappropriate in a particular context. Alternatively, a speaker's performance may vary widely based on with whom he or she is interacting. What adds to this complication is also the fact that turns in CA are thought to be context-shaped and context-renewing. In other words, any single turn projects the next turn and is at the same time projected by the previous turn itself. Turns in a sequence are connected to each other like a chain. Now let us imagine again how the speaking skill in L2 is conventionally assessed. There is usually a test taker, who asks questions from or prompts the examinee. The whole conversation might be

recorded. Yet it is only the examinee's response that counts as evidence of his/her competence in speaking and this leaves out the role of the many turns produced by the other interlocutor, i.e. the examiner.

Yet another difficulty in assessing L2 IC is its transferability from L1. Research has shown that IC is not necessarily a product of L2 learning. L2 learners by definition have already mastered an L1 probably with the exception of cases involved in very young age L2 acquisition and concurrent bilingualism. Hall (2018) argues that for this very reason it is difficult to decide whether an examinee's displays of IC (or rather the absence of them) are a result of his/her L2 development or they have been transferred from the L1.

There are for sure difficulties in assessing IC in L2. This, however, does not obviate the need for revisiting conventional models of testing the speaking skill. A considerable number of L2 learners take standardized tests for practical purposes. The results of these tests can sometimes change the test takers' lives. Important decisions are often made based on the scores individuals obtain in L2 proficiency tests. All of this raises concerns regarding the consequential validity (Messick, 1989) of the test, according to which the way test results are used in society constructs an aspect of its validity, too. Testing the speaking skill needs to broaden its perspective and focus more on evaluating the effectiveness of the various *methods of interaction* (Warring, 2018) people use to interact instead of prioritizing normative evaluations of accuracy.

Finally, there are also implications for COIL programs. This study used a COIL program as the platform for the collection of data since it satisfied the two main data criteria of the study namely technology-mediated interactions and interactions among L2 speakers of English. It did not seek to explore the effectiveness of the COIL approach. Yet, with reference to the findings of

the role of teachers in shaping learner participation, it can be said that teacher training for COIL needs to be taken more seriously. Mastery over the content area does not seem to guarantee a teachers' success in running a COIL class. More attention has to be paid to the CIC of teachers, which enables them to get the most out of learner interactions. Teacher training programs specifically designed for COIL-bound teachers and faculty might be an appropriate measure to tackle this issue.

8.4. Limitations of the Study

This study has been limited in a number of ways. Some of these limitations were imposed by the choices made by the researcher while others were out of the researcher's control. First of all, the data used in this study were from the COIL interactions that took place in one semester between two classes in two universities in Japan and Taiwan. To meet the criterion of naturally occurring data, the research did not have any control over the length of the interactions. The length of classroom interaction was limited by the syllabi of the two classes. There was even less control over the length of learner-learner interactions that took place out of the classroom. Lengthier and deeper data could enrich the analysis for sure; however, any manipulation would compromise the naturalness of the interactions.

The study kept a focus on technology-mediated interactions, yet it did not specifically investigate the difference using various devices or applications would make. Technology mediation was taken in a broad sense in this study. Learners were literally allowed to use any application of their choice to interact with each other outside the classroom. Also, while some of them used their smartphones, others made use of their laptop computers. Taking into account the fact that any application or device would offer its own affordances and limitations, it can be

concluded that interactions taking place via various devices or applications can be potentially different in terms of their interactional structure.

The next limitation of the study concerns the audiovisual quality of the data. Overall, teacher-led interactions taking place in the classes were recorded with higher quality compared with the learner-learner data. Yet, since only one video recorder and one microphone were set in each of the two classes, the recorded data was limited in at least two ways. First, in many cases, the quality of the voice of the learners sitting far from the microphone and the camera was low making it difficult to understand and transcribe what they were saying. In addition, this meant that while those students who came to the front of the class to interact with their partners in the other class were more audible, the researcher did not have access to the interactions going on among the students in that very class. That is to say, only the voices of those actually taking turns were audible and hence analyzable, and others were considered silent. This was not necessarily the case though.

Finally, although the researcher sought help from native speakers of Japanese and Mandarin in the transcription of the data set to comprehend what the participants occasionally said in their mother tongues, the primary focus of the analyses was on utterances made in English. Fortunately, the amount of data in languages other than English was minimal in the data set, however, since any single utterance can shape the utterance coming after it, it would be ideal if the researcher could understand all of the languages used and included them all in the analysis.

8.5. Suggestions for Future Research

Recent research has been interested in tracing the development of IC in L2 learners over time. Given the difficulties of collecting such data, however, relatively very little has been published with such data. Although the collection of data in the present research was done in a semester, it

cannot qualify as longitudinal since the aim was not to monitor the changes in the participants' IC. Future research is needed to shed more light on this aspect. Particularly in the case of COIL as an approach that is gaining momentum worldwide to promote cross-cultural interactions, longitudinal research as such can provide evidence for what learners can gain from such an approach.

Also close to the question of the development of IC is the issue of developing materials and activities to boost learner gains from L2 interactions. Future research can expand the findings of the present study by investigating how L2 learners can be trained to feature higher levels of IC in their real-world language use. As mentioned previously in this chapter, textbooks and other materials specializing in the development of IC seem to be scares. Particularly, research can utilize the affordances of computer technology in assisting teachers to realize this goal. Computers have been part of the language classroom in the past two decades but their potentials in developing learner IC is yet to be explored. What could also follow the designing of materials for developing IC, either computer-based or otherwise, is studying the level of uptake by the learners. That is, measuring the influence of different task types on learner achievements.

The analysis of the data in this study was done with a single-case analysis approach in CA. It might be better to call it multiple-case analysis though since more than one single interactional sequence were studied. No matter what we call it, however, it suffers from a lack of generalizability of its findings. Generalizability or external validity is not the main concern in CA research with a case analysis design, but a corpus-based study of each of the findings of this research may well prove helpful in improving the quality of teaching and learning in L2 classes. Corpus-based CA research focuses on one single interactional phenomenon and collects

extensive data from a wide range of situations and contexts and hence its results can be regarded as more generalizable.

Lastly, studying the interactional methods L2 learners employ to achieve and maintain intersubjectivity can be extended to non-instructional settings as well. Not all learning takes place within the walls of the classroom. It is even more so when dealing with IC. The present study attempted to study learner-learner interactions within the agenda of IaH where learners could interact with peers from another country without being physically mobile. One way to follow up on this would be to explore the interactional devices and methods L2 speakers use when they travel or study abroad. Student exchange programs where students homestay with a foreign family and spend a long time with them could offer rich data to do this as a case in point. Research on student achievements from study abroad in IA programs has been more concerned with figuring out how cross-cultural competence may improve in students. However, investigating the development of IC may prove very informative as well.

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Appendix A: Transcription Symbols, based on Jefferson (1984)

Symbol	Name	Use
[text]	Brackets	Indicates the start and end points of overlapping speech.
=	Equal Sign	Indicates the break and subsequent continuation of a single interrupted utterance.
(# of seconds)	Timed Pause	A number in parentheses indicates the time, in seconds, of a pause in speech.
(.)	Micropause	A brief pause, usually less than 0.2 seconds.
. or ↓	Period or Down Arrow	Indicates falling pitch.
? or ↑	Question Mark or Up Arrow	Indicates rising pitch.
,	Comma	Indicates a temporary rise or fall in intonation.
-	Hyphen	Indicates an abrupt halt or interruption in utterance.
>text<	Greater than / Less than symbols	Indicates that the enclosed speech was delivered more rapidly than usual for the speaker.
<text>	Less than / Greater than symbols	Indicates that the enclosed speech was delivered more slowly than usual for the speaker.
°	Degree symbol	Indicates whisper or reduced volume speech.
ALL CAPS	Capitalized text	Indicates shouted or increased volume speech.
Underline	Underlined text	Indicates the speaker is emphasizing or stressing the speech.
:::	Colon(s)	Indicates prolongation of an utterance.
(hhh)		Audible exhalation
? or (.hhh)	High Dot	Audible inhalation
(text)	Parentheses	Speech which is unclear or in doubt in the transcript.
((italic text))	Double Parentheses	Annotation of non-verbal activity.

CONSENT FORM

You are invited to participate in this research study titled: "**A Conversation Analytic Study of the Emergence of Intersubjectivity and Space for Learning in Teacher and Learner Technology-Mediated Foreign Language Interactions**."

You were selected as a possible participant due to your involvement in a class participating in a Collaborative online International Learning (COIL) project at XXXX University.

Please read this form and ask any questions you may have before acting on this invitation to be in the study.

Researcher Information:
This study is being conducted by Sajjad Pouromid, a PhD candidate at Kyosei department, Osaka University. The researchers' contact information can be found at the end of this consent form. Please feel free to contact him any time prior, during or after the project if you have any concerns or questions regarding the data.

This research has been approved by the Graduate School of Human Sciences Ethics Committee within the Department of Education (OUKS1705).

Research Purpose:
The purpose of this study is to investigate the nature of the interactions that take place between learners of English as a foreign language in a technology enhanced classroom.

Research Procedure:
If you agree to be in this study, the researcher will collect audio and video recordings of your classroom interactions. These recordings will be transcribed and analyzed without making any reference to your names. You will NOT be asked to answer any questions for example in the form of questionnaires or interviews in this project. The researcher will NOT collect any information on your background.

Voluntary Nature of the Study:
Your participation in this study is strictly voluntary. Your decision whether or not to participate will not affect your current or future relations with your school or the institutions represented by any researcher. If you initially decide to participate, you are still free to withdraw at any time later without affecting those relationships.

Risks and Benefits of Being in the Study:
There are no risks associated with participating in this study and there are no short or long-term benefits to participating in this study. In the event you experience stress or anxiety during your participation in the study you may terminate your participation at any time.

Confidentiality:
The records of this study will be kept private. In any report of this study that might be published, the researcher will not include any information that will make it possible to identify you. Research records will be kept in a locked file for 10 years, and only the researcher will have access to the records.

Contacts and Questions:
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Address: (562-0045) 5-16-29 Segawa, Minoh-shi, Osaka, Japan.

Statement of Consent:

Please Check the Box

1. I confirm that I have read and understand all the information on this consent form for the above project and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason.

3. I understand that all data collected from my interactions in any form will be anonymously analyzed and only the researcher will have access to it.

4. I agree to take part in the above project.

_____   _____   _____

Name of Participant   Date   Signature

__ _____   _____   _____

Researcher   Date   Signature