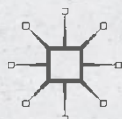




LONGITUDINAL STUDIES
ON THE ORGANIZATION
OF SOCIAL INTERACTION

*Edited by
Simona Pekarek Doehler,
Johannes Wagner
and Esther González-Martínez*



Longitudinal Studies on the Organization of Social Interaction

Simona Pekarek Doehler
Johannes Wagner
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Editors

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Contents

Part I	Introduction	1
1	Longitudinal Research on the Organization of Social Interaction: Current Developments and Methodological Challenges	3
	<i>Johannes Wagner, Simona Pekarek Doehler, and Esther González-Martínez</i>	
Part II	Change in Interactional Practices Within Family Settings	37
2	Making Knowing Visible: Tracking the Development of the Response Token <i>Yes</i> in Second Turn Position	39
	<i>Anna Filipi</i>	
3	Tracking Change Over Time in Storytelling Practices: A Longitudinal Study of Second Language Talk-in-Interaction	67
	<i>Evelyne Berger and Simona Pekarek Doehler</i>	

Part III	Change in Skills and Interactional Competences in School Settings	103
4	Talking About Reading: Changing Practices for a Literacy Event <i>John Hellermann</i>	105
5	From Trouble in the Talk to New Resources: The Interplay of Bodily and Linguistic Resources in the Talk of a Speaker of English as a Second Language <i>Søren W. Eskildsen and Johannes Wagner</i>	143
6	How the “Machinery” of Sense Production Changes Over Time <i>Timothy Koschmann, Robert Sigley, Alan Zemel, and Carolyn Maher</i>	173
Part IV	Change in Interactional Practices in Workplace Settings	193
7	A Longitudinal Perspective on Turn Design: From Role-Plays to Workplace Patient Consultations <i>Hanh thi Nguyen</i>	195
8	Conversation Analysis and Psychotherapeutic Change <i>Liisa Voutilainen, Federico Rossano, and Anssi Peräkylä</i>	225
9	Discovering Interactional Authenticity: Tracking Theatre Practitioners Across Rehearsals <i>Spencer Hazel</i>	255

Part V	Collective and Cultural Change	285
10	Controversial Issues in Participatory Urban Planning: An Ethnomethodological and Conversation Analytic Historical Study <i>Lorenza Mondada</i>	287
11	When Cancer Calls...: Longitudinal Analysis and Sustained Cultural Impact <i>Wayne A. Beach, David M. Dozier, and Kyle Gutzmer</i>	329
Index		361

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List of Figures and Tables

Fig. 4.1	Pages 6 and 7 from <i>Fred Goes to Work</i> , LVA-Chippewa Valley	117
Fig. 4.2	Li and Eduardo reading	118
Fig. 4.3	Li disengaging from reading	119
Fig. 4.4	Reinaldo pointing to title of his book	121
Fig. 4.5	Li pointing to title of Reinaldo's book	122
Fig. 4.6	Reinaldo outlining the title of his book	123
Fig. 4.7	First page from Li's book, <i>The Rat on the Rug</i> , Northwest Cooperative Labs	125
Fig. 4.8	Screen capture of page 14 from the book <i>Mouse Soup</i> by Arnold Lobel, Harper-Row Publishers, 1977	128
Fig. 4.9	Screen capture of page 15 from Li's book, and her pencil, <i>Mouse Soup</i> by Arnold Lobel, Harper-Row Publishers, 1977	131
Fig. 4.10	Text from the book Li is reading	131
Fig. 4.11	Sergio shifting angle of his head to see Li's book	132
Fig. 4.12	Sergio posture and gaze re-alignment to his book	133
Fig. 4.13	Sergio paging through his book	133
Fig. 4.14	Li laughing while disengaging from her book	134
Fig. 4.15	Li and Sergio re-aligning postures to focus on Sergio's book	135
Fig. 5.1	Overview over data excerpts	148
Fig. 5.2	(a, b, c) Carlos points at Gabriel and at himself	151
Fig. 5.3	Carlos turns towards Jovana	153

xvi **List of Figures and Tables**

Fig. 5.4	Carlos points briefly with pen	162
Fig. 6.1	Stephanie's, Dana's, and Michael's worksheets	177
Fig. 6.2	Stephanie's and Dana's worksheets	180
Fig. 7.1	(a) Ph/S marks beats with hand (RP1 at "y'know"). (b) Ph/S marks beats with hand (RP1 at "-charge")	211
Fig. 7.2	(a) Ph/S marks beats with hand (RP10 at "vag-"). (b) Ph/S marks beats with hand (RP10 at "dis-")	212
Fig. 7.3	(a) Ph indicates small quantity with hand (CL2-3 at "vag-"). (b) Ph indicates small quantity with hand (CL2-3 at "-charge")	214
Fig. 9.1	<i>Left to right:</i> Adam, Michael, Veronica, Annette	260
Fig. 10.1	Gaze between BEN and PER	294
Fig. 10.2	(a, b) PER writing the proposal	299
Fig. 10.3	(a, b) PRE animated reading of the PowerPoint. (c) PowerPoint slide	302
Fig. 10.4	PowerPoint slide, second paragraph	309
Fig. 10.5	PowerPoint slide, last paragraph	311
Fig. 10.6	(a) LAT and LER point at Post-It note (b) LAT's final (smaller) post-it	316 318
Fig. 11.1	Logo for performance	353
Table 2.1	A possible developmental map tracing the development and emergence of <i>yes</i> in two sequential positions	60

Part I

Introduction

1

Longitudinal Research on the Organization of Social Interaction: Current Developments and Methodological Challenges

Johannes Wagner, Simona Pekarek Doehler,
and Esther González-Martínez

Introduction

The story starts with a visit to a bakery in Barcelona. When entering the shop, the protagonists—visiting from abroad—address the woman behind the counter with *hola*, to which she replies with *hola*. While they are acquiring baking goods, another customer enters the shop and addresses the clerk with *bon dia* to which she responds *bon dia*. Knowing

We are very grateful to Harrie Mazeland and Maurice Nevile for their helpful comments and suggestions on the previous version of this introduction.

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from prior experience that *hola* is an informal, socially unmarked greeting, the two protagonists are able to make sense that *bon dia* is a specific greeting at this occasion, and—being Catalanian (the language spoken in Barcelona) and not the Castilian *buenos dias*—has a distinctive local key to it. The next morning, our protagonists enter the shop, greeting the clerk with *bon dia*, and receive *bon dia* in response. They have not suddenly turned local, but by their changed greeting, they show an understanding and respect for the interactional details of social encounters in this shop located in the capital of Catalonia—and they are met with the clerk’s aligned response.

Our example, though not invented, is anecdotal. But the type of phenomenon it documents is not unusual in the mundane everyday modern life where participants constantly adapt to locally distinct and contingent ways of interaction and, in that process, index interactional histories and membership categories. A collection of greetings in Spanish service encounters may contain both instances mentioned above. To describe their variation properly, however, the two instances need to be ordered in time, and only then may they be interpreted as indicating modification of interactional conduct based on prior experience, rather than on change in co-participants, speech exchange system, or settings.

This brings us to the main point of this edited volume: All chapters introduce time as an ordering principle for the analysis of the micro-level organization of social interaction, but unlike classical Conversation Analysis (CA), they do so not only within a single stretch of interaction (i.e., sequentially) but also across different interactions occurring in chronological order. CA has extensively demonstrated that orderliness in conversation is constrained in time: First pair parts set up types of second pair parts, and “things” coming in second position are routinely heard as responding to the first pair part. This sequential organization of turns and actions is the basis of intersubjectivity in interaction.

While pursuing the central concern with such sequential-temporal organization of social interaction as it materializes in *single* instances of interaction, the chapters in this volume address change over time *across* occasions, that is, across different instances of interaction. They investigate what Garfinkel has called “another first time”. As Rawls puts it in her introduction to Garfinkel (2002):

'Each next first time' signifies that while each next case of action is different, each next case of a particular recognizable sort of action must also be 'another' one of something that has been recognized before. Each is a first, but each is also a next. (...) For any situation to maintain itself recognizably over time, however, its practices must remain recognizably the same, changing slowly enough not to appear strange to members. (Rawls 2002, p. 30)

Concern with change over time across occasions has consequences for organizing the data. Instead of collections of instances of a specific social practice or resource independently of whether these occur on prior or later occasions or by whom they are produced, longitudinal studies need to order their data chronologically, contrasting instances, typically produced by the same participants, occurring at different moments in time. The focus of the investigation is not on the generic features of social interaction but on how participants' ways of dealing with "omnipresent organizational issues" (Schegloff 2009, p. 373) change over time.

With respect to our initial anecdotal instance, we note that adapting practices to local circumstances based on earlier interactions and finding alternative ways to act according to local contingencies in subsequent interactions is mundane conduct for human beings. It becomes available for description only when conduct is analyzed as ordered in time, both sequentially and historically. By adding a new dimension, historical time, to the organization of data, it is our intention to open up another analytical take to understand sense-making practices that members deploy in real time.

The present collection of chapters is designed to advance our understanding of change over time in human social conduct and to systematically address the challenges that research on the organization of social interaction faces when analyzing that change. The volume represents the first consolidated effort to present and discuss, in a comprehensive and integrated way, how micro-analytic studies of social interaction address the issue of change over time. It offers a collection of longitudinal studies drawing on CA across a variety of settings, practices, languages, and time-scales. In this introduction to the volume, we first situate our endeavor with regard to the research agenda of classical CA and discuss earlier

contributions to the topic. We then scrutinize the methodological challenges that arise at the current state of research for “vertical” (Zimmerman 1999) comparison in CA. We close the chapter by briefly discussing perspectives for future research.

Participants’ Practices Over Time and Space: Conversation Analysis

On the Ubiquitous Nature of Change Over Time

Change is a basic condition of human life. It is part of how people move through their social lives and through history, how they get acquainted, how they socialize, how they appropriate methods for accomplishing actions, and how, accordingly, they happen to act in precisely the ways they act. People are not born members; they become members while they move—over time—through the social worlds that they contribute to constitute. The contributions to this volume flesh out ways in which change is accomplished.

Systematic analysis of change in social practices is key to understanding how people develop their participation in social interaction, how they orient to changing normative expectations, how they adapt social practices to variable local contingencies, and, ultimately, how they change their practices and become able to act as members. By participating in social interaction, people create historical contingencies and social order over time and shape their own moving from past to present. Therefore, investigating change in social practices is paramount to understanding not only processes of socialization, participation, belonging, and learning¹ but also history and the continuous local shaping of the normative (i.e., moral) order pertaining to human sociality.

While CA set out to analyze the sequential organization of social interaction, change over time at a larger granularity has until very recently not been a topic for CA research.

Toward Horizontal and Vertical Comparison in Conversation Analysis

Since its emergence in the 1960s, CA has been extremely successful in bringing to light the detailed organization of practices that are key to the accomplishment of social action and social order in and through talk-in-interaction. It has identified the systematic ways in which generic interactional requirements, such as turn-taking, repair, sequence organization, or the overall structural organization of conversation, manifest themselves and are dealt with in a multitude of situations, in a (growing) range of natural languages, and by a wide array of participants. As evidenced in the seminal papers on turn-taking (Sacks et al. 1974) and repair (Schegloff et al. 1977), CA has been from the onset comparative in its analytical procedures (cf. Haakana et al. 2009, pp. 15–16), in that generalizations about a given phenomenon have been based on collections of relevant instances and involved detailed sequential analysis of each occurrence and comparison among these. Taking stock of this development, Zimmerman (1999) nearly two decades ago called for the approach to move toward systematic horizontal (across settings, cultures, or languages) and vertical (across time) comparative research. This has led to a significant number of horizontal comparative studies exploring the differences and similarities in the organization of conversational practices across types of interactions, participants, languages, and cultures. Haakana et al. (2009) and Sidnell (2009) represent unique collections reviewing progress made so far with regard to horizontal comparative research (see also Stivers et al. 2009 for an analysis of turn-taking across a range of cultures and languages). Also, although not comparative in design (but see Drew 2003), much work undertaken in CA has been concerned with unveiling the distinctive features of institutional forms of interaction compared to ordinary conversation (see, e.g., the institutional talk program: Drew and Heritage 1992; workplace studies: Luff et al. 2000; classroom studies: Mehan 1979; Macbeth 1990). Yet, vertical comparative CA research, that is, research that documents change over time, has remained scarce until now (Wootton 1997 and Clayman and Heritage 2002 are prominent exceptions, see below).

This is partly an outcome of CA's central concern with the generic organizational infrastructure of social interaction. As Heritage (2009, p. 303) puts it, "CA emerged as a study of the institution of conversation that focused on the procedural basis of its production", that is, CA is concerned with the generic features of such basic organizational principles as turn-taking (Sacks et al. 1974), repair (Schegloff et al. 1977), or sequence organization (Sacks 1987; Schegloff 2007). Time is paramount to the analysis of these principles: Actions are ordered sequentially, that is, chronologically; first actions precede next actions, and they project the kind of next actions that are locally relevant (Sacks et al. 1974); the length of inter-turn pauses is oriented to by participants while they make sense of ongoing courses of actions (cf. Pomerantz 1984); participants engage in prospective-retrospective interpretive procedures for organizing social interaction (Garfinkel 1967); and they subtly synchronize the multisemiotic resources they put to use in that process (Goodwin 1981, 2000). Temporality, thus, is an intrinsic feature of the local organization of social interaction and of the resources—including grammar (cf. Deppermann and Günthner 2015)—put to use for that purpose. Yet, with CA's interest in the generic interactional problems, historic time—in the sense of a temporality that reaches across locally organized social actions and practices—has not been a concern. From this focus on generic principles derives CA's methodological interest in analyzing the organization of social interaction on the basis of collections of instances of a similar phenomenon. If a practice is unstable or subject to change, a systematic collection-based description is vulnerable.

Furthermore, drawing on its roots in ethnomethodology, CA "is concerned with the analysis of competence which underlies ordinary social activities" (Heritage 1984, p. 241), that is, it scrutinizes the workings of what Garfinkel (1988) refers to as "the locally produced, naturally accountable phenomena of order" by identifying members' methods for organizing social interaction. Originally, CA was little concerned with "not-yet-competent members" (Schegloff 1989); rather, its focus is ordinarily on what could be called "competent members". Accordingly, in the early studies, CA practitioners crystallized their analytic interests

and methodological practices on the basis of data drawn primarily from adult and adolescent speakers interacting with their peers in socioeconomic and ethnically homogeneous settings. Change and development as well as competing ways of accomplishing social actions were not a major issue. Since then, CA has expanded its view, studying other ethnicities (Goodwin 1990), populations with atypical language or cognitive abilities (Goodwin 1995; Wilkinson 2010; Wilkinson et al. 2010), children (Kidwell 2005; Kidwell and Zimmermann 2006), and multilingual and multiethnic populations (Li 2002). Still, issues of change, development, or learning have not been a central agenda. Nevertheless, as Schegloff (2009, p. 400) put it only a few years ago: “In addition to the temporality of individuals’ lives, there is the passage of social, cultural, and historical time. The sort of data which has proven indispensable for CA work limits the possibility of comparative analysis at present, but not for long”.

Two Pioneering Studies on Change Over Time

We highlight here two CA-informed pioneering studies on change over time: Wootton’s (1997, see also Wootton 1994) book-long investigation on a child’s development of requests and Clayman and Heritage’s set of studies (2002; Clayman et al. 2006, 2007; Heritage and Clayman 2013, among others) on change in journalists’ questioning during presidential news conferences over the second half of the twentieth century. These pioneering studies are quite distinct in their research design, object of study, and time-span under scrutiny.

Wootton (1997) described the emergence and diversification of requests of a very young child in the interactional arena of social action, emotions, and moral order in which the child builds interactive and cognitive skills. The data are video recordings of Wootton’s own daughter, Amy, between the age of 10 and 37 months, interacting with one or both of her parents during everyday activities at home. Wootton presents case-by-case analysis of data excerpts, some of them supplemented by pictures, and identifies a range of distinct practices deployed by Amy over time for

doing requests. He supplements his analysis with numerical information on the frequency/distribution of certain child request formats as for the interactional environments in which they can be suitably used. Comparability over time is warranted in this study by keeping the speech exchange system, the type of action under scrutiny, as well as the precise participants constant.

Wootton's research question is how the child first gains access to her local culture and engages in verbal joint action with her parents. The main claim is that the child progressively develops a capacity to take into account sequential features of the ongoing interaction and to be sensitive to emerging understandings on how the interaction is to unfold, which she incorporates when producing requests. For instance, Wootton argues that by the age of two the child employs a variety of request formats. Yet, her requests are often formulated as imperatives and are not preceded by talk offering grounds for them. This is, for instance, the case in excerpt (1.1), recorded when Amy was 1 year and 11 months old. We reproduce the transcript as it appears in the original text.

Ex. (1.1) Wootton (1997, p. 51)

Amy and her father are eating together at the table, Amy in her highchair. After F has put some spoonfuls of food into Amy's mouth Amy points to some of the food on F's plate and says:

- 1 A: Want'at ((pointing at F's food))
 2 (.7)
 3 F: What do you sa:y? ((already moving his hand towards the
 4 food))
 5 A: Please
 6 F: Very good

In contrast, in excerpt (1.2), Amy, who is now two years and one month old, produces a request, again using an imperative, that is connected with previous talk and in line with the displayed understanding, namely that the father wants a piece of the jigsaw puzzle; the father and the child are dismantling a jigsaw by putting the pieces on the nearby chair. We reproduce the transcript as it appears in the original text.

Ex. (1.2) Wootton (1997, p. 61)

Amy and her father sit by a jigsaw that is being dismantled. However, the immediate prior topics concern the noises that different animals make and F taking his glasses off; the talk below initiates a return to jigsaw matters:

- 1 A: Like an: .hh like another one daddy? ((after the first two
 2 words she briefly looks towards the table and then
 3 positions her face so as to be looking more directly into F's
 4 face))
 5 F: Yes please Amy
 6 (.)
 7 F: [Yes
 8 A: [Jus: put it on the:re daddy ((from the word put onwards
 9 she points to the chair))
 10 F: (.9)
 11 F: Alright then ((reaches for jigsaw piece))

In a similar way, Wootton establishes other continuities and discontinuities in the child's capacity to, among others, make connections to increasingly remote sequences, to opt between formats depending on whether there is a sequential basis for expecting parental compliance, and, in general, to deploy request forms that are sensitive to interactional sequentiality. Wootton's, then, is a longitudinal study over 27 months of one individual's development of social-interactional practices for accomplishing a precise action—doing requests—within interactions with the same participants—mother and father—in their home.

A few years later, Clayman and Heritage's set of studies (2002; Clayman et al. 2006, 2007; Heritage and Clayman 2013, among others) on journalists' questioning during US presidential news conferences stands as one of a kind for its historical dimension and steadfast combination of CA and quantitative research. Differently from Wootton's, this set of studies traces not individual but historical change by comparing how members of the category "journalists" accomplish questioning of members of the category "US presidents" at two or three different moments in time, arching over several decades, within one and the same organizational domain of activity, that is, presidential news conferences.

In an initial paper, Clayman and Heritage (2002) offer a comparative study of questioning at two different periods in time: during the Eisenhower years (1953–1961) and during the Reagan years (1981–1989). Using qualitative and quantitative procedures, they document an increased adversarialness in question design on the part of the journalists in the later years. Subsequently Clayman, Heritage, and colleagues (2006, 2007) extended their study to the presidential press conferences of the 1953–2000 period, from Eisenhower’s to Clinton’s presidencies. Methodologically, they devised and applied a coding system of formal features of questions whose basis is that the aggressiveness of a question is gauged according to five dimensions achieved each by several practices serving as indicators (e.g., an indicator for the dimension “assertiveness” is the practice of producing “negative questions”). The validity of the system had been established based on prior research on questioning as well as sequential analysis of the data. Comparability over time was warranted by keeping the speech exchange system, the type of action under scrutiny, as well as the type of recipient constant over time.

Later on, Heritage and Clayman (2013, p. 484), by reference to the 2002 and subsequent papers, write: “These findings offered the first comprehensive overview of the nature of questioning at presidential news conferences, but their scope and generality was achieved at the cost of detail and specificity”. In their 2013 study of the presidential news conferences between 1953 and 2000, Heritage and Clayman focus specifically on one precise question format, namely the negative interrogative (*isn’t it...; don’t you...*, etc.). “[U]tilizing conceptual tools derived from the tradition of conversation analysis” (Heritage and Clayman 2013, p. 482), they argue for the need to complete quantitative analysis more systematically with qualitative sequential analysis, and they evidence how such analysis sharpens the magnitude of the change documented in earlier work. They quote emblematic examples such as excerpts (1.3) and (1.4). We reproduce the transcripts as they appear in the original text.

Ex. (1.3) Heritage and Clayman (2013, p. 490)

Press Conference of John F. Kennedy, April 11, 1962

- 1 Journalist: Mr. President, now that General Clay is coming home from
2 Berlin, don't you think that the service wives have borne
3 the brunt of our gold shortage long enough, and should be
4 permitted to join their soldier husbands in Europe.
5 After all, you can almost say that service couples have
6 had to bear a cross of gold alone, and in a very lonely
7 way. And spring is here and everyone knows that the GI's--
8 [laughter]--get into much less trouble and do their jobs
9 better if their wives and kids are with them.
10 President: I agree. And we're very sympathetic . . .

Ex. (1.4) Heritage and Clayman (2013, pp. 490–491)

Press Conference of Ronald W. Reagan, July 26, 1983

- 1 Journalist: Mr. President, if may follow up with another question
2 about the Commission, you talk a lot here, and your
3 aides do, about the gender gap. And yet that Commission
4 was appointed--12 men, no women. Doesn't that add to the
5 perception that you're insensitive to women?
6 President: It might add to the perception, and that's all it is is a
7 perception . . .

The authors note that in the early years, negative interrogatives were certainly used but less frequently than during and following the Nixon presidency. Moreover, one environment in which they occurred was in connection with topics of little importance, sometimes treated in a light heartened tone; excerpt (1.3) is an example. In contrast, following 1969, negative interrogatives were used related to issues on which the president was held personally accountable and were often accompanied by prefaces whose content the question treats as presuppositionally given; excerpt (1.4) is an example.

In a nutshell, the study documents that, over the years, journalists' questioning has not only become more adversarial in nature but also more critical, with a tendency to highlight administration problems and failings and to hold the president accountable for shortcomings. Thereby,

the study provides evidence for historical change in interactional practices over near to half a century.

Wootton's as well as Clayman and Heritage's paradigmatic studies illustrate the type of issues that can be targeted by micro-analysis of social interaction over time and stand as examples for distinct research designs for carrying out such analysis. Wootton's book is a diachronic study of a child's practices for making requests. The analytic perspective is on the child's development and its socialization into methods for doing action that is fostered in the community of which it learns to become a member. The study traces the pathway of emergence and adaptation of an individual's practices for accomplishing a given action over a period of several months when interacting with the same participants; the participants are kept constant and change is followed step by step.

This is radically different from the approach we find in Clayman and Heritage's work that documents change across historical time as to how members of a professional group (journalists) accomplish a given action (or rather set of actions: questioning) in a given context when interacting with members of another group (US presidents). This work is concerned with the history of communities and the repertoires of practices communities foster for doing actions. Clayman and Heritage's study can be considered as cross-sectional in nature, comparing (different) members of the same group at different (remote) moments in time. In short, then, while the research design we find with Wootton documents the trajectory of individual-developmental change in social-interactional practices, Clayman and Heritage's work evidences systematic historical-cultural change in such practices.

Current Developments in Longitudinal CA-Informed Research and the Contributions to This Volume

The past decade has witnessed a growing number of studies that bring the conceptual and analytical apparatus of CA to bear on a variety of different speech exchange systems and a variety of interactional phenomena investigated. Most—but not all—of these studies address issues relating to what is commonly called learning or development.

Classical CA has abundantly documented the eminent stability of the mechanisms that shape social interaction and ultimately the orderliness of that interaction. The findings emanating from existing studies of change over time provide further evidence for the generic characteristics of interaction, showing that the basic structural properties of social interaction and the related basic mechanisms at work are omnirelevant and omnipresent. For instance, while the resources for doing repair may vary over time with children or second-language speakers (just as they have been shown to vary across languages and cultures; cf. Fox et al. 1996), the basic structural properties of repair remain the same (initiation, repair, return to the interactional business; cf. Forrester 2008; Hellermann 2011); while the basic mechanisms of the turn-taking machinery are ubiquitous to social interaction, the resources participants put to use to access the floor may change over time (Cekaite 2007) and vary across settings. This is in line with findings from CA work on linguistically asymmetric conversation involving, for instance, participants with aphasia (e.g., Goodwin 1995) and has been explicitly argued for second-language conversations (Wagner and Gardner 2004).

However, as existing longitudinal studies suggest, the local efficacy of social practices is not just a given. It is acquired, adapted, consolidated by members over time, and realized while they engage in the social world. For instance, progressively, second-language (L2) speakers start to deploy means such as story prefaces and various backlinking devices so as to prepare the grounds for an upcoming storytelling and to display its fittedness to the ongoing interaction (Hellermann 2008; Pekarek Doehler and Berger 2016). Also, newcomers in professional interactions progressively adapt the way they engage in telephone openings during business calls (Brouwer and Wagner 2004) or in advice-giving sequences during pharmacist-patient consultations (Nguyen 2011). These studies provide evidence for change in how speakers recipient-design their turns and actions. Overall, such findings resonate with Garfinkel's understanding of socialization as a process in which actors acquire the sense-making procedures in terms of which they can treat their mutual actions as sensible, recognizable, and accountable (cf. Heritage 1984, p. 131), but see Lee (2010) for a critical examination of this argument.

Documenting Change Across Time: Developmental Studies

A number of CA and CA-informed studies follow the diachronic approach presented in Wootton's (1997) book-long study and show change on different time-scales, ranging from the short time-span of microgenetic studies toward longitudinal collection-based studies spanning over several months or years. These studies are basically concerned with the development of interactional competence—most typically by children or by second language (L2) speakers. They most often take as their starting point a given action or activity that is recurrently accomplished in talk-in-interaction, such as repairing, opening a story, closing a conversation, or offering a disagreement, and they track how speakers' practices for accomplishing that action or activity change over time. A basic requirement for these studies is to show in the data evidence of participants' orientation toward the membership category of the participant(s) under scrutiny, such as "child" or "L2 speaker".

One of the topics first invested in this vein was change in the interactional practices of very young children and speakers with language impairment. This is seen in Forrester's (2008) investigation on the emergence of self-repair during early pre-school years as well as in Filipi's (2009) study of pointing, gaze, and vocalization as part of interactional development in early childhood (see also Wootton 1994, on repair). This line of investigation is pursued in the present volume by Filipi's study on the development of the token *yes* in responsive actions in two children (Chap. 2). Similarly, in a longitudinal study of conversational practices of participants with aphasia, Wilkinson et al. (2007) document changes in an aphasic's talk over time.

A recently growing line of longitudinal work relating to CA has developed within the field of second-language talk, most of which is dedicated to tracking participants' evolving conversational practices in educational settings (see, e.g., Hellermann 2008 on story openings; Pekarek Doehler and Pochon-Berger 2011 on disagreements). More rarely, out-of-school settings have been investigated (for overviews, see Kasper and Wagner 2011; Pekarek Doehler and Pochon-Berger 2015). In one of the first papers in the field, Brouwer and Wagner (2004) track opening sequences

in second-language speakers' telephone interactions, showing order appearing over a short series of subsequent calls. Hellermann (2008) offers a pioneering book-long longitudinal study of adult L2 speakers in the classroom across several months, and some over years, documenting, for instance, that L2 speakers show, over time, an increased use of prefatory work and story prefaces, thereby structuring story openings in sequentially novel and interactionally more efficient ways. A range of related studies have documented change in L2 speakers' practices for turn-taking (Cekaite 2007), repair (Hellermann 2011) or story opening (Pekarek Doehler and Berger 2016). In Chap. 3 of this volume, Berger and Pekarek Doehler present a longitudinal case study of an L2 speaker's storytelling practices during dinner table conversations. In Chap. 4, Hellermann traces a trajectory of change of a student's practices for participating in a literacy event within an educational setting.

Other studies on L2 interaction focused on the use of specific semiotic resources. Ishida (2009) examined how an L2 learner of Japanese developed his use of the interactional particle *ne* during study abroad in Japan over a ten-month period. The student expanded his use of *ne* to different sequential contexts and so was able to engage more effectively in social interaction. Here, then, the development of linguistic forms is observed in terms of what these forms do in talk-in-interaction (see also Kim 2009). Eskildsen and Wagner (2013, 2015) have demonstrated how embodied traces of earlier use show up in the later deployment of linguistics resources. Similarly, in Chap. 5, Eskildsen and Wagner document how an L2 speaker's deictical gestures disappear over time while linguistic structures come into place.

The cumulative evidence emanating from these studies on the development of interactional competence suggests that such development centrally involves a diversification of interactional practices for getting a communicative project accomplished (e.g., diversification of practices for doing requests, Wootton 1994; for repairing, Hellermann 2011; for opening storytellings, Hellermann 2008; Pekarek Doehler and Berger 2016; for disagreeing, Pekarek Doehler and Pochon-Berger 2011, etc.) and the ensuing increased ability for context-sensitive conduct, as illustrated already by Wootton's (1997) findings (see also Brouwer and Wagner 2004).

While Chaps. 2, 3, 4, and 5 focus on children's or L2 speaker's development of competences for social interaction, and related semiotic resources, Koschmann et al. investigate in Chap. 6 the development of analytic practices in math lessons. They show how students solve a mathematical problem in year 3 compared to year 2, indicating change over time in the students' "machinery" for problem solving.

Another line of research has examined the deployment of professional interactional competences by following the interactions of in-training pharmacist interns (Nguyen 2011), language teachers (Hosoda and Aline 2010), or science-teaching assistants (Rine and Hall 2011). This line of research is represented in this volume in Chap. 7 by Nguyen's investigation on how a pharmacy student develops turn-design practices in performing the actions of drug identification, allergy inquiry, or advice-giving.

The preceding can all be considered as "developmental" studies in as far as they interpret the change as part of increased competence, local intelligibility, or acceptability of interactional conduct, as analyzable in the way one party's turns at talk are treated by others. Based on the "observable and reportable" (Garfinkel 1967) character of departures from perceived normal conduct, the local intelligibility of conduct, in the context of these studies, needs to be warranted analytically by observable on-the-spot actions on the part of participants. On a conceptual level, the quoted studies substantiate an understanding of competence as residing in action (Garfinkel 1967; see more recently Pekarek Doehler 2010; Mori and Koschmann 2012; see also Firth and Wagner 1997, 2007 for the notion of learning-in-action) and therefore as eminently sensitive to local contingencies, including co-participants' conduct. Accordingly, participants display competence as "locally produced, naturally accountable phenomena of order" (Garfinkel 1988; quoted in Mori and Koschmann 2012).

Documenting Change Across Time: How Communities of Practice Handle Change as Their Core Business

Chapters 8, 9, 10, and 11 of the book illuminate change in terms of the historicity of social-interactional patterns rather than in terms of the developmental trajectories of participants. But they are different from

Clayman and Heritage's work (see above) about the historic change in the ways a specific practice (questions to the president) is accomplished. A central object of investigation in this vein has been the transformation of conversational patterns in therapeutic encounters (Martin and Sahlström 2010; Wilkinson et al. 1998, 2007). Prominently, Peräkylä and colleagues, in a set of studies (e.g., Voutilainen et al. 2011), have shown how psychotherapy is treated as a longitudinal process by both therapists and clients (see also Bercelli et al. 2008, 2013). In Chap. 8 of this volume, Voutilainen, Rossano, and Peräkylä document how participants orient to the historicity of thematic threads while these are worked on in a precise sequence that recurred over time during therapy sessions.

In Chap. 9, Hazel looks at the ways in which actors during rehearsals of a play figure out how to embody the script. He demonstrates the methodical procedures through which subtle changes of performance are achieved so that, at the end, the performance is seen as "naturalistic".

The documentation of historical change is also pursued by Mondada's study, in Chap. 10, on long-term controversies within an urban participatory project. The study offers a scrutiny of how the participants in the project, over time, orient to past experiences and mobilize these as resources for shaping their current actions.

Beach, Dozier, and Guzman's study of conversation-organizational changes across a series of calls between relatives affected by the illness and, ultimately, the death of a loved one is different both in scope and purpose. In their analysis of phone interactions about dealing with seemingly practical issues, presented in Chap. 11, the authors draw the "natural history of a recorded family cancer journey" and report on how they built on their case a theatrical production to educate and help citizens in comparable situations.

The existing research, including the research presented in this volume, has documented change, over time, in social practices in a variety of settings and based on different time-scales (weeks, months, years), mainly focusing on verbal practices and embodied conduct in institutional settings. Their cumulative evidence shows to what extent studying change in interactional practices is central for understanding how members' methods evolve (developmentally) and how members adapt and recalibrate their methods based on experiences over time. More rarely, the studies

undertaken show how interactional practices, actions, or events get recalibrated as part of socio-historical evolutions of which they are a constitutive part (e.g., Clayman and Heritage 2002).

While existing studies of change over time drawing on CA may differ in the time-scale investigated, in the type of setting and participants analyzed, and in the interactional phenomenon undergoing change that is targeted, arguably they are not scrutinizing categorically different types of change. Whether at an individual-developmental level or at a group-cultural-historical level, the interactional practices these studies observe are locally accomplished—accountably and reflexively—as part of mutually coordinated actions, and the change that they document in these practices over time is part of how members elaborate and continuously adapt the sense-making procedures by means of which they treat their own and other's actions as recognizable and accountable.

While the existing longitudinal studies of social interaction open new avenues for understanding change in social practices, the field faces a number of conceptual and methodological challenges, which we address in the next section.

Methodological Challenges

As mentioned above, longitudinal studies of interaction have tackled change across different time-spans and have been based on different granularities therein. Roughly speaking—and this is reflected in the design of the two classic studies that we have discussed in some detail above—the existing studies can be discussed under two basic tenets. The first one has to do with the question of how longitudinal phenomena are traced over time. The basic distinction here is between collections of the same phenomenon at different times and long-term tracing of a phenomenon over time. The second tenet relates to the kind of interactional object the study focuses on: social practices related to greetings, assessments, requests, and so forth or semiotic resources such as change of state tokens, acknowledgment tokens, laughter, and gestures. Both issues imply important challenges relating to how change

can be adequately documented, interpreted, and conceptualized and will be discussed in the following text.

Tracing Practices

On the one hand, studies may be designed to follow the *pathway of emergence or change* of a given phenomenon over a period of time. These studies document how the phenomenon evolves from one instance of interaction to the other by tracing participants' practices involved therein. This approach is illustrated by Wootton's (1997) study of how a child develops requests, as discussed above. The design is based on a series of chronologically ordered single case analysis occurring each at a precise moment in time, which allows tracking *the process of emergence* of a given practice or resource for accomplishing a given action. Some studies—most notably the previously mentioned work on therapy—document such gradually occurring change over time, while at the same time examining how participants display orientation to past events and thereby enact an understanding of the longitudinal nature of the endeavor they are engaged in.

On the other hand, studies may choose to document the *systematicity of the change* occurring between two (or more) determined moments in time, thereby comparing collections of the phenomenon at hand occurring at time X with collections of the phenomenon occurring at time $X + n$, as illustrated by Clayman and Heritage's work. This allows identifying *systematic differences* between two (or more) moments in time in the resources or practices participants use for accomplishing a given action. It requires ordering the collections historically, contrasting recurrent features of a given action or practice occurring at different moments in time. How we reasonably build collections longitudinally is an important issue that yet remains to be scrutinized in detail.

Traced Objects

Longitudinal studies have traced different kinds of conversational objects over time. Just as classic work in CA (e.g., Pomerantz 1984 on (dis)agreeing with assessments; Schegloff 1982 on *uh hub's*), they take as their point

of departure either an action or an interactional resource. The main share of longitudinal studies has investigated actions and tracked the various practices through which such actions get accomplished: Clayman and Heritage (2002) looked at questions to American presidents, Wootton (1997) studied a child's requests, Brouwer and Wagner (2004) described how L2 speakers accomplished routinized telephone openings, and Hellermann (2008) examined L2 speakers' formats for story openings.

A different class of objects are semiotic resources which have been studied in a wide range of conversation analytic studies (e.g., Schegloff 1982 on *uh huh's*). Kim (2009), for instance, studied how learners of Korean use two discourse markers in interactions with Korean first-language speakers (see also Ishida 2009, cited above).

Documenting Change

Studies tracing conversational objects over time require what Koschmann (2013, p. 1039) calls a "same-but-different" analysis: It presupposes showing that a given action or practice is, over time, accomplished differently yet still enough in the same way so that it can count as the same action or practice. This is somehow at odds with the classical procedures of CA work, where robustness of evidence for a given phenomenon is reached based on maximum comparability of its specifiable features and where this involves documenting identity or similarity (rather than difference) as to how that action or practice is accomplished across a range of occurrences within specifiable sequential environments (see, for instance, Heritage 1998, on *oh*-prefaced responses to inquiry, and Schegloff and Lerner 2009, on *well*-prefaced responses to *wh*-questions).

Documenting change over time in the accomplishment of a given action or practice, by contrast, requires in the first place evidencing that the actions or practices occurring over time are similar enough to be considered tokens of the same type, that is, accomplishments of the same action or practice, yet different enough so as to evidence change. For instance, new practices may emerge over time, and in this case, they need to be accountably related to accomplishing the same action as the alternative practices used at earlier moments in time. This opens up a

range of methodological challenges which we will discuss in the following sections:

- warranting comparability
- building collections
- providing for robustness of empirical evidence for change

Warranting Comparability

Comparison calls for data collection designs that warrant analysis of the phenomenon under examination in *identical or comparable “environments of possible relevant occurrence”* (Schegloff 1993, p. 103; see also Schegloff 2009), that is, action and/or activity context with identical or comparable relevance for the production of a given practice or action. Comparability is a key challenge when it comes to scrutinizing actions and practices over time. Over time, sequential contexts may vary at least as much as participants change their practices or actions in a specific sequential environment. And the change in practices and actions is indexically related to change in speech exchange system, setting, participants, and so on. The longitudinal perspective therefore requires implementing data collection techniques suitable for tracking specific conversational practices or actions—and the related semiotic resources—over a significant period of time not only within (a) specifiable and comparable sequential environments but also within (b) comparable or identical speech exchange system (Schegloff 1999), (c) comparable or identical “organizational domain[s] of activity” (Schegloff 1993), that is, activity contexts with similar conversational organization, and, possibly, (d) involving the same (co-)participants or same types of (co-)participants (e.g., journalists and US presidents).

Building Collections

Of specific concern is the question of how to establish collections over (extended) periods of time. As mentioned above, CA’s methodological interest in analyzing the organization of social interaction on the basis of

collections of instances derives from its focus on generic principles. If a phenomenon is unstable or subject to change, a systematic collection-based description is tricky. This might explain why, so far, only a few longitudinal studies have proceeded systematically on the basis of collections.

To document *systematic* difference in social practices between two or more moments in time, we need to have collections of a given phenomenon at each of these different moments; for tracking change over time *progressively*, we need more than two collections, depending on the granularity of the time-scale we wish to investigate. This, of course, calls for extensive datasets available for analysis—typically more extensive than required for a single collection of a given phenomenon. Systematic analysis of practices for accomplishing a given action—say disagreeing with assessments—would need to document all recurrent practices used at time X , at time $X + 1$, $X + n$, and hence would ideally build on a range of collections of (different) practices for doing the same type of action, while keeping a range of situational features constant over time (see above).

In this and other cases, the data of studies interested in tracing development or learning over time based on the analysis of the micro-level organization of social interaction differ from those of classical CA. In Koschmann's (2013) words:

Whereas a researcher constructing a traditional CA collection may be indifferent as to *who* produced a particular practice and *when*, such information is essential when attempting to reconstruct how an action developed over time. To start to build learning collections, therefore, we will need new sorts of data sets, data sets that track individual participants over extended periods of time. (Koschmann 2013, p. 1041)

Providing for Robustness of Empirical Evidence for Change

A further methodological issue relates to the possibility and/or need of combining CA with quantitative research to provide robust evidence of how the accomplishment of social practices is systematically done in a given way (Heritage 1999; Schegloff 1993, 2009) at a time X , which

systematically differs from how it is systematically done at a time $X + 1$. Change is gradual and often not linear, and it may involve the co-existence of different practices or resources, the temporary disappearance and then reappearance of some, and so on. The existing evidence suggests that change over time in interactional conduct involves typically not the disappearance of a given practice for a given action, or of a given semiotic resource, but a diversification of the practices for accomplishing that action or of the interactional uses of a given resource. If this is so, how can we gauge the robustness of change? Does one observable occurrence of a new practice provide sufficient evidence for change? Or do 2, or 10, or 20? This, of course, is an issue that cannot be addressed in the abstract. Yet, it raises the question of the benefits and the limits of quantitative evidence for documenting change over time. As Clayman and Heritage (2002) have prominently demonstrated, members' practices do not change 100% over time. Rather, they may *tend* to be accomplished differently at different moments throughout history, and Heritage and Clayman have used numbers to gauge that tendency. Similarly, many of the studies interpreting change in terms of development show that such change does not necessarily present itself in terms of Y is absent at time X and present at time $X + n$, but rather that the proportion of occurrence of an interactional phenomenon changes as part of people's (increased) adaptation to the local circumstantial details of the ongoing interactions (e.g., Wootton 1997). Given the eminently delicate nature of quantification of interactional phenomena (cf. Schegloff 1993), the benefits and limits of using quantification in longitudinal studies on the organization of social interaction deserve critical scrutiny in future research.

Interpreting Change from the Participants' Perspective

Studies that scrutinize change over time in the micro-details of social actions and practices are faced with a further tricky issue. Many if not most of these studies set out to understand local practices of interaction in terms of more general issues of how people move through time.

Accordingly, the documented change has typically been interpreted in terms of interaction-extrinsic concepts such as historical change, development, learning, socialization, or competence. The question is: How far can such interpretations be compatible with CA's basic principle of grounding its claims in the demonstrable orientations of participants to social interaction?

In some cases, participants can be observed to display orientation to their interactional histories, as documented here in Mondada's and Voutilainen et al.'s studies. Yet, as in most of the aforementioned studies of social-historical, professional, or developmental change, participants most often do not observably orient to current local practices as *different* from local practices at an earlier time and in another place nor may they treat these practices as indicating, for instance, augmented competence, more central membership, or historic change. Participants can, however, be observed to orient to these practices in accountable ways as being *locally* efficient to various degrees, as meeting with alignment or not by others, as being treated as more or less complying to normative expectations related to routine (methodic) ways of turn-taking, repairing, organizing sequences of interaction, and dealing with issues of preference. Participants' local practices can be observed to demonstrably bear different interactional consequentialities; in the course of such mundane activities as disputes, telephone openings, or the telling of stories, we see participants orient to other participants' conduct in various ways as locally intelligible or not. And it is exactly this local accountability of conduct that informs us about how members treat others as more or less competent members.

At the current state of research, however, the *researcher's* own membership knowledge of ordinary conversation between "ordinary" members is often implicitly taken as a baseline. While this is in line with the CA understanding of ordinary conversation as the primary form on interaction against which other types of interaction are analyzed (cf. Drew and Heritage 1992, p. 19), analytic accounts of change need to be grounded more consequently in the observably procedural consequentiality (Schegloff 1992) of conduct. Important with this regard, as documented in some longitudinal studies, is the fact that participants can be shown to display, over time, their orientation toward various degrees of local

accountability of one another's conduct. For instance, in Wootton's excerpts quoted above, the father orients to the child's request in excerpt (1.1) (formulated as imperative) as requiring repair (see l. 3: *What do you sa:y?*) while, in excerpt (1.2), he displays immediate alignment with the question preparing the grounds for the request and with the request itself, both verbally (l. 5, 7, 11: *Yes please Amy; Yes; Alright then*) and in an embodied manner (l. 11: *reaches for jigsaw piece*). Here, then, the mutual recognizability and acceptability of conduct (and the ensuing progressivity of talk) is a local product, accomplished within the *hic et nunc* of the ongoing interaction; yet, the procedures put to use in these interactional moments draw on the cumulative effect of prior interactional moments experienced by the parties at talk.

With specific regard to the issues of becoming a more competent member, and given that much longitudinal research is concerned with children, L2 speakers, or newcomers in a profession, the following passage from Garfinkel and Sacks (1970) on the mastery of "natural languages" as a matter of understanding actions is worth recalling:

We understand mastery of natural language to consist in this. In the particulars of his speech a speaker, in concert with others, is able to gloss those particulars and is hereby meaning something different than he can say in so many words; he is doing so over unknown contingencies in the actual occasion of interaction, and in so doing, the recognition that he is speaking and how he is speaking are *specifically not matters for competent remarks*. That is to say, the particulars of his speaking do not provide occasions for stories about his speaking that are worth telling, nor do they elicit questions that are worth asking, and so on. (Garfinkel and Sacks 1970, p. 344, quoted in Mori and Koschmann 2012, p. 90; our italics)

In a nutshell, then, from an emic perspective, conduct is competent when it is analyzable and recognizable for what it is by co-participants, that is, when it provides no grounds for comment or repair (as in ex. 1.2 taken from Wootton 1997). That is how members routinely orient to other members' deploying conduct in locally appropriate ways (Garfinkel 1967). And this very fact provides the ground for the researcher to analyze a given participant's conduct at time *X* as being locally treated as less

competent than that participant's conduct at time $X + 1$. The tools for that analysis are the standard instruments of CA: sequential analysis, next-turn proof procedure, and so on.

Perspectives

Taken together, the chapters collected in this volume as well as much of the research quoted above show that the conceptual and analytical apparatus of CA can be fruitfully brought to bear to the analysis of longitudinal interactional data, allowing us to understand the change that contextualized interactional practices undergo over time.

The field is emergent, moving forward through a small range of different study designs that face a set of related challenges. Among these is how to warrant comparability over time of conduct that is both context free and context sensitive and how to consequently ground interpretations of observable phenomena as pertaining to change in the demonstrable orientation of the parties involved in interaction.

Notwithstanding these challenges, the existing studies open new avenues for future research on social interaction, thereby further expanding the field of CA. They document how development and historical change materialize in and through local social-interactional practices over time and illustrate how longitudinal analysis of the micro-level organization of social interaction can enhance our understanding of change in human conduct.

Such change and development is real for participants as they move through life. Participants' methods, social organizations, and ultimately the social order evolve through interactions occurring over time made of local accomplishments. Participants observably engage in learning, therapy, training, integrating into the workplace, and so forth as longitudinal processes. These are intrinsic parts of the social order as accomplished through contextualized interactions over time and space. As such, they call for close scrutiny on the part of research engaged in understanding social interaction as constitutive of the social order and of human sociability.

More longitudinal research is needed to enable us to better understand how interactional histories are built, how members' methods emerge and consolidate through such histories, and how the social order is continually shaped and reshaped in this process. Together with horizontal comparative research, such an endeavor promises to forward our understanding of how people move through social worlds and how—thereby—they continually shape these social worlds into being.

Note

1. The paramount category of change in social conduct has been referred to as “learning” or “development” and at the same time as an individual socio-cognitive endeavor and a (often institutionalized) social practice. As Schegloff (1996, p. 4) put it: Conversational interaction “surely appears to be the basic and primordial environment for the development, the use, and the learning of natural language”. The close affinity of learning to central issues in any social interaction, such as sense-making and understanding (Koschmann and Zemel 2013), makes it an unavoidable topic for the microsociology of social interaction.

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Part II

Change in Interactional Practices Within Family Settings

2

Making Knowing Visible: Tracking the Development of the Response Token *Yes* in Second Turn Position

Anna Filipi

Introduction

Given their pivotal importance to interaction and the pervasiveness of *yes/no* questions in interactions with children, tokens such as *yes* deserve research attention that can elucidate our understanding of their developmental trajectories. The aim of the research to be reported in this chapter is to track change and to describe the development in the use and comprehension of *yes* in second turn position by two children aged 10–24 months as they interact with a parent.

As a response token, the ubiquitous *yes* belongs to a group of important objects that are part of a listener’s “tool kit”. They have been variously referred to as back channeling devices (Kita and Ide 2007), minimal response tokens (Gardner 2001), continuers (Schegloff 1984) and acknowledgment tokens (Jefferson 1984). This provides evidence for the range of work they achieve in interaction. That which defines and

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differentiates *yes* and other response tokens from discourse marking tokens is their position at the beginning of a turn (Gardner 2001).

Recent research in conversation analysis (CA) on *yes* shows the complexity of work that it is deployed to accomplish, despite its seemingly simple appearance as an answer in yes/no polar questions (Bolden 2016). Investigations show that it is strongly implicated in agreement work, yet these agreements are not accomplished in a straightforward manner. Indeed, speakers have been shown to achieve agreement through *yes* but at the same time resist a course of action implied in the prior turn through different designs of *yes*, as indicated for example through prosody (Bolden 2016; Heritage and Raymond 2005, 2012; Stivers 2005).

Because of their pivotal importance to interaction, and the pervasiveness of yes/no questions in interactions with children, tokens such as *yes* deserve research attention that can elucidate our understanding of how children learn what is involved in acquiring or realizing appropriate use. This is the aim of the research to be reported in this chapter.

Background

Developmental Perspectives

There has been a lot of research attention paid to the development of children's understanding of projected actions implied in questions and their ability to answer them, no doubt because of their importance to interaction in a range of settings including the home, child care centers and school. Yet findings about when it is acquired are by no means conclusive (Siegal and Surian 2012). We know, for example, that children under the age of two have been found to start producing *yes* as a response or answer to yes/no polar questions both within developmental psychology and conversation analysis studies. However, the developmental literature reports variability between children in their ability to produce a type-fitted response (for a recent review, see Foster-Cohen 2014). As well, the developmental research reports that two-year-old children have a tendency to respond to these questions in the affirmative, prompting

researchers to suggest that young children display a *yes* bias particularly when confronted by incomprehensible questions (Fritzley and Lee 2003). However, in a later study, Fritzley et al. (2013) found that this bias changes with development so that by the age of five, children have a tendency to answer *no* when the question is not understood.

While driven by psychological concerns and experimental designs (which might indeed influence the reported *yes* response bias), possible reasons for this reported *yes* bias in early development are framed from a pragmatic perspective. Siegal and Surian (2009), for instance, propose that two-year-olds are driven by the orientation towards cooperation. This they posit leads them to produce an answer (even if it is not a type-fitted one) rather than no response at all because the latter action might offer a display of ignorance. However, in a more recent study by Siegal and Surian (2012), their conclusions are less definitive because of the considerable variability between the children, which they suggest could be the result of cross-cultural differences.

In conversation analysis, the orientation to respond to a question, and the constraints on a next speaker to do so, can be accounted for through the sequential organization of interaction: specifically the adjacency pair structure. These pairs comprise a first pair part (such as a question or invitation) and its “fitted” second pair part (e.g. the answer or declination/acceptance). The issue of “fit” is referred to as “sequential implicativeness” (Schegloff and Sacks 1973) such that the question as a first pair part makes an answer (and an appropriately fitted one) conditionally relevant as a second pair part (Schegloff 1968, 1972, 2007). This renders turns contingent upon one another and provides for a structured organization where speakers are accountable to each other as they work to achieve alignment. Structurally, it is the next turn that makes observable how the next speaker has understood the preceding turn. Questions through their design impose a series of preferences and constraints on recipients to conform to an agenda and to answer in a particular way; at the same time, they convey epistemic stances (Hayano 2013). In the case of polar *yes/no* questions, the constraints imposed on speakers are to either affirm or disaffirm a proposition (Hayano 2013) and to accept or resist the action being projected by the preceding question (Bolden 2016;

Heritage and Raymond 2012), while the epistemic stance conveyed is “tilted” to the recipient (Stivers and Rossano 2010).

Learning about such constraints is important and provides a possible analytic focus to adopt in the interactions with young children. Using such a focus, Filipi (2009) reports that parents start to expect and pursue an answer to their question or summons when their children are as young as 10 months of age. Young children thus begin to understand the constraints on them to answer. At this early stage, the child’s gaze and gesture, with or without accompanying vocalization, is treated as an acceptable responding action by the parent as made evident through the third turn. It is between the ages of 18 and 24 months that the parent starts to make stronger demands on the child to produce a fitted and appropriate second pair part (Filipi 2009, 2013). A focus on the structural placement of *yes*, and an analysis of how the child understands the projected action of the question, provides a fertile ground for tracing how the child comes to know what is an apposite next turn.

Conversation Analysis and the Development of Children’s Interactional Skills

While there is now a substantial body of work in conversation analysis and children’s interactions before they start school in a range of dyadic and multiparty contexts including the family (e.g. Butler and Wilkinson 2013; Filipi 2007, 2009, 2013, 2015; Forrester 2008, 2010, 2015; Rendle-Short et al. 2015; Tarplee 1996, 2010; Wootton 1994, 1997), preschool contexts (e.g. Bateman and Danby 2013; Butler 2008; Church 2009; Danby 2009), child care centers (e.g. Kidwell 2005, 2011; Kidwell and Zimmerman 2007) and other contexts such as medical fields (e.g. Cahill 2010; Hutchby 2010), developmental perspectives on interaction have not been a main concern of this increasingly large body of work. This notwithstanding, taken together these studies do point to change over time with respect to what children can do in interaction, and provide a sense of children’s competence in early interaction (for recent reviews of the extent of this research, see Forrester 2015; Kidwell 2013). There are however a handful of studies that have been driven by explicit

developmental concerns in their investigations and that have shown how conversation analysis can further elucidate our understanding. We now turn to these findings.

By the age of two, the social interactions the child is involved in require the child not only to initiate sequences through asking questions or launching a summons, and to answer questions and respond to a summons in appropriate ways or in ways that provide accounts for particular sets of responses or their absence; they also require the ability to close a sequence and shift topic, to pursue a response and to repair understanding. Initially (from 12 to 14 months), the child initiates and responds to action through gesture, gaze engagement and/or vocalization. From 12 to 18 months, children show an increasing range of skills that allow them to manage their participation in interaction (Filipi 2009). These include the ability to initiate and perform repair (Filipi 2009, 2013; Forrester 2008; Wootton 1994); to make requests (Wootton 1994, 1997); to design turns in ways that show an understanding of what constitutes “fitted” answers to questions (Forrester 2015) or responses to talk (Filipi 2007); to mobilize attention, to monitor another speaker’s attention and to display readiness to interact (Filipi 2009; Jones and Zimmerman 2003; Kidwell 2005; Kidwell and Zimmerman 2007); and to design utterances that are “fitted” to the particular recipients; for example, in the correct language in the case of bilingual children (Filipi 2015).

This interactional foundation allows for further consolidation to produce extended or multi-unit turns so that, by the age of two, young children are starting to show skills in telling stories (Filipi 2017) and in assigning membership categories to both “self” and “others” (Forrester 2015). The sum of these skills demonstrates that throughout her second year of life as she participates in interaction, the child develops an understanding of her co-speaker’s knowledge states (Filipi 2017). These displays emerge through her ability to understand the constraints on her behavior through her experience of participation in interaction so that she achieves a “trans-sequence” understanding of such constraints (Wootton 1997) and develops an orientation to order in interaction and what might constitute appropriate affective behavior (Forrester 2015). Wootton (1997) maintains that the child’s participation in conversation (through the ways in which she manages local sequences of action and

acts on the basis of understandings contained therein) offers an insight into the child's mental processing including her short-term memory capacity and her knowledge of other people's intentions as displayed through their own actions as she works out how to accord her behavior with that of others. Filipi (2015) adds metacognition to the mental processing skills evident in bilingual children who by the age of two understand that people speak different languages and therefore need to be addressed in the apposite language.

Research Focus

By focusing on *yes* in an important sequential position, and by analyzing how it works as a response to the projected action in the preceding turn, the current study builds on this developmental work in CA. In so doing, it aims to contribute to uncovering another piece in the puzzle of what interactional development entails. The analysis is guided by the following questions:

How does the child respond to the initiating first pair parts in Summons/Response (S/R) and Question/Answer (Q/A) sequences, and how do her responses change over time?

What action is the parent question projecting, how does the child demonstrate her understanding of it, and how does her understanding of the projected action change over time?

Details About the Study and Analysis

The main data for this study comes from the interactions of one child, Cassie (aged 10–24 months) interacting with her father. Supplementary data from the interactions between a second child, Rosie (aged 10–16 months) and her mother, will be used to offer further examples of the phenomenon under analysis. All the interactions took place in the home and typically involved everyday activities such as playing and eating.

The data was collected over a 14-month period. It was audio- and video-recorded and transcribed using the now well-established CA transcription conventions. Additional annotations to capture the

non-verbal details have been included. They appear in the appendix. The sequences selected are frequently occurring throughout the corpus and constitute representative examples of *yes*.

The following analysis and discussion track development by examining the response or answer second pair part of the Summons/Response (S/R) and of the *yes*/no Question/Answer (Q/A) adjacency pairs. Analysis of examples of *yes* in each position will proceed from an examination of the earliest emerging actions of gaze and body orientation as acceptable *yes* responses to a parent action (as made visible by the parent's (re)action in the next turn), to the use of gesture as a *yes* response token achieved through nodding, and finally to the use of the verbal *yes* either with or without a co-occurring gesture.

The analysis also investigates the action being projected by the question in the Q/A adjacency pairs and how the child reacts to the action. It also analyzes how the child understands the action projected by *yes* in the response turn. This is an important part of the development of skills allowing the child to both produce and pursue a fitted, contiguous response.

Analysis and Discussion

The Developmental Trajectory of *Yes* as a Response in Second Turn Position

The Summons/Response Adjacency Pair

Structurally in sequential terms, the S/R is referred to as a generic pre-sequence (Schegloff 2007). It occurs prior to the main sequence and business of the interaction. It is in this location that the work of eliciting the child's attention occurs. This is an action that has been reported to be in place by 12 months of age (Filipi 2013, 2014; Graf and Davies 2014).

As an action, attention securing is important for joint attention, which in turn is necessary for the interaction to progress (Filipi 2014). However, in very early phases of development (outside the scope of the present study which is concerned with children just prior to their first

birthday until 24 months), simply securing attention may be enough in itself (Filipi 2014). In this respect, the S/R cannot be characterized as a pre-sequence in these very early interactions because it does not always prepare the groundwork for a subsequent main sequence. In other words, the business of establishing joint attention may be an end in itself. However, by the first birthday, the skill being worked on is the necessity to respond (albeit through gaze) to the summons in readiness for some kind of subsequent activity, as made evident in the next two excerpts.

Responding Through Gaze and Bodily Orientation

In the early phase, gaze is responded to as an acceptable or sufficient response.

Ex. (2.1) Cassie 0;10 months (Filipi 2007, p. 33.5)

- 1 F: → cassie?
 2 C: → (0.5) ((TU ----→F for 2.3 seconds))
 3 F: → how ya doin.
 4 (1.1)
 5 F: mm{:?
 6 C: {{{Turns away; another activity is begun.}}

Ex. (2.2) Cassie 0;11 months (Filipi 2009, p. 71)

- 1 F: → hey cass!
 2 (0.8)
 3 → cassie?
 4 (0.3)
 5 → caSSANdra! (.) whoa!
 6 C: (0.4) ((TU, shifts her gaze and looks at her mother then at her father.))
 7 F: → come here.

In excerpt (2.1) the father's summons is responded to almost immediately so that he is then able to launch a question (line 3). The summons has thus been successful. We note that despite the fact that the child, Cassie (C) is unable to answer the subsequent question because it requires language to provide information, the father (F) nonetheless pursues an answer. This establishes the beginnings of appropriate social behavior: when a question is asked, an answer is expected and is pursued (Filipi 2009, 2013).

In excerpt (2.2), at first, the summons is not successful leading to a pursuit of a response using a different version Cassie's name. There are several important elements in this pursuit. Firstly, we note that the original summons itself is quite strong as the father uses the attentional *hey* along with the shortened version Cassie's name *Cass*. The gap of 0.8 is also important here as it shows that he is providing space for her to respond. When the summons fails, he launches a pursuit by reformulating the summons through two further versions of Cassie's name (*Cassie* and *Cassandra*). As well, there are shorter gaps and an articulatory modification (Ross 1992) in line 5 when he produces her name more loudly than previously. The second attentional *whoa* coming after *Cassandra* in line 5, leaves no doubt as to the persistence here. Indeed, his efforts are rewarded with success when Cassie turns her gaze and looks at him. As in excerpt (2.1), on receiving this embodied response, the father then progresses the talk (Stivers and Robinson 2006) through his directive *come here*, establishing this as the reason for the initial summons.

There is a difference of one month in the age of the child between the above two excerpts. This explains the stronger pursuit in excerpt (2.2). The father knows that Cassie is capable of responding to the summons because she has done so previously (as demonstrated in excerpt (2.1) at ten months), and he expects her to achieve this action through gaze and her bodily orientation.

The centrality of pursuit as an action in interactions with the very young has been described elsewhere (Filipi 2009, 2013; Forrester 2008). It is part of the accountability that operates on speakers to respond. It is also an inherent feature of the adjacency pair structure (Schegloff 2007).

Its importance to development is without parallel because it “pushes” the child to produce an action, and in so doing the child implicitly learns about accountability—the need to both pursue and produce a response and one that, eventually, will be a fitted one. It therefore carries a very strong accountability factor in that once a summons is produced, a response is expected and pursued.

Responding Verbally Through Yes

The next excerpt shows a similar sequence structure. Here at the age of 22 months (roughly 10 months later than in excerpts 2.1 and 2.2), we witness significant developments in Cassie’s ability to respond to a summons.

Ex. (2.3) Cassie 1;10 months (Filipi 2013, p. 146)

- 1 B: cass;
 2 (0.3)
 3 C: → {yes?
 4 {(TU----→F)} (1.2)
 5 F: ha::llo::
 6 C: hallo:::
 7 ((TU and kisses him.)) . . .

In this excerpt, the brother (B) produces the summons through the familiar shortened version of her name just as the father did in excerpt (2.2). Here Cassie’s verbal response *yes?* co-occurring with her gaze and bodily orientation is almost immediate. The interesting feature about this sequence though is that it lapses after the successful response. After having successfully secured her attention, the brother does not launch a next action nor does Cassie pursue one as would be appropriate in this context. Indeed, the father’s action in line 5 attests to this absence of further talk. So while Cassie has developed the capacity to respond verbally and appropriately to the summons through *yes* before her second birthday—she knows in other words what the summons is launched to achieve

interactionally and what behavior is expected of her—she is yet to develop the skill of making the speaker accountable for what happens next after she gives a display that she is ready to receive or engage in further talk.

Yes/No Question/Answer Adjacency Pair

Answering Through Gaze and a Physical Action

As noted earlier, *yes/no* questions project actions that require the speakers to affirm or disaffirm them (Hayano 2013). In early child/parent interactions, the most dominant questions are those that actually reflect back or propose an interpretation of the child's preceding action. These *yes/no* questions arise from the parent's observation of the child whose attention is being taken up by some other event in the immediate context. As with the *S/R*, the developmental trajectory in producing *yes* as a second pair part to these *yes/no* questions begins through gaze, bodily orientation and physical actions.

Ex. (2.4) Cassie 0;11 months

((Father and child are outdoors. Cassie is looking at the door.))

- 1 F: → wanna go i::nɔ̃
- 2 C: (0.3) ((----→F behind the camera , ,))
- 3 C: (s::)
- 4 F: → insi::de?
- 5 (0.2)
- 6 C: (° °)
- 7 F: → mm?
- 8 (1.0)
- 9 C: (° °)
- 10 (0.3) ((----→door and starts to move towards it.))
- 11 F: → mm.

The father is interpreting Cassie's actions as a desire to go inside. We note that he persists in repeating his question (l. 4) and follows this up with the minimal token *mm?* which like *hey* acts as a pursuit marker. These are all actions that project that an appropriate action is warrantable; in so doing, they treat Cassie's vocalizations as inadequate, as not quite hitting the mark (Filipi 2007). Through his actions, the father is projecting a desire for a stronger confirming action that can establish that he is correct in understanding the import of her actions. Cassie's physical action in line 10, where she turns and starts to move towards the door, displays that he is correct. It is at this point that the sequence is closed through a minimal *mm* uttered as it is with a falling intonation. Shortly after, Cassie will start to cry and the door will end up being opened for her, which confirms that the prior actions were a request.

The examined yes/no questions do not require verbal skills on the part of the child to conform to the parent's projected interpretation. Rather, the affirming actions can be achieved through physical actions as the child interacts with the physical space and its objects around her—in this instance, it is attention to the door and the persistent request to go inside.

Answering Through Gaze and Head Nodding

A couple of months later, we note development in the way that Cassie responds to these yes/no questions. Note that while there are two yes/no questions here, it is the second question at line 6 which is the focus of analysis.

Ex. (2.5) Cassie 1;3 months

((Father and child have been playing pretend drinking from a cup.))

- 1 F: now, will you come and read a BOOK with me?
 2 (0.2)
 3 C: ((SH {P→ cup}))
 4 {() }
 5 (0.2) ((----→F))
 6 F: → {shall we put the cup in the kitchen?
 7 {(holding the cup.)}
 8 C: → ((ND and reaches for and then takes the cup.)
 9 F: → awright let's do it.

In this sequence, the father begins by inviting a change in activity from pretend play around drinking coffee from a cup (l. 1) through a yes/no question. We note that Cassie answers *no* non-verbally in line 3 and extends her action by pointing to the cup. Also, she looks up at her father who interprets her actions through another yes/no question as a request to return the cup to the kitchen. We note that it is formulated as a yes/no confirmation request that makes a confirming turn relevant. Indeed, Cassie confirms immediately through a head nod and takes the cup off him. The sequence closes in line 9 with an agreement from the father as they both proceed to the kitchen.

In this excerpt, Cassie demonstrates that she has developed the ability to answer non-verbally both immediately and adequately. As well, even though Cassie may not yet have a set of linguistic resources, she is nonetheless able to steer the activity successfully through the design of her non-verbal actions achieved through gaze, pointing and head nodding or shaking. Also in evidence is the understanding of what the father's initial question is projecting, a change in activity and Cassie's ability to reject it and to steer the current activity in another direction—returning the cup to the kitchen—through her own request formulation, understood and verbally formulated by the father in the form of a further question.

Beginning to Answer Verbally

Ex. (2.6) Cassie 1;4 months

((Cassie and her father have been eating a biscuit.))

- 1 F: → ... is it good?
 2 C: → (0.8) ((ND -{--→F}))
 3 F: {yeah?
 4 (0.5)
 5 C: {mm:.,
 6 {((---down.))
 7 (0.2)
 8 F: mm:.,
 9 (1.1)
 10 that's good.

One month later at 16 months, Cassie is still producing a non-verbal answer to the father's yes/no question. She provides an affirmative response through her head nod in alignment with the question's projection of a simple request for information. However, the father's pursuit through his candidate hearing or request for confirmation *yeah?* (Schegloff 2007; Svennevig 2008), which is a verbal repeat of the non-verbal head nodding gesture, shows that he expects an alternative response. Svennevig (2008) maintains that the deployment of this feature construes the trouble source as a problem of hearing rather than as a problem of understanding, while Schegloff (2007) describes it as the most specific of other initiations of repair. With respect to early child and parent interaction, the pervasiveness and important interactional work that this parent action achieves have been described by Filipi (2009) for early interaction generally, by Filipi (2015) in the context of bilingualism and by Tarplee (1996) in early storybook reading. While it is associated with repair in early child and parent interaction (Filipi 2009, 2015; Tarplee 1996), it is not a repair of the type suggested for adult interactions by Svennevig

(2008). Rather, it is deployed to invite the child to self-repair (e.g. to produce a more accurate version of a label in storybook reading as shown by Tarplee 1996; a more appropriate response as described by Filipi 2007, 2009; or a word in the correct language for the recipient as analyzed by Filipi 2015). This suggests that in this excerpt the father is expecting or encouraging Cassie to produce the verbal *yes* as a more appropriate answer to his question. In other words, he is “upping the ante” (Bruner 1975). While his pursuit neither extends beyond one turn nor results in a verbal *yes*, nonetheless, it does lead to a response that he deems adequate—Cassie’s assessment *mm* and his confirming repeat of it (l. 5–7), leading to his final assessment and sequence closing *that’s good*.

Further evidence of the pursuit of a verbal *yes* as the appropriate answer is displayed in the following excerpt for a second dyad, Rosie and her mother. Here Rosie (R) and her mother (M) have just started a new activity, that of shelling peas. The mother offers the bowl to Rosie who takes one out and the bowl is then placed on the floor between them. Rosie is standing up while the mother is sitting down looking up at Rosie.

Ex. (2.7) Rosie 1;4 months (Filipi 2009, p. 221)

- 1 R: → ((Rosie is looking down at the pea pod she is holding in her hand.))
- 2 M: → {would{you like mummy to HELP you?
- 3 {{{(--→R))
- 4 R: {{{(--→M))
- 5 → ((0.2 , , , ND))
- 6 M: → °°hey?°°
- 7 (1.0)
- 8 R: → {mm?
- 9 → {{{(--→M))
- 10 → {{{(Hands M the peas.))
- 11 (0.3)
- 12 M: → {want mummy to help you?
- 13 {{{(ND))

54 A. Filipi

14 R: (0.5) ((at 0.2 {--→ peas and moves closer to M))

15 M: → {say YES please mummy.

16 {(ND)}

17 R: (0.5) ((P→ pea pot ND ----→ M))

18 M: → yes please mummy.

19 R: (0.8) ((, , , SND and SP))

20 M: °come this way.°

21 (0.8)

22 yes please mu {mmy?

23 R: → (0.3) {(ND)}

24 M: → ye {ah.

25 {(They both look down; Rosie stops nodding.)}

26 (0.7)

27 ↑ oh::::↓...

Structurally, this is a complex sequence containing a number of repair sequences commensurate with the level of parent persistence and expectation of a more adequate verbal *yes*. The fragment opens with a *yes*/no question—the offer of assistance. Rosie replies non-verbally in line 5. However, this is rejected in line 6 when the mother produces a pursuit marker *hey* which is uttered very softly. In response, Rosie repeats her request through her non-verbal actions accompanied with her upwardly rising *mm?* (l. 8–10), and again the mother counters with a repeat of her earlier question but this time it co-occurs with a head nod (l. 12, 13). Rosie responds by moving closer to her mother who then offers a model for what to say in line 15—*say YES please mummy*. In so doing, she is continuing to pursue a verbal answer, but she is also offering further support by modeling the exact response expected. Rosie again responds non-verbally by pointing, gazing at her mother and nodding (l. 17). The mother then repeats the modeled answer twice: the first is produced with a falling intonation to repeat the model, while the next is produced as a question to invite a repeat, but Rosie only produces her non-verbal head nod (l. 23). This action leads to closure through the mother's third turn acknowledging

yeah. It also concludes the linguistic and pedagogic insert sequences, and the activity returns to the shelling of the peas by the mother.

This excerpt offers a clear display of what the parent deems to be an appropriate response with scaffolding being offered when the pursuit alone has not resulted in the expected verbal answer. The mother knows, in other words, that Rosie is capable of answering *yes* to a yes/no question. It is the kind of pursuit reported by Tarplee (1993) in adult-initiated labeling sequences in storybook reading. As Tarplee (1993, p. 137) noted, “the adult’s actions may be guided by prior knowledge (or expectation) of the child’s level of ability”.

The next excerpt (at the same age) where Rosie answers immediately through a verbal *yes* (l. 3) provides evidence for the appropriateness or justification of the parent’s expectation and pursuing actions.

Ex. (2.8) Rosie 1;4 months

((Rosie is playing with her stuffed toys.))

1 M: → d’ya think big teddy’ll {have a sleep?

2 R: {{{P→}}

3 → yeah!

4 M: → yes?

5 R: ({)

6 {{{(walks away.)}}

Returning to excerpt (2.7) above, the mother’s pursuit of *yes* and the modeled expanded utterance, however, did not result in a verbal response. The modeled response, which structurally is an embedded repair sequence, suggests that the mother believed that Rosie was ready to expand her vocabulary even further. In other words, she was expecting the child to produce a verbal response. Her initial failure to comply with the child’s request in lines 6, 15–16, 18 and 22 thus needs to be seen in the context of the linguistic demands that she was making on Rosie (Filipi 2009).

Answering Through the Verbal Yes

Ex. (2.9) Cassie 1;5 months

((Father and child are about to read a story.))

- 1 F: → d'ya wanna {come an' sit here,
 2 {((Taps his knee.))
 3 (0.3)
 4 C: → hh YES!
 5 F: yes!
 6 C: ((Complies.))

This excerpt provides clear evidence that by the age of 17 months, Cassie is responding in appropriate ways to simple yes/no questions that project informings and invitations. Furthermore, it indexes that through her behavior, experienced over time, Cassie now knows what is expected. This includes the features that have been described for appropriate turn-taking behavior: She knows that she needs to respond with a minimal gap, she knows that she is expected to produce an appropriate verbal response *yes*, and she knows that she is being asked to comply with a request to establish physical co-presence in readiness to begin the reading activity.

Yes Is the Expected Response

So far, we have been examining the details of the child's developing capacity to produce an adequate second pair part in two sequential positions: the S/R and the yes/no Q/A. As part of the child's growing interactional competence, it is also important to find evidence for how she orients to the appropriateness or adequacy of the parent's response in third turn position. This is a necessary part of being able to make judgments about contiguous or best fit in adjacency pairings. That is, of learning not only how to design her own turns contiguously but also how to make speakers accountable for their own response or for the absence of a response or for the absence of a *particular* response. The next excerpt provides such evidence. It points to the child's ability at the very young age of two to initiate repair, to pursue an action, to make pragmatic and semantic judgments and to participate in important ways as an equal participant in interaction. It also makes visible social, pragmatic and linguistic knowledge and what it is to know that she has accumulated by the age of two. While the excerpt has been analyzed in Filipi (2007) where the focus was on examining how the child worked to achieve a more

adequate or sufficient response from the parent, here it is again considered but for what it reveals about developing interactional knowledge.

Ex. (2.10) Cassie 2;0 months (Filipi 2007, pp. 33.12–33.13)

((Parent and child are playing with Duplo; they have created a house. Cassie is now asking whether they should put a block inside it, which she then proceeds to do.))

- 1 C: {put de (next) (in) (0.4) in side?
- 2 {(, , ,)}
- 3 F: {mm hm,
- 4 {(ND)}
- 5 (1.0)
- 6 C: → (it's see) datsa) in { SIDE!
- 7 {(→---F)}
- 8 F: → {mm,
- 9 {(ND →---Cassie)}
- 10 C: → ye::s.
- 11 F: {mm,
- 12 {(ND , , , →---Cassie)}
- 13 C: → {yes.
- 14 → {(Moves her upper body towards her father as she repeats yes)}
- 15 F: {mm,
- 16 {(ND)}
- 17 C: → {yes!
- 18 → {(Moves her upper body forward)}
- 19 F: {mm,
- 20 {(ND)}
- 21 C: → yes!

58 A. Filipi

- 22 F: {mm,
23 {(ND))
24 C: → {YES-!
25 → {(Moves her body forward))
26 F: {mm,
27 {(ND))
28 C: → {YES-!
29 → {(Moves her body forward))
30 F: {mm hm,
31 {(ND))
32 C: → {YE::↑:S!
33 → {(Moves her body forward.))
34 F: {mm hm,
35 {(ND))
36 C: → {YE:S!
37 → {(moves her body forward, slams hand down on the floor, looks down))
38 F: {mm hm,
39 {(ND))
40 (1.0)
41 C: alex got shoes off, {alex.
42 {(P→ brother))

The excerpt offers us a very clear display of Cassie's rejection of the father's minimal *mm* and *mm hm* by pursuing *yes* as the more acceptable and expected response to her initial yes/no question—*put de (next) (in) inside; (shall I put the next duplo block inside)*. The pursuit starts in line 6 when she reformulates her original question as an agreement inviting directive in response to the father's *mm* response. Subsequently, she

pursues the exact response that she expects—*yes*. This is a very clear and direct other-correction. It is produced repeatedly and becomes incrementally more forceful both prosodically and through her embodied actions. She leaves no doubt as to the response she desires and this makes the father's *mm hm* and *mm* responses interpretable as deficient.

Gardner's (2001) comprehensive study of the organization of *mm* and *mm hm* as features of listener's behavior in interaction notes the semantic "emptiness" of *mm*. Further, he states that it is "a weaker, less committed and less affirming version of *yeah*" (Gardner 2001, p. 130). This characterization raises an interesting question about why Cassie rejects these minimal tokens. Wootton's (1997) study of early interaction provides one way of arriving at an explanation when he states, in the context of learning about inappropriate behavior, that children monitor their actions and that of others in interaction, and further that this provides evidence of their short-term memory skills. In so doing they develop their "trans-sequence" understanding of utterances that are not tied to an immediately prior sequence.

With respect to *mm*, *mm hm* and *yes*, both Cassie's and Rosie's prior experience of these tokens even in the excerpts just analyzed above show the forcefulness of *yes* in the parents' pursuing actions. The parents rarely use *mm* or *mm hm* as a response token, and when they do, it is to minimally acknowledge a prior child utterance that is unclear or non-retrievable (Filipi 2015). It is this prior and accumulated experience of participating in interaction that is now made visible through the child's own display of what she knows, and how to convey what she knows and expects of her co-speaker. This knowledge, and how it emerges and changes through her actions in interaction over time, provides strong evidence of development.

General Summary and Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to account for the development of *yes* in second turn position in the Summons/Response and Question/Answer adjacency pairs. As well, analysis focused on what action the parent's question

projected throughout the period studied and how the child’s response to the question made visible her “knowing”.

Noting the strong association of *yes* with the actions of affirming, agreeing and acknowledging, analysis of its emergence in the S/R and Q/A adjacency pairs was conducted by following its trajectory from its initial non-verbal design at 10 months, achieved through gaze, bodily orientation and physical action, to a more distinctive head nod in response to questions around 15 months, and to an increasingly verbal *yes* formulation as the child approached her second birthday. This is summarized in Table 2.1.

Longitudinal studies that apply conversation analysis methods can highlight the fine-grained details of developmental change as they emerge through the child’s actions turn by turn. Importantly, such an approach to change over time provides visible evidence of the child’s

Table 2.1 A possible developmental map tracing the development and emergence of *yes* in two sequential positions

1. Yes in S/R adjacency pairs	P: Produces a summons through the child’s name. <i>There is a delay.</i>
Early phase, response in place by the first birthday	P: Pursues an affirming response. C: Responds through gaze engagement and embodied action. Action is accepted. <i>The parent assumes that the child knows what is deemed acceptable even though she does not have the linguistic resources to respond verbally. The child knows what is expected of her: to acknowledge the summons by responding through gaze.</i>
Later phase before the second birthday	P: Produces a summons through the child’s name. C: Responds through <i>yes?</i> or <i>mm?</i> with minimal or no gap and with or without gaze. <i>The child has the linguistic resources to respond and to prosodically mark her turn to invite a next action. She knows how to make herself available for further talk, but not how to make the speaker accountable for the absence of further talk.</i>
2. Yes in the Yes/No Q/A adjacency pair	P: Asks a question that proposes an interpretation of the child’s preceding action. P: Pursues if there is no answer.
Early phase at around the first birthday	C: Answers through gaze and a physical action. P: Closes the sequence by affirming the original proposition.

(continued)

Table 2.1 (continued)

<p>Middle phase starting at 15 months</p>	<p>P: Asks a question. C: Responds non-verbally through a head nod. P: Accepts/acknowledges the response. And: P: Asks a question. C: Responds non-verbally through a head nod. P: Pursues a verbal response. C: May or may not respond verbally. P: Closes the sequence. <i>Increasingly, the parent is projecting that a verbal affirming yes is sought and to this end will provide scaffolding when the pursuit alone has not resulted in the expected verbal answer. The child knows what action the question is projecting and either complies with it though a head nod or rejects it through a head shake.</i></p>
<p>Later phase at around the second birthday</p>	<p>P: Asks a question. C: Answers with yes with or without gaze and gesture. P: Acknowledges. <i>As well as answering verbally with minimal gap, the child recognizes and orients to her co-participant's yes or its variants such as yeah as a suitable answer but will reject less affirming and weaker tokens such as mm. She knows how to project response inadequacy.</i></p>

short-term memory capacity and her ability to make links between earlier and present talk. Furthermore, it provides an insight into what the child knows about interaction *vis-à-vis* her co-participant's expectations and her own as she decides what actions are available to her to satisfy these expectations. This knowledge is important to working out how she can accord her behavior with that of others so that she can achieve successful interaction.

Understanding the trajectories in the development of interactional skills and interactional knowledge is important to both language development and to conversation analysis. Notwithstanding the considerable shift in the former, where there is now a greater focus on viewing development as a psychosocial phenomenon (e.g. Fawcett and Liszkowski 2012; Liszkowski 2011; Liszkowski and Tomasello 2011; Salomo and Liszkowski 2013), the field is still concerned with theoretical or research perspectives that are experimental in design. The concerns with *yes* or *no* biases (Fritzley and Lee 2003; Fritzley et al.

2013) as responses to questions show the potential problems underlying experimental designs. Such situations would not arise in naturally occurring interactions where parents monitor and make the child accountable for her actions in talk by initiating repair in ways that are appropriate for the perceived stage of development.

For conversation analysis, understanding how turn-taking and sequence structure develop has unparalleled potential for application in a number of fields to inform much more effective and powerful interventions. These begin with the home and the notion of what (quality) interactions with children mean, and look like, at different stages of a child's life. It is therefore timely that in describing the organization of early interaction as the co-constructed actions of both speakers, we do this through a developmental lens. The application of the amassed research findings on turn-taking and sequence organization provides fertile grounds and a solid framework for making strong, empirical claims about what the child knows about social practice in ways that are not possible through other research paradigms. In applying this framework to track change in context-relevant ways and across time, it is hoped that the current study has provided both a clear approach and a set of findings about the interactional work that *yes* achieves in one key structural position so that we can start to say with some confidence what we know about what the child knows even when verbal resources are absent.

Appendix: Annotations for Non-verbal Features

→---	Looks at
, , ,	Looks down
P→	Points to
{	Denotes the onset of a non-verbal gesture relative to the talk
ND	Nods
SND	Stops nodding
SH	Shakes her head
SP	Stops pointing
TU	Turns

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3

Tracking Change Over Time in Storytelling Practices: A Longitudinal Study of Second Language Talk-in-Interaction

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Introduction¹

In this chapter, we examine change over time in how a participant to ordinary conversation engages in an activity that is ubiquitous to our social lives: storytelling. We present a longitudinal case study of a second language (L2) speaker's—an au pair—storytelling practices over the nine months of her stay with a host family, and we address methodological challenges pertaining to such longitudinal investigation of interactional practices. While we observe the overall organization of the storytellings and the interactional purposes they fulfill, we pay specific attention to how the storyteller moves her telling toward an upshot and a recognizable end and, jointly with the recipient, engages in closing down the storytelling sequence. We identify how the speaker's practices change over time

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and how co-participants orient to these changes in accountable ways. We discuss to what extent the documentable change can be interpreted as pertaining to the speaker's increased interactional competence in the L2, and how it is reflexively related to the changing local circumstances of the interactions at hand and tied to larger processes of socialization as participants move through time.

In what follows, we first outline our understanding of L2 interactional competence and its development, address challenges pertaining to longitudinal CA, and present the object of analysis (i.e., storytelling) as well as data and procedures. We then offer collection-based analysis of the L2 speaker's storytelling practices over the duration of her stay. We conclude by discussing the findings and re-addressing methodological challenges for longitudinal research in CA.

Interactional Competence and Its Development: Evidence from CA-SLA

Following Garfinkel (1967), we understand the notion of 'competence' for social interaction in terms of members' 'methods' for accomplishing and coordinating social interaction. Competence, in Garfinkel's understanding, is not in the first place a cognitive matter; rather, it is a matter of action, pertaining to members deploying conduct in locally appropriate ways. Garfinkel's understanding of competence is closely tied to the notion of accountability: Conduct is competent when it is analyzable and recognizable for what it is by co-participants, that is, when it provides no grounds for comment or correction (see Mori and Koschmann 2012).

This praxeological view of competence has recently gained much attention in CA work on L2 talk-in-interaction (henceforth: CA-SLA), in particular within the emerging line of research concerned with the development of L2 interactional competence (for a recent overview, see Pekarek Doehler and Pochon-Berger 2015). Based on the existing research, we start to have initial cumulative evidence that interactional competence is 're-calibrated' in L2 talk over extended periods of time while people move into an L2, as observable in their practices for

turn-taking, repair, disagreeing, and so forth. This re-calibration entails an increased ability for context-sensitive conduct based on speakers' progressive diversification of methods for action (Pekarek Doehler and Pochon-Berger 2011, 2015; Pekarek Doehler and Berger 2016; see also Brouwer and Wagner 2004; Markee 2008), which is inextricably intertwined with their becoming more central participants in the communities in which they interact.

Methodologically, the cited studies proceed by comparing participants' practices for accomplishing recurring social actions over a period of several months or even years. While the analytic procedures mobilized in the quoted line of research rest on CA's methodological principles, the methodological challenges pertaining to longitudinal CA have been only marginally discussed so far (for critical remarks, see Koschmann 2013; for a detailed discussion, see Wagner, Pekarek Doehler and González-Martínez, this volume).

Documenting Change: Challenges for Longitudinal CA

Classical collection-based CA studies seek to reach robustness of empirical evidence when documenting a given practice by observing identity or similarity as to how that practice is accomplished across a range of occurrences within specifiable sequential environments (to quote a well-known example: *ob*-prefaced responses to questions, Heritage 1998). Documenting change over time, by contrast, necessitates what Koschmann (2013, p. 1039) calls a "same-but-different" analysis, requiring "both judgments of identity *and* dissimilarity". Across occurrences over time, the phenomenon under investigation needs to be similar enough so as to be interpretable as pertaining to the same category; yet, it needs also to be different enough so as to testify for change.

This, however, entails a set of challenges regarding both data collection design and the rationale behind establishing collections (see Wagner, Pekarek Doehler and González-Martínez, this volume). Documenting change over time first implies the need for collections of the target practice

or action that are robust enough for time n as well as for time $n + 1$ ($n + 2$, etc.); it hence calls for extended longitudinal (or cross-sectional) data. Second, documenting change over time requires looking at comparable “environments of relevant possible occurrence” (Schegloff 1993, p. 103), and hence presupposes analysis of practices or actions not only in comparable sequential environments but also in action and/or activity contexts where these practices or actions are equally relevant to occur. Third, comparison over time requires scrutinizing the phenomenon under investigation within an identical or comparable “organizational domain of activity” (Schegloff 1993), such as ordinary conversation, interviews or work meetings. Practices or actions vary not only across settings, but also according to specific speech exchange systems, and therefore studies of change over time need to take into account the conversational organization of the general activity within which actions or practices are reflexively related to that activity. This is different from CA research that is not concerned with comparison over time (or settings), and that hence can be unconcerned with who produces a given practice, at what moment in time, and within what setting or speech exchange system.

In this study, we seek to respond to the above methodological challenges by offering a case study of an au pair’s storytelling practices throughout her stay with the host family. Data collection was designed so as to warrant consistency in terms of setting and speech exchange system, as well as participants: All data analyzed stem from lunch or dinner table conversations involving the same participants, and all storytellings investigated were addressed by the au pair to the host mother (see below). Also, although we illustrate stories that are invited by a co-participant, we base our comparison over time on stories that are volunteered by the au pair (i.e., stories told in *first position*; Schegloff 1997). As we will see throughout this chapter, the kinds of stories told and their interactional purposes change over time, and therefore the issue of interpreting the findings in terms of development remains a tricky one, and so does the important question of in how far change or development can be documented from a strictly emic perspective. We will come back to these issues in the conclusion of this chapter.

The Analytic Focus: Storytelling

Stories emerge within the course of social interaction, and their trajectories are sensitive to local interactional contingencies (Sacks 1974; Jefferson 1978; Mandelbaum 1989). Tellers design stories so that they are attended to as stories—and as stories of specific types (e.g., complaint stories). Recipients in turn orient to stories *as* stories, and as stories of specific types.

Telling a story implies for the storyteller, for instance, to project an incipient telling and thereby to suspend the turn-taking machinery (Sacks 1974; Mandelbaum 2013). Closings are typically designed as closings, and they are expected to be attended as such by recipients: Recipient reactions are not of the same type during background information as after the story climax or the sequence closing (Goodwin 1984). Routinely, the endings of stories tend to make both alignment (with the ending) and affiliation (with the teller's stance) relevant (Stivers 2008; Mandelbaum 2013), and they provide a site for recipients' appreciation of the story (Sacks 1974).

One key issue for the storyteller is hence to bring the story to a *recognizable* completion: "In order for the possible end of a story to be recognized, making relevant recipient uptake of the story and a return to turn-by-turn talk, tellers must construct the ending of the storytelling *as* an ending" (Mandelbaum 2013, p. 504). This may be done by means of various resources related to the demarcation of the story climax and subsequent observable progression away from the story (see Jefferson 1978, on story exit devices). And the way it is done may in turn be contingent upon anterior moments of the telling, such as telling-initial projection of the action (e.g., complaining) that the story is to implement (Sacks 1974).

The end of the story proper is not to be confused with the ending of the storytelling activity (Jefferson 1978). While the storyteller herself may bring a story to completion, the ending of the storytelling sequence is interactionally organized, and hence jointly accomplished in ways similar to other types of sequence closings (see Schegloff 2007). Ordinarily, storytellers have at their disposal a range of techniques for displaying

story climaxes, initiating the closing of the storytelling sequence and dealing with trouble when recipients fail to align (Jefferson 1978; Drew and Holt 1998; Schegloff 2007). The question is to what extent this is also the case for L2 speakers.

The Present Study: Data and Procedure

Data

The present study offers an analysis of an 18-year-old au pair's storytelling practices over her nine-month stay with a host family in French-speaking Switzerland.² While observing overall features of the storytellings, we specifically focus on how the storyteller works up toward the upshot of her telling and brings the story to a recognizable close. The au pair, Julie, is a fairly advanced speaker of French. At her arrival, she was rated B2 (upper-intermediate) through a school-administered test compatible with the standards of the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR). Before her arrival, she had met the host family only once for an interview, and then contacted them by email and telephone to make arrangements for her stay. During her stay, Julie can be observed to expand her L2 interactional competence (Pekarek Doehler and Berger 2016) while progressively socializing into the host family, and it is against this twofold background that the observable change in her storytelling practices is to be understood.

Data collection was designed so as to minimize the invasiveness of the recordings into family life. The data was self-recorded by Julie. Audio was chosen over video recording because, due to its easier handling, this strongly favored the au pair's and the family's accepting the periodicity of the recordings as well as the overall length of the recording period. Audio data limits the researcher's access to features of the interaction that may be participant relevant; yet, systematical reliance on next turn proof procedure minimizes the risk of interpreting, for instance, inter-turn gaps in participant-non-relevant-ways (see, e.g., Stivers 2008, for nodding as a sign of affiliation during storytellings). In total, 20 informal conversations

during dinner or lunch with the host family were collected on a regular basis (2–3 times per month) throughout Julie’s stay, amounting to a total of 7 h of recording. The conversations involve Julie and the members of the host family, mainly the mother (Marie), the two children (Jordan and Manon), and at times also the father (Victor). Throughout the data, Marie (MAR) is the main recipient of Julie’s (JUL) stories; Victor (VIC) is rarely present and rarely responds; Jordan (JOR) and Manon (MAN) are usually dealing with other business without noticeably attending to Julie’s tellings.

Procedure

In this paper, we use the term ‘storytelling’ to refer to a stretch of talk to which both speaker and recipient orient as a telling about events situated in the past whose chronological ordering is recognizably displayed by the storyteller. In the data, this most typically includes reports of one-time happenings, but sometimes also reports of repeated or habitual sequences of events (cf. Ochs 1997). We used this definition as a baseline for establishing an inventory of storytellings across the entire database. Some of the tellings produced by Julie consisted of short reports of past events, while others were more elaborated, slowly working up to an upshot, and therefore could be considered more ‘conventional’ or ‘typical’ storytellings in the light of the abovementioned work on the topic. Also, over time, the range of interactional purposes accomplished by the tellings increased. We argue that these changes in Julie’s interactional practices are reflexively related to the local circumstances of the interactions, including changing relationships between the participants who, progressively, get to know each other more closely.

We identified all the stories that were told by Julie in the entire database totaling 30 occurrences. We then undertook sequential analysis of each of the storytelling sequences. As a third step, we identified those practices that were most recurrent within three different time-spans (start, middle, end) during Julie’s stay. We base the comparison over time presented in what follows on stories told in first position (though we do

illustrate in excerpt 3.2 how Julie goes about telling stories in second position).

We address the following interrelated questions:

- What kinds of stories does Julie tell over the nine months of her stay and what actions do these accomplish?
- How does the storyteller work up to an upshot so as to make it recognizable as such for the recipient and to receive the recipient's relevant uptake?
- How does the storyteller go about signaling the completion of the story and collaboratively bringing the storytelling sequence to a close, and how does the recipient orient to this?

These questions target the interactional purposes accomplished by the story, the sequential organization of the story and the story closing sequence as well as the linguistic, paralinguistic (prosody, voice quality, etc.) and praxeological (e.g., the proffering of a summary assessment) resources the speaker relies on to bring the storytelling (sequence) to a close.

In what follows, we illustrate, based on representative excerpts, the trajectory of Julie's changing practices by focusing on three moments in time: the very first months of her stay (months 1–3), midway through her stay (months 4–6) and the last months of her stay (months 7–9). This subdivision is designed to highlight Julie's most recurrent practices for each period of her stay and should not wash over the fact that change and development are gradual, not always linear, and that different practices for accomplishing a specific action may co-exist at a given moment in time.

General Observations on Change Over Time in Julie's Storytelling Practices

A first general change as to Julie's storytellings during the nine months of her stay is this: Initially, Julie mostly tells stories in response to solicitations on the part of her co-participants (i.e., stories told in *second position*; Schegloff 1997) and she volunteers stories mostly only in reaction to

stories told by others (i.e., as *second stories*; Sacks 1992). By contrast, in latter months, Julie produces exclusively unsolicited stories (i.e., stories told in *first position*), and these are produced as either first or second stories.³ In a previous study exploring the same data (Pekarek Doehler and Berger 2016), we document that Julie increasingly uses techniques in her story openings that allow her to secure reciprocity, to project features of the nature of the incipient story and to display its relation to preceding talk. As we will see below, such change in her practices of story opening is consequential for how Julie anticipates the possible upshot of the story, and foreshadows how recipients are expected to react to it. Also, Julie does not tell the same kinds of story over time, nor does she accomplish the same interactional purposes through her tellings. While in the start of her stay she produces short rather descriptive reports of past events that appear to be mainly designed to do informing and/or updating and only minimally comprise features characteristic of storytellings, progressively she presents her tellings as moving toward a recognizable upshot, and she designs her stories for a wider range of purposes such as complaining or making fun of somebody.

Taken together, these observations on story position and overall story organization reflect a general change as to how Julie participates in the social interactions with the family; they also indicate that, over time, she has more resources at her disposal to launch stories independently and to make them progress toward a recognizable upshot (see below).

Analysis I: Initial Months (Months 1–3)

During the first months of Julie's stay, her tellings about past events are very short, consisting of the reporting of two or three chronologically ordered pieces. They most typically emerge in response to the host mother's (Marie) frequent questions about the au pair's daily doings (as illustrated in ex. 3.2). Stories told in first position, by contrast, are found only rarely.

Excerpt (3.1), taken from month 2, provides an illustration for a story told in first position. In the start of the excerpt, Jordan, one of the family's children, is talking about the water temperature of the swimming pool (l. 1–2).

Ex. (3.1) Boulangerie 'bakery store' (Julie_091012)

- 01 JOR: mais- (0.3) .hh si tu bouges pas tu restes quand même,
but if you don't move you stay nevertheless
- 02 l'eau c'est un petit peu froide °(alors; l'eau)°.
the water it's a little bit cold (so the water)
- 03 MAR: mh=mh.
- 04 (0.3)
- 05 MAN: [((shouting in the background))]
- 06 JOR: [(xx)] au nid-du-crô.
(xx) at the nid-du-crô ((name of a swimming pool))
- 07 (0.6)
- 08 JUL: à: la b:oulangerie elle m'a- (0.3)
at the bakery she to me-
- 09 euh: j'ai demandé deux (0.4) euh cacaos?
I asked for two hot chocolates
- 10 (0.6)
- 11 JUL: et puis ehm (0.3) elle m'a [demandé ah je l-]
and then she asked me oh I
- 12 JOR: [DEUX cacaos].
two hot chocolates
- 13 JUL: je les fais <ti'èdes>.
I do them lukewarm
- 14 (0.3)
- 15 JUL: et moi j'ai- (0.3) <ti'èdes>?=hh[hhh.]
and me I AUX- lukewarm
- 16 MAR: [heh heh]
- 17 JUL: je ne savais pas qu'est-ce que ça °veut dire°°.=
I didn't know what it meant
- 18 MAR: =ah ouais.=
oh yeah
- 19 JUL: =↑oui lauwarm.
yes +lukewarm ((in German))+
- 20 (0.3)

- 21 JUL: c'est- ouais.=
it's yeah
- 22 VIC: =↑mh=
- 23 JUL: =c'est pas ch'aud pas f[roid.=
it's not warm not cold
- 24 MAR: [>ouais ouais<.
yeah yeah
- 25 JUL: hhhh.
- 26 + (6.1) ((Manon jumping and laughing))+
- 27 JOR: mais mañnon c'est pas <drô:le> hein.
but Manon it's not funny PRT
- 28 + (8.1) ((Manon laughing))+
- 29 MAR: ouais c'est bien comme ça dans l'après-midi
yeah that's fine this way in the afternoon
- 30 on peut se donner un rendez-vous en ville
we can arrange to meet in town

The story is opened after the closing down of the preceding sequence (l. 2–7) and is framed only minimally as a (potential) storytelling, by means of the adverbial *à la boulangerie* ‘at the bakery’ (l. 8) and use of the past tense (l. 9). The absence of display of the incipient story’s relevance to preceding talk and of any preliminary work preparing the ground for the telling confers a sense of the telling coming in *in medias res* (see Pekarek Doehler and Berger 2016, for a closer analysis of the opening of this telling). A possible link to preceding talk is indexed only later on in the telling, with the occurrence of the lexical item *tiède* ‘lukewarm’ (l. 13) that Julie purportedly did not understand: This vaguely ties back to Jordan’s talking about the water temperature in the pool (l. 2).

The body of the telling contains a few routine features of storytellings such as the use of direct reported speech for demarcating a story climax (see Holt 2000; e.g., l. 11–13, 15), and it confers only a slight sense of the storytelling reaching an upshot (l. 11–13, 15; see the slowing down of pace, the laughter, combined with the use of direct reported speech). Also, the telling encounters problems with reciprocity. What appears to

be designed as the story climax (i.e., the piece of reported dialogue in l. 11–13, 15) is responded to merely normatively (and minimally) by laughter (l. 16; see Jefferson, 1979, for laughter as a normative response to laughter), and Julie's further comment on the situation reported on (l. 17) is oriented to by Marie as a mere informing (see her news receipt *ah ouais* 'oh yeah' in l. 18). Following up a range of minimal recipient uptakes (l. 16, 18, 22), Julie repeatedly extends the storytelling sequence in pursuit of further recipient uptake (l. 17, 19, 21, 23), thereby observably treating the preceding recipient responses as not quite adequate. Yet she still receives only minimal responses (l. 22, 24) before Marie turns to other business (l. 29–30) while the children are teasing each other (l. 26–28).

Despite of her multiple efforts to make available further sequential opportunities for the recipient to respond to the telling, Julie fails to elicit adequate recipient response, as shown in the fact that she does not treat the responses provided as sufficient. This relative lack of recipients' treating the story ending *as* a story ending may be due to the fact that Julie does not project the story as relevant to the here and now of the ongoing conversation, nor as a given type of story that normatively can be expected to receive a given type of recipient reaction, and this is a recurrent feature of the storytellings during the start of her stay with the host family (Pekarek Doehler and Berger 2016).

As mentioned above, during the initial months, Julie only occasionally volunteers stories. This might be due to the fact that these initial interactions between Julie and the host family heavily build on question-answer sequences, initiated most often by the host mother. The mother's questions regularly invite Julie to talk about past events. As illustrated in excerpt (3.2), Julie orients to these by providing only minimal information, and this is symptomatic for how she uses such invitations as opportunities for telling stories—or rather how she does not use them as such opportunities.⁶ Given their recurrence during the first months, it is worth briefly illustrating how Julie goes about telling stories in second position and how her practices for bringing these to a close relate to what we have illustrated above (ex. 3.1) for stories told in first position.

After the closing of a preceding sequence in which the participants were dealing with distributing cups of tea (l. 1–4), Marie inquires about

Julie's day with the children (l. 6). Julie's report (l. 8–12) comes in as a response to that question.

Ex. (3.2) Bien passé 'went well' (Julie_090930)

- 01 MAR: euhm (0.6) °tu veux une tasse?°
uhm you want a cup
- 02 (0.3)
- 03 MAR: °comme ça?°=
like this
- 04 JUL: =oui
yes
- 05 (0.8)
- 06 MAR: pis aujourd'hui avec les enfants ça s'est bien passé °alors°
and today with the kids did it go well PRT
- 07 ((noise of a glass))
- 08 JUL: oui.
yes
- 09 JUL: c'est bien passé:, (0.2)
it went well
- 10 ils étaient très sa:ges, (0.4)
they were very nice
- 11 .hh et: on était à la pl↑ACE DE JEU:X, hh.
and we went to the playground?
- 12 et pi:s euh: >ouais<.
and then yeah
- 13 (1.3)
- 14 JUL: c'était chouette.
it was great
- 15 MAR: ah:=ouais c'est bien.
oh okay that's good
- 16 (0.4)
- 17 JUL: oui.
yes
- 18 (0.7)
- 19 MAR: et manon elle a joué avec ses copains et ses copines.
and Manon did she play with her friends

Julie responds with a type-conforming response (l. 8) which she then expands (l. 9–12). The body of her telling (l. 9–12) looks much like an elicited updating (Drew and Chilton 2000), yet Julie's subsequent summary assessment (l. 14) is reminiscent of what people ordinarily do in story closings, namely, displaying their stance toward the purported events (Stivers 2008; Mandelbaum 2013) and thereby offering recipients the occasion to show not only alignment but also affiliation. Clearly, however, just like in excerpt (3.1) where Julie volunteered a storytelling, Julie encounters difficulties in getting Marie to align with the closing of her telling: Julie first lets her brief report fade out in line 12. Her response-so-far does not seem to be treated by Marie as an appropriate answer: The subsequent 1.3s gap (l. 13) indicates that Marie might be expecting more to come. Julie orients to that gap as a lack of recipient reaction by offering, as an extension of her preceding turn, a summary assessment (l. 14), thereby using a resource that implicates sequence closing (see Drew and Holt 1998). While Marie reacts by displaying her approval (l. 15), Julie subsequently offers a sequence-closing third (l. 17).

Such *post hoc* attempts at more recognizably displaying the story ending (ensuing an initial attempt at closing initiation followed by lack of recipient alignment) are frequent during the first months of Julie's stay, and they are most typically done by formulaic exit devices such as *et voilà* 'and that's it', as illustrated in excerpt (3.3), taken from month 3. For the sake of space, we only quote the short (invited) telling and its ending.

Ex. (3.3) Macdo (Julie_091028)

- 01 JUL: on est allé à=au macd- eh chez: macdo:,
we AUX went to to.DET Macd- at McDonald's
- 02 MAR: au
to.DET
- 03 JUL: au macdo:,
to.DET McDonald's
- 04 MAR: mhm
- 05 (1.9)

- 06 JUL: mh: (1.0) e:t j'ai rien acheté? hh. .Hhh
and I didn't buy anything
- 07 (1.4)
- 08 JUL: e::t [euh voilà.
and ehm that's it
- 09 JOR: [m-
- 10 (0.2)
- 11 JOR: mais maman pourquoi elle [(a mis là ça)?
but mommy why did she put this there?
- 12 MAR: [et vous avez parlé du passé simple?
and you AUX talked about the simple past?

Julie's report, which does not develop into a conventional storytelling, comes to a possible end with a rising intonation (l. 6), followed by a laughter token which may be heard as displaying her embarrassment that there is nothing much tell-worthy that she can offer. Just like in excerpts 3.1 and 3.2, Julie's turn is not hearably oriented to by Marie as an ending of her telling (see the 1.4 s gap in l. 6), and the fact that Julie extends her turn suggest that she is treating the gap as a lack of recipient alignment. By subsequently producing the exit device *et euh voilà* 'and that's it' with TCU-final falling intonation (l. 8), she more overtly displays an ending while at the same time providing a second sequentially relevant place for recipient's alignment.

Such briefness of Julie's reports—whether told in first or second position—their being constructed differently from prototypical storytellings and difficulties with obtaining recipient's adequate uptake are pervasive features of Julie's tellings during the first months of her stay:

- *General features of the stories.* Julie most often tells stories in second position. Her reports of past events are short, most often consisting of 2 or 3 TCUs, and they are delivered as a series of chronologically ordered pieces of information, often in an iterative, list-like manner. Although they bear characteristics of storytelling, they only rarely—and if so vaguely—are designed as working up toward a recognizable upshot. These features qualify Julie's tellings—whether solicited or volunteered—as unconventional with regard to what we know about storytellings from earlier research.

- *Moving toward an upshot.* Julie's tellings are either not designed so as to be progressing toward an upshot (ex. 3.2 and 3.3), or, when they do bear features of such progression (ex. 3.1), the upshot is not made adequately recognizable for co-participants, as evidenced in how they orient to that upshot. The reported events are most often depicted rather than being, for instance, re-enacted (but see ex. 3.1), as is routinely the case in the latter stages of the sojourn (see below), and Julie provides no indications as to how her telling is expected to be received to by recipients. Recipients in turn orient to her reports in ways that are not typical for storytellings, for instance, by producing news receipts (ex. 3.1) or by turning to other business (ex. 3.1 and 3.2).
- *Signaling the completion.* Julie most often does not recognizably display the ending of her telling *as* an ending (see Mandelbaum 2013). Rather, her tellings tend to come to an end, typically marked by a complex TRP, followed by a noticeable absence of recipients' alignment. This absence suggests recipients' expectation that the teller is about to further develop her report.
- *Pursuing reciprocity and closing down the storytelling sequence.* In the subsequent talk, Julie orients to the need of pursuing recipient's alignment: After having encountered trouble with a first attempt at closing initiation, she attempts to re-do a recognizable completion, often by using a limited set of formulaic exit devices (most emblematic among these: *et voilà*), thereby providing further sequentially relevant places for recipient's display of alignment. This, however, mostly ensues in a brusque ending of the sequence or else recipient's move to expand the sequence, inviting Julie to further develop her telling.

The sequential and linguistic resources that Julie uses in storytellings at this stage are indexically related to the situation at hand: They contribute to constructing the interactional context (including the relations between co-participants) that they at the same time reflect. Noteworthy in this regard is the fact that in the start of Julie's stay, reports of past events are regularly delivered in response to questions about Julie's daily doings, either alone or with the family's children. While accounting for daily doings is habitual in domestic interactions, it may also be symptomatic for the fact that our data show conversations between people that are

little acquainted (Svennevig 2014). As they get to know each other over the further course of Julie's stay, Julie's storytelling practices change along with the changing relationships among participants.

Analysis II: Midway (Months 4–6)

In the following months, Julie increasingly volunteers stories, that is, she produces stories in first position. Significant changes pertain not so much to how she delivers the telling in the first place, but how she deals with recipient initial lack of alignment, by using a range of resources for displaying both her stance and the telling's upshot in recognizable ways, and how, thereby, she contributes to shaping recipient responses.

Excerpt (3.4) illustrates how Julie designs an unsolicited story midway through her stay. The excerpt, stemming from the end of month 6, occurs during a discussion between Julie and Marie about one of Julie's *au pair* friends who comes from Romania. Prior to the excerpt, Julie and Marie comment on the fact that life in Romania must be quite different than in Switzerland, especially in the countryside. In line 5, Julie launches a short story about her Romanian friend.

Ex. (3.4) *au pair* (Julie_100205)

01 JUL: .h elle a - (0.3) tr ois sœurs et quatre frères,
she has - three sisters and four brothers

02 (0.4)

03 MAR: ah=ouais au ↑tant?
oh yeah so many?

04 JUL: .hh ↑oui(hh) hh.
yes

05 (1.5)

06 JUL: pis j'ai demandé combien d- enfants e- elle veut avoir?
and I asked how many kids sh- she wants to have

07 (0.4)

84 E. Berger and S. Pekarek Doehler

- 08 JUL: >elle a dit< ↑UN ou trois mais pas deux.
she AUX said one or three but not two
- 09 MAR: >ah<.
- 10 (2.1)
- 11 JUL: mais chais pas pour↑quoi:.,
but I dunno why
- 12 JUL: j'comprends pas.
I don't understand
- 13 (1.4)
- 14 MAR: >b i_zar_re.<
weird
- 15 (0.4)
- 16 JUL: >(parce que)< deux c'est- c'est bien °°non°°?
because two it's it's good isn't it?
- 17 (1.0)
- 18 MAR: mh=hm,
- 19 (1.6)
- 20 JUL: au déb- au- ↑MOI: une fois j'me suis di:t (0.2) j'veux pas avoir
in the beg- at me once I said to myself I don't wanna have
- 21 trois parce que là y a toujours- deux qui sont ensemble
three because there are always two who are together
- 22 >et puis< (1.0) un: (0.4) >ouais<.
and then one yeah
- 23 (1.0)
- 24 JUL: j'avais toujours l'impression
I had always the impression
- 25 que c'est comme ça mai:s °j'crois pas°.°
that it's like that but I don't think so
- 26 ?: ((background noise: 1.7))
- 27 MAR: °ah (zut) euh°
oh shoot eh
- 28 (0.6)
- 29 MAR: y a quelqu'un >qu'a mangé< le jambon?
did someone eat the ham?

The (very short) story told in this excerpt grows out of the conversation. In line 6, Julie provides some background information about her au pair friend having many siblings, which is met with the recipient's display of interest by means of a news mark (Maynard 2003) that functions as an invitation to elaborate (*ah ouais au↑tant?* 'oh yeah so many?', l. 3). This is followed by Julie's delivery of a story made of only two TCUs (l. 6–8) in which she reports a dialogue between her and her friend (note again, l. 8, the use of direct reported speech as a typical feature of storytelling). Against the background of the 'different' nature of Romania compared to Switzerland that the two parties discussed before, this short telling appears to be designed to provide a piece of evidence for the 'different' way of thinking of the Romanian friend, but this becomes clear only post hoc, in lines 11–12 and 14, respectively, where Julie and Marie's display puzzlement in the face of the Romanian girl's purported position.

The body of the story is delivered (and oriented to) in a way that is very similar to what we had observed at earlier stages, as illustrated in excerpt (3.1) in particular: In the reported dialogue, Julie represents her friend's purported words in a neutral way, without displaying any stance (stance-display is typical for storytellings; Stivers 2008; Selting 2010) on behalf of the reported event or characters therein. The reported event is first oriented to by the recipient as an informing, as indicated by Marie's stand-alone change-of-state token *ah* 'oh' (l. 9). Julie, however, treats Marie's preceding *ah* 'oh' as an insufficient response to her telling (l. 11), and this is also suggested by the preceding 2.1 gap.

Interesting here—and distinct from the earlier months—are the *multiple* means Julie deploys for troubleshooting after having encountered only minimal displays of reciprocity, thereby seeking to bring the storytelling sequence collaboratively to a close as well as to obtain recipient affiliation. Ensuing line 10, Julie provides further opportunities for the recipient not only to align but also to affiliate with her telling by means of various expansions that initiate a sequence closing. In lines 11–12, she offers her stance toward the reported events, assessing her friend's position about children as somewhat strange, and thereby indicating retrospectively that the prior report was designed so as to recount an unexpected state of affairs, which should be reacted to as such by the recipient. And in fact, Marie subsequently produces an assessment token (*bizarre* 'weird',

l. 14), thereby clearly displaying her affiliation with Julie's puzzlement in lines 11–12. Julie then further expands the sequence providing again overtly her own stance toward the reported events by means of an assessment that is presented as an account for her preceding stance-taking (l. 16), ending on a tag question. Julie here hence appears to fish for a renewed and possibly heightened display of recipient's affiliation by means of a turn that operates upgraded pressure to respond—and to respond in an affiliative way. Yet, Marie merely offers a delayed minimal response token *mh = hm*, after which Julie expands the sequence once more (l. 20–25), further explicating why she treats her friend's reported reaction as unusual, yet Marie shifts to a different topic and activity (l. 27–29).

The excerpt illustrates features of Julie's storytelling practices that emerge midway through her stay. The body of her telling is still short, consisting of a limited number of TCUs, and does not show any recognizable progression toward an upshot. No indication is provided as to how recipients are expected to attend the story. Also, the first point of completion of the story still encounters observable problems with reciprocity. However, the following noteworthy changes have occurred:

- *General features of the tellings.* Stories told in first position increase and are finely tuned to the topical development of preceding talk (see also Pekarek Doehler and Berger 2016). Also, the nature of the tellings has evolved: Stance-marking can now be observed regularly, although not built into the body of the story but post-positioned with regard to a first closing of the story, and the tellings accomplish social-interactive purposes that are not limited to informing, such as supporting a prior argument by providing 'proof of evidence'.
- *Pursuing reciprocity and closing down the storytelling sequence.* Julie uses a range of techniques for fishing for alignment with her initiation of the sequence-closing sequence and for affiliation with her stance, as well as for tuning the recipient toward the expected response. Among these techniques are, as illustrated in excerpt 3.4, assessments and increased and repeated display of the speaker's own stance toward the telling, as well as explanations of the motives for that stance.

Noteworthy is the fact that midway through Julie's stay, this all is done in sequence expansions as a means of troubleshooting *after* the telling has reached a first possible ending met with a lack of recipient alignment (in ex. 3.3, see l. 16–25). As we will see in the next section, in the further course of her stay, Julie starts to systematically build elements of stance-taking, anticipation of recipient reaction and overt displays of her moving toward an upshot and a closing *into the very body* of her telling, rather than placing these in post-telling position as a means for re-doing a recognizable closing.

Analysis III: End of Stay (Months 7–9)

Toward the end of her stay, the data shows Julie exclusively produces unsolicited stories that emerge out of the flow of conversation. She produces elaborate stories and designs them from their onset so as to be recognizable as stories of a certain type (see Pekarek Doehler and Berger 2016), thereby making available to recipients early on what an expected response might be. She moves the stories toward an upshot that is oriented to as such by recipients, and she brings recipients to align with her sequence-closing initiation and, most often, also to display affiliation with her stance toward the reported events. This is illustrated in the following two excerpts, both taken from month 8.

Excerpt 3.5 ensues a stretch of interaction where the children fight over which one of the eggs each of them will eat, which comes to an end with Manon's *moi je prends celui-là* 'I'll take that one' (l. 1) and Marie's subsequent display of agreement (l. 2). Julie then volunteers a story (from l. 5 on) about a Belgian skier that was with her in a skiing camp last weekend and that she refers to (l. 5, 15) as wearing jeans to go skiing. This precise piece of information preceding the telling will turn out to be centrally relevant for the story, as it is hearable as characterizing the Belgian as inexperienced: You don't ski in jeans—everyone knows that (at least in Switzerland). Julie further reports that she saw that guy falling while skiing on a difficult slope (l. 32–41).

Ex. (3.5) Le belge 'the Belgian' (Julie_100315)

- 01 MAN?: moi je prends celui-là?
=me I take that one
- 02 MAR: =mhm
- 03 JUL: mais euh [ce weekend
but eh this week-end
- 04 MAR: [mhm
- 05 JUL: il y avait aussi un belge,
there was also a Belgian (guy)
- 06 +(1.0) ((dish noises))+
- 07 °de: un flamand°,
from a Flemish
- 08 +(1.1) ((dish noises))+
- 09 MAR: à ski?
skiing
- 10 +(0.5) ((dish noises))+
- 11 JUL: non mais euh euh- (0.7) avec nous,
no but eh eh with us
- 12 (1.1)
- 13 JUL: avec l'uni ouais.
with the university yeah
- 14 MAR: £°ou'ais ↑ouai::s°£.
yeah yeah
- 15 JUL: mais il était en jeans. Hhhh[°hhhh°]
but he was in jeans
- 16 MAR: [fa(h) ouais£?]
oh yeah
- 17 JUL: [.hhh .hhheh:: £ou:i::£ et puis hh.
yes and then
- [14 turns at talk omitted: they talk about the fact that it hurts when you fall in jeans]
- 32 JUL: .h ET UNE FOIS on a vu: (2.8; background talk) un skieur
and once we AUX saw a skier
- 33 qui avai:t- qui était sur la: piste noire, (0.7)
who had- who was on the black slope

- 34 pis=il est euh (0.3) allé tout droi(h)t hhhh .hh .hhi
 then he AUX went straight ahead
- 35 fet après=euh ouaisf (0.2)
 and then yeah
- 36 >tout droit sur la piste noiref< (0.6)
 straight ahead on the black slope
- 37 et après il est tombé,=
 and then he AUX fell
- 38 =>on a vu tout ça parce que on était tour-
 we AUX saw all of it because we were all-
- 39 sur le télésiège<, (0.6)
 on the chairlift
- 40 et après on a: euh- il a dit que=c'était flui f >°.hih°<
 and then we AUX he AUX said that it was +him
- 41 fc'était le belg(h)e °hh° (0.8) °.h [.h hh f
 it was the Belgian guy
- 42 MAR: [ah=ouais?
 oh yeah?
- 43 JUL: fh .hhheh° <qu:i avec son jeans il est tombéf>
 who with his jeans he AUX fell down
- 44 et ça ça fait mal >je pense<
 and this hurts I think
- 45 s'il tombe ça fait plus mal que:=
 if he falls it hurts more than
- 46 MAR: =>hein=hein.<
- 47 (0.3)
- 48 JUL: °si t'as une pantal- un [pantalon°.
 if you wear DET.FEM pant- DET.MASC pants
- 49 MAR: [mais d'ailleurs
 but by the way
- 50 il me semble que dans le ↑temps
 it seems to me that back in the old days
- 51 ils nous interdisaient de skier en jeans,
 they forbid us to ski in jeans
- [They continue talking about the disadvantages of wearing jeans for skiing]

In this excerpt, Julie builds up slowly toward the story climax: From the onset of her telling, she foreshadows a potential story mocking the Belgian, by indicating that the Belgian was wearing jeans (l. 15, see Pekarek Doehler and Berger 2016 for a detailed analysis of the story opening in this excerpt). Both the turn-initial *mais* ‘but’ and the laughter (l. 15, 17) display Julie’s stance toward the so described state of affairs as being unusual, and potentially laughable, and by the same token foreshadow expected recipient reactions. Marie then aligns by means of her *ah ouais?* ‘oh yeah?’ (l. 16), produced with a smiley voice that displays affiliation. It is only after having received alignment and affiliation that Julie projects the focal event (*une fois* ‘once’, l. 32) she is about to report, and sets the scene for an ‘accident story’, referring to a skier that was racing on a black slope (l. 34–36). Thereby, she unmistakably displays the unfolding story as a story making fun of somebody (see her laughter, l. 34), and by the same token anticipates facets of its possible upshot. She also uses means for creating suspense, starting off with an indefinite referent (*un skieur* ‘a skier’ line 32), which she reveals only later, as the very upshot of the story, as referring to the Belgian guy wearing jeans (l. 40–41). Additionally, the parenthetical insert in lines 38–39 both augments the authenticity of the story by presenting it as an eyewitness report and further enhances suspense by briefly halting the progression of the storyline. The climax proper is further demarcated as a report of the protagonist’s own purported avowal of this embarrassing scene (see Holt 2000): *il a dit que=c’était lui* ‘he said it was him’ (l. 40). This is accompanied by Julie’s smiley voice displaying, again, her stance toward the reported events. Subsequently, Julie offers a final clarification statement ‘it was the Belgian’ (l. 41), thereby further pursuing a response by repairing an indexical expression (see Bolden et al. 2012). Upon this, the storyteller bursts into laughter.

The recipient, in turn, clearly displays both the recognizability of the climax and alignment with Julie’s stance-taking. It is exactly after the delivery of the climax that Marie responds with a news mark (l. 42), thereby displaying her orientation to the noteworthy character of this piece of information. The recipient’s turn is consequential for the further course of the interaction: As Maynard (2003) has shown, news marks

encourage the first speaker to elaborate. For the concrete excerpt under analysis, the story proper ends with the production of the upshot at lines 40–41, while the storytelling sequence comes to a close based on jointly coordinated sequence-closing sequence extending beyond line 41.

As a matter of fact, while the story is responded to by a news mark in line 42, it is not, at this point, responded to by a sign of affiliation, nor does the recipient join in the teller's story-final laughter. Following the recipient's news mark, Julie produces several elements that are sequence-closing implicative: She reconfirms that the skier fell while wearing jeans (l. 43), thereby offering a return to the start of the storytelling (see Jefferson 1978; Schegloff 2007). She then produces a generalized assessment (l. 44–45) that also ties back to the story opening (l. 15), which again can be read as sequence-closing implicative. The same is true for the lowering of volume in line 48. Furthermore, the sequence closing shows the type of uptake of affectivity that Selting (2010) has documented with regard to the specific case of complaint stories: Here, Julie's stance toward the reported events, indexed in particular by her smiley voice and laughter tokens (l. 40–43), is responded to by an affiliation on the part of Marie (l. 46), which functions simultaneously as an (anticipatory) alignment with the closing, after which Marie, in overlap with Julie's turn continuation, opens a new sequence (l. 49–51) that is topically related to the story. The telling bears interactional consequentialities.

Excerpt (3.6) provides a further illustration of the resources Julie puts to use in the latter months of her stay. Prior to the excerpt, Julie and Marie were commenting on the habitual path they take to walk the children to school and some of the issues they encounter on that path (l. 1–5). Following up on that, Julie starts reporting on Jordan's habit to go to the toilet at the very last moment before they leave for school (l. 1–22). Note that this is not a story reporting on a one-time past event, but a story reporting habitual and repeated events (cf. Ochs 1997 for storytellings of the latter type), and it is displayed as such from the onset: Julie uses the phrase *doit toujours faire* (l. 6; literally 'always needs to make') to indicate that Jordan always needs to pee when they have to leave; she then elaborates on the chronological order of events in such cases (l. 16–22).

Ex. (3.6) Pipi 'pee' (Julie_100323)

- 01 JUL: des foi:s=euh t'arrives au miliŕeu: ça va encore,
sometimes you get to the middle it's till fine
- 02 et pis après ça:=
and then after that
- 03 MAR: =mh
- 04 JUL: ouais(h) et après c'est tout sa:le (.) °c'est pas trop euh:°
yeah and then it's all dirty it's not very
- 05 +(2.4) ((TV sound in the background))+
- 06 JUL: °°ah mais°° ts. jordan qui doit toujours faire
oh but Jordan who always needs to pee
- 07 au dernier mome:nt=°euh° °.h° Hhha [.Hh
at the very last moment
- 08 MAR: [†hh
- 09 JUL: <ou:>ais(h)=
yeah
- 10 MAR: =†hh †hh
- 11 +(2.0) ((drinking noise))
- 12 MAR: +†ouais c'est un peu: ((high pitched voice))+ (0.3)
yeah it's a bit
- 13 fpis- pis lui il prend du temps lui
and and him he takes a long time
- 14 quand il le fait donc=[euH: hh.ɛ]
when he does it so
- 15 JUL: [° (mh=mh) °]
yes
- 16 (0.5) >pis souvent il=dit< (.) j'ai fini,=
and often he says I'm done
- 17 pis >°°je=dis-°°< †ah c'est bien t'es pr- >t'as fait vŕite.<
and I say oh that's good you you were quick
- 18 (0.3)
- 19 JUL: pis deux minutes après (.) .h +†en ffait euh
and two minutes later actually

- 20 j'ai p̄as enco(h)re: forcém(h)ent (h)fi(h)ni(h),
I'm not yet really done
- 21 .hh je dois encore une fois
I need one more time
- 22 °aller:° °°aux toilettes°°.
to go to the toilet
- 23 MAR: pis c'est marrant, ça c'est- depuis qu'il est
and it's funny this it's since he's
- 24 tout petit [c'est toujours la même chose]f
very little it's always the same thing
- 25 JUL: [(ouais.)
yeah
- 26 JUL: ouais=.h mais cette fois après il s'est vraiment dépêché,
yeah but this time after he AUX really hurried up

Julie's assessment of Jordan's habit (l. 6–7) possibly foreshadows an upcoming storytelling about him. This assessment is designed as a complaint by means of the turn-initial “emotional change-of-state token” (Golato 2012) *ah mais* ‘oh but’ followed by *ts.*, both of which are affect laden (see also the turn-final laughter, l. 7). The recipient immediately affiliates by joining in the laughter (l. 8, 10) and expands on that (l. 12–14) by providing further experiential support for Julie's comment.

Julie launches her storytelling proper (l. 16) only after having received the recipient's alignment and affiliation, thereby having also prepared the ground for a possibly humorous story about Jordan's peeing habits. Her story is shaped as a report of a recurrent sequence of events during past interactions she has had with the boy that she presents as chronologically ordered (l. 16, 17, 19). The events are not merely described but they are re-enacted. The use of direct reported speech is highlighted by the enquoting devices *il dit* ‘he says’ (l. 16) and *je dis* ‘I say’ (l. 17), the shift from third person to first person reference (l. 17, 19–22; see also Julie referring to the boy as *tu* ‘you’, l. 17), as well as the heavy voice modulations that enliven the story (mainly upgrade and downgrade of pitch, but also whispering voice, l. 16–22). Direct reported speech here contributes to dramatizing the reported events and to augmenting their authenticity, making the recipient ‘witness’ the happenings (see Holt 2000). The progression toward the upshot is made recognizable by virtue of Julie depicting

Jordan's contradictory conduct, thereby indexing a reversal of the initial situation (l. 19, by contrast to l. 16–17). The climax is also demarcated by the prosodic design of the character's voice: The boy's purported words are delivered with a higher pitched (l. 19) and then whispering (l. 22) voice, the latter suggesting his embarrassment, in contrast to the earlier re-enactment of a neutral voice (l. 16). Additionally, Julie's laughter (l. 20) further contributes to indexing that the story is reaching its climax (see Goodwin 1984). The climax is then oriented to as such by the recipient, who immediately displays her affiliation (l. 23–24) and highlights the relevance of the story to the ongoing interaction, after which Julie reports on that particular day's happenings (l. 26). In short, the telling here is both anticipated as a telling of a certain type, and designed in a way so as to move it to a recognizable upshot. The fact that the story recipient marginally joins in the telling (l. 12–14, 23–24) testifies to the convergence of the co-participants' knowledge about the child's habits, and is symptomatic for both Julie and the host mother having reached, at this point in time, a stock of shared experience.

Excerpts (3.5) and (3.6) illustrate the interactional work that Julie, in coordination with the recipient's responses, deploys during the latter months of her stay to carry the story toward an upshot and to move out of the storytelling sequence. To sum up, Julie's storytelling practices during the latter months of her stay show the following distinctive features:

- *General features of the storytellings.* Julie's storytellings are significantly more elaborated in terms of length and overall structure and they accomplish a wider range of actions than before, including complaining or making fun of a character.
- *Moving toward an upshot.* As Julie produces more elaborated storytellings, she deploys a range of resources (reported speech, voice modulation, laughter, etc.) from the very onset of her storytellings to project both a recognizable upshot and the expected recipient response, thereby securing recognition of the story climax.
- *Signaling the completion.* Julie henceforth “constructs the ending of the storytelling as an ending” (see Mandelbaum 2013, pp. 504–505). That is, the ending is made recognizable both by virtue of its being designed

as the recognizable upshot of the telling, and by means of the use of routinized resources such as summary assessments or recyclings that are sequence-closing implicative. This sharply contrasts with her earlier use of a limited set of formulaic exit devices or, sometimes, assessments that were added *post hoc* upon a lack of recipient alignment with a prior possible ending.

- *Pursuing reciprocity and closing down the storytelling sequence.* Julie now actively works toward obtaining the recipient's alignment with the closing initiation, and affiliation with her stance toward the reported events or characters. This is done by displaying her stance toward the reported events within the very climax of the story (as opposed to doing it *post hoc*) and by pursuing that display by diverse means after a first possible ending of the story. This ensues in jointly coordinated closing sequences of the storytelling sequence, and stands in sharp contrast to the earlier endings with a lack of (adequate) uptake on the part of the recipient.

Discussion and Conclusion

In this paper, we set out to explore how an L2 speaker—an au pair—changes her storytelling practices over a period of nine months during her stay with a host family and what such change implies for our understanding of L2 interactional development. In this section, we sum up the findings, address challenges for longitudinal CA, and discuss implications for understanding L2 interactional competence and larger processes of socialization.

By keeping the participants, speech exchange system and organizational domain of activity constant, this study was designed so as to *maximize comparability* of the observed interactional practices over time. For the same reason, our comparison over time focused on stories told in first position (though we also illustrated stories told in second position; ex. 3.2).

The findings reported in this paper document substantial change over the period of nine months in how the L2 speaker designs her stories, and brings them to a recognizable end, and in how the recipient responds to these. The change pertains to:

- (1) A significant increase in stories told in first position
- (2) An increase in overall length and complexity of the stories
- (3) A diversification of the interactional purposes accomplished by the stories (initial informings, bearing only minimal traits of storytelling, are progressively completed by complaining, supporting a prior argument, making fun of somebody, etc.)
- (4) The increased use of various resources to anticipate the story climax and to design it in recognizable ways
- (5) The increased use of routine resources for displaying the ending as an ending and initiating sequence closing and, concurrently, securing recipients' displays of alignment
- (6) The progressive emergence of speaker's display of her stance toward the reported events and, concurrently, the securing of recipients' displays of affiliation

In the course of her stay in the French-speaking environment, Julie observably changed the kind of stories she told and the interactional purposes these were designed for, as well as her methods for organizing her storytellings regarding the sequential emergence of the stories, the anticipation and organization of the story closing, and the linguistic and actional resources used to move toward such closings in mutually recognizable ways. Initially, Julie's reports of past events were typically short, they were designed as neutral descriptions that did not recognizably move toward an upshot and an ending, nor did they make the recipient's affiliation relevant, and their (often brusque) ends met with lack of alignment on the part of recipients. Over time, Julie's storytellings became increasingly elaborate and were delivered in a way so as to move toward a recognizable upshot and end and to display the teller's stance toward the reported events. Also, they ensued in jointly coordinated sequence-closing sequences.

Given the above findings, two important questions remain to be addressed. The one pertains to the accountable, participant-relevant nature of the documented change, and the other to its interpretation in terms of, for instance, the development of L2 interactional competence.

The first question relates to the important issue of warranting an emic perspective on change over time. As opposed to studies that track change

(e.g., in terms of learning) as an observable process that takes place in real-time interactions, longitudinal CA studies most typically do not provide evidence for how people orient to current accomplishments as being distinct from past accomplishments (e.g., as products of learning and development)—though they might be seen to orient to joint interactional histories (see, e.g., Voutilainen et al., this volume). Rather, the outcomes of what has been experienced from earlier interactions are taken for granted in subsequent interactions. And this was the case for the data examined in this study. What we did observe, however, is the accountable process of how such newly emerged practices for accomplishing social actions allow participants to reach and to maintain mutual engagement and intersubjectivity, that is, how conduct is treated and oriented to as increasingly appropriate and competent by co-participants such as story recipients. In this study, we provided evidence for change not as a locally accomplished process, but as it is made accessible in the way participants increasingly succeed in coordinating their conducts and reaching shared engagement, mutual alignment and affiliation.

The second question relates to the possibility to interpret the findings in terms of “the competence which underlies ordinary social activities” (Heritage 1984, p. 241), as regards both Julie’s L2 interactional competence and her socialization into the host family. Given the context-sensitive nature of all forms of human conduct, the question is: How can we tease apart what change is due to increased interactional abilities from what is due to changing interpersonal relationships, membership, participation? What qualifies observable change in participants’ practices as pertaining to L2 development rather than, for instance, to larger processes of socialization? This, of course, is not a problem of analysis, but a problem of interpreting the findings.

As mentioned above, Julie’s resources changed as much as the kinds of stories she told and the interactional purposes these fulfilled; this change is inextricably intertwined with the changing social relationships between her and the family members as they get to know each other over time. At the same time, the findings suggest that, over time, Julie deploys more and more locally efficient and recipient-designed conduct, in the sense that she gets more promptly signs of alignment and, where relevant, affiliation. While this hinges on Julie’s use of techniques for projecting upcoming

actions and coordinating their sequential organization, it is essentially the product of how co-participants *jointly* coordinate their actions, and adapt moment-to-moment to each other's conduct. The quoted findings converge with earlier studies on L2 interactional development that, over all, testify to L2 speakers' progressive diversification of methods for actions enabling them to deploy more and more context-sensitive and recipient-designed conduct (see the section on CA-SLA above). In this sense, the findings clearly provide evidence for Julie's increased ability, over time, to engage in L2 interaction in a locally efficient and recipient-designed way.

However, in the case of the situation under analysis, during the first months of her stay, Julie was not only being a L2 speaker who starts to interact in an immersion environment, but she was also getting to know the host family. Julie's storytelling practices were indexically related to these local circumstances of the interactions at hand. For instance, while, during the earlier months, both Marie's questioning and Julie's responses to it were instrumental for Julie's informing the host mother about her doings as a caretaker of the family's children (cf. Pochon-Berger et al. 2015), they were also a means for sustaining a conversation between people who are little acquainted (see Svennevig 2014). By contrast, in the latter months, the storytellings were designed and responded to in a way that testifies to Julie's and Marie's increased engagement in sharing experiences (see ex. 3.6 where Julie and the mother laugh together about Jordan's peeing habits), and simply having fun together while they develop a closer relationship. Symptomatic in this regard is the fact that Julie's storytellings over time became an arena for stance-taking and mutual display of alignment, which was not the case earlier on, and that in these latter months Julie and the host mother can often be seen laughing together (as illustrated in ex. 3.5 and 3.6), which might be seen as suggesting that they orient differently to each other and to conversational storytelling than in the earlier months. So, along with the speaker's practices for storytelling and the related resources put to use, the social-interactional purposes of these storytellings changed over time, and that change is intimately related to the evolving social relations among participants. This has profound implications for our understanding of interactional competence and its development.

The observable practices and resources were reflexively related to the context: They contribute to constructing the very context of which they were an accountable part. Julie's changing practices were inextricably intertwined with her becoming a more central participant (or: member) in the micro-community of the host family. This ties back to Garfinkel's (1967) understanding of competence as a matter of action, pertaining to members deploying conduct accountably in locally appropriate ways. As part of member's commonsense knowledge as a resource for action, interactional competence is continually co-constructed, adapted to *hic et nunc* interactional exigencies, flexible and sensitive to the contingencies of use. Interactional development, in this light, is a constitutive part of how people move through the world, how they get to know each other and how they become members of a community of practice (see also Brouwer and Wagner 2004; Hellermann 2008)—be it in a first or a second language. Just like language use, the development of interactional competence is inextricably intertwined with larger processes of socialization.

Appendix: Special Symbols Used in Transcripts

In addition to the transcription conventions classically used in CA, we use the following symbols:

-
- ^ Indicates phonetic liaison between the final consonant of a word and the initial vowel of the next word
 - + Marks the onset of a stretch of talk to which a transcriber's comment refers
 - ; Is used to separate alternative uncertain hearings, as in (alors; l'eau)
-

In the translation:

AUX	Indicates an auxiliary
DET	Indicates a determiner
DET.FEM	Indicates a feminine determiner
DET.MASC	Indicates a masculine determiner
PRT	Indicates a particle

Notes

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2. The data collection and the present study have been carried out within two research projects generously funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation (no. 100012_126868, 2009–2013; no. P300P1_158447, 2015–2016).
3. Stories told in first position are brought to the floor in a different manner than stories told in second position (Schegloff 1997), and this may affect the construction of the story. In both cases, however, storytellers work actively toward making the story climax recognizable, securing reciprocity and affiliation, and negotiating the closing of the sequence (Mandelbaum 2013; Stivers 2008).

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Part III

Change in Skills and Interactional Competences in School Settings

4

Talking About Reading: Changing Practices for a Literacy Event

John Hellermann

Introduction

What, exactly, does it mean to read, have read, or be reading, or be a reader? The analytic interest for this chapter started with that question after observing adult immigrants to the USA in an English language classroom setting. Specifically, we were observing video recordings of these students doing 20 minutes of sustained silent reading (McCracken 1971) followed by ten minutes of talk about what they had read. In addition to the characterization just made of the participants doing the reading, other institutional identities had been ascribed to them including “pre-literate”, “literacy”, or “LESLLA” (Low Educated Second Language and Literacy Acquisition) students. So, participants characterized as not having literacy participated in this particular activity type, or literacy event (Heath 1982). Given these various institutional “deficit” identities, we wondered how it was that they were participating in such an activity type and found this to be a perspicu-

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ous setting (Garfinkel 2002) for understanding what it means to participate in a literacy event and how that participation changes over time. That is, the context in which an institutionally identified illiterate person took part in this activity warranted a closer investigation of “the text-reader relation...as a part of a sequence of social action which includes interpretative practices” (Smith 1984, p. 72). Or as McHoul (1982, p. 137) put it, the exploration regards the relationship of a participant’s linguistic resources to the language practices and textual objects. Longitudinal data collected of the same participant over the course of five months doing the “same” activity allows for the possibility to see changing interactional practices and orientations to texts and this literacy event.

Literacy Events in Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis Research

For experienced readers, reading extended texts is generally a private activity. For novice readers in instructional settings, reading is less private due to the collaborative nature of instruction for reading. Research shows how, in instructional settings, reading is made into a public activity in which interactional practices are used for co-constructing procedural knowledge, to learn to see the just-read text as source for propositional and cultural knowledge, to learn to see texts as making sense, and to orient to a purpose for reading as the transfer of read information to oral reproduction (Heap 1977, 1980, 1985, 1990; McHoul 1982, 1991; Baker 1991; Hester and Francis 1995). Although much reading research focuses on the individual, internal cognitive processes involved in reading, research in ethnomethodology and conversation analysis (EMCA) has re-framed the study of reading to how it is engaged with and co-constructed in social interaction. This research has shown that when participating in reading tasks in instructional settings, novice readers are tasked with doing procedural, visible, and hearable interactional practices for reading. This research asks what the practice we commonly and unquestioningly gloss as “reading” is and if there are family resemblances across contexts for reading (Heap 1977).

For example, in settings in which a teacher interacts with students during reading instruction, ethnomethodology and conversation analysis research

shows reading instruction in the classroom is a collaborative and co-constructed practice. Teachers orient to instruction as “helping” rather than “telling” and share that orientation with students (Davidson 2012). The sequential structure of a teacher with classroom cohort during a picture book storytelling includes the use of talk, direct questioning by the teacher, and indexing pictures as resources for teacher questioning (Hester and Francis 1995). Even in these fairly controlled environments, the collaborative and highly contingent nature of reading in classrooms makes assessing reading ability and comprehension as an individual competency close to impossible (Heap 1980).

The locally co-constructed activity type explored for this chapter was labeled “post-reading task” by the teacher. Not surprisingly, however, observing the sequential unfolding of these interactions makes it clear that there are many enactments of the activity that include practices like saying consecutive printed words, comparing English words to Spanish words, translating directives in English to Mandarin, or attempting more target-like pronunciation of printed words.

It is such co-constructed activity between two peers that is the focus of analysis in this chapter. Rather than direct instructional interaction, the focal interactions for this study are, ostensibly, reports of or retellings of some just-accomplished individual reading. These are second-order informings, retellings of the 20-minute private reading. This makes the description of the sequence of talk-in-interaction important for discovering how the participants (both novice language users) orient to, retrospectively, what is of import for retelling and, at that time, how it is possible to retell. The retelling literacy event is a site in which all participants were faced with several challenges, including (1) knowing what is relevant to retell to a peer in such an interaction, (2) articulating that tellable information from the just-read story in a new language (English), and (3) designing the retelling for a particular co-participant. For the learners without literacy experience (including the focal participant in this study), some fundamental, common sense characteristics of such a literacy event also need to be worked through including what constitutes a telling activity and what it is from a book that can be told. As with any telling in interaction, the display of understanding of the literacy event is a co-constructed practice.

The visible interactional aspects of a particular literacy event in an adult language-learning classroom show how printed texts and the discussion of

printed texts are used as a way for members having little experience with such events to participate in this “new for them” activity. By describing these practices for action of one participant in a series of interactions over five months, I present evidence for how these practices change.

Longitudinal Data and Evidence for Learning in Repeated, Experienced Action

The use of longitudinal data for EMCA studies of language learning was begun after the call by Firth and Wagner (1997) for studies of second language acquisition to seriously engage interactional data. A program was then started to explore how sequential analyses of talk-in-interaction might be able to show the contextualized unfolding of language learning and has since flourished (Brouwer and Wagner 2004; Mondada and Pekarek Doehler 2004; Hellermann 2007). Although the use of the term “learning” has been questioned (Macbeth 2011, 2014) due to its history in decontextualized cognitive research in education and psychology (Koschmann 2011), the research in this chapter is part of the now decades-long tradition of problematizing such conceptualizations of language and language learning (Mori and Markee 2009; Pekarek Doehler 2010; Kasper and Wagner 2014).

This EMCA-informed research on second language acquisition has worked with longitudinal databases and discussed methods for tracing learning behavior (Markee 2008). This research has shown how learning can be observed longitudinally as changes in practices for actions used in the classroom (Hellermann 2008), changes in practices for social actions such as service encounters (Nguyen 2011; Theodórsdóttir 2011; Kim 2015), and as the context-sensitive and context-driven use of particular linguistic formulations (Eskildsen 2009, 2012; Fasel Lauzon and Pekarek Doehler 2013; Pekarek Doehler and Pochon-Berger 2016). From this perspective, rather than an individual’s internalization of discrete linguistic items, learning is conceptualized as process and product, as action and achievement. What we gloss as “learning” is the development of context-sensitive interactional practices (including the use of language routines) for social actions achieved through social interaction. The purposes for collecting and analyzing longitudinal data collected in contexts for and

about learning, whether those are inside or outside institutional settings, include the following: (1) to study sequences of action through embodied, situated talk, describing how participants hold one another accountable for the production of their actions and talk, and how they design and accomplish their talk for one another (Garfinkel 2002), and (2) to make a series of such sequential analyses involving the same participant (longitudinally) to provide insight on how such sequences of action are performed (after having been already performed) as experienced action (Macbeth 2014; Zemel and Koschmann 2014). Although conversation analysis (CA) methods focus on uncovering the process of action formation involved through language practices, the results of analyses of a series of locally instantiated processes by the same participants results in robust evidence for change in such processes of action formation (Wootton 1997) and the practices for that, what we gloss as learning.

Data and Participant

The data for this study come from video recordings of peer-peer interaction in community college classrooms in the USA for beginning-level adult immigrant learners of English (Reder 2005). Classes were recorded continuously for four years by six cameras and five microphones. In one of these years (2002–2003), students participated in an experimental intervention designed to understand the efficacy of a particular method for reading instruction, called sustained silent reading (McCracken 1971; Pilgreen and Krashen 1993). The intervention took place during the last 30 minutes of class and consisted of students selecting and reading a book at their desk for 20 minutes and then talking to a peer about the book as well as entering information into a reading log for approximately ten minutes (Hellermann 2006). The story retellings that occurred after the individual reading time were initiated by the teacher who, on most occasions, gave the students two or three questions or other suggestions to use to facilitate the retelling.

In order to trace a trajectory of change, for this chapter, I report on one participant (pseudonym, Li) who reported having no formal education (Hellermann and Harris 2015). Li immigrated from Taiwan¹ with her family and was 67 years old at the time of the data collection. Five

interactions in which Li wore a wireless microphone and was the focus of one classroom camera² (approximately 20 minutes for each interaction) were transcribed (100 minutes total). Four sets of those transcriptions³ are the data for analysis in this chapter, coming from winter and spring of 2003: January 9, February 19, March 31, and May 1.

The longitudinal nature of the data allows for the observation of differences in the orientation to and practices used for the interactions involved in the focal literacy event. The results presented here show evidence from the interactions that Li lacks the expertise for doing interaction in classrooms that her peers have; yet, interaction proceeds. This leads to fundamental questions driving the investigation: How does someone “go on” with such a literacy event without knowing the activity (Heap 1980; Macbeth 2011) and how does this person, through embodied language, interactional, and text resources, develop practices for participating in such events?

Analytic Methods

The methods for analysis come from ethnomethodological conversation analysis. After original observation of the video data (recordings of the retelling activity), an interest developed in the actions and sequential practices for those actions that worked to accomplish the focal activity. Detailed transcriptions of the interactions were made and brought to group data sessions to help sharpen the analysis and transcriptions. The analysis focuses on the sequences of actions and the embodied language practices used to accomplish them.

That analysis shows that there are very different interpretations and orientations to this activity type including immediately launching into the retelling using the language prompts provided by the instructor, using nonverbal interaction to open and close these activities, pointing to words in their texts, reading aloud from their texts, and, for more proficient English language users, evaluating and summarizing their just-read text.

Following established methods for tracing changing practices for interaction, four interactions involving the focal participant that occurred across five months were analyzed. The focal participant in the interactions, however, does not participate alone, and when discussing changes in practices, it is recognized that those changes occur with different participants (Hellermann

2011). This is, however, the nature of achieving interactional competence in another language (Hall and Pekarek Doehler 2011). A language learner must be able to interact with a range of interlocutors in that language. The focal learner in the study is not developing interactional practices in isolation but in the context of carrying out a similar task set out by the instructor, carrying it out one more time, with a new interlocutor and with a building repertoire for interactional practices built from each experience.

I make the claim that the literacy events that are the focus of the study are comparable in terms of procedural consequentiality (Schegloff 1992) and, therefore, relevant for tracing changes in the interactional practices used by peers to accomplish that activity at different points in time. These can be considered appropriate sites for seeing change in practices in several respects. There is a stated, institutional similarity to these interactions. Within the context of a year-long instructional activity, a teacher requires that students interact with one another after reading a book for purposes of developing their reading skills.

Second, there is a structural, sequential similarity to these sites for interaction. In each case, peers are seated at a table and asked to interact with a peer also seated at the table so the interactions (in most cases) are dyadic. The interactions are also, ostensibly, “informings” in which each participant is expected to participate. Therefore, in each case, several actions are expected including instruction-giving by the classroom teacher, an opening of the interaction by the two peers, the “informing” of one peer, a change in speakership, another “informing”, and a closing.

Data Analysis

The first set of excerpts (January 9) takes place after Li had observed two peers performing the instructional activity. Li is encouraged to participate in the activity and uses Mandarin with a peer to engage in the sequence of actions for the activity. The second set (February 19) shows an interaction with a peer who does not use Mandarin, and we see words read aloud by both participants and repeated by Li. The third set (from March 31) illustrates a shift in the way that different aspects of the books are oriented to and by May 1 (the last set of excerpts) there is evidence of an experienced, ritualized practice for the post-reading retelling activity having been developed.

January 9, 2003: Li, Elana, and Chana. A Ticket to Participate

In the first excerpt, from January 9, after the class had spent 20 minutes engaged in silent reading, the teacher (Tea) asked students to talk with a peer about their books. More specifically, she asked the students to ask one another these questions, which she wrote on the whiteboard at the front of the classroom: *what is your book?* and *who is in your book?* The excerpt shows that, although Li does orient to her peers—Elana and Chana—as producing first pair parts for an interaction, that interaction is heavily mediated by various strategies of these peers who orient to Li as a novice. Evidence for this is seen in her two peers' collaborative work repeating first pair parts, resaying them in Mandarin, and, when Li does not provide a second pair part to their questions, asking Li to try to read the title of her book.

A minute before the interaction in excerpt (4.1), Li's deskmate, Elana, had engaged in the retelling activity with Chana (sitting at the desk behind Elana and Li). Li observed that interaction. When it ended, Elana looked to Li and initiated the activity with the information-seeking question *what is your book*. Li responded by waving her hands, saying *no English*. When Chana returned to her desk, Elana initiated the task interaction with Li again, seen in excerpt (4.1).

In line 13, Elana makes a nonverbal summons and proffers the teacher-provided information-seeking turn. In the slot for a response, Li looks to the board and then to her peer, possibly soliciting help from Chana, who repeats Elana's information-seeking turn in line 15. Li responds with one English word from that first pair part—*book*—and a switch to another language claiming lack of knowledge, then laughing. Elana produces the same formulation of her first turn in line 19 to which Li responds in Mandarin which may warrant the reformulation of the information-seeking turn in Mandarin by Chana (l. 21). Li responds to this with a mixture of Mandarin and English, honing in on the sound of a letter rather than a title (l. 26–27). Elana attempts another solicitation action for a response in English asking Li to read the title of a book that is sitting on Chana's desk (l. 31). This formulation orients to Li's novice status in its request to *try to read this* rather than simply *read this*. Li does not

respond to Chana, however, but continues asking Chana to clarify whether the word for *pig* in English starts with the “p” sound in line 32.

Ex. (4.1) Jan. 9, 2003, 204, 2:47:13–2:47:54

13 Ela: ((taps Li on the shoulder)) What's is your †book.

14 ((Li looks toward board and then to Chana))

15 Cha: What is your book.=

16 Ela: =What's is your †book.

17 Li: book, *mi zai*. (.) book. *bu zhi dao*. Eh heh heh heh

Not know.

Not know.

I don't know book. I don't know

((first phrase is in Taiwanese, second and the remaining translations in the excerpt are from Mandarin))

18 heh hah hah hah hah .hh

19 Ela: what is your [book.

20 Li: [*shi na shi na ge*

is that is that

It is, it is

21 Cha: *ni shu de ming zi jiao she mo?*

You book's name call what?

what's the name of your book?

22 Li: () eh::m (.8) 'p'.

23 (1.8)

24 *hao xiang*. peach.

seem like.

it seems like.

- 25 (2.0)
- 26 Cha: 'p'.
- 27 Li: ((nods))
- 28 (1.6)
- 29 Li: *Hao xiang zhu zhe yang.*
Seems like pig this way.
it sounds like the word pig.
- 30 (5.0)
- 31 Ela: Ok, try to read this.
- 32 Li: 'p'- *zhu zen mo jiang?* (.)'p'- 'p' *she mo? zhu a!*
Pig how say? What pig
how do I say pig? what? pig!
- 33 Tea: If you want to read it next ti::me, I'm going to give
34 you ((instructor calls for attention; students return
35 to a cohort participation structure))

The interaction in excerpt (4.1) is notable in that a first pair part by Elana is addressed to Li that provides a first experience, a ticket (Sacks 1992) for Li to participate in this instructional activity—the post-reading literacy event. Li orients to that first pair part and after a short response engages in persistent work with her peers to build sequences of turns for the literacy event using repair initiations and her first language. This work includes using appropriate recipient design in switching between English and Mandarin with a peer who is a Mandarin speaker and offering candidate spellings and readings of the title of her book.

February 19, 2003: Li and Eduardo. Opening, Closing, Co-reading, and Repeating

One month later, in the set of excerpts in (4.2), Li interacts with Eduardo (Ed) for the same literacy event. In (4.2), the participants' only common

language is English and the turn taking to start and move out of the event is done nonverbally, via posture shift and gaze. Li's peer initiates the interaction which turns out to be read-aloud words and sentences. This is the most notable difference in the interaction in the excerpts in (4.2) from the previous interaction: The participants co-read, each participant sharing something from his/her own text.

At the start of the task, the teacher instructed students to ask one another the question *Where is your story*. In excerpt (4.2a), there is an initiation by Eduardo for mutual postural alignment with a minimal verbal acknowledgment by Li (l. 19).

Ex. (4.2a) Feb. 19, 2003, 204, 2:48:09

15 Ed: ((shifts posture to Li))

16 Ed: ((taps Li on shoulder))

17 Li: ((shifts gaze to Ed))

18 Ed: ((makes a motion to Li for her to move toward him))

19 Li: yea:h,

((Li and Eduardo are either looking to their own books or to other places around the classroom))

After a temporary disalignment when Li is looking around the room, in excerpt (4.2b), the pair realigns and at line 66, Eduardo begins speaking or reading from his book drawing Li's gaze. After Eduardo reads several words from his book, Li repeats one of those words, and then offers minimal response tokens in lines 72 and 74. In line 75, Eduardo treats this as a possible pre-closing and moves his hand off the page he was reading from, resaying a word. This is repeated, quietly, by Li (l. 76) as she shifts her gaze and posture away from Eduardo. This first part of the task is co-constructed as pointing to and reading words from one's book.

Ex. (4.2b) Feb. 19, 2003, 204

064 Ed: ((opens his book, points to a page))
 065 ((hand remains on book until 1.75))
 066 ()
 067 Li: ((looks at Ed's book))
 068 Ed: (it was) Saigon. Saigone. Saigon.
 069 Li: ((points at Ed's book and retracts hand))
 070 Li: Saigo.
 071 Ed: Vietnam.
 072 Li: ah
 073 Ed: Saigon South (.) Vietnam.
 074 Li: mm
 075 E: ((moves hand off page)) Saigon.
 076 Li: °Sa|igo°.
 077 |((L shifts gaze and posture away from Ed))
 078 (1.0)

The turn allocation for the task changes at this point, signaled by shifting postures (ex. 4.2c): Li moving away from Eduardo and Eduardo moving toward Li. Together, they then focus on Li's text to organize the turn taking. Li touches a page of her book which Eduardo reads from (l. 80–81). After Eduardo reads some words from the book, Li responds with a repeat of selected words (l. 82, 84). Figure 4.1, just below the transcript excerpt, shows the pages of Li's book that are open and being read from.

Ex. (4.2c) Feb. 19, 2003, 204

076 Li: °Saligo°.

077 | ((L shifts gaze and posture away from Ed))

078 (1.0)

079 Ed: ((shifts posture toward L's reading space))

080 Li: | ((touches a page of her book))

081 Ed: |Fred,

082 Li: ((points to something on a page of her book)) Fred,

083 Ed: drewdes hee (.) to work.

084 Li: work. ((nods head and shifts gaze away from Ed))

085 (2.0) ((Ed moves his chair closer to Li))

086 Li: ((whispers something while pointing to her book))



Fig. 4.1 Pages 6 and 7 from *Fred Goes to Work*, LVA-Chippewa Valley

Eduardo continues reading from Li's book (excerpt 4.2d), the third line of the second page of the book (l. 87–90). After this, Li undertakes a different practice. Rather than responding with repetition of what Eduardo just read, Li reads the first two lines of the text from that page (the first line repeated: l. 91; the second line truncated: l. 92). After Li repeats some of those words (l. 95). Li repeats the phrase from line 95 again in a playful way ending in laughter and a posture shift away from Eduardo. This initiates a closing sequence and the end of the task.

Ex. (4.2d) Feb. 19, 2003, 204

087 Ed: pfred car (.) is ode
 088 (1.0)
 089 Ed: I went no star.
 090 >I will no st[ar<
 091 Li: [(chen chen.) oh no. oh no. oh no.
 092 foren (.) duh (.) kah (1.5) keyahk
 093 ((shifts gaze to Ed))

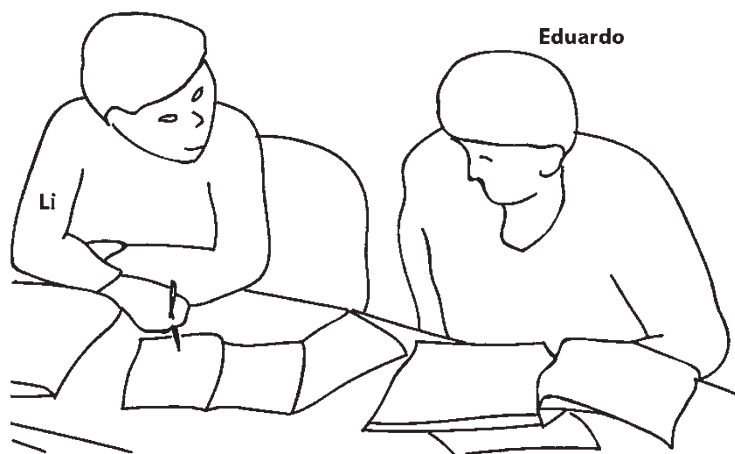


Fig. 4.2 Li and Eduardo reading

Eduardo had passed over. This shows Li's ability to follow the reading aloud that Eduardo initiated and the beginning of developing new practices for doing this literacy event.

March 31, 2003: Li and Reinaldo. Trying Out Different Aspects of a Literacy Event

The interactions of Li in the reading retelling activities presented thus far show Li's minimal participation via responding to turns by speaking another language with a peer, indicating she did not understand the turn (*what is your book*) of her interlocutor or that she did not speak English, and then in the second set of excerpts, from February, participating in sequential moves to open and close the interaction as well as to do minimal collaborative reading with her peer. The following interaction comes from the end of March. The interaction in (4.3) illustrates Li responding to her peer's demonstration of pointing while reading, her initiating reading from her own book, and then collaborative co-reading with her peer.

At the start of the activity (not illustrated in the transcript), Reinaldo (R) made two different directives as part of doing the task as instructed by the teacher—an information-seeking turn *what is the name of your book* and then *please ask me the book* (ex. 4.3a, l. 29). Li repeats all or parts of these directives. In line 34, Reinaldo shifts his course of action again from making task-oriented directives to an unsolicited presentation of his book, and a demonstration of the title, pointing to the title of his book as he reads it. After her minimal response, Reinaldo explicitly checks Li's understanding (l. 36) and showing his orientation to Li's lack of response, Reinaldo says the title of his book again this time pointing and stopping briefly on each word in the title as he says it (l. 38). Li hears and sees this multimodal indexing of the title as a proffer by Reinaldo for her to read, that he is highlighting text to read or say aloud. (In l. 39, Li is looking at and pointing at Reinaldo's book).

Ex. (4.3a) March 31, 2003, 206, 2:36:50–2:37:26

29 R: please ask me the book
 30 (0.8)
 31 Li: dahk book.
 32 (3.5) ((Li looks to board and back to her book))
 33 ((L move gaze to R))
 34 R: |earth and: sky|
 |-----|
 ((R moves his finger across the title as he reads it))
 35 Li: eh ask[uh
 36 R: [do you understand; ((finger rests on title))
 37 (.)
 38 R: yarh; (.) and sky? ((indexes location of each word))



Fig. 4.4 Reinaldo pointing to title of his book

39 Li: s:ka- ((points)) an, (.) and, (.) [and dee-

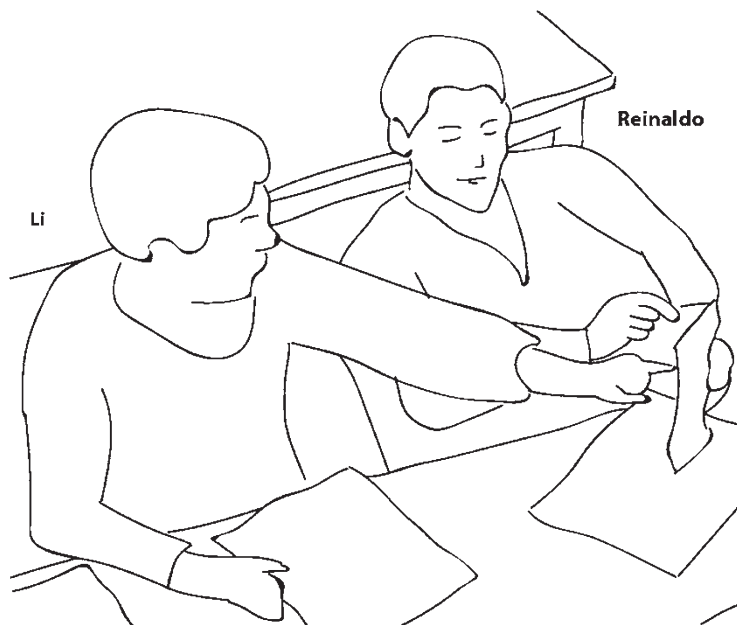


Fig. 4.5 Li pointing to title of Reinaldo's book

- 40 R: [and sky.
 41 Li: an dee sky.
 42 (.)
 43 R: right=
 44 Li: =in the sky. ((Li shifts gaze to her book))
 45 (0.6)
 46 R: iar the?
 47 Li: iyardi in (the) sky.

The activity is being established as partner reading activity similar to elementary school pedagogy in which a teacher shows and reads a story out loud with children (Hester and Francis 1995). Reinaldo makes a demonstration of locating the title of the book as the answer to the question he had earlier suggested that Li make to him *ask me the title of my book*.

After Li comes close to producing a target-like saying of the title of Reinaldo's book, (l. 44, 47), Reinaldo asks another explicit question regarding her understanding (ex. 4.3b, l. 48) and moves his index finger across the title of the book, back and forth several times. This shows Reinaldo doing recipient design work, now offering visual assistance for Li's word-by-word reading.

With Reinaldo's finger remaining on the title rather than reading the full title as she did in excerpt (4.3a), Li responds to Reinaldo's check on understanding by sounding out the words from the title (l. 51–58). This is notable because it shows that now, rather than just mimicking what she had heard Reinaldo say as she had done in lines 41, 44, and 47 of excerpt (4.3a), there is evidence that she is trying something new in response to a second check on understanding as well as analyzing the printed text.

Ex. (4.3b) March 31, 2003, 206, 2:37:26–2:37:44

48 R: do you understand?

49 ((R moves finger back and forth across title of book))



Fig. 4.6 Reinaldo outlining the title of his book

((Reinaldo's book cover))

50 (2.5) ((R's index finger stationed on the title))

51 Li: ee (.) eh ((this might be the sound of letters 'e', 'a'))

52 (0.5)

53 Li: dee [itchi

54 R: [(vowels)

55 (0.6)

56 Li: tee.

57 (0.5) ((R moves index finger to the next letter))

58 Li: aitch uh en s p o k uh

59 (.) ((R moves index finger to another letter))

60 Li: boke

61 ((Li shifts posture and gaze to face front of classroom))

At line 61, Li is physically making moves to disengage from the task interaction realigning her posture. Reinaldo, however, asks Li to open her book (ex. 4.3c) and begins reading from her book encouraging co-participation.

After asking Li to open her book, Reinaldo asks about a character in the story (l. 65, another task prompt provided by the teacher). Li does not respond with names of characters but rather, with a repetition, laughter, and attempting to read from the book (l. 66 and following). Reinaldo then changes his focus for the activity again, moving closer to Li, pointing to her book, and beginning to read from it (l. 82, Fig. 4.7). This activity has become a joint reading of Li's text, and during their reading, Li repeats words that Reinaldo reads aloud showing an orientation to repeating peer's pronunciation that occurred later as we will see in the following excerpts of an interaction from May. Observing Li's lack of orientation to naming the title and her abandonment of spelling the title, the activity is refocused to co-reading or reading and repeating.

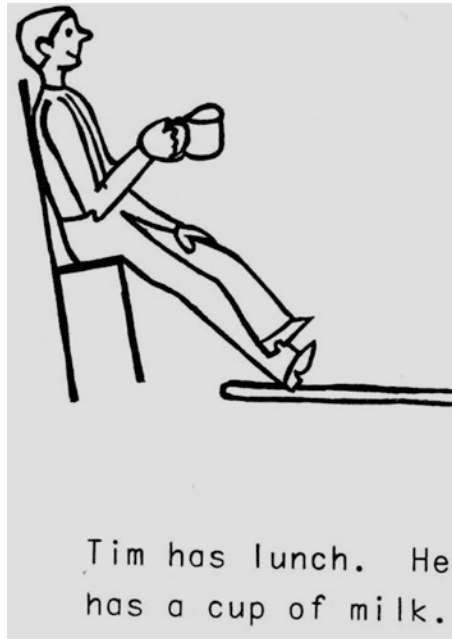


Fig. 4.7 First page from Li's book, *The Rat on the Rug*, Northwest Cooperative Labs

Ex. (4.3c) March 31, 2003, 206, 2:37:44-

60 Li: boke

61 ((Li shifts posture and gaze to face front of classroom))

62 (3.5)

63 R: open your book.

64 Li: ((opens book))

65 R: who is in the story

66 Li: corestory(h) eh heh heh hih heh

((lines missing))

75 Li: hasa (.) a cappu ofu. milku.
 76 R: ((nods)) yeah
 77 Li: eh heh heh
 78 (3.0)
 79 ((R shifts poster to lean over Li's book, points to L
 80 book and begins reading from it)) i's
 81 R: Dyin has lunch. He ha[s dinner coop] of milk.
 82 Li: [Ti(m) ha(s) lunch]

The excerpts presented from the March 31 interaction between Li and Reinaldo illustrate how competencies are assessed in a turn-by-turn manner and orientation to what constitutes the procedures for this activity shifts. Evidence for this adjustment includes Reinaldo's task prompting directives and the responses to them, Reinaldo's verbal and nonverbal demonstration of text to read and Li's response of sounding out of letters from that text, and lastly, Li's reading an out-of-context line from her book followed by Reinaldo's initiating co-reading from the start of the Li's story.

May 01, 2003: Li and Sergio. Evidence of Experienced Practice

In the final set of excerpts, Li's interaction with Sergio (Ser) from May, an ostensibly similar literacy event (talking about a just-read book) comes off quite differently from the interactions just analyzed. In the excerpts in set (4.4), Li initiates the interaction, verbally and nonverbally. She orients to the event as consisting of reading aloud from her book, and after she persists in the reading aloud, Sergio, too, begins collaborative reading aloud from Li's book. Sergio also initiates repair during the co-reading which Li orients to and changes the pronunciation of the words she articulates.

As with the previous excerpts, students had read self-selected books for about 20 minutes after which, the teacher instructed the class to talk to their peers and to tell one another about three new words that they have encountered in their reading. As in the interactions from January, February, and March, Li and Sergio do not perform the actions implicated by those instructions: They do not tell one another about new words from the books they have been reading. Rather (in ex. 4.4a) after the teacher's instructions, Li launches the interaction with her peer, by soliciting Sergio's attention nonverbally (l. 2–3), and then reading aloud from her book (l. 3). As she reads, Li indicates which word she is reading with her pencil. Sergio may be confused about the activity as it is being carried out by Li as his gaze moves away from Li's book several times in this excerpt. He looks around the classroom when his gaze is not on Li's book (noted in l. 5 and 7 with "AG" and "RG"), and given that he recently enrolled in the class, it may be that he is being unfamiliar with this activity.

Ex. (4.4a) Mai 1, 2003, 206, 2:35:45–2:36:11

((AG= Sergio averts gaze from Li's book; RG= Sergio returns gaze to Li's book))

```

02 Li: ((shifts book toward Se and taps him on arm to achieve
03     his gaze)) be: ((clears throat)) ba batoh. batoh.
04     ((clears throat)) |lo. (.) |beese ((clears throat))
05 Se:                               |AG       |RG
06 Li: saytoh |((clears throat)) |(3.0) u::i.| (.) |lackuh.
07 Se:          |AG                               |RG       |AG   |RG
08 Li: you are
09     (3.0)
10 Li: e::oh heh heh heh hih hih hih huh .hh hhh .hh

```

In line 3, Li is articulating what she sees in line one of the page in her book^{4,5} shown in Fig. 4.8.



Fig. 4.8 Screen capture of page 14 from the book *Mouse Soup* by Arnold Lobel, Harper-Row Publishers, 1977

After observing Li reading for about 30 seconds, there is evidence that Sergio begins to orient to this activity as collaborative reading. In line 9 of excerpt (4.4b), after Li articulates her version of *we like* from line 2 of the text, Sergio makes a collaborative continuation of the reading of the line *you* (l. 8). After Li articulates the words from line 3 of the book text *we like your nose* in line 11, in line 13, she begins and cuts off a word, *soo*, which may be from the book text line 4: the only word in that lines of text with an [s], *whiskers*. Here, Sergio orients to this articulation as a trouble source and corrects her (l. 14). After Sergio provides a more

target-like saying of the word, Li hears this as a correction and repeats Sergio's version of that word three times (l. 15) and then continues reading from the next line of the book.

Ex. (4.4b) Mai 1, 2003, 206, 2:35:45–2:36:11

10 Li: e::oh heh heh heh hih hih hih huh .hh hhh .hh (2.0)
 11 ((clears throat)) ui lackuh. lackuh. you are l/noss.
 12 °he° okuh. you (.) s- ((touches side of head))
 13 hh .hh (.) soo [sooit kuh- soo]
 14 Se: [oui ouhisker] whiskers;
 15 Li: whis- whisker whis[ker whisker. †no. oh. hhheh
 16 Se: [whisker
 17 Li: oh. iss iss

A minute or so later (ex. 4.4c), the collaborative nature of the reading becomes established. Li is reading aloud, still indicating with her pencil what she is reading. In line 34, she is reading from the first line of page 15 of her book (Fig. 4.9).

In line 37, she produces a pronoun with a sound stretch which Sergio orients to as something to resay and he repeats that word plus the word next to it to produce a short clause *he did* which Li repeats in line 39. Li continues reading producing single words and repeating them (l. 39, 43). In line 44, Sergio says another phrasal construction (*know what*), using the last word that Li had said and adding the next word in the story. Li resays what Sergio had said but appears to be trying to sound out the words rather than simply repeating what she heard Sergio say (see the different pronunciation indicated in l. 45).

Ex. (4.4c) Mai 1, 2003, 206, 2:36:20–2:37:08

((AG = Sergio averts gaze from Li's book; RG = Sergio returns gaze to Li's book))

34 Li: upuh mas- wa- uppoo| se- |setuh. uppoo|setuh. |
 35 Se: |AG |RG |AG |RG
 36 (1.3)
 37 Li: .hh he:
 38 Se: he:: did
 39 Li: he:: did. °biduh° (.) not | | not notuh
 40 Se: |AG|RG
 41 ((Li clears throat))
 42 (2.0)
 43 Li: now, now,
 44 Se: (know) what
 45 Li: now now what
 46 Se: what
 47 Li: toe. to-
 48 Se: #what to do:#
 49 Li: to:
 50 Se: do:
 51 Li: do. do: hhh eh d(h)o eh heh £do.£

After a spate of word repetition, collaborative reading, laughter, and language play, the organization of the turn taking shifts again (ex. 4.4d). The participants accomplish a closing sequence and Sergio begins reading from his book. The nonverbal behaviors in the screen captures embedded in excerpt 4.4d are key to illustrating this. Through line 66, Li and Sergio are co-reading from Li's text. At line 66, as Li reads, Sergio's gaze is on Li's book, and shortly after that, after saying a few more words with Li, he shifts his posture and gaze to his own book and opens it (l. 70). Li has also shifted her posture back, away

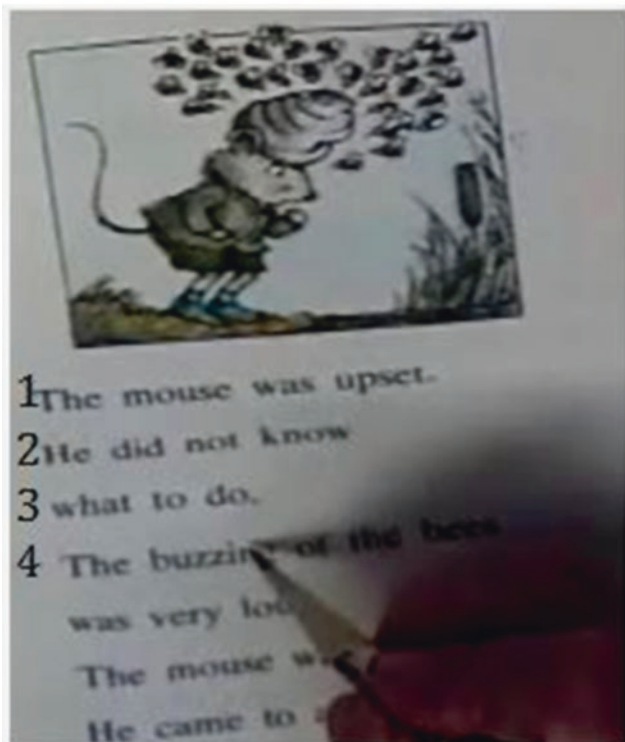


Fig. 4.9 Screen capture of page 15 from Li's book, and her pencil, *Mouse Soup* by Arnold Lobel, Harper-Row Publishers, 1977

from a mutual working space at that point. Li adds no new words or information at this point, continuing her repetition of a word in a jovial manner while laughing (l. 71, 73, 74, 76). She does not have her gaze directed to her book, and at line 78, we see that she has shifted her posture and her gaze toward Sergio and his book as Sergio starts reading from his own book.

Ex. (4.4d) 05-01-03, 206, 2:37:32–2:38:15

The mouse walked on.
 He came to a muddy swamp.

Fig. 4.10 Text from the book Li is reading

← ((the lines from the bottom of page 15
of text Li is reading))

59 Li: thanto ((clears throat)) tho:. (2.5) mouseoo. hah oakuh.
60 oakuh. oakuhdo.

61 Se: on

62 Li: on hee: (.) come. to (.) a (.) mat- [matee eh heh
63 Se: [hmm

64 Se: (mondy)

65 Li: mat|ee
66 |((Se shifts angle of his head))

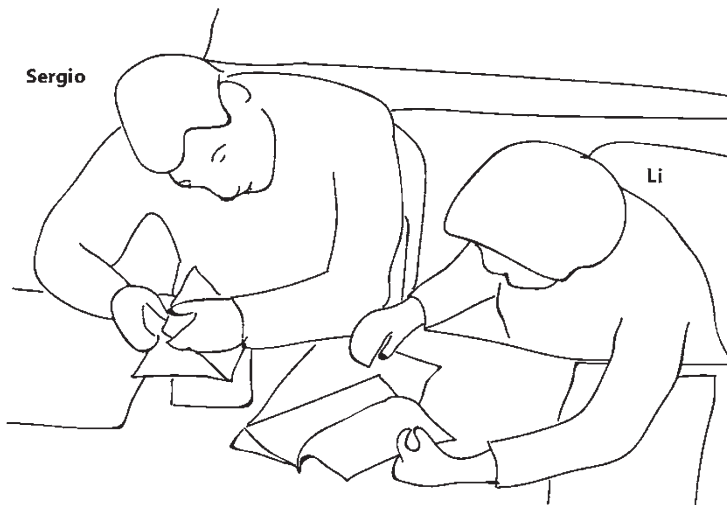


Fig. 4.11 Sergio shifting angle of his head to see Li's book

67 Li: [t-
68 Se: [is
69 L: suh:: [mapoo. ma|poo.
70 Se: [(whapoo) |((Se shifts gaze to his book))

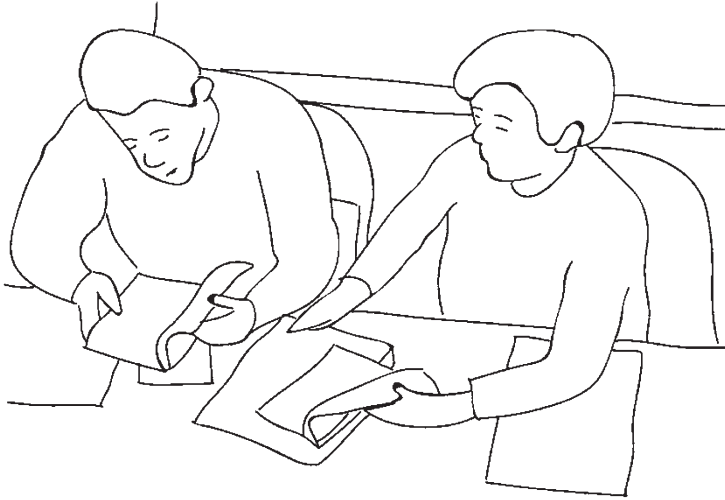


Fig. 4.12 Sergio posture and gaze re-alignment to his book

71 Li: |mapoo. mapoo. mapoo. eh HAH. mapo(h)o

72 |((Se lifts and pages through his book))

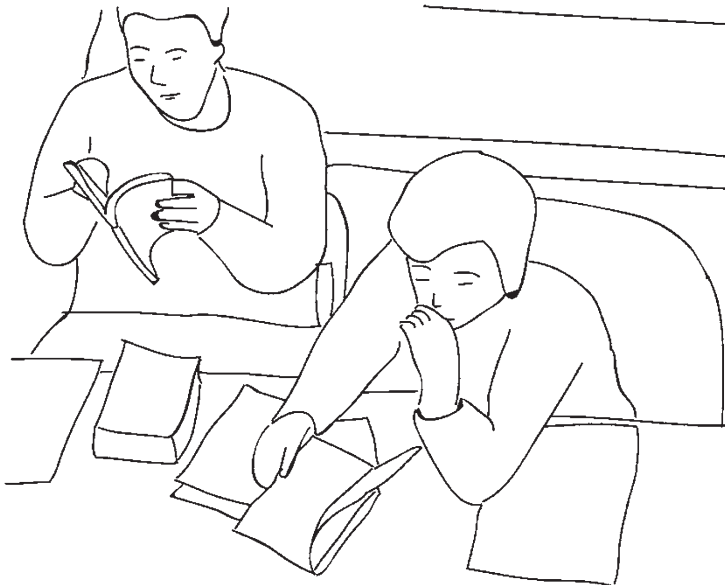


Fig. 4.13 Sergio paging through his book

73 L: |eh heh heh hah hah hah .hh .hh

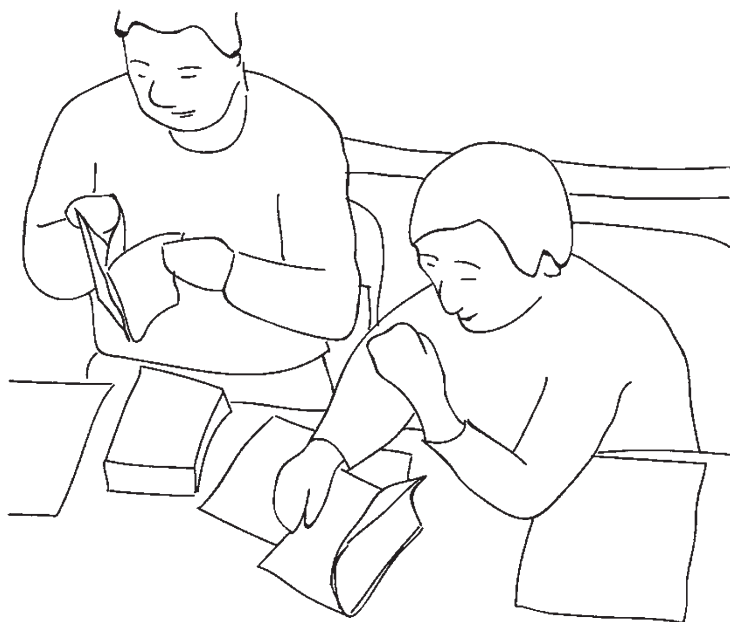


Fig. 4.14 Li laughing while disengaging from her book

74 L: .hh mapooya. mapoo=mapoo.

75 Se: ()

76 Li: yeah. mapoo=mapoo eeyeah

77 (2.0)

78 Se: you need study

The set of excerpts in (4.4) provide clear evidence of a developed experienced practice, that is, learning. Unlike the interactions of Li and her peers from prior months, in excerpt (4.4a), Li uses nonverbal behavior (gaze shift and touching her peer's arm) to begin to secure her peer's attention and then execute a direct launch of the task which secures her peer's gaze. This exhibits a particular competence for classroom task

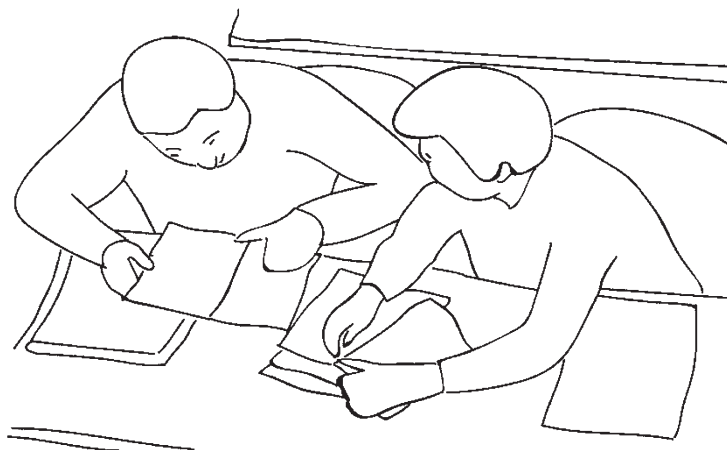


Fig. 4.15 Li and Sergio re-align postures to focus on Sergio's book

interaction previously not displayed. Moreover, Li's launching of the task activity provided a demonstration (Zemel and Koschmann 2014) to Sergio, a newcomer to the classroom, for a way to do the task.

Also, once the activity is underway, Sergio follows Li's reading but also begins to initiate repair on the text that Li reads aloud. Although repair initiation is not a professional practice peculiar to a classroom, such correction sequences in the context of a classroom and in the context of learning to read can be heard as strongly indexical of pedagogical behavior. Li orients to her pronunciation of words as correctable and articulates alternate pronunciations for words corrected by Sergio. The work being done by the students for this literacy event is thus oriented to as assessable and is being built as it is done, co-constructed by particular participants for their needs at a particular time. Such practices suggest a new level of participation by Li in this literacy event.

Summary of Practices for the Literacy Event, January to May

This last set of excerpts also illustrates quite well that the experienced practice of one participant is built upon the past months' work participating in this particular literacy event with different interlocutors. From

January to May, Li and her peers were working in a similar context making similar interactional practices relevant (Hellermann 2011; Eskildsen 2012, 2015; Pekarek Doehler and Pochon-Berger 2016). In the excerpts from January, Li heard and responded to first pair parts for the literacy activity with claims of lack of proficiency in English. When her peers continued soliciting responses from Li, she responded with appropriate recipient design, using Mandarin to respond to her Mandarin-speaking peer. When prompted, she offered minimal candidate spellings and readings of the title of her book. In February, unlike in January, she repeated words that were read by her peer and then displayed her ability to follow the reading of a peer by articulating words from his text that he passed over in his reading. In the excerpt from March, Li repeated her peer's words but also responded to her peer's demonstration of the location of a book title by sounding out some of the words from that title and then did unsolicited reading aloud from her own book. Lastly, in May, we see the most striking differences in the interaction. Li starts the interaction by achieving reciprocity of her peer and then begins reading aloud from her book. She is not just sounding out words but reading aloud to someone. Second, she demonstrates to her peer what he should do and Sergio reads along with Li from her book, correcting some of her pronunciations which Li repairs. Orienting to the shared nature of the literacy event, after reading from her text for some time, Li accommodates a change in turn-taking by making space for Sergio to begin reading from his book. After five months of engaging in this particular literacy event, although not directed to do so by the instructor, Li had come to orient to the activity as out loud reading and co-reading from her own and her peers' books.

Discussion and Conclusion

The interactions that Li participated in over four months came from the context of a year-long classroom intervention designed to assess the effectiveness of sustained silent reading for adult language learners. The research team (which included the classroom instructors) was skeptical about the efficacy of such a pedagogical intervention, especially for pre-literate students like Li. The results of that intervention, however, as

measured by standardized test scores (Reder et al. unpublished manuscript) showed that the sustained silent reading group gained reading proficiency as much as the control group. These measurements and their import became the starting point for close sequential analyses of individual cases to show students' orientation to and management of the work of reading silently (Hellermann 2006) and how they developed practices for participating in the post-reading literacy event described in this study.

The longitudinal nature of the data allows the analyst to describe the reflexive indexicality of action (Garfinkel 2002; Macbeth 2014) as it appears in a series of Li's interactions over five months and points to a way to see learning as process and achievement. In the ten minutes Li and her peers were allotted for the activity, they used multiple semiotic resources to accomplish that activity including embodied conduct (gesture and gaze), the use of visual affordances including printed text, and sequential linguistic practices. Although it is clear that Li does not become a fluent reader during the time she participated in these literacy events, it is also clear that she did develop a way to participate in this literacy event by engaging in and developing certain interactional practices with her peers.

In each of the interactions presented in this chapter, students were asked by the teacher to talk about the books they had just read. Without experience in interacting in formal educational settings, however, a student cannot be expected to participate fully in the instructional activity that makes up much of the time in a classroom (Macbeth 2011). This is what the January interactions of Li illustrated. Her interactions with peers in subsequent months, however, also showed that she and her peers could and did modify the instructional activity as it was presented by the teacher (the "task as workplan", Seedhouse 2004) in order to participate in some way in this literacy event.

By May, Li's interaction provides evidence of experienced practice for a literacy event activity, the format of which was developed over the course of five months. Her actions for attempting the literacy event activity with peers became her actions for achieving the literacy event activity with peers. During these interactions, Li does not simply claim understanding of the activity, she exhibits it (Sacks 1992), and it is this ability to go on (Wittgenstein 1958) that is the evidence I point to as experienced

practice and learning. The detailed examination of Li's participation in the literacy event with different peers over the course of several months showed literacy as a performance in the "local sense" (Heap 1980, p. 281), literacy as it is done in interaction with peers for a particular instructional activity.

Appendix: Special Symbols Used in Transcripts

	Indicates the point of overlap of nonverbal conduct with talk
----	Indicates continuation of nonverbal activity

Notes

1. I thank HsiaoYun Shotwell and Chenghan Wang for translation work.
2. Two students in each class period at the data collection site volunteered to wear a wireless microphone. Classroom instructors helped ensure a fairly equal distribution of students wearing a microphone. Students who wore the microphone and that student's seatmate were then the focus of one of two remotely controlled cameras (see Reder et al. 2003 for full details).
3. The fifth transcript from October is not included in this analysis because it did not include the retelling activity that was part of the other four interactions.
4. Li's reading from the first line of the text is easy to make out (*oh no*). To understand line 92, one must look at the association between Li's oral production and the words on the page rather than the transcribed sounds alone. For example, in line 92, Li adds vowels between consonant clusters and letters become syllables themselves so that the /f/ and /r/ combination in *Fred* are articulated by Li as /fo.ren/. The /d/ in *Fred* becomes its own syllable, /duh/.
5. A reviewer asked how I know how Li's articulation relates to the text from the book she has in front of her. The camera sometimes focuses on what Li is pointing to as she articulates those words. Her word-by-word pointing is visible as she articulates in a word-by-word manner. When she says what is transcribed as *batoh. lo. beese saytoh u:i.* in lines 4 and 6, this aligns with *But the bees said "we..."* from lines 1 and 2 of the book.

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5

From Trouble in the Talk to New Resources: The Interplay of Bodily and Linguistic Resources in the Talk of a Speaker of English as a Second Language

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Introduction

The past two decades have witnessed the outcrop, stabilization, and continued growth of conversation analytic second language (L2) research. In its beginnings, the study of talk-in-interaction involving L2 speakers proved that these interactions were orderly and accountable and that L2 speakers in and of themselves were not deficient communicators (Firth and Wagner 1997; Gardner and Wagner 2004). Research also showed that repair prac-

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tices, definition talk, or metalingual talk might lead to opportunities for learning (Markee 1994; Kurhila 2001; Brouwer 2003; Kasper 2004). The present chapter explores how a family of related expressions emerge from repairs of trouble in the talk and are refined over time.

The beginnings of longitudinal CA-research in L2 studies can be traced to several calls in the commentaries to a special issue of *The Modern Language Journal* in 2004 (e.g., Larsen-Freeman 2004; Wagner 2004) and to Brouwer and Wagner's (2004) study on the development of interactional competence, *in casu* efficacy in opening business telephone calls, as being contingent on processes of socialization into communities of practice. Longitudinal CA-based investigations of L2 learning have since multiplied and generally taken one of two directions—one focusing on interactional practices and the other focusing on linguistic/semiotic resources (Kasper and Wagner 2014, p. 198).

Studies of the development of interactional practices are usually centred on specific actions and activities and investigate how speakers over time change and modify the pursuit of these actions (Pekarek Doehler and Pochon-Berger 2015, p. 236; cf. also Berger and Pekarek Doehler; Filippi; Nguyen, this volume). The more linguistic-semiotically oriented research, on the other hand, traces changes in the interactional use of particular linguistic items over time (Markee 2008; Ishida 2009; Kim 2009; Eskildsen 2011, 2017, *in press*; Eskildsen et al. 2015; Masuda 2011; Hauser 2013), sometimes with special attention to how the linguistic items develop not only interactionally but also in terms of linguistic productivity.

In our earlier work (Eskildsen and Wagner 2013, 2015), we have traced the interplay between certain linguistic-semiotic resources and embodied action over longer periods of time. We demonstrated that specific gestures are coupled with specific linguistic items in situations where new vocabulary items are used for the first time. Traces of these gestures can then be found in the later use of the linguistic items. In Eskildsen and Wagner (2015), for example, we showed that a student picked up the preposition *under* from the teacher's talk together with a specific hand gesture. The hand gesture could be traced in later uses of *under* over a period of 2.5 months before it disappeared from the student's use. Our studies showed "the fundamentally embodied nature of linguistic items that are used to essentially express and talk about human physiospatial experiences, prototypically prepositions" (2015, p. 442).

In this study we follow another observation from the very first hours of the data corpus. We noticed a connection between a complex of deictic (pointing) and dynamic (hand movements) gestures and a small family of specific, related linguistic resources centred primarily on the verbs *ask*, *tell*, and *say*. It is this phenomenon of an L2 speaker's packaging these linguistic resources with particular gestures, often in repair environments, and his re-use of these gesture-word packages in subsequent conversations that we explore in his chapter. We will show in detail how the gesture-talk combination is used to display understanding and achieve intersubjectivity and how it changes over time.

A challenge to our project is the requirement that instances of our phenomenon must be comparable as formulated in Schegloff (2009, pp. 378ff). To build a collection of instances of a phenomenon that appears in an L2 speaker's talk over time, we need to state the target of the inquiry, secure comparability—at least “say what should be taken as recognition criteria in the new environment” (p. 387)—describe identities and differences across instances, and specify what is interesting in the examined phenomenon.

This is an issue for our material as it will transpire. The reason is that language learning is a moving target. Resources can emerge and disappear over time and be replaced by other resources (Ellis and Larsen-Freeman 2006; Eskildsen 2012). In our early instances, for example, embodied activities in coordination with talk create reference in very observable, embodied deictic ways, while in the later instances, these gestures disappear and the linguistic resources stand on their own. This does not mean that the talk ceases to create references; rather, the reference by embodied deixis is shelved, and reference is done by linguistic-semiotic resources instead. In this way, features of our phenomenon seem to disappear into verbal language. The linguistic resources that grow out of embodied interactions shed their embodied traces when they become routinized and unproblematic.

The challenge we face in showing that Schegloff's criteria are met lies partly in the observed change itself. Since we are studying change and development in interactional competence, we have to do with the changing resources and changing actions of our participants. Comparability across our collection is secured in that the data excerpts in the collection show comparable referential and propositional action, but the means by which this action is achieved change. Repair-dominated in the first

instances, the talk becomes smoother as the local and lexically specific grammar of the linguistic resources is appropriated over time along a trajectory of use in less trouble-filled and increasingly precise and orderly talk (cf. Brouwer and Wagner 2004; Eskildsen and Wagner 2015).

Data and Method

The data source for the present study is the Multimedia Adult English Learner Corpus, which consists of audio-visual recordings of classroom interaction in US English as a second language (ESL) context. The classrooms in which the recordings were made were equipped with video cameras and students were given wireless microphones on a rotational basis; the teacher also wore a microphone. There were six ceiling-mounted cameras in each classroom, two of which were controlled by operators and followed the microphone-assigned students (Reder 2005; Reder et al. 2003).

The number of students in the classroom varies, but in most of the sessions drawn on in this chapter, there are 10–15 students in class. Classroom activities include grammar, reading, writing, speaking, and listening exercises, and they are a balanced mix of dyadic pair work, group work, teacher-fronted activities, and so-called *free movement tasks* where students move around the classroom and do spoken tasks with each other (Hellermann 2008). The teacher regularly instructs the students to get information from each other, either personal information from their backgrounds, from their lives outside of the classroom, or from decentralized work where students work with different material that they then share (cf. Hellermann, this volume).

The data for the present research come from Carlos (pseudonym), an adult Mexican Spanish-speaking learner of English. Carlos had been in the United States for 21 months prior to joining this ESL programme, and he progressed successfully through the four levels, from beginner (SPL 0–2) to high intermediate (SPL 4–6; Reder 2005), assigned to the classes by Portland Community College (PCC) (Eskildsen et al. 2015).

Since we understand language development as dependent on the specific practices in which the student engages, we have focussed on one student to be able to argue for change over time. Carlos has been chosen

because he is a highly active student who engages in encounters with the teacher and his fellow students and often takes an active role in the organization of the classroom activities. He is also one of the students who have been the longest time in the ESL programme. Carlos lived in the United States at the time of recording and we expect him to have had myriads of encounters with “locals” in his daily life outside of the classroom, but unfortunately we do not have access to those interactions. Our data are exclusively classroom data.

For this study we have scanned Carlos’ activities in the first sessions he attended and looked at conspicuous phenomena. Already on the first day we came across several instances where Carlos engaged in instructing a co-participant and needed to go through several cycles of embodied repair to succeed. We then collected comparable instances across the whole data corpus and encountered a number of cases. The core of our phenomenon is the creation of references for actions of asking, saying, and telling. By this we mean the semiotic encoding of the actors and objects involved in the actions, for example, the asker, the askee, and thing asked about. The three verbs, as will be shown, are used in comparable linguistic frames over time, and especially the early instances in our collection occur as parts of instructions—but over time our phenomenon is found in other environments, for example, asking for clarification and reporting. Figure 5.1 gives an overview of the 16 examples found over 2.5 years (note that Carlos did not attend classes between August 2002 and September 2003).

Figure 5.1 shows that deictic gestures disappear from the uses of the expressions that we are looking at and so does repair (i.e., trouble). Ordered chronologically, our data cluster in certain periods: September–October 2001, April–May 2002, and January 2004. The clustering may in part be due to the microphone assignment rotation mentioned above; we have less data from the days where Carlos was not wearing a microphone.

Establishing the Phenomenon

In this section, before focusing on the longitudinal perspective, we will describe our phenomenon in detail on the basis of three initial instances. All three instances are characterized by speech perturbations and repair,

	Date	Keyword	gesture	Repair environment	Action environment
1	2001, Sept 27	Now you to me Now you tull me	Pointing at two targets	Other initiated repair + self-repair	Instructing
2	2001, Sept 27	I tull she	Pointing at two targets	Teacher gives candidate formulation	Accounting
3	2001, Oct 8	He is the question He no ask the question the A. You ask the question A.	Pointing at two targets	Self-repair	Challenging, instructing
4	2001, Oct 15	I say she	Pointing at two targets	Self-repairs, Teacher reformulation	Asking for clarification
5	2001, Oct 29	You say the story a Li	Pointing at two targets	Self-repair and embedded repair	Instructing
	2002, Jan 29	We ask you You no ask nothing	Pointing at two targets		Instructing
	2002, Apr 19	I go ask the teacher			Announcing
6	2002, Apr 26	Now this one you ask me	Minimal pointing at two targets		Instructing
7	2002, Apr 26	You ask she if I can change over there			Suggesting /Instructing
	2002, Apr 26	The teacher say me			Accounting
	2002, May 17	What you ask she (twice)			Asking
	2002, May 17	I say she...			Accounting
8	2003, Sept 13	No he ask me	Pointing at two targets		Correcting
	2004, Jan 20	I say to him yes...			Reporting
	2004, Jan 20	He told me he wants to make a band			Reporting
	2004, Jan 20	I'm gonna ask you			Asking

Fig. 5.1 Overview over data excerpts

and Carlos is deploying verbal and embodied resources in attempts to overcome the trouble. Eventually the participants succeed in making sense of the situations and the business in which they are involved can proceed.

The first instance of our phenomenon occurs in an exercise where the students have been instructed to introduce themselves to the person sitting next to them, using “hi my name is _____”, “nice to meet you”, and “nice to meet you too”. Excerpt (5.1) illustrates Carlos (CAR) and Gabriel (GAB) doing the task together. Since it is the first extract from our collection, we will document the interactions leading up to the target lines 14 and 17 in greater detail than is the case for the subsequent excerpts.

Ex. (5.1) Carlos and Gabriel 27092001¹

- 1 CAR: hi:.. *my name is:- (0.5)
**GAB extends his hand in greeting, mutual handshake*
- 2 GAB: hi[:..
- 3 CAR: [carlos. nice to meet you.
 4 (0.5)
- 5 GAB: eh- (0.3) *ne:::h* (0.4) /nice/ to: hh hh hh ehh
 /næis/
- 6 GAB: nice to meet you *too
CAR points to teacher's writing on whiteboard
**CAR nods*
- 7 (0.3)
- 8 GAB: my name is: gabriel.
 9 (0.8)
- 10 CAR: o:::h. *very good.
**extends hand, GAB shakes CAR's hand*
- 11 (0.3)
- 12 CAR: to meet you
 13 (5.3)

Carlos begins and presents himself in the way instructed by the teacher. Following the *hi* (l. 1) Gabriel moves his hand towards Carlos who stops speaking and grabs Gabriel's hand. At the moment their hands meet in a handshake, Gabriel produces a second *hi*, treating Carlos' *hi* as a first pair part of a greeting. In overlap Carlos proceeds with his self-presentation (l. 3).

Gabriel's response (l. 5) is built slowly and in spurts of self-repairs where pieces of previous elements are recognizably reused in the turn under production, so Gabriel approximates the target sequence in several steps:

eh -> **neh** -> **nice** [næis] to -> **nice to** meet you too.

Compared to Carlos' pace, Gabriel talks slowly. Line 5 stretches over about 4 seconds. While Gabriel is working on his turn, Carlos supports him by pointing at the blackboard—where the teacher has written the target line—and by encouragingly nodding when Gabriel has finished the target sequence. The nods come in overlap with the final element in Gabriel's turn, too, which marks it as a second pair part. Carlos continues with what on occurrence seems to be a positive assessment *oh. very good.* (l. 10) which he expands into a sequence closing, so the unit becomes *oh very good ... to meet you.* (l. 10, 12).

While Carlos in lines 1 and 3 performs the target line, Gabriel pushes for more interactivity of the task. He responds to the greeting *hi* with a second greeting. He initiates a handshake. Carlos aligns when he in lines 10 and 11 introduces a new formulation for a sequence closing third. These additional interactional elements embody ways in which greetings between strangers may be done outside the task environment and highlight the fact that constructed dialogue for L2 teaching will always rest on a fallible prediction of a reality that cannot be imagined, but only discovered (Garfinkel and Sacks 1970).

After line 12, Carlos and Gabriel are done with their task. After about 5 seconds, during which they look around the room (l. 13), Carlos initiates a new round of activity.

Ex. (5.1) (Continued)

13 (5.3)

->14 CAR: u::h now *you:. +(.) #to me**points at GAB (fig.5.2a)**+relaxes, lowers hand slightly (fig.5.2b)**#waves/bends wrist, points twd.**himself, moves hand to torso (fig.5.2c)*

15 (1.8)

16 GAB: huh?

tilts head, leans twd. CAR->17 CAR: now *you:::. (.) #tull me.**points at GAB**#repeats pointing gesture briefly, then waves**wrist twd. himself, moves hand to torso*

18 (0.8)

19 CAR: the:=eh hi: how are you:::. (maybe)*GAB nods, extends his hand, mutual handshake*20 GAB: hi.

Carlos initiates a repetition of the task (l. 14), now with Gabriel as the first speaker to present himself. His turn *now you: (.)* to me is packed with a range of bodily actions. Coinciding with the prosodically stressed *you*, Carlos points towards Gabriel. During the following micropause, he relaxes



Fig. 5.2 (a, b, c) Carlos points at Gabriel and at himself

his pointing gesture and lowers the pointing hand slightly. At the onset of *to* he begins another gesture, waving/bending his wrist towards himself with his finger still extended, finishing the gesture just before touching his own torso, coinciding with the production of *me*. Carlos' turn, then, consists of two prosodic units, tightly coordinated with embodied activity. *Now you:* is concurrent with a pointing gesture. *To me* is accompanied by a marked movement in Carlos' pointing from Gabriel to himself.

After a pause of nearly two seconds, Gabriel does a verbal and embodied open-class repair initiation (l. 16) (Drew 1997; Seo and Koshik 2010; Mortensen 2016), and Carlos' following repair (l. 17) is a slightly modified version of his previous turn: What was hearably the preposition *to* in line 14, now resembles, in the repaired version, an attempt at the verb *tell*, although the vowel is pronounced so that it sounds like a hybrid between the preposition *to* and the verb *tell*. Throughout his turn, Carlos performs a set of embodied actions that are very similar to what he did in line 14. Uttering *you:::*, he points again at Gabriel. In the second part of his turn he points once more to Gabriel and then again bends his wrist, points to himself, and moves his hand towards his torso. In this repaired version, the movement of the hand from Gabriel to Carlos is even more visibly marked as part of the gesture than in the first version in line 14.

Gabriel does not immediately respond to the repair attempt, and Carlos continues by giving an example (l. 19). It transpires from Gabriel's response (l. 20) and the ensuing interaction (left out here in the interest of space) that he understands this as an invitation to do the introduction sequence one more time. So after three solicitations on the part of Carlos (l. 14, 17, 19), Gabriel begins to rerun the task.

To sum up, in excerpt (5.1) Carlos is instructing his co-participant Gabriel to do a specific activity. He does so using embodied resources, that is, a combination of pointing and hand movement from A to B, perhaps to compensate for not having the proper verbal resources at hand (Gullberg 2011), and after three attempts, his co-participant starts executing the instructed action.

Our phenomenon is found in lines 14 and 17. We are interested in how Carlos builds a linguistic construction, in situ and over time, that enables him to specify the action that binds the two referents together.² To this end, we analyse interactions in which Carlos is doing something similar to what he is doing in excerpt (5.1), and where his actions are

made sense of and responded to in the next turn by his co-participant in a way that lets us understand his action as comparable to excerpt (5.1). The remainder of this section will be concerned with demonstrating that the gesture/talk package we see in excerpt (5.1)—an ad hoc situated solution to a specific problem—is found in other environments and with other co-participants.

Thirty-five minutes after the interaction in excerpt (5.1), we find a comparable example of the gesture/talk combination. Prior to excerpt (5.2) the students have been instructed to write about themselves, using the template “I am a _____” and inserting in the open slot a number of nouns that they have been practising (among others, “brother”, “father”, “sister”, “husband”, “wife”). Carlos writes “I am a son”, “a student”, “friend”, “brother”, “I am from Mexico”, and “I am 30 years”. After having completed the task, he passes his text to another male student. When he gets it back, he passes it to Jovana (JOV), a female student who is sitting behind him. When the teacher (TEA) comes by to check on them, Carlos explains that Jovana has his paper. The teacher then indicates for Jovana that if she copies Carlos’ answers it will be wrong because she is a woman and he is a man. The end of this turn by the teacher is found in line 1 (ex. 5.2) (Fig. 5.3).

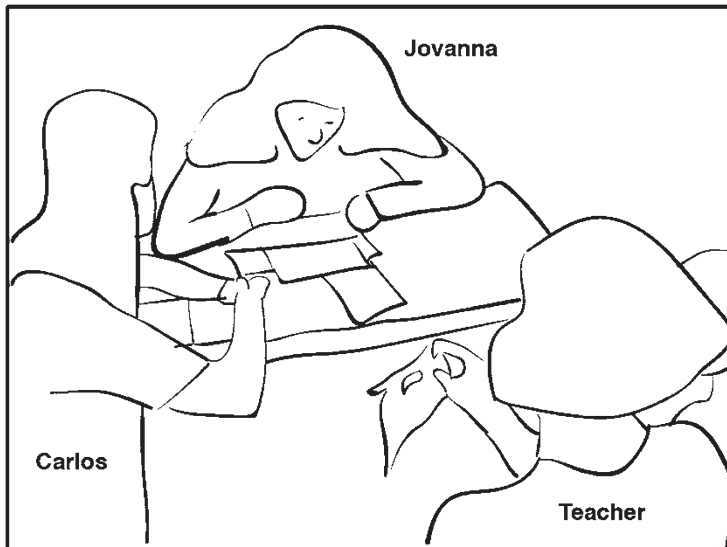


Fig. 5.3 Carlos turns towards Jovana

Ex. (5.2) Carlos, Jovana, and the Teacher 27092001

1 TEA: he's a man

2 (2.5)

CAR turns twd. JOV, takes his paper from her, turns to face the teacher, and brings the paper into the visual field between him and the teacher

3 JOV: eh heh heh [heh ·hh

4 TEA: [okay? (.) s:o:[::]

->5 CAR: [eh i- i- *i'm] tuh- i tull
*points at himself

6 [she- (.)=*the::]
*points briefly at JOV, at paper and twd. JOV,

7 TEA: [*I know I'm going to help her] okay
*points briefly at CAR, then at JOV

Carlos' embodied activity in this segment is too complex to add to the transcription lines and will be explained here in detail. When the teacher approaches, Carlos turns towards Jovana and touches his paper. During the pause in line 2 he takes the sheet from Jovana and moves it in front of himself in plain sight of the teacher while he (l. 5) starts a turn which seems to be an account. During his turn *I tull she* (l. 5–6), he points briefly at himself, at Jovana, at the paper in his hand, and then towards Jovana again.

The teacher, in overlap (l. 7), acknowledges Carlos' actions and gives a candidate formulation from his perspective *I'm going to help her* while also gesturing deictically from Carlos to Jovana, mirroring Carlos' embodied actions in a return gesture (de Fornel 1992). It is quite striking that the gesture is here responded to by a co-participant, thus becoming an agreed-upon semiotic resource to co-achieve intersubjectivity in situ (Eskildsen and Wagner 2013, 2015). In other words, the teacher is making sense of Carlos' verbal and embodied activity and reformulates that

Carlos is helping Jovana by way of telling, or showing her, what is on his sheet.

On the basis of excerpts (5.1) and (5.2), we want to argue that we identified a talk/gesture package that comprises a recurring linguistic frame and comparable but locally crafted deictic gestures in the form of pointing towards targets in the environment and indicating a relation between them. The linguistic frame is the same in the two excerpts; simplified, it looks like this: “I/you tull she/me”. Even the way Carlos pronounces “tull” is identical. The use of this linguistic material is tightly knitted to locally contextualized versions of comparable deictic gestures. In both excerpts, the targets were Carlos and his co-participant, and the relation was indicated by the words “to” and “tull” as well as the simultaneous hand movement from one of the pointed-out targets to the other. In excerpt (5.2), the movement additionally involved the sheet that Carlos was holding in his hands at the time of speaking. In both cases, the deictic gestures were ordered in time and connected by the verbal element. The words and the gesture, then, both work to index, in a locally tailored fashion, the targets and their relation.

The talk/gesture combination can be used for very different things: in excerpt (5.1) as part of an instruction in what can be described as “you tell me”. In excerpt (5.2), it is part of an account or explanation—by the teacher described as “I’m going to help her”. Note that the teacher’s candidate account did not refer to the object that Carlos was holding in hand while speaking, so she did not paraphrase the action as, for example, “you gave your sheet of paper to her”. Rather, Carlos’ talk and gestures and the teacher’s return gesture illustrate that the relation between the targets—what Carlos relates as telling and the teacher formulates (quite practically) as helping in this situation—is highlighted in similar ways by the gestures and talk in the two examples.

Excerpt (5.3) occurs 11 days later. The teacher momentarily needs to attend to matters outside of class. Before leaving, and on the fly, she gives Gabriel a twofold instruction: (a) To ask Abelardo when he gets up in the morning and (b) to write his answer on the board, using the phrase “he gets up at”. Gabriel immediately receives suggestions from classmates to proceed to the second part of the task and to write the answer on the board without asking Abelardo the question, but Carlos intervenes.

Ex. (5.3a) Carlos and Abelardo 08102001

1 CAR: eh- yes yes but e*h he #is #the question %a:::h.

**points at GAB*

#slight backwards wave of hand

#points briefly to GAB again

%points at ABE

Carlos draws heavily on embodied resources. At *he*, Carlos is pointing at Gabriel. At *is*, he produces a slight backward wave of the wrist, in Abelardo's direction. Then he points again at Gabriel and at the end of the turn he is pointing at Abelardo. While we have isolated Carlos' turn to convey his embodied actions, his turn overlaps with the speech of several classmates who are instructing Gabriel. Sitting in the midst of this general classroom activity, his turn does not receive a visible response.

Next, the interaction splits up. Carlos and Abelardo reach mutual agreement that Gabriel cannot write the answer to a question that he has not asked, while other students help Gabriel solve the task along the lines already established. After a pause, Carlos again points out that Gabriel has not asked the question:

Ex. (5.3b)

57 CAR: *he #no ask the question: #the:: abelardo

**points at GAB with r. hand*

#swings arm backwards in direction of ABE, stops

pointing with index finger and points briefly at ABE

with r. thumb

#points at ABE with r. thumb again

Carlos' turn is, again, embellished with embodied activities. The dynamic of the verb "ask" is underlined by the backward movement of the arm going from the asker to the askee, that is, the actor and recipient of the action.

Carlos' intervention is still not recognized by the entire group. A little later in the sequence, however, Abelardo (ABE) asks Gabriel *what is the question*. In overlap Carlos instructs Gabriel to ask Abelardo the question (l. 79–80).

Ex. (5.3c)

79 ABE: [what is the question]

->80 CAR: [*you ask the question] a::h abelardo

**deictic gesture going from GAB to ABE, using index finger to point at GAB and thumb to point at ABE*

Next (not shown) more students join in instructing Gabriel to ask Abelardo what time he gets up and eventually Gabriel does as instructed. For the present purposes we note that Carlos' gesture is practically identical to the previous one even down to the way in which he does the backward pointing.

There is an increasing linguistic enrichment from excerpts (5.3a) to (5.3c). In excerpt (5.3a), Carlos said, *but eh he is the question a:::h*. In excerpt (5.3b), he uses the verb “ask” (*he no ask the question: the:: abelardo*, l. 57), and in excerpt (5.3c), he says, *you ask the question a::h abelardo*. As to the origins of the verb “ask”, we can only guess. Perhaps it comes from classroom experience, for example, the teacher's frequent instructions. Here, it seems that through the extended work to express his concern with the current activity, Carlos is improving his formulations on the fly, perhaps remembering ask as he goes along.

In all excerpts, the talk/gesture packages index targets and accomplish reference in the environment. There is also a movement of the hand between the objects, most obvious as a waving or bending of the hand as seen in excerpts (5.1) and (5.3). The deictic gestures appear in environments where pointing establishes an actional relation between participants, but where Carlos lacks verbs, or seems to be in a process of appropriating them, to name the action in which the appointed objects are referential landmarks. The specific meaning of the pointing needs to be crafted locally and can therefore vary (Goodwin 2003; Streeck 2009).

We note three significant observations in the excerpts we have shown so far:

1. In all three excerpts the gestures do not stand alone but are co-occurring with verbal material.
2. The participants do not make sense of the relation between the targets that are pointed at as an A+B relation as, for example, “you and me”, but as an A to B relation.
3. In all instances the first appointed target is the one who acts and the second is the one who receives, which is in congruence with the linguistic format.

The talk/gesture package is a flexibly employed embodied construction that is fitted to local configurations and understood in situ as doing referencing to two co-participants and indicating an actional relation between them. Although initially the gesture was found to coincide with the linguistic frame “I/you tull she/me”, excerpt (5.3) indicates incipient learning of new ways to encode the participants and their relation linguistically while the embodied work is stable. In a later section we will argue that this incipient learning in hindsight can be seen as the emergence of locally lexicalized L2 grammar. For now we move to an investigation of what happens with the talk/gesture package over a more extended period of time.

The Talk/Gesture Package Over Time

Excerpt (5.4) happens a week after excerpt (5.3) and shows many of the features we have already demonstrated. The teacher instructs Carlos (l. 1) to help a new student (NST) fill out her name card. At first, Carlos does not respond to the instruction and launches, after some delay (l. 3–4), an open-class repair initiator (Drew 1997).

Ex. (5.4) Carlos and the Teacher 15102001

- 1 TEA: °mkay.° *tell her what to do (.) with this.
**points in dir of NST sitting behind CAR*
- 2 what does she need to do.
- 3 (1.5)
- 4 CAR: e:h? (0.6) [what
- 5 TEA: [tell her
- 6 (1.8)
- 7 TEA: tell *her wri:te your #first name (.) big [letters
**picks up Carlos's name card*
#gestures big with fingers spread on
name card
- 8 CAR: [e:h-
- 9 UNI: [small
- 10 TEA: mhm
- >11 CAR: i- (.) *i say she? (0.3) #say eh she?=
**points to self, flips wrist slightly and moves*
forearm twd. NST, points to NST
#repeats gesture
- >12 TEA: =please (.) *uhuh tell her uhuh
**points at CAR, moves pointing hand twd. NST*
- 13 CAR: e:h
- 14 NST: hh [heh heh heh]
- 15 CAR: [heh heh can] you write *here eh (0.8) your first name
**points at name card*

Simultaneously with Carlos' repair initiation, the teacher begins specifying her instruction (l. 7), using both tangible (Carlos' name card) and embodied resources. In line 11 Carlos formulates a candidate under-

deictic pointing gesture in Li's direction. In overlap, Mariela initiates repair (l. 3) and Carlos repeats his utterance (l. 5), elaborating his gestural work as he indicates the positions in space of Mariela, the story, and Li. As was the case in the previous excerpts, the gestural work does not comprise three distinct deictic gestures but is a sweeping movement in which Carlos points out the landmarks of the turn. As in excerpt (5.4), the teacher repairs Carlos' instruction (embedded) (l. 6) and repeats the pointing.

Half a year later, Carlos is working with a classmate, Thu, on a textbook exercise (ex. 5.6). The book is open on the relevant pages between them. Carlos has taken the initiative to work through the task and, following some navigation on the page, he prompts Thu for activities (l. 7–9).

Ex. (5.6) Carlos and Thu 26042002

- 1 Car: °yeah°
 2 (2.0)
*Car moves hand holding a pen to the page,
 places it on top of the page*
- 3 Car: u::h
 4 (0.5)
CAR moves hand down to the middle of page and up
- 5 Car: uh
 6 (.)
CAR moves hand back
- 7 Car: now this one.
 8 (0.4)
moves hand and points with pen twd. Thu
- >9 Car: °you-° (.) *ask me
**points with pen twd. Thu, and when retracting
 his hand, shortly twd. himself*
- 10 Thu: uh

This example is comparable to excerpt (5.1) where Carlos instructed a fellow student during pair work. At that time, seven months prior, his attempts were (simplified) *now you to me* and *now you tull me* accompanied with pointing gestures. This time he first establishes a joint focus on the exercise (*now this one*, l. 7). During the ensuing silence he points at Thu (l. 8). These actions could already have been understood as prompts and Thu could have gone on with the exercise, but she does not, so in the following turn, Carlos explicitly instructs Thu (*you ask me*, l. 9). In Carlos' instruction there is minimal gesturing that seems to carry traces of the pointing gesture we have seen earlier. Carlos briefly points his pen first at Thu and for a split second at himself. We call the gesture minimal since Carlos is not raising his hand to point, but does it with his hand low over the desk while briefly flapping his pen, cf. Fig. 5.4.

On the same day, Carlos and Thu are sitting at their desk in the beginning of the class period. Behind them sits Marisa who is alone at her desk.

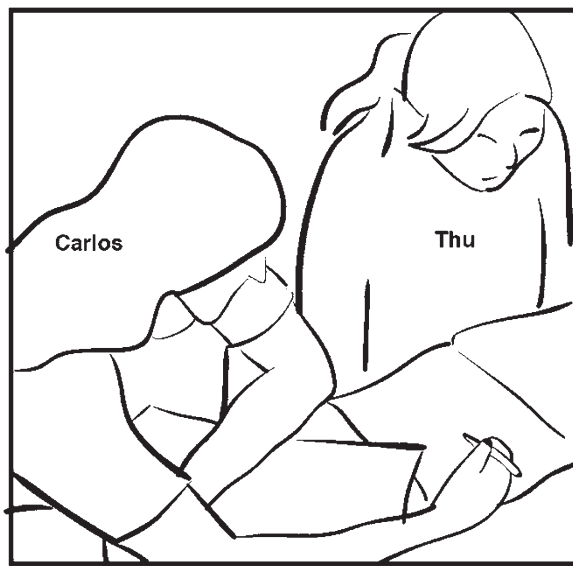


Fig. 5.4 Carlos points briefly with pen

Prior to the excerpt, Thu has suggested that Carlos should move so Marisa can sit where he sits now. It is not clear why Thu does not move to sit beside Marisa, but Carlos laughs and asks why, which occasions a partially inaudible account (ex. 5.7, l. 1–9).

Ex. (5.7) Carlos, Thu, and Marisa

- 1 Car: heh heh you *want sit here?
**hand movement from MA's direction to his seat*
- 2 Ma: yeah
- 3 (0.5)
- 4 Thu: you eh you- *you move
**points across the room*
- 5 Car: eh heh heh heh hh
- 6 (1.5)
- 7 Car: why?
- 8 (2.0)
- 9 Thu I *I I like xxx
**points at herself, then backwards twd MA*
- 10 (3.5)
Car turns and looks at Ma, turns back
- 11 Car: okay #whe- when the teacher is is *here=
#circular movement in joint space between Thu and Car
**points to desk before him*
- >12 Car: =/you ask she (.) if I can change over *there
/circular hand movement in space
**points across the*
room
- 13 (2.5)
- 14 Car: yeah

Carlos accepts and suggests that Thu and Marisa ask the teacher about changing the student pairings (l. 11–12). The gestures he is using are many and complex but all seem to be related to “here” and “there. It lies outside the scope of this chapter to go into details of these gestures; the point to be made here is that Carlos has visibly changed his method of instructing somebody to ask/tell another person something.

Comparing instances across time, from excerpt (5.1) to excerpts (5.6) and (5.7), we see many changes. Instead of solely pointing out the actors (*now you to me*), using several pointing gestures, and letting the co-participant infer from the environment what action he wants the other to do, Carlos’ gesturing has become simpler and his verbal resources more elaborate and precise. The documented pointing gestures indexing the landmarks of an actional relation have diminished (excerpt 5.6) or disappeared (excerpt 5.7) and his actions do not result in repair. His turns-at-talk are more complex (*okay whe- when the teacher is here you ask she (.) if I can change over there*), conditioned (“when X, do Y”), and produced quite fluently and without obvious speech perturbations. In short, his talk is becoming much more orderly, precise, and complex, as he is appropriating the locally lexicalized grammars of asking and telling and at the same time his embodied actions are changing or even disappearing.

A Possibly Deviant Example

Seventeen months later, almost two years after excerpt (5.1), we find a possibly deviant example (ex. 5.8). Prior to the excerpt the teacher has been instructing the students how to do the next task. However, Carlos and Romero (ROM), a classmate, are busy talking about a parking permit—a sticker to be placed on the identity card for PCC, the school they are attending. The teacher hears this and asks about it (l. 1). Carlos explains that Romero was asking him if he could get a sticker from the teacher (l. 2–4). In overlap (l. 3) Romero explains that he does not have a sticker, and the teacher replies that she will get him one the following Friday (l. 5–6).

Ex. (5.8) Carlos, the Teacher, and Romero 13092003

- 1 TEA: you were talking about the pee cee cee cards?
- >2 CAR: .hh noe::*:h he ask me:[: if-
**extends forearm, points to ROM w. r. index and
 little finger, then bends wrist, points to himself
 w. index finger, closes fist, retracts forearm*
- 3 ROM: [I don't have a sticker (like that)
**points to CAR's PCC card*
- 4 CAR: if you have [a sticker
- 5 TEA: [(for a) sticker? (.) i:: should have a steek-
 6 sticker by Friday.

The line of interest is Carlos' response in line 2, which serves two functions: *noe::*, which is a response to the teacher's question, and *he ask me::*, which is a correction of the participants' roles and the type of action ("you talking about" -> "he ask me") in the teacher's description of what Carlos and Romero have been doing. Similar to the embodied behaviour found in the earlier excerpts, albeit fitted to the local circumstances of the talk, he again uses deictic gestures that indicate two referential landmarks and the actional relation between the two. Rather than seeing this example as deviant, we view it as integral to development: what emerged as a talk/gesture package in Carlos' socio-history as a language user has been fragmented, over time, into talk and gesture that he can use separately depending on his present practical purposes. In the course of Carlos' appropriating the locally lexicalized grammars of "say", "tell", and "ask", the gesture has not really disappeared as we argued in connection with excerpt (5.7). Rather, it has been distilled from the situated uses as an accepted, mundane sense-making practice that becomes available if needed in future times of trouble.

Discussion

We have identified an instance of gesture cum talk and traced it across time as employed by a Mexican student, Carlos, in English as L2 classroom. As Carlos is appropriating the linguistic resources in question, a family of related linguistic expressions centred on the verbs “tell”, “ask”, and “say” emerges with a recognizable gesture that elaborates the references of the talk and the actional relation between them. Situated and interactionally contingent, the gesture is used in more or less the same format over time, determined by local space configurations and physical circumstances. The gesture is part of Carlos’ arsenal of methods to employ in the face of challenged intersubjectivity as the trouble shifts away from his own production and understanding (ex. 5.1, 5.2, 5.3, and 5.4) to understanding on the part of a co-participant (ex. 5.5). Months later, the target phenomenon seems to disappear as the talk is produced with minimal or different gestures (ex. 5.6 and 5.7). Finally, 18 months later, we show that even though the gesture has disappeared from use, it may become a resource if needed in particular environments.

There is a linguistic learning trajectory coinciding with this development; as Carlos is appropriating the linguistic specifics of “tell”, “ask”, and “say”—that is, verbal ways of expressing the involved participants—the gestural function is taken over by the improved language brought about by Carlos’ learning of these verbs’ local and lexically specific grammars. As this is happening, the gesture plays an increasingly diminishing role, quantitatively, and becomes a resource he can draw on in its own right—but still in the communicative situations in which he is putting the same family of expressions to use. The changes in his use of the gesture over time also indicate that he becomes more interactionally competent—not only because the gesture was used initially in compensatory ways but because the gesture can be reinstated and made relevant in situations where intersubjectivity is somehow challenged (ex. 5.5 and 5.8).

Although our data do not exhibit power in numbers, they do indicate that, over time, Carlos uses the target expressions in varying action environments, cf. Fig. 5.1. In other words, we see this family of expressions, originally established in a specific action environment of doing

instructions, spread out into other environments (Eskildsen 2011). This makes it difficult to follow Schegloff's condition for comparison. However, showcasing learning, the basic point of the research is to explore how later examples differ from early ones. We see the emergence and rise of semiotic resources in the data and as they are appropriated, the scaffold of repair falls away, the specific environment becomes the primordial context of use, and the use of the resources expands. This makes studies of learning across time very interesting and different from studies across cases which are the foundation for Schegloff's argument.

Methodologically our data and analyses thus indicate some differences between "horizontal" and "vertical" comparisons (cf. Kasper & Wagner 2014), but our study also has implications for studies in L2 learning. We have argued that the changing gestures are used with a family of related expressions. The relationship between them consists in the number of actors—referents—involved and the action that takes place between them, denoted by a verb. From the perspective of linguistic theory the expressions are instantiations of either the generalized ditransitive construction or a prepositional paraphrase ("he told the story to me"), (cf., Goldberg 1995). The semantics of both constructions denotes transport of something from one agent to another. In Carlos' case the examples "you say the story a Li" and "you ask the question a abelardo", correspond to the prepositional paraphrase. While linguistic theory is concerned with the generalizations themselves, Carlos' usage data—also beyond the interactions analysed—show that although the family of expressions grows, the number of new family members over time remains low; "show", "teach", and "lend" are the only other verbs found in this type of construction in Carlos' language use in the classroom. Thus, even over a period of four years, only seven different verbs are used in this construction, which substantiates the lexical specificity of grammar and the concreteness of the linguistic repertoire in action. In sum, the construction does not primarily live an abstract life as a generalized cognitive schema, but is first and foremost a functional-semantic relation that is communicated, elaborated, and made noticeable to co-participants through a conspiracy of talk and embodied behaviour. In this sense, our data show in a concrete and salient way the fundamentally embodied nature of linguistic categorization pointed out from a theoretical perspective by Langacker

(1987). Finally, in addition to showing how resources grow out of repair, our data support the notion of language learning as exemplar-based; learning is slow and piecemeal and rooted in recurring particular exemplars (Eskildsen and Cadierno 2007; Ellis and Ferreira-Junior 2009; Eskildsen 2011, 2015, 2017; Yuldashev et al. 2013; Roehr-Brackin 2014).

Appendix: Transcription Conventions

In addition to the Jeffersonian transcription symbols, we use *, #, and + to indicate the precise beginning of a nonverbal action.

// in a transcription line indicates a part of talk that is transcribed phonetically in the line below.

Notes

1. Because of technical issues we cannot provide pictures to all excerpts in the chapter, but all excerpts are available for online viewing here (Explorer only): <http://www.labschool.pdx.edu/Viewer/viewer.php?eskwaglongca>
2. For more on how Carlos builds his linguistic resources in and through interaction, see Eskildsen (e.g., 2012, 2015, 2017, in press) and Eskildsen and Wagner (2015).

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6

How the “Machinery” of Sense Production Changes Over Time

Timothy Koschmann, Robert Sigley, Alan Zemel,
and Carolyn Maher

Introduction

Cicourel (1970) issued a call for what he termed “a developmental sociology of language and meaning” (p. 136). Building on foundational ideas borrowed from Garfinkel (1967) and Sacks (1992), Cicourel proposed a program of study into how members’ “interpretive procedures and their reflexive features” (p. 167) are developed over time. His proposal differed from conventional studies of socialization by focusing specifically on how commonsense understandings, those that undergird competent participation in society, are acquired (Maynard and Clayman 1991, p. 404).

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Now, nearly half a century later, the current volume, with its focus on longitudinal studies of changing practice, might be seen as pursuing Cicourel's vision.

Garfinkel and Sacks' (1970) notion of how social action is accomplished rests upon an assumption that the "machinery" for doing so is "available to natives, to ethnomethodologists, and to social scientists since the 'machinery,' because it is members' 'machinery,' in the way it is specifically used to do [accountably rational activities] is thereby part of the phenomenon as its production and recognition apparatus" (p. 358). This assumption, however, poses certain issues for those who would document changes in practice over time.

The sense-production "machinery" described by Garfinkel and Sacks consists in ethnomethodology's eponymous members' methods. To the extent that conduct is recognizable, orderly, accountable, and the rest, it is competent and, in this way, the sense-production "machinery" constitutes a model of competent performance. To successfully engage in concerted activities, whatever they may be, members must conduct themselves in ways that are sensible and accountable to themselves and others. And, in so doing, they demonstrate competence in the reflexively constituted interpretive procedures recommended for study by Cicourel. Accountable practice, it would seem, presupposes a certain kind of competence. But if members are already competent at methods of sense production, there would seem to be nothing left for them to develop or acquire and nothing left for us to study.

A second concern arises because of ethnomethodology's treatment of action as "doubly contextual" (Heritage 1984, p. 242). An action's meaning is shaped by the context within which it is produced, while it is, at the same time, re-shaping that very context. This reflexive relationship between action and context, action and sense, means that the ways in which action is produced on different occasions will inevitably be different in certain ways. Given that practice is always going to be different on any given occasion, how would we discern differences in practice that reflect a change in the underlying "machinery" from the incidental differences that one might ordinarily expect when closely examining practice trans-situationally?

In the current chapter, we seek to explore how these twin concerns about presumed competence and anticipated difference might be addressed in a way that is consistent with ethnomethodological policies and precepts. We will document changes in practice that occur in the context of solving a story problem or word problem. Such problems are a staple of math instruction. They embed a mathematical task within a narrative form designed to motivate students’ problem-solving (Carpenter and Moser 1982; Kintsch and Greeno 1985; Stigler et al. 1986; Davis and Maher 1990). It has been argued that when students solve math problems together “The kinds of representations they use and the uses to which those representations are put constitute and constrain the trajectory of their engagement with and understanding of the problem on which they are working” (Zemel and Koschmann 2013, p. 66). We will look here, therefore, at a pair of students solving the same story problem on two different occasions with a special interest in how their representational practices change over time.

“Shirts and Jeans”

Preliminaries

The current study is based on materials from a video corpus developed in conjunction with the Kenilworth Longitudinal Study (Maher and Yankelewitz 2010; Maher 2005; Maher et al. 2010). In 1989, Rutgers researchers began compiling videos of students doing math in a first-grade classroom. Over time, the scope of the project was expanded to include after-school activities and extended interviews with the students resulting in a large corpus of mathematically focused interaction. Video recordings, transcripts, and related exhibits from this collection are available for viewing from a public website.¹

One of the objectives of the Kenilworth Project was to provide early exposure to the study of counting and combinatorics (Maher et al. 2010). Within the project, the students encountered and re-encountered a series of story problems (Francisco and Maher 2005). An example is the “Shirts and Jeans” problem:

Stephen has a white shirt, a blue shirt, and a yellow shirt. He has a pair of blue jeans and a pair of white jeans. How many different outfits can he make?

We will examine here a pair of video clips in which two students, Dana and Stephanie, work through the “Shirts and Jeans” problem, once while in second grade and then, again, five months later when both were third graders. Transcripts for the two episodes are provided as appendices to this chapter. The transcripts capture not only what was said but also prosodic features of the talk such as timing, intonation, tempo, and volume and also, where relevant, affiliated embodied action.² Transcripts, video and samples of student work for their second grade encounter can also be found at a persistent URL.³ It is recommended that readers avail themselves of these materials while examining the accounts that follow.

“Shirts and Jeans” in the Second Grade

A transcript for the first problem-solving episode can be found in Appendix A. The activity is launched with some direction from a member of the research team who facilitates the session. Stephanie and Dana are seated with their school desks pushed together. They are joined by a third student, Michael. We begin our analysis with Stephanie reading the problem statement aloud to the group [0:00;12]. Each has been supplied with a blank worksheet and a pencil. As they establish the terms of the problem, they discuss how it might be represented and independently begin constructing representations on their respective worksheets.

Dana presents the five problem elements—three shirts and two pants—from which the “outfits” were to be made pictorially on her worksheet shown in Fig. 6.1b separating the shirts and pants into two separate rows. Stephanie also draws illustrations of the five problem elements but clusters them all together (see Fig. 6.1a).

Michael is the first to offer a candidate solution: *He can only make two outfits* [1:01;15]. *He*, of course, is Stephen, the subject of the story problem. The basis, however, for Michael’s proposal is unclear since he has not yet even captured the elements of the problem on his worksheet. After a brief pause, Stephanie counters Michael’s proposal by reiterating the

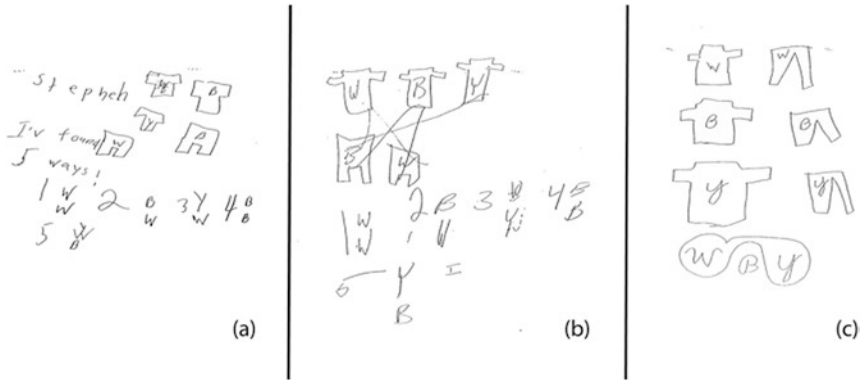


Fig. 6.1 Stephanie's, Dana's, and Michael's worksheets

problem text—*how many different outfits*. Now this would not appear to necessarily rule out Michael's proposal, but she goes on to say, *He can make a lotta different outfits* [1:02;25]. Within her developing sense of the problem, the solution will call for *many* outfits, certainly more than two. Dana would seem to agree noting that the shirts can be used to make three different outfits [1:08;17] (presumably) with each pair of pants, but her contribution, both in tone and format, is produced as an “aggravated correction” (Goodwin 1983) and Stephanie treats it as such [1:12;16]. Michael's proposed solution, though premature, has succeeded in drawing the whole group into an occasioned and contentious work of problem finding.

To determine how many outfits can be made, the students must compile a list of candidates, and Stephanie takes the lead in this activity [1:02;25, 1:12;16, 1:22;11]. At the same time that she enumerates the pairs, she lists them in tabular form on the bottom of her worksheet [1:18;03]. When Dana attempts to join in on this activity [1:29;18], Stephanie shushes her, though Dana, undeterred, privately records pairings on her own worksheet. Dana uses the earlier-drawn illustrations as nodes and the lines connecting them to represent outfits [1:30;26]. When Stephanie offers her first pairing with a yellow shirt, Dana objects [1:38;25]. Though Dana drew her links very rapidly, apparently she was evaluating each pairing of a shirt with a pair of pants in terms of how well

they matched and, for Dana, yellow shirts *don't go* with white pants [1:38;25]. Stephanie, however, dismisses Dana's objection, asserting that, even though they are supposedly generating *outfits*, fashion considerations hold no sway here [1:45;03].

In response to this challenge to the way that she had been conceptualizing the problem, Dana now expresses confusion regarding how to go on [1:54;20]. Shortly thereafter we find Dana reproducing Stephanie's table of candidate pairings [2:09;01]. Michael, at this point, is just finishing drawing the problem elements onto his worksheet [2:26;14]. His figures, it should be noted, include an extra element (yellow pants) not found in the girls' representations (see Fig. 6.1c). He now issues a protest, *I don't wanna do it that way. I wanna do it this way.* [2:32;12] gesturing toward his worksheet. Without inspecting it Dana rejects Michael's approach and announces that she and Stephanie are going to do it *their way* [2:36;26]. But, given that Dana has abandoned her original representation of the problem and is in the process of copying Stephanie's list of pairings onto her own worksheet, "their" way of generating possible pairings turns out, in the end, to be Stephanie's.

While this is taking place, Stephanie makes a pivotal announcement—she declares that there are five and only five pairings [2:38;13]. And, in so doing, she introduces the term *combinations* for what had been labeled in the problem text *outfits*. By reproducing Stephanie's list of combinations onto her own worksheet, it would seem that Dana had found a way of bringing the girls' combination lists into agreement. Unfortunately, this was not entirely successful. For her third entry, Dana writes something, possibly (B,W) which would be the same as what she had recorded for the second combination. She then replaces it with a pair showing a W on top and a Y below. But, this is an inversion of what Stephanie had recorded as her third pair and is consistent with the way that Dana has recorded the other pairings. There were also some problems in the list she is copying from. When she was listing off her fifth pair, Stephanie stumbled briefly, starting with a white shirt, switching to blue, and finally settling on yellow [2:07;16]. On her worksheet Stephanie initially inscribed a "W", then replaced it with a "Y" which she then paired with blue pants. When Dana copies the list, she records the pair as (Y, B). But

(W, B), a combination seen in Dana’s original, graph-like representation, is missing in both lists.

The students work together to produce and justify a solution. But built into the task is an expectation that they will find it together, and there are different ways of organizing their participation to achieve this. Michael, though he tries at points to contribute, is never fully successful in participating in the group’s problem-solving. Dana very swiftly produces a representation of the problem that inspectably reveals the combinations generated, but she abandons it when Stephanie challenges her approach to solving the problem. In copying Stephanie’s tabular representation onto her own worksheet, Dana makes it the *de facto* representation for the group. Though both students have copies of the list of candidate combinations, they use them in somewhat different ways. For Stephanie it is a tool for recording combinations, but for Dana it is a means of recovering the combinations already generated by Stephanie. As soon as Dana succeeds in reproducing Stephanie’s combination list [3:14;04], the two [3:16;26, 3:17;25] announce completion of the task. Sitting in silence while the girls report their solution, it becomes Michael’s solution as well. Even though the produced answer is not technically correct, the students have competently organized their participation in a way that allowed them to achieve concurrence on the solution and successfully bring the activity to a close.

“Shirts and Jeans” in the Third Grade

Approximately 4 1/2 months later Dana and Stephanie were again paired to work on the “Shirts and Jeans” problem. A transcript for this second episode can be seen in Appendix B.⁴ Each student is supplied with a copy of the problem description and they collaboratively read it aloud [1:16;16-1:26;16]. Both are also provided with paper and markers for representing the problem. Stephanie initiates the activity by proposing, “Well why don’t we draw a picture of that?” [1:34;24], but in this episode, they coordinate the ways in which they represent the sets of shirts and pants, presenting them as two horizontal arrays (see Fig. 6.2).

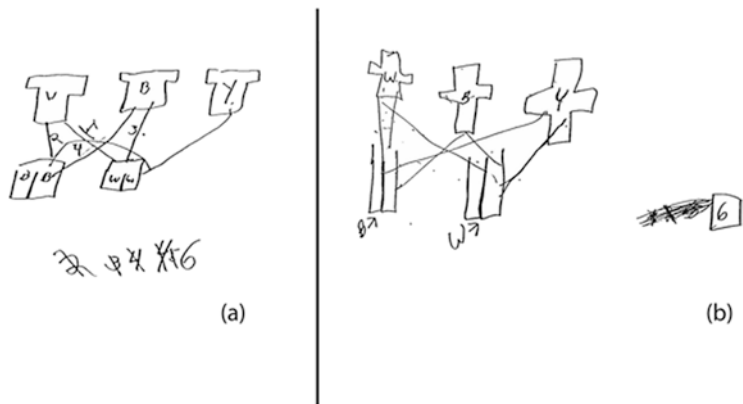


Fig. 6.2 Stephanie's and Dana's worksheets

As in the second-grade episode, it is Stephanie who begins the generation of shirt/pants pairings [2:29;10]. As she offers the first, she draws a link on her worksheet connecting the node representing a white shirt with the node representing white pants [2:35;04]. Her method of recording pairs resembles that originally used by Dana in the second grade. Dana swiftly proposes several additional pairings [2:37;09, 2:51;05, 2:54;26], but does so without recording them on her work sheet. Stephanie, who is trying to keep a record of shared pairings, requests that Dana go more slowly [2:55;00]. Dana, at this point, takes notice of what Stephanie has been doing notationally [3:01;05] and begins drawing links on her own worksheet [3:04;15]. Unlike their second-grade encounter with the problem, the students are working with a common representation of the problem. Given this, one might expect that arriving at a shared solution would be easier for them but such did not prove to be the case.

Dana continues generating new combinations, and Stephanie attempts to match them with combinations she has located on her own worksheet. Stephanie inquires as to how many combinations Dana has found [3:09;16]. Dana's graph, it might be noted, shows two links from the node representing the white shirt to the node representing blue pants, leaving her with a total of seven, though she reports it as *six*, repeated

with emphasis [3:23;04]. Stephanie begins reading links off her graph, listing four *combinations*: (W, B), (W, W), (B, W), and (Y, W) and asking Dana to name the missing two [3:34;16]. On the bottom of her worksheet, Stephanie supplements her graph with a list of numbers that indexes the links in her representation and that allows her to scratch off pairings held in common with Dana (see Fig. 6.2a). But there are problems. When Stephanie reads off *white and blue*, she adds the label “2” to her list and then immediately scratches it off. She then calls out *white and white*, but writes and checks off “3”, even though this combination was labeled “1” in her graph. When she reads *blue and white*, she scratches off “4”, even though this combination is labeled “3” in her graph. She reads *yellow and white*, adding and then scratching off “4” again. Stephanie had drawn a link joining the yellow shirt and white pants, but did not assign it a numeric label. She also starts a link from the blue pants, but instead of terminating it on a shirt-node, she joins it to another link, (Y, W)! So, though she shows six links on her graph and has checked off 4 on her supplementary list, she must seek help from Dana in identifying the missing two [3:50;22].

In response to Stephanie’s query, Dana suggests (Y,B) [3:54;28] which is indeed a combination not previously mentioned by Stephanie. Unlike Stephanie, Dana does not have a record-keeping system for tracking combinations held in common. She then offers (Y,W) [4:00;09] and then (B,W) [4:03;05], but Stephanie had already named these. The missing combination is (B,B), which Stephanie had actually proposed earlier [3:02;13], but she did not include it in her reconciled list. Despite these troubles, Stephanie eventually accepts Dana’s count [4:03;13] and writes a six on her worksheet. As in the first episode, as soon as the two girls arrive at the same count, Dana is prepared to declare completion [4:11;29]. Stephanie demurs, however, insisting that they need to ensure that their list of combinations is exhaustive [4:14;11]. This is a stronger criterion for completion than they applied in the second grade. Dana asserts multiple times [4:17;19, 4:19;00, 4:27;19] that there could be no more combinations, but does not justify her conviction. Stephanie eventually concedes the point [4:29;26] and the girls proclaim themselves done [4:35;20; 4:35;22].

Changes in the “Machinery” of Problem-Solving Over Time

In looking at change over time from an ethnomethodologically informed perspective, it is useful to recall Garfinkel’s (1967) discussion of how “decisions of meaning and fact are managed...in common sense situations of choice” (p. 77). He argues, in all situations of sociological inquiry—lay or professional—we employ a method consisting of:

treating an actual appearance as “the document of”, as “pointing to”, as “standing on behalf of” a pre-supposed underlying pattern. Not only is the underlying pattern derived from its individual documentary evidences, but the individual documentary evidences, in their turn, are interpreted on the basis of “what is known” about the underlying pattern. Each is used to elaborate the other. (Garfinkel 1967, p. 78)

He labels it the “documentary method of interpretation” (p. 77) attributing it originally to Mannheim (1952). As it relates to the analyses just presented, the “individual documentary evidences” are the practices of problem-solving that we have documented in the two episodes, and the “underlying pattern” is what we take the participants to be doing in each case, namely, accountably solving a story problem. The question then becomes, when we see differences in local documentary evidences, which if any of these differences index a change in the underlying sense-making machinery employed by the members to produce the episodes as what they are? In situations such as the one we are examining here in which the same cohort of participants is observed on more than one occasion doing the same problem, some of these differences in practice can be argued to reflect changes in the participants’ jointly held assumptions about the problem and about what constitutes problem-solving. Let us examine a few examples.

In both episodes, the students represent the elements of the problem by drawing pictures of shirts and pants (see Figs. 6.1 and 6.2). But the fact that the problem elements are items of apparel turns out to be irrelevant to the solving of the problem. “Shirts” and “pants” name two abstract sets from which elements can be drawn to form pairs. The sets could just as easily have been “letters” and “numbers” or “fruits” and

“vegetables” or any other arbitrary pair of categories familiar to second and third graders. In the first episode, there was some controversy as to whether or not the outfits needed to “match”. That this concern never arose in the later episode could be construed as evidence that the students were employing a different set of assumptions, not only about the problem but also about how the problem should be approached.⁵

In the second-grade encounter with the problem, Dana draws links between the problem elements depicted on her worksheet (Fig. 6.1b), while Stephanie builds a table of candidate pairings (Fig. 6.1a). Later, in the third grade, led now by Stephanie, both students use links to represent combinations. The decision to employ this method of representing pairings is never discussed in the second fragment. Using a graph-like representation of the problem is not just a notational convenience but represents a procedural convergence in that it offers a powerful tool for generating and checking combinations. That it is the same two girls both employing the same representational practices in their second encounter with this story problem, therefore, suggests an evolutionary change in their shared understanding of the problem and how it is to be solved.

A third and final example has to do with the way in which the students organize their work together. It can be seen that both episodes are organized in such a way that when the activity is brought to a close, the participants will have achieved agreement on the solution. There is, in this way, a sociologic to their problem-solving. The manner in which this is accomplished, however, is different in each episode. In the first, Dana and Stephanie start with different methods of generating combinations, but Dana abandons her original approach and adopts Stephanie’s. In the second episode, both students independently engage in generating lists of combinations. When Stephanie asks *How many do you got so far* [Episode 2: 3:09;16], she displays a tacit understanding that there may be more than one way to generate a combination list. This recognition introduces a requirement that the students find a way of reconciling their respective lists, and we see evidence that they are both orienting to this in the secondary notations they employ on the bottom of their respective worksheets (Fig. 6.2). The differences, then, in the way in which they approach the problem in the second and third grades reflect a change in the “machinery” by which they go about solving the problem.

As argued earlier, the “members’ ‘machinery”, described by Garfinkel and Sacks (1970), is a model of competent performance. But what counts as competence in one situation is reflexively related to the situation, just as our understanding of an “underlying pattern” within the documentary method of interpretation is subject to modification in the face of novel “documentary evidences”. As the “underlying pattern” and its associated assumptions and expectations change, so too does what counts as competent performance. In this way, changes to the “machinery” of sense production constitute changes in what counts as competence, and studying such changes represents a valid approach to creating a “developmental sociology”.

Appendices

Appendix A

1 0:00;12 Ste: ((reading)) () (shirt) a blue shirt and a yellow shirt. He
2 has a pair of blue jeans wait
3 0:11;17 Dana: I'll jus' put ()
4 0:15;01 Mic: How much does a blue shirt (cost?)
5 0:18;13 Dana: I'll jus' put a blue shirt that's all we have to do for it and
6 then put like
7 0:23;15 Ste: I'm gonna put (0.4) I'm gonna make a shirt an I'm gonna put
8 white >wait a minute< W for white
9 0:29;24 Mic: [Yeah, white shirt, white pants
10 0:29;24 Mic: [((begins drawing the elements of the problem on his worksheet))
11 0:31;13 (3.2)
12 0:31;18 Mic: ((glances up toward Dana's worksheet))
13 0:34;22 Ste: Okay (0.6) blue: (1.5) and then yellow shirt
14 0:38;26 (5.2)
15 0:46;00 Ste: ((reading)) He has a pair of blue (1.9) jeans (1.9) and a pair
16 of white (3.0) jeans. (1.8) How many different outfits can he
17 make?
18 0:58;21 (1.2)
19 0:59;28 Ste: Well
20 1:01;15 Mic: He can only make two two outfits.
21 1:02;01 (0.8)
22 1:02;25 Ste: Well (.) no (0.2) how many different outfits. He can make a
23 lotta different outfits look (0.3) he can make white
24 [and white
25 1:08;17 Dana: [And (0.5) >he can •hh he can< make all three: of these shirts
26 with an outfit.

27 1:12;16 Ste: [>Yeah, but< shsh:: you can make it different ways to
 28 just like look white and white (0.2) that's [one (0.6) by=
 29 1:18;03 Ste: [((begins building
 30 list of combinations on bottom of worksheet))
 31 1:19;02 Ste: =doing W and [W.
 32 1:21;05 Mic: [That's what I'm doing.
 33 1:22;11 Ste: Two: (0.4) could be (0.3) blue? (0.8) blue jeans: (0.4) and
 34 white (0.8) and a white shirt
 35 1:28;29 (0.6)
 36 1:29;18 Dana: YEAH we'll just put [white with
 37 1:30;26 Ste: [blue (0.2) [SHSH:: (0.9) okay yellow shirt=
 38 1:31;12 Dana: [((draws lines linking elements
 39 on her worksheet))
 40 1:35;13 Ste: =and um: (0.6) number three could be a yellow shirt
 41 1:38;25 Dana: It can't. The yellow shirt can't go with (0.2) the white.
 42 [Yellow-white don't go. Yellow white
 43 1:41;23 Mic: [I'm doing blue pants (0.3) white shirt [and then [I'm doing blue
 44 pants blue shirt.
 45 1:44;19 Dana: [((looks to Stephanie and
 46 shakes head))
 47 1:45;03 Ste: [No how many
 48 outfits can it make it doesn't matter if it doesn't match as
 49 long as it can make outfits.
 50 1:49;17 (1.7)
 51 1:49;24 Dana: ((counts edges in her graph-like representation))
 52 1:51;09 Dana: It CAN'T
 53 1:51;25 (0.4)
 54 1:52;08 Ste: It doesn't have to go with each other Da:na.=
 55 1:54;20 Dana: =Wha' else tha' (it) could be?
 56 1:55;25 (0.5)
 57 1:56;11 Ste: It can make more if you put them mixed up (0.2) just watch. I'm
 58 on my third one >right here< (0.3) Number four (0.6) it could be
 59 (.) a blue shirt and blue pants.
 60 2:05;09 (2.2)
 61 2:07;16 Ste: Number fi:ve (0.4) can [be:: (0.8) a white shirt and (0.7)=
 62 2:09;01 Dana: [((begins building a list of combinations
 63 on the bottom of her worksheet))
 64 2:12;13 Ste: =wait (0.5) okay (0.3) it can be a blue shir: [t (0.9) wait did I
 65 do blue and white? (0.5) [(1.1) It can be a yellow:
 66 2:15;12 Dana: [((leans over to
 67 view Stephanie's worksheet))
 68 2:17;28 Dana: [What's two?
 69 2:20;19 Dana: What's two?
 70 2:21;00 Ste: Two is blue shirt and white pants. A blue shirt and yell- (0.4)
 71 wait (0.3) a yellow shirt (0.6) >did I do yellow Mike?< A yellow
 72 shirt and blue pants.
 73 2:26;14 Mic: ((finishes drawing the problem elements))
 74 2:31;23 (0.9)
 75 2:31;26 Dana: °A yellow [shirt (.) blue (0.5) pants.°
 76 2:32;12 Mic: [I don't think I (0.4) I don't wanna do it that way.
 77 °I wanna do it this way.°

78 2:35;18 (1.3)

79 2:36;26 Dana: Well jus' [do it the way you want. We'll do it the way we want.

80 2:38;13 Ste: [D'yu know what? [There's there's five combinations.

81 There's only five combinations. =

82 2:38;28 Ste: [(stands at seat))

83 2:42;20 Ste: = [Cuz look (.) you can do a white shirt with =

84 2:42;20 Ste: [(sits back down))

85 2:44;26 Dana: = [Wait lem[me see your paper I hafta see your paper

86 2:44;26 Dana: = [(reaches for Stephanie's worksheet))

87 2:45;00 Ste: [I have to do something

88 2:45;00 Ste: [(recovers worksheet from Dana))

89 2:47;00 Mic: That's what I did [(.) a white shirt with white pants and (a blue

90 shirt with blue pants)

91 2:47;27 Ste: [You can this (.) lis:ten Michael (.) Michael

92 will you listen for once? You (0.4) >five combinations<.=

93 2:54;29 Dana: [(stands and views Stephanie's worksheet over Stephanie's

94 shoulder))

95 2:54;29 Ste: [=You can do um:: (0.4) number one (.) white and white number two

96 (.) blue and white number three [yellow and white number four

97 blue and blue and number five yellow and blue.

98 3:00;09 Dana: [(revises her version of

99 Stephanie's representation))

100 3:03;22 (1.9)

101 3:05;21 Mic: I got [(.) these four.

102 [(holds worksheet up for Stephanie's inspection))

103 3:08;27 Ste: You can do four combinations Michael. I'm sure [of it.

104 3:12;18 Dana: [(Fi:ve.)

105 3:12;18 Dana: [(checking

106 Stephanie's worksheet over Stephanie's shoulder))

107 3:13;04 (1.0)

108 3:14;04 Dana: ((returns to seat and completes copy of Stephanie's

109 representation))

110 3:14;05 Ste: I mean five (.) yeah.

111 3:15;17 (1.3)

112 3:16;26 Dana: [Am[y!

113 3:16;26 Dana: [(turns and stands while raising l. hand))

114 3:17;25 Ste: [Amy!

115 3:17;25 Ste: [(spins in seat and raises r. hand))

116 3:18;04 (0.9)

117 3:19;00 Dana: Okay (which ones)=

118 3:20;00 Ste: =We can make combinations.

119 3:20;19 Dana: [(five five combin:ations.)

Appendix B

1 1:15;16 Ste: ((reading)) Stephanie? () he-he-he wait Ste[[]phen
2 1:19;00 Dana: [[]Stephen.
3 1:19;22 Ste: (Sorry) I didn't read the name.
4 1:21;07 Ste: ((reading)) Stephen has a white shirt, a blue shirt and a yellow
5 shirt
6 1:24;10 Ste: Want me to read it out loud?
7 1:25;20 Dana: No (I'll get it).
8 1:26;16 Dana: ((reading)) He has a pair of blue jean::s and a pair of white
9 jeans (.) how many different outfits can he make?
10 1:32;24 Ste: Well why don't we draw a picture of that?
11 1:34;21 Dana: [[]Okay. (.) He had a white shirt
12 1:34;21 Dana: [[]((commences drawing the elements of the problem on her
13 worksheet))
14 1:34;21 Ste: [[]((commences drawing the elements of the problem on her
15 worksheet))
16 1:36;28 (2.1)
17 1:39;01 Ste: So I'll make a white shirt.
18 1:40;18 (4.3)
19 1:45;00 Dana: A blue shirt.
20 1:46;21 Ste: Think I'll have to use the big marker for this one. You know to
21 color it in blue.
22 1:50;12 (1.7)
23 1:52;06 Dana: And (1.5) a yellow shirt.
24 1:55;00 (1.9)
25 1:56;27 Ste: Why don't we just draw a [[]'Y', a 'B' and a 'W'?
26 1:56;00 Dana: [[]I'm jus' gonna put (.) right that's
27 what I'm doing.
28 2:02;08 Ste: 'W', 'B', and 'Y'.
29 2:06;01 Ste: [[]KAY: () ((reading)) He has: a >lemme read this< he has a blue
30 jeans and a pair of white jeans.
31 Dana: [[]((reading)) He has
32 2:11;04 Ste: Okay so let's see so (1.4) blue (.) blue (.) blue and I'm going
33 to take care of white too. What if we (played it)? he-he
34 2:23;05 (2.8)
35 2:26;02 Ste: Okay ah[[]m:::
36 2:27;04 Dana: [[]Look at what I drew.
37 2:27;25 (1.4)
38 2:29;10 Ste: Alright, now let's find out how many outfits you can make. Well
39 you can make white and white. That would be one.
40 2:35;04 Ste: ((links white shirt to white pants on graph))
41 2:36;17 Ste: I'm gonna draw [[]a li:ne
42 2:37;09 Dana: [[]white and blue (.) white and blue that would be
43 two:,
44 2:40;17 Ste: So white and:
45 2:41;24 Dana: Blue.=
46 2:42;02 Ste: =WHITE shirt or white pants?
47 2:44;04 Dana: I know I have that. So now we have two cuz you can put the blue
48 with the white >wait< the blue pants and the white shirt.

- 49 2:48;27 Ste: Wait the blue pants and the white shirt?
- 50 2:51;05 Dana: Now we could have three with the blue pants and the blue
51 (pants).
- 52 2:53;14 (1.4)
- 53 2:54;16 Ste: ((*begins secondary representation with '2'*))
- 54 2:54;26 Dana: And the yellow could go [with
- 55 2:55;00 Ste: [Hold on Dana you're going too fast here
- 56 2:58;01 Ste: And we could have the blue and the white. That would be
57 [three.
- 58 3:01;05 Dana: L((*studies Stephanie's worksheet*))
- 59 3:02;13 Ste: The blue and the blue. That could be [four.
- 60 3:04;15 Dana: L((*begins drawing links on*
61 *her worksheet*))
- 62 3:05;04 (4.3)
- 63 3:09;16 Ste: So we got four, and we could have the yellow:: >how many do you
64 got so far< [four?
- 65 3:04;15 Dana: L((*begins counting links on her worksheet*))
- 66 3:14;15 Dana: One [two (1.5) no yeah (0.8) one?
- 67 3:14;17 Ste: L((*directs gaze to Dana's worksheet*))
- 68 3:19;19 Ste: We could have the yellow:: [and the white
- 69 3:21;11 Dana: [one
- 70 3:23;04 Dana: One (2.9) one?: two:: three four? (0.7) (and four) (0.4) I have
71 six so far.
- 72 3:34;11 Dana: ((*turns to study Stephanie's worksheet*))
- 73 3:34;16 Ste: I've got one (0.7) two three four, five. What are your other
74 combinations? I have white and blue, I got white and white, I've
75 got blue and white, I've got yellow and white. What were your
76 two other combinations?
- 77 3:47;17 (1.3)
- 78 3:50;21 Dana: I mean I have six. Six.=
- 79 3:50;22 Ste: =Well what are your other combinations?=
80 3:52;15 Dana: =ONE other combination.
- 81 3:54;15 Ste: I only have [four.
- 82 3:54;28 Dana: [yellow and the blue.
- 83 3:56;23 Ste: Yellow and the blue.
- 84 3:58;00 (1.6)
- 85 3:59;17 Ste: And then [what (was your other?)
- 86 4:00;09 Dana: [And the yellow and the wh:ite.
- 87 4:02;09 Ste: I put the yellow and the white.
- 88 4:03;05 Dana: Alright, [then the BLUE and the white.
- 89 4:03;13 Ste: [One, two, three, four, five, six (1.0) oh, okay so I
90 have six too. (We have) five in there. I have six.=
- 91 4:11;29 Dana: =Amy, we're done.
- 92 4:13;10 Res: You're done?
- 93 4:14;11 Ste: No Dana we don't know if we can make any other combinations
94 [or not.
- 95 4:17;19 Dana: [CAN'T
- 96 4:17;19 Res: [Make sure, okay?

97 4:19;00 Dana: We can't (0.6) Steph.
 98 4:21;19 Res: Talk about it and make sure.
 99 (5.1)
 100 4:27;25 Dana: We can't.
 101 4:28;09 (1.6)
 102 4:29;26 Ste: Okay, you're right. It's six.
 103 4:31;29 Ste: Okay, [let's ()
 104 4:32;16 Dana: [Amy!
 105 4:33;29 Res: ((at a distance)) Yes?
 106 4:34;09 Dana: We're done.
 107 4:35;20 Dana: The answer is six.=
 108 4:36;22 Ste: =It's six.

Notes

1. The Kenilworth corpus can be accessed at: <http://videomosaic.org/>.
2. The full set of transcription conventions is described in Jefferson (2004). In brief, special brackets are used to mark the onset of overlap between transcribed elements (i.e., turns at talk or other transcribed conduct). Numbers enclosed in single parentheses represent periods of silence measured to a tenth of a second. Standard punctuation marks such as periods and question marks are used to denote delivery with falling (or rising) intonation. Colons are used to display sound stretching. Text enclosed between degree signs represents talk delivered at diminished volume. Annotations supplied by the transcriber are enclosed in double parentheses.
3. Transcripts and video are also available at this persistent URL: <https://rucore.libraries.rutgers.edu/rutgers-lib/46062/>
4. Transcripts and video are also available at this persistent URL: <https://rucore.libraries.rutgers.edu/rutgers-lib/46051/>
5. It was noted earlier that the students effected a shift in vocabulary within the fragments, referring to the shirt/pants pairings as “combinations” instead of “outfits” (see also [Episode 2: 3:34;16]). Like the disappearance of further discussion of fashion considerations in the third grade, this terminological shift reflected a shared orientation to extracting relevant features of the story problem from the irrelevant, though, given that they employ the altered vocabulary in both episodes, it did not represent a documented change in practice.

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Part IV

Change in Interactional Practices in Workplace Settings

7

A Longitudinal Perspective on Turn Design: From Role-Plays to Workplace Patient Consultations

Hanh thi Nguyen

Introduction

An essential and basic part of the capability to participate in social interaction is the ability to build turns-at-talk, that is, to assemble semiotic resources into turns so as to accomplish social actions. For novices entering the workplace, developing the ability to design turns appropriately and effectively is an integral aspect of developing the interactional competence needed to achieve institutional goals. This chapter investigates how a pharmacy student developed turn-design practices over time by comparing simulated patient consultations at school and actual consultations at the pharmacy.

Patient consultation by pharmacists is required by law in the United States and is normally practiced at US pharmacies. Patient consultation aims to provide patients with the necessary information about the medicines they are about to take so that they can get the most benefits from them (Rantucci 1997). To prepare students for the workplace, the pharmacy school under study offered communication courses in which

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students practiced patient counseling in role-plays. Then, the students interned at pharmacies, where they counseled actual patients under the supervision of a preceptor. This study spans the two settings that constitute a crucial phase in the student's training—the transition from classroom to real-life task performance. To understand the nature of this transition, I first examine the learner's employment of turn-design practices to achieve key patient counseling tasks in the classroom role-plays over a semester. Then, I analyze how the practices developed in the role-plays were utilized or modified in later workplace performance. By tracking the learner's changes in turn-design practices over time, I aim to document her development of interactional competence. Before I present the analysis, I will first discuss the notion of interactional competence, the concept of turn design as one of its components, and the difference between role-plays and actual interaction.

Interactional Competence

Interactional competence refers to the ability to use practices to jointly accomplish actions in social interaction with others (see, e.g., Hall 1993, 1999; He and Young 1998; Young 2008; Hall and Pekarek Doehler 2011; Nguyen 2012). This conceptualization of interactional competence has been informed by two related fields: linguistic anthropology and ethnomethodological conversation analysis. In linguistic anthropology, Hymes (2001) rejected Chomsky's (1965) dichotomy between competence (underlying) and performance (actual use) and proposed instead *communicative competence*, which consists of both knowledge of language and the ability for language use in context. Along similar lines, conversation analysis (CA) maintains that observable interactional practices in talk-in-interaction, such as phrasal breaks, re-starts, and eye gaze, “constitute manifestations of [the speaker's] competence” (Goodwin 1981, p. 170, see also Heritage 1984). Thus, a key aspect of interactional competence is that it is *displayed visibly* in the practices that participants employ locally in talk. It follows that the development of interactional competence is also concretely traceable in talk over time. Thanks to CA's rigorous attention to interactional practices as witnessable exhibitions of

participants' competence, a growing number of studies have employed CA on longitudinal data in order to describe the developmental changes in interactional practices by novices as they become more competent in achieving social actions. These studies cover a variety of learning contexts, including the language classroom (e.g., Markee 2000; Mondada and Pekarek Doehler 2004; Hellermann 2008; Rine and Hall 2011; Dings 2014; Lee and Hellermann 2014), study abroad and similar situations (e.g., Ishida 2009; Taguchi 2014; Pekarek Doehler and Pochon-Berger 2015), child-parent interaction (e.g., Cekaite 2007; Nguyen and Nguyen 2016), and the workplace (e.g., Brouwer and Wagner 2004; Nguyen 2006, 2012, 2016; Firth and Wagner 2007; Melander and Sahlström 2009; Pekarek Doehler et al. 2017).¹ To further extend this line of inquiry, this chapter examines the development of interactional practices across two settings, from classroom role-plays to actual workplace performance.

Turn Design

At the heart of social interaction, turn design is a rich and complex process in which speakers construct turns-at-talk by selecting linguistic and paralinguistic resources—lexical items, syntactic structures, morphological forms, pronunciation, and prosody, as well as other interactional resources such as timing, laughter, and embodiment—in order to accountably achieve actions (Drew 2013, p. 132) (see also Goodwin 1981; Heath 1981; Haakana 2001; Drew 2005; Kern 2007; Ford and Fox 2010; Park 2012; Fatigante and Orietti 2013). Turn design thus encompasses the formulation of objects, persons, places, and events (Schegloff 1972; Heritage and Watson 1979; Davis 1986; Ford and Fox 1996; Lerner 2013). Jefferson (1974, p. 192), for instance, noted that when a defendant self-repaired in the middle of a turn construction unit to formulate the institutional agent as “officer” instead of “cop,” he might be designing the turn to be more fitting to the formal setting of the courtroom and to proffer the identity of someone who paid deference to the court.

Importantly, the design of a turn is shaped by its *sequential context*, the *action* being achieved by the turn, and the turn's *recipient* (Drew 2013).

In particular, a turn's design is sensitive to the action and format of the prior turn, for example, a response to a *yes/no* question typically takes a *yes/no* form (Raymond 2003) and an agreement to a preceding assessment tends to take the form of an upgraded assessment (Goodwin and Goodwin 1992). Differences in the action being performed may also lead to differences in turn design. Curl and Drew (2008), for instance, demonstrated that speakers formulate their requests differently, as "could you do X" or "I was wondering if I could," depending on the contingencies of the requesting action. Finally, turn design can be highly attuned to the turn's recipient. Drew (2013) effectively showed how the same speaker tailored her inquiry to three different people about their intention to attend an upcoming meeting. The same inquiry varied in the levels of pressure ("are you thinking of coming" vs. "are you going"), explicitness (mentioning "the meeting" vs. leaving it out of the turn), and word choice ("coming" vs. "going"), all depending on the recipient's relationship to the speaker. Thus, the design of a turn is the speaker's way of constructing and indexing participation frameworks.

The fact that turn design is extremely sensitive to the turn's sequential context, action, and recipient bears important consequences to the study of competence development. In order to track an individual's changes in turn design over time, comparison should involve turns that share similar sequential environments, actions, and recipients (Nguyen 2006; Koschmann 2013). In this chapter, I will attempt to do so by focusing on turns that share these aspects. Specifically, I concentrate on the learner's turn design in the actions of *drug identification*, *inquiry* about the patient's drug allergies, and *advice giving* in advice sequences involving a similar side effect. These actions were selected because they occurred in both the role-plays and actual consultations and they represent different aspects of patient counseling. Although the particular recipients in the consultations varied, they were all in the role of the patient. A disadvantage of observing the same intern interacting with different patients is that there are slight variations in topics and the recipients' conversational styles. On the other hand, an advantage is that development of interactional practices over time is less likely to be conflated with development of social relationships or increased familiarity between the intern and particular patients.

A difference across the turns being compared, however, is that they occur in two different settings: role-played consultations in the classroom and actual patient consultations at a pharmacy. The next section will discuss the relationship between these two types of interaction in the context of this study.

Role-Plays and Actual Interaction

While participants in role-plays still employ routine, everyday interactional practices to achieve role-played actions (Seale et al. 2007; Huth 2010; Okada 2010), they may also orient to the constraints of the simulation (Seale et al. 2007) and the criteria against which the role-plays are assessed (Van Hasselt et al. 2008; Stokoe 2013); for a more in-depth discussion about the similarities and differences between role-played and actual interactions, see Nguyen (2016).

An important reason for role-plays to differ from actual interactions is that they have different real-life consequences (Félix-Brasdefer 2007; Stokoe, 2013). In actual consultations, patients have real medical problems and concerns as well as emotions and perceptions regarding their own illness and the pharmacist's role (e.g., Pilnick 1998). In the training role-plays, actors performed their patient roles according to patient profiles designed by the course instructors (such as having chronic pain, being in a hurry, or being hard of hearing). Students were also trained to follow a specific model of patient consultation, namely, the interactive approach (Gardner et al. 1991), in which the pharmacist asks three open-ended "prime" questions before providing advice and instructions. Aiming to help the pharmacist individualize the consultation for each patient based on what the patient already knows (Planas 2009), these questions are: "What did your doctor tell you the medication is for?" (therapy purpose), "How did your doctor tell you to take the medication?" (method of administration), and "What did your doctor tell you to expect?" (side effects and expected outcomes) (Gardner et al. 1991). After the videotaped role-plays, the students performed self-evaluation and received peer- and instructor-feedback. When the same students interned as pharmacists, they counseled patients under the supervision of

a senior pharmacist, who intervened only when there was a problem (see Nguyen 2011), and gave general assessment for the entire clerkship rather than for each consultation.

Although there are studies that compare role-plays with actual interactions (e.g., Seale et al. 2007; Stokoe 2013), ethnomethodological research (e.g., Nguyen 2016) has only begun to shed light on how the same individual carries interactional practices developed in role-plays to actual interaction. This chapter aims to contribute to this effort.

Research Questions and Methods

In order to track the student's interactional competence from the classroom role-plays to the actual patient consultations at the pharmacy, this chapter aims to address the following questions: (1) How did the student's turn design change over time in performing the actions of *drug identification*, *allergy inquiry*, and *advice giving* in the role-plays? (2) To what extent were these changes manifested later in the actual consultations at the pharmacy?

The data come from two sets of videotapes of the same pharmacy student, Mai Hoang (pseudonym), performing patient consultations in the United States. The first set includes five role-played patient consultations selected from a total of ten role-plays conducted every week in a communication course at a major school of pharmacy. The role-plays were recorded by the student as part of the course requirements. Informed consent was obtained from the course instructor, the standardized patients, and the student after the tapes had been made. The role-played consultations were set up inside cubicles with a desk and two facing chairs. A timer was set to indicate the expected time limit but students were allowed to complete the consultations. The selected role-plays were the first, second, third, sixth, and tenth role-plays in the semester, involving seven newly prescribed medications. The second set of data includes 24 consultations, covering 27 new prescriptions, and comes from biweekly recordings during Mai's third clerkship, a year after the communication course (all of Mai's clerkships were after the communication course). This third clerkship was Mai's first time to intern in a residential area, where there was a strong sense of community among the clients and the pharmacy staff.

I started the analysis with extracting transcript portions in the classroom role-plays and the consultations at the pharmacy which contain the actions of (a) identifying the medicine, (b) inquiring about the patient's allergies, and (c) giving advice. Among these actions, advice-giving sequences varied more in their organization (see Nguyen 2012). To increase the similarity among the cases being compared, I limited the advice sequences to those involving one particular side effect that appeared in both sets of data: a side effect of an antibiotic. After extracting the actions, I performed conversation analysis with attention paid to turn-design features. The analysis of individual cases then enabled a comparison across cases to identify changes in how these actions were accomplished over time. After I documented the changes in the role-plays, I examined Mai's consultations at the pharmacy to see whether these changes were reflected in how she designed turns to perform the same actions.

Analysis

In the excerpts presented here, RP indicates a role-play, in which Ph/S refers to Mai in the pharmacist/student role and SP to the actor acting as a standardized patient. CL indicates an actual consultation at the clerkship site, in which Ph refers to Mai in the pharmacy intern role and Pt to the patient or the patient's representative (e.g., a child patient's mother, a patient's spouse).

Drug Identification

Role-Played Consultations

Mai named the prescribed medicines *explicitly* in all of the role-plays. She used the canonical naming formulation, is called X in four of the seven times she identified the drug. Over time, however, Mai seemed to become *less elaborate* in these explicit formulations. Excerpts (7.1a, 7.1b, 7.1c, and 7.1d) span from the beginning to the end of the semester and illustrate how Mai designed her turns to identify the medicines to be counseled.

Ex. (7.1a) RP1

43 Ph/S: [great. >I wanna make sure we're not stressed<.
 44 → =it looks like you've got amoxicillin today as
 45 → your new prescription?
 46 SP: right.
 47 Ph/S: now. did the doctor tell you what this is for?
 48 (0.9)
 49 SP: tks. it's for an <infection>.
 50 Ph/S: okay,
 51 (.)
 52 Ph/S: alright, did he mention anything about (.)
 53 like- anything you should watch out for:
 54 like side effe:cts?
 55 (0.3) ((*Ph/S cranes neck forward toward SP*)
 56 SP: nn:. (.) no:.,
 57 *SP shakes head*
 58 Ph/S: nothing at all?
 59 SP: ↓m↑hm.
 60 → Ph/S: okay. well your prescription today is called
 61 → amoxicillin? it's uh um. (.) y' have thirty
 62 of 'em, you take one tablet three times-
 63 one- three times a day?

Ex. (7.1b) RP2

14 →Ph/S: for your first prescription that they wrote
 15 → today we'll go over is called cosopt?
 16 SP: mhm,

Ex. (7.1c) RP6

21 Ph/S: U:HM:. (0.5) okay, well first of all, u:m
 22 (1.5) ((*Ph/S twists bottle cap*)
 23 →Ph/S: this one is called <em ess statin> ((MS Statin)),
 24 uhm you've had this before.,

Ex. (7.1d) RP10

51 Ph/S: well? you got uhm: one new prescription
 52 and one refill.=
 53 SP: =right,
 54 →Ph/S: your first one is amoxicillin?

In the first role-play (ex. 7.1a), Mai identifies the medicine twice, once (l. 44–45) after the pre-consultation request of the patient's time (not included

in ex. 7.1a) and again (l. 60–61) after inquiries about the patient’s knowledge of the drug therapy purpose and side effects. In the second role-play, she only identifies the medicine once (l. 14–15) after the pre-consultation request for time (not included in ex. 7.1b). Noticeably, this identification includes an embedded clause (“that they wrote today we’ll go over”). In contrast, by the sixth role-play, Mai’s drug identification is simpler, delivered only once and without any embedded clause (“this one is called MS Statin,” l. 23). In the final role-play, consistent with this trend toward decreased elaborateness, Mai uses a shorter naming phrase, “this one is X” (l. 54). Also, in her sixth and tenth role-plays, Mai begins to use the indexical expressions “this one” and “your first one” to formulate the drug (l. 23, ex. 7.1c and l. 54, ex. 7.1d).

In short, while maintaining explicit drug identification in the role-plays, Mai showed a trajectory of change toward less elaborate formulations.

Consultations at the Pharmacy

At the pharmacy, an overall observation is that, compared to the role-plays, Mai reduced both *explicitness* and *elaborateness* in her drug identification (as part of the orientation to consultation). Regarding *explicitness*, she only named the medicines 19 times for the 27 new prescriptions involved (or 70%, compared to 100% in the role-plays), leaving eight cases where no name identification was produced. Excerpt (7.2a) is an example of a consultation in which Mai only uses pointing (l. 119) and the indexical phrase *this one* (l. 118) to identify the drug about which she is about to counsel the patient; the exact name of the drug is not mentioned. Line 118 is the first time the drug is mentioned in this excerpt, and advice giving starts in line 126.

Ex. (7.2a) CL2-04

118 →Ph: and with this one, since it’s new for you:, we’re gonna
 119 → Ph *points to bottle*
 120 provide you with some information,
 121 Ph *begins to open patient information sheet*
 122 (0.4) ((Ph looks at patient information sheet))
 123 Pt: oh boy.
 124 Ph: on the new medication?
 125 (0.3)
 126 Ph: but just to let you know the most prevalent side
 127 effect with that one is probably- (0.3) headache.

Within the pharmacy data corpus, however, Mai showed a change toward *more frequent* explicit drug identification compared to the classroom role plays. She did not provide explicit drug identification in two out of six cases (33%) in Week 2 and four out of nine cases (44%) in Week 4. In contrast, she produced explicit drug identification in all five cases (100%) in Week 6 and, and in the two cases when she did not provide explicit drug identification in Week 8 (out of seven cases, 29%), it was because in one consultation, the patient produced the drug name earlier and, in the other, the consultation proper started after a lengthy discussion about the drug, when its name was already mentioned several times.

Identifying the medicine explicitly by name is a crucial part of patient counseling as it serves to verify the medicine with the patient. In fact, in one consultation (ex. 7.2b), the absence of this explicit drug identification led to an interactional trouble. In this excerpt, Mai has just completed counseling the mother of a child on the child's medicine and is now moving on to the medicine for the mother herself.

Ex. (7.2b) CL4-05

22 →Ph: [and then with yours,
 23 Pt: mhm,
 24 →Ph: you've been takin' it before then?
 25 *Ph puts medicine into bag*
 26 →Pt: I think- what did they give me?
 27 [I just called and asked for something.
 28 Ph: [<augmentin,>
 29 Pt: sorry. what did they give me?
 30 *Ph takes bottle out of bag*
 31 Ph: they give you augmentin?
 32 *Ph holds bottle in hands*
 33 →Pt: yeah. I've had that before.

When Mai starts to counsel the mother (l. 22), she does not produce explicit drug identification but instead refers to the medicine as “yours” and initiates an inquiry about the patient's drug history (l. 24). The patient initiates a response (l. 26) but stops mid-track to insert an inquiry about the medicine's identification. That the patient's response about her drug history depends on the drug identification is evidenced by the fact

that she only returns to the response to Mai's inquiry in line 33 after the repair about the drug identification is complete (l. 29–32). Also, the patient's inserted inquiry sequence leads Mai to reverse the action of packing the medicine bottle into the bag (l. 30), which can be considered a "hiccup" in the progression of actions. Although this was the only recorded instance in which the lack of an explicit drug identification resulted in an interactional trouble, it may explain why over time, Mai became more consistent in including explicit drug identification. This change may have been triggered by experiences such as the one in excerpt (7.2b), that is, endogenously in workplace interaction rather than by external instruction (see also Nguyen 2012).²

With respect to *elaborateness*, overall, Mai tended to utilize short formulations of the type "this is X" to identify the drugs throughout the consultations at the pharmacy. She used the naming expressions "is called X" or "your medication today is X" only eight times for the 27 medicines involved (or 34%, compared to five out of seven or 71% in the role-plays). Excerpt (7.2c) exemplifies the elaborate drug identifications among the actual consultations and excerpt (7.2d) exemplifies the short formulations, both flow quite smoothly.

Ex. (7.2c) CL4-01

5 Ph: hi, I':m the pharmacy student that's why she's videotaping that,
 6 → =um .hhh the (0.3) prescription that you're getting
 7 Ph shows medicine pack to Pt and holds
 8 today is called methyl penicillin,
 9 =have you taken this in [the past at all?
 10 Pt: [no.
 11 (.)
 12 Ph: okay.

Ex. (7.2d) CL8-04

21 Ph: alright,
 22 Ph looks up at Pt and turns paper around to face Pt
 23 (.)
 24 →Ph: uhm. (.) this is celexa for you.
 25 Pt leans down to read label
 26 I can just need you t' sign right here.
 27 Ph marks line on form

Overall, there was no clear change toward more or less elaborateness throughout Mai's consultations *within the pharmacy corpus*. Both short and elaborate formulations were found alternatively over time, and there was no problematic instance due to the use of either type of formulation in the data.

Inquiries About Drug Allergies

Role-Played Consultations

In the role-plays, Mai referred to the patient's drug allergies twice, in the first and third role-plays. In these role-plays, her turn design changed from a solicitation for confirmation to a polar question. Also, her formulation changed from "allergies" to "drug allergies" (exx. 7.3a and 7.3b). These changes seemed to be toward more efficient turn design to elicit the needed information from the patient in fewer turns.

Ex. (7.3a) RP1

14 → Ph/S: okay, alright. now on our record we show
 15 → that you have no: (.) allergies.
 16 (.)
 17 → Ph/S: is that correct?=
 18 SP: =right.
 19 → Ph/S: any new allergies °at all°?
 20 (.)
 21 Ph/S: any food:,=anything that we should be aware of?
 22 (.)
 23 SP: nope,
 24 SP *shakes head*

In the first role-play (ex. 7.3a), Mai's inquiry takes a multi-turn format. Her inquiry is initially formulated as an AB-event statement (Labov and Fanshel 1977), that is, a statement involving knowledge shared by both the patient and the pharmacist ("our record we show that you have no allergies," l. 14–15). This statement also invokes the patient's superior epistemic access to his own medical record and thus renders Mai's

declarative statement a request for information (Heritage 2013). Although this type of statements is often responded to with minimal responses (Stubbs 1983; Heritage 2010), the patient does not respond immediately (l. 16). Mai's next attempt in eliciting a response from the patient comes in the form of an explicit request for confirmation as an increment (l. 17). With the patient's confirmation (l. 18), the sequence can now close. However, Mai furthers the inquiry by expanding the question to be about new allergies (l. 19) and even further to be about allergies against food and "anything that we should be aware of" (l. 21). The sequence finally closes after the patient gives a negative answer in lines 23–24. Thus, Mai's formulation of the inquiry seems to be interactionally problematic.

In contrast with this first role-play, when Mai produces in the third roleplay the inquiry about the patient's allergies (ex. 7.3b), the inquiry is formulated as a polar question in one turn, with no added increment and expanded questions. She also formulates her question right away as being specifically about drug allergies (l. 19–20) and not just allergies. After the patient's immediate answer (l. 21), Mai receipts the answer and the sequence closes.

Ex. (7.3b) RP3

19 Ph/S: A:H. ↑first ↓just to make sure that our information
 20 → is update, =do you have any new drug allergies?
 21 SP: no.
 22 SP *shakes head*
 23 Ph/S: °okay°.
 24 (0.2)

To summarize briefly, Mai shifted to designing her inquiry from a multi-turn format (with a declarative question followed by an increment and interrogative questions) to a single-turn format (with one interrogative question). She also employed a more specific formulation instead of a more general one that required further elaborations. This change in turn design seemed to enable a more economical accomplishment of the inquiry task (and made Mai's inquiry consistent with the training materials).

Consultations at the Pharmacy

A year later, at the clerkship site, Mai maintained the polar question format of her inquiry. Interestingly, however, she went through the exact same shift from the general formulation allergy to the more specific one, drug allergy (exx. 7.4a, 7.4b, and 7.4c). Unlike in the role-plays, where her shift in formulations may have been due to the influence of the instructor's feedback, at the pharmacy, her shift seemed to be triggered by troubles in the interaction itself.

Ex. (7.4a) CL2-03

11 → Ph: do you have any allergy at all.
 12 *Ph pushes on pen to get ready*
 13 (0.3)
 14 Pt: ye[:s.
 15 → Ph: [any drug allergy °at all°.
 16 *Ph holds pen ready in hand for writing*
 17 Pt: yes: I d[o,
 18 *Pt nods*
 19 → Ph: [°like you know, (.) drug allergy°?
 20 → Pt: uh: (.) what d'you m- you mean
 21 [<what do I take for: (.)
 22 Ph: [like any med-
 23 Pt: or [what- what happens to me:,
 24 Ph: [no::
 25 → Ph: .hhhh do you have any <drug allergy.>
 26 *Ph holds hand up, pinches index*
 27 *finger and thumb*
 28 [so in particular are you allergic to any DRUG,
 29 *Ph takes medicine out of bag*
 30 Pt: [.hh A:::H:: (.) I see.
 31 *Pt leans in, deep nod*
 32 Pt: uh: (.) claritin.
 33 Ph: ↑oh, °claritin. okay°.
 34 *Ph copies medicine name on notebook*
 35 (1.2) ((*Ph continues to write*))
 36 Ph: so. it- what- what happen when you take claritin.
 37 *Ph continues to write on notebook*

In excerpt (7.4a) (second week's data), Mai initially uses the formulation allergy (l. 11). However, the subsequent pause may indicate the patient's trouble in producing an immediate answer. Mai then repairs the inquiry to drug allergy (l. 15) in overlap with the patient's in-progress

affirmative answer (l. 14). In the data corpus, negative responses to the question about allergies take a preferred format and tend to terminate the inquiry sequence in a non-problematic fashion (see also Heritage and Sorjonen 1994; Stivers and Heritage 2001). When patients respond with an affirmative answer to this question, however, they typically go beyond the question and provide the name of the allergy (see also Stivers and Heritage 2001). The patient in this case, however, provides another affirmative response (l. 17) without elaborating on the nature of the allergy,³ and this may be why Mai reissues the inquiry (l. 19) slightly before the patient's turn reaches a transition relevant point. Mai's continued inquiry seems to indicate to the patient that her response in line 17 was problematic in some way, and the patient initiates another, initiated self-repair (l. 20–21, 23). Mai responds by self-repairing the question, emphasizing the trouble source with slowed speech (drug allergy, l. 28) and a reformulation (are you allergic to any drug, l. 28). The patient signals her achievement of a new state of understanding (l. 30) and proceeds to produce an answer (l. 31) that Mai acknowledges as satisfactory (l. 33). In short, Mai's formulation of the inquiry in this episode seems to lead to some interactional troubles.

In excerpt (7.4b) (fourth week's data) and excerpt (7.4c) (eighth week's data), Mai switches to the formulation “drug allergy” and the patient provides the response with no troubles, as no repair was evident. It is highly likely that Mai's modification of the turn design in these later consultations was triggered by the repairs in her second week (see also Nguyen 2012).

Ex. (7.4b) CL4-12

```

1 → Ph: a:nd? (0.7) ↓do you have any drug allergy.
2     Ph holds bottle up
3     (.) ((Pt shakes head))
4     Pt: no. °I don't°.
5     Ph: okay. I always check this because this (.)
6         penicillin a lot of people are (.)
7         allergic to it.
8     Pt: okay.
9         Pt nods
10    Ph: okay.
```

Ex. (7.4c) CL8-8

97 → Ph: tks. u:hm. (.) <do you: have any drug
 98 *Ph touches and glances at bottle in hand*
 99 allergy at all>,
 100 (.) ((*Pt nods*))
 101 Pt: penicillin, and uh [(.) <sulfa>,
 102 Ph: [penicillin?

The data thus suggest that while one change in turn design—polar question format—was carried over from the classroom to the actual workplace, another change that took place in the classroom—specific formulation drug allergy—did not persist at the workplace. However, in the face of interactional troubles, the learner underwent the same change again to accomplish the task effectively. In other words, re-introduction of previously emerged interactional practices was made possible by needs that arose in situ in interaction.

Advice Giving**Role-Played Consultations**

Mai's advice giving sometimes involved mentioning the patient's private body part, a delicate matter (Beach and LeBaron 2002). This section will concentrate on how Mai changed in her affiliation with the patient's perspective through shifts in turn-design practices. In Mai's first role-play, she designed her turn in several ways that treated the side effect of vaginal discharge as a delicate matter (ex. 7.5a, l. 87–89).

Ex. (7.5a) RP1

86 Ph/S: uh:m basically the side effects you should watch
 87 out for is (.) u:hm (0.2) <mild diarrhe:a, some nause:a>,
 88 *Ph/S marks beats with hand gesture*
 89 → and: (.) uhm y' know< <vaginal discharge>.
 90 *Ph/S grimaces slightly*
 91 *Ph/S marks beat with hand gesture (Fig. 7.1a, 7.1b)*
 92 (.) ((*SP nods*))

Mai's treatment of vaginal discharge as a delicate matter can be seen in the fact that she produces several perturbations before its mentioning,

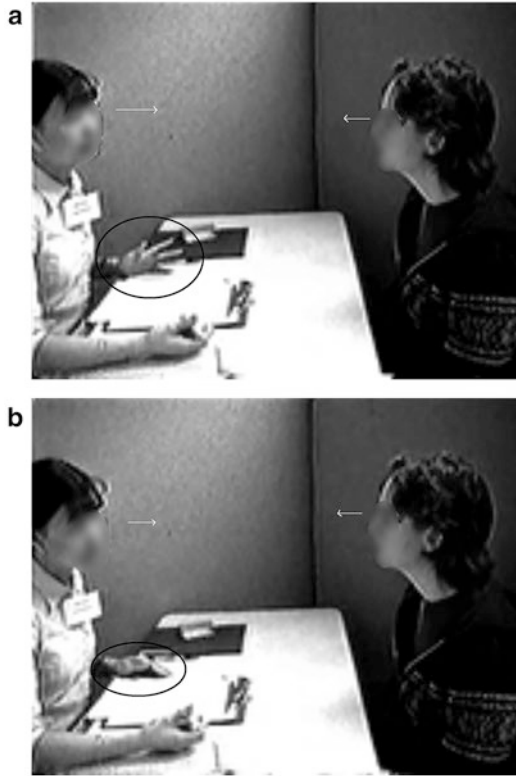


Fig. 7.1 (a) Ph/S marks beats with hand (RP1 at “y’know”). (b) Ph/S marks beats with hand (RP1 at “-charge”)

including sound stretches, pauses, quieter speech, and hesitations, and she mentions it as the last item on a three-item list (Jefferson 1991)—delay devices commonly found to precede delicate matters in ordinary conversations (Lerner 2013) and AIDS counseling sessions (Silverman and Peräkylä 1990). Mai’s slight grimace (l. 90) while mentioning the side effect also orients to it as a delicate matter.

In her last role-play (ex. 7.5b), Mai continues to mention vaginal discharge as the last item in a list (l. 96), thus indicating some orientation to it as a delicate matter. However, she does not produce any delay before its mentioning as in the first role-play, and does not produce a negative facial expression as in excerpt (7.5a), thus showing less orientation to it as a delicate matter.

Ex. (7.5b) RP10

93 Ph/S: w'll some adverse effects that you: should
94 expect from this one might be some <mild diarrhea:a>,
95 *Ph/S marks beat with hand gesture*
96 → some nausea, some vaginal discharge.
97 *Ph/S marks beat with gesture; Ph/S marks beat with gesture*
Fig. 7.2a, 7.2b)
98 (.)
99 Ph/S: okay?:
100 (.) ((SP shrugs slightly, palms outward))

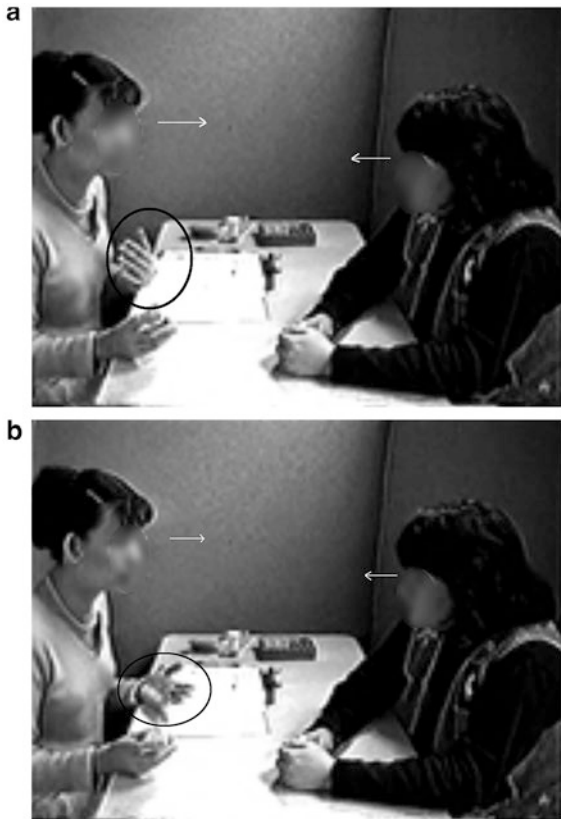


Fig. 7.2 (a) Ph/S marks beats with hand (RP10 at “vag-”). (b) Ph/S marks beats with hand (RP10 at “dis-”)

Consultations at the Pharmacy

Mai was found one year later at the clerkship counseling a patient on the same antibiotic and mentioning the same side effect (ex. 7.6).

Ex. (7.6) CL2-03

82 Ph: .hhh and then for um women in particular,
 83 *Pt turns one ear towards Ph*
 84 the (.) most prevalent side effect with this medicine is
 85 that you may experience some ((creaky voice)) ↓<diarrhea>.
 86 (.)
 87 Pt: okay, okay,
 88 *Pt nods twice, turns head back to straight*
 89 Ph: okay?
 90 (.)
 91 Ph: uh (.) the other: thing is-
 92 the other side effect for women is that
 93 *Pt turns one ear towards Ph*
 94 *Ph grimaces slightly*
 95 they tend to have maybe a little
 96 → ((whispery voice)) <°vaginal discharge°>?
 97 *Ph makes hand gesture to indicate small quantity,*
 98 *rotates hand 4 times with beats in speech (Fig. 7.3a, 7.3b)*
 99 Pt: okay,
 100 *Pt nods*

In this consultation, Mai also mentions vaginal discharge after mentioning another side effect, diarrhea (l. 82–85). However, rather than presenting “vaginal discharge” as part of a list with the other side effects, she marks it as a separate sequence beginning with the preface “the other thing is-the other side effect for women is” (l. 91–92). Thus, there is arguably more delay in the mentioning of vaginal discharge as a side effect. Further, Mai produces several delays in the form of hesitation, pause, lengthening, and self-repair (l. 91, 93). She also heralds the delicate item with a slight grimace (l. 94) and downplays it with hedges (“maybe” and “a little,” l. 95). Finally, she produces the delicate item with a softer, whispery voice. These are features that typically accompany delicate matters in conversations (Lerner 2013).

An important difference in Mai’s turn design between the actual consultation and those in the role-plays is how she utilizes embodiment when she formulates the side effect. In the role-plays, when Mai mentions the delicate side effect, she uses hand gestures (with the palm opened or concealed) in the lower space between her and the patient to mark the speech beats (Figs. 7.1a, b and 7.2a, b). These ‘baton signals’ simply “mark the

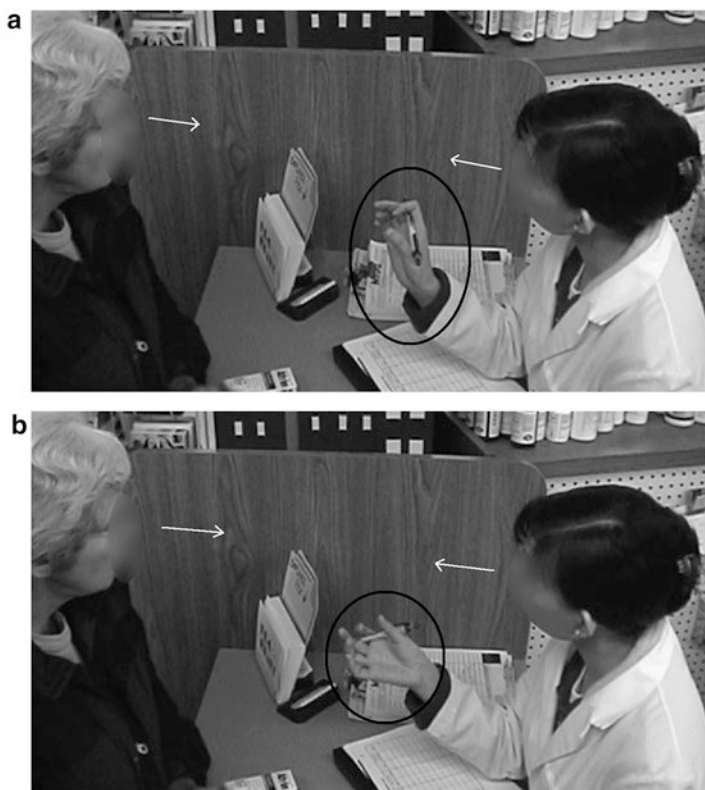


Fig. 7.3 (a) Ph indicates small quantity with hand (CL2-3 at “vag-”). (b) Ph indicates small quantity with hand (CL2-3 at “-charge”)

points of emphasis” (Morris 2002, p. 78) and do not convey the specific meaning of the words in the utterance. In the consultation at the pharmacy, Mai holds up her hand in the middle of the visual field between her and the patient and produces a referential hand gesture (Kendon 2004, pp. 176–177) to indicate a small quantity (forming a small circle with the index finger and the thumb), thus plausibly focusing on and softening the severity of the side effect (Figs. 7.3a, b).

Thus, while Mai changed to formulate the side effect of vaginal discharge as less of a delicate matter in the role-plays, this change was not maintained and in fact was reversed in the clerkship consultation. Unfortunately, the clerkship data contain only one instance of Mai’s

advice about this particular side effect, thus preventing an observation of her change over time in this regard within the pharmacy data corpus. However, there is another instance in the data in which Mai gives advice on a vaginal cream's side effects (ex. 7.7), which illustrates Mai's higher level of sensitivity toward the patient's perspectives throughout the actual consultations compared to the role-plays.

Ex. (7.7) CL6-02

94 Ph: tks. .hhhh in terms of the side effects,
 95 *Ph reopens the patient insert*
 96 I guess, I will add this one in there. (0.2)
 97 this is probably the only area you need
 98 → *Ph marks margin of text with pen*
 99 to be concern about is uhm (0.3) you know jst-
 100 just to kinda watch for these uh (.) changes,
 101→ *Ph points to marked text*
 102 Pt: alright,

In line 94, Mai initiates advice about the side effects, simultaneously making the patient insert available (l. 95). She formulates the side effects verbally as “these uh changes” (l. 100) and textually by making nonverbal reference to the printed text (l. 98, 101). By employing indexical and multimodal practices, Mai manages to refer to the side effects implicitly, perhaps similarly to how participants in ordinary conversations orient to a delicate matter (Lerner, 2013).

Since the integration of transactional and interpersonal aspects has been noted to be essential in the effectiveness of institutional agents' talk (Candlin and Maley 1994; Atkinson 1995; Linell 1998; Sarangi 1998; Beach and LeBaron 2002), Mai's change within the role-plays was a movement away from this task effectiveness while her performance in the actual consultations at the pharmacy seemed to indicate more effective accomplishment of the counseling task.

Discussion

Clearly, the landscape of Mai's interactional competence shifted in several directions from the role-plays to the actual consultations. While it is possible that some of the differences between the two settings were due

to contextual factors such as the standardized patients'/patients' conversational styles and personalities, the medicines, the time of day, and so on, what we observed were Mai's interactional competence *in action* in dealing with *similar tasks*. It is therefore plausible that the differences in Mai's performance over time indicate changes in her interactional competence. It is also possible to speculate on what may have triggered these changes. It seems that changes that led to *more efficient and effective accomplishment of the counseling tasks* were carried over to the workplace. These included the changes to use polar question format in allergy inquiries and less elaborate drug identification. In contrast, changes that simply *conformed to the trained protocol* or the *constraints of the role-plays* were discontinued at the workplace. What this study further reveals is that some practices in the role-plays were re-introduced or reversed later in the actual patient consultations, possibly to respond to the needs in actual patient counseling at the pharmacy. Thus, for instance, explicit drug identification was required by the school instructions and was performed 100% of the time in the role-plays, but this consistency was first dropped at the pharmacy to a lower frequency, then increased again, perhaps in the face of interactional troubles when explicit drug identification was absent. Similarly, the switch from "allergy" to "drug allergy" formulations was consistent with the training requirements, but initially it was not retained at the pharmacy and was re-introduced after some interactional troubles that necessitated repairs and adjustments to interactional practices. Finally, the change to orient less to the side effect of vaginal discharge as a delicate matter in the role-plays could be due to some aspects of the role-plays' set-up, including the facts that (a) talking about a standardized patient's private body part might not have been as personal and intrusive as if it had been for a real patient, (b) the side effect would not bear any real-world consequence to the standardized patient, and (c) orienting to delicate matters in interaction was not specifically evaluated.⁴ At the pharmacy, the side effect involved the patient's own private body part, which could be intrusive, and it could potentially bear real consequences to the patient. Further, sharing patients' perspectives was a part of rapport building, an important part of the culture of the institution as a residential community pharmacy. Thus, the shifting levels of recipient-design in the learner's turns regarding the delicate side effect could perhaps be explained by what is at stake in the role-plays

versus in actual patient consultations (see also Félix-Brasdefer 2007; Stokoe 2013).

Methodologically, this study also highlights some advantages and challenges in longitudinal CA for the investigation of competence development. On the one hand, CA's microanalytic lens and data-driven approach enable concrete observations of how the learner managed interactional practices differently to achieve the same action over time. Instead of having to infer internal cognitive development (such as through tests or self-reports), researchers using CA can locate evidence of development *in interaction* as the learner engages with tasks "on the shop floor." As Garfinkel (2002) put it, "constituents of the Shop Floor Problem cannot be learned or taught by imagining them. They are not imaginable. They can only be empirically found out" (p. 111). The strength of longitudinal CA is that it explicates the processes involved when novices empirically find out and resolve shop-floor problems to get work done. On the other hand, longitudinal CA also faces some challenges (see Pekarek Doehler 2010; Hall and Pekarek Doehler 2011; Nguyen 2017). A major challenge that the analysis above encountered is the balance between striving for a large data set and maintaining similarities across cases for comparison in order to observe changes over time. This is a tricky issue because naturally occurring data contain inherent contingencies and variations and yet the analytical focuses often emerge a posteriori in a bottom-up and data-driven manner. In this chapter, I have attempted to maintain similarities by limiting the data to the same actions. However, doing so, and especially doing so across two settings, resulted in a limited number of cases for comparison, sometimes with only two instances in a sub-set (e.g., exx. 7.3a and 7.3b) and sometimes with only one instance in a sub-set (e.g., ex. 7.6), thus weakening the opportunity to observe developmental changes. At the same time, increasing the data size may also pose challenges for fine-grained analysis, which requires the analyst to maintain intimate familiarity with the data. To address these issues, researchers embarking on longitudinal CA projects could select data that contain natural similarities across instances to facilitate cross-case comparisons. Researchers could also aim for a data pool larger than what the analysis is anticipated to need. Investigating competence development "in the midst of things" (Garfinkel 2002) seems to require a guiding compass and an open mind to explore unmapped terrains.

Notes

1. An increase in interactional practices may not always correspond with higher success in achieving the target action. For example, Karrebaek (2010) showed that despite more competent employment of interactional practices for gaining participation in group activities, a child's attempts to join these activities were blocked by some group members.
2. Another possible explanation may be that Mai became more acquainted with the counseling tasks and regained the capacity to attend to the interactional details taught in the communication course. Even if that was the case, instances such as excerpt (2b) would still inform her right "in the midst of things" on the "shop floor" (Garfinkel 2002) of what might happen when she bypassed the drug identification action.
3. The patient's recycling of her affirmative answer may also be due to the overlap in lines 14–15.
4. Although empathy with patients was emphasized in the training course, students were trained to use explicit phrases to express empathy (e.g., Rantucci 1997) rather than to use interactional practices such as those used to orient to certain matters as delicate.

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8

Conversation Analysis and Psychotherapeutic Change

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Introduction

Psychotherapy, even in its short-term forms, is a longitudinal process, involving several recurrent meetings between the therapist and the client or clients. The participants orient themselves to this continuous nature of therapy. Unlike much ordinary conversation, and many forms of institutional interaction, in psychotherapy the topics do not need to be closed or resolved during single encounters. In most cases, the discussion on any given topic can be taken up at a later point in time.

Psychotherapy is geared to facilitate change. The recurrent encounters between therapists and clients aim at improving the clients' psychological functioning and health. In general terms, starting from the classical psychoanalytical tradition, and continuing to the current integrative models, a common aim in many types of psychotherapy is to increase the clients'

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contact with their problematic emotional experiences and parts of the self, and increase their self-reflexive abilities (Fonagy et al. 2002; Norcross and Goldfried 2005). One well-known method to describe this kind of psychotherapeutic change, applicable to any type of psychotherapy, is the assimilation model of a problematic experience (Stiles et al. 1990; Stiles 2002). In this model, a therapeutic change is documented using transcripts of a series of therapy sessions. Investigation of client's talk on a particular topic seeks to explicate a process in which previously avoided experience becomes integrated to the client's self. The aim of this chapter is to discuss ways in which conversation analysis (CA) can be applied to address such emerging change process. Unlike assimilation model, our CA-based depiction of change is sensitive to the sequential contexts of the talk about problematic experiences.

Following the lead of researchers of learning in interaction (e.g. Martin 2004; Mondada and Pekarek Doehler 2004; Melander and Sahlström 2009), CA of psychotherapy has begun to track longitudinal processes in psychotherapy (Peräkylä 2011, 2012; Voutilainen et al. 2011; Bercelli et al. 2013; Muntigl 2013). In the current chapter, based on the authors' empirical CA work on cognitive therapy, systemic therapy and psychoanalysis, we will discuss how the participants of a psychotherapy orient to the longitudinal nature of their interaction, and how the emergence of change can be documented from the unfolding of the interaction itself. In particular, the aim of the chapter is to discuss relations between *development of a theme* and *sequential context* over time.

The authors' earlier research is based on large data corpuses of cognitive therapy, systemic therapy and psychoanalysis in Finland and Italy (Voutilainen et al. 2011; Bercelli et al. 2013; Peräkylä 2011, 2012). In this chapter, we will discuss three individual therapies, one from each therapy type. The data from cognitive therapy consist of audio recordings of 57 weekly sessions from the beginning phase of a therapy until the last session of this therapy, from systemic therapy 14 consecutive sessions from the beginning phase of the therapy, and from psychoanalysis 20 subsequent sessions from the middle phase of a therapy.

We will focus on a central theme of discussion in each therapy and illustrate the development of three themes: (1) client's negative feelings towards her mother, (2) client's dominant behaviour towards her husband and (3) client's disappointment at his father. These themes were selected because they were, to our interpretation of the members' orientations, important in the particular therapies. Each theme manifested itself in a prominent way in the dialogue between the client and the therapist, and was connected to what seemed to be central in the client's problematic experiences. In Schegloff's (2007) terms, they were thematic threads that run across sequences and encounters.

Our analysis will link the development of these themes to particular two-part sequences. Our point of departure is a concrete sequence in each therapy where central content regarding the theme is articulated in a prominent and explicit way. The first turn in these two-part sequences is the therapist's intervention, which clearly explicates this central content, and invites the client to reflect on it. We call the sequences at hand 'focal sequences'. As conversational actions, the therapist's first turns are versions of the type of intervention that Bercelli et al. (2008) have called 'reinterpretations' (cf. 'interpretations' in Vehviläinen 2003; Peräkylä 2004). Compared to another prevalent psychotherapeutic intervention—formulation—that suggests a meaning of what the client has said in the prior turn or turns, (re)interpretations do more: They convey the therapist's own view about the patient's mind or circumstances (Peräkylä 2005; Bercelli et al. 2008). These types of interventions make a strong relevance for a response that elaborates the content that was offered by the therapist (Peräkylä 2005; Bercelli et al. 2008).

We will discuss the relation between themes and sequences in three ways. First, we will show a longitudinal change in the ways in which a theme is addressed in a recurrent sequence type. Second, we will show how the content that is explicated in the reinterpretation is present in other kinds of sequences in earlier sessions. Third, we will consider the further development and sequential context of a theme in sessions that follow a (re)interpretation. Altogether, our aim is to show how the microscopic analysis of sequences and the more macroscopic analysis of themes complement each other in research on therapeutic change.

Change in a Focal Sequence

The focal sequence we will discuss in this section reoccurred in the (cognitive) therapy in question. In these sequences, the therapist directly suggested to the client a more explicit expression of negative feelings towards her mother, instead of self-blame. These interventions do not recur in exactly similar form, but in a broad sense their content is the same ('the original object of anger is the mother, not the client's self') and they can be seen to represent sequentially a similar type of action: They present the therapist's view, based on what the client has said, and they invite an elaborated response.

During the therapy, the client's responses to the therapist's focal interventions were recast: from rejection through ambivalence to agreement (Voutilainen et al. 2011). The first excerpt shows how the client (C) clearly resists the therapist's suggestion in the early phase of the therapy. Prior to the excerpt, the client expressed indirectly, through a story, negative feelings towards her mother. In the focal intervention in the beginning of the excerpt, the therapist (T) explicates these feelings.

Ex. (8.1)

01 T: No ei oo ihme et sust tuntuu et (.) hylätyltä

It's no wonder that you feel (.) rejected

02 ja .hhhh (1.3) °semmoselta et kukaan ei vä^{oo}litä^{oo}.

and .hhhh (1.3) °like no one ca^{oo}res^{oo}.

03 (4.0)

04 ?: .hff

05 (2.3)

06 T: Kyllä tost ↑varmaan semmone tunne tule^{ki} että^o.

I ↑guess that does make one feel li^{ke} that^o.

07 (12.0)

- 08 C: .hfhhhh kryhh-kryhmm hmhhhhhhh >Sit ku mä oon
 .hfhhhh kryhh-kryhmm hmhhhhhhh >Then it's that I
- 09 aina sitä niinku< (0.3) >m-'t jos mä #Villelle
 #have always like< (0.3) >b't if I speak #to Ville#
- 10 noista puhun et se rupee sitä sitte .hh (0.4)
 about those then he starts to .hh (0.4)
- 11 sättimää n tai haukkumaan tai (1.5) puhumaan
 rail her or berate or (1.5) say bad things about
- 12 siitä paha mää sit hirvees ti puolustelen sitä
 her and then I death ly defend her and
- 13 ja .hfff (.) et ei siitä niinku (0.5) khu-
 .hfff (.) so that no one is like (0.5) allowed
- 14 kukaan saa sanoo mitään paha
 to say anything bad about her

In her statement 'It's no wonder that you feel rejected and like no one cares' (l. 1–2) and further in the expansion of that statement 'I guess that does make one feel like that' (l. 6), the therapist describes the client's mental state in affective terms that explicate negative feelings that the client expressed indirectly through a story. The turn design foregrounds the therapist's own voice, or a voice of 'anyone's reasoning' through the prefaces 'it's no wonder that' and 'I guess that'. In this way, the therapist offers this content as a suggestion to the client to elaborate on, preferably to agree with. However, the client resists this. She does not respond to it in any way during 12 seconds of silence. After the silence, the client starts to describe how she reacts defensively when her spouse talks negatively about the client's mother. By giving this account, in the sequential context after the therapist's suggestion, the client not only resists the therapist's reinterpretation but also backs off from the negative emotion that she indirectly expressed through her earlier storytelling. It should be noted that the client does not resist the therapeutic agenda as such, as she

continues with a reflection of her reactions towards the content of the therapist's turn.

The following excerpt shows another instance of this sequence type, some months later. In the reinterpretation, the therapist draws attention to the client's negative emotions towards mother (and here also to father) and questions the client's image of herself as faulty. Due to space limitations, we show only the latter part of the intervention. Prior to the excerpt, the participants have talked about the client's lack of security in her childhood. The therapist has again drawn attention to the conduct of the client's mother, and started to challenge the client's self-blame just prior to the excerpt.

Ex. (8.2)

01 T: Että onks se alun perin ollu sinussa se vika tai.=

So has it been your fault originally or.=

02 C: =>Nii että toisin sanoen että olen< (.) olen

=>So that in other words that I am< (.) I am

03 pettynyt vanhempiini niin niinku.

am disappointed at my parents so like that.

04 (0.4)

05 T: ↓Nii.=

↓Yeah.=

06 C: =Nii.

=Yeah.

07 (0.5)

08 T: Ne on ollu semmosii ku ↑ne ↑on ↑ollu.=

They have been what ↑they ↑have ↑been.=

09 C: =Nii.

=Yeah.

- 10 (1.4)
- 11 T: Mutta sä oot alkanu luulee et
But you have started to think that you are
- 12 sus on joku vika.
somewhat faulty.
- 13 (2.0)
- 14 C: N-nii.
 Y-yeah.
- 15 (5.8)
- 16 C: Mmm mutta ku en edelleenkään haluu enkä jotenki
Mmm but as the problem is that I still don't want to and
- 17 pysty (1.0) pysty syyttämään (1.2)
to and somehow I'm not able to (1.0) able to accuse (1.2)
- 18 tai olemaan pettyny niinku vanhempiin (.) no
or to be disappointed with my parents (.) well
- 19 isään kyllä mutta tota en äit^oiin^o.
with father yes but erm not with mot^oher^o.
- 20 (9.2)
- 21 C: ↑En [mä tiiä.
 ↑I [dont know.

In line 2 the client responds to the therapist's suggestion by formulating her understanding of what the therapist's previous talk means, that the client is disappointed at her parents. This refers to what the therapist had suggested some minutes earlier: The client might try to consciously convert her thinking in the case of self-blame in relation to a person to thinking that she is disappointed at that very person. The client displays that she formulates the therapist's understanding (not necessarily her own) as she prefaces her turn with 'You mean/So in other words' (*Nii että*

toisin sanoen, in the original data). This can be heard as an ironic repair initiation, referring to the earlier suggestion. Despite this, by showing that she understands what the therapist means (l. 2–3) and by then accepting her reasoning (l. 6), the client, unlike in the previous excerpt, shows alignment with the therapist's first turn. Thus, the client's resistance towards the content that the therapist suggests is less straightforward than earlier. In lines 8 and 11–12, the therapist explicates the reinterpretation that she has been suggesting. The therapist points out that the client's parents 'have been what they have been' (l. 8), which is confirmed by the client (l. 9). The therapist's next turn, in which she suggests that the client has started to think that she is somehow faulty (l. 11–12), gets a delayed and disfluent (albeit agreeing) response (l. 14). In lines 16–19, the client eventually backs off from the reinterpretation.

This excerpt is a typical example of the client's response to these kinds of reinterpretations during the therapy: The client first agrees with the therapist but then withdraws. Importantly, the client does not resist the sequential implication of the reinterpretation as such, but gives an elaborated response. She also displays understanding of the direction to which the therapeutic work should go by stating 'I still don't want to' and 'I'm not able' (l. 16–17), and expressing ambivalence 'I don't know' (l. 21).

The next excerpt shows an instance towards the end phase of the therapy with a further change in the client's response. The therapist again points out that the client's mother's behaviour is not something that the client should blame herself for. The client now displays extended agreement with the conclusion. Due to space limitations, the excerpt shows only the end of the therapist's longer reinterpretation and the beginning of the client's longer response.

Ex. (8.3)

01 T: =Jos hän sattuu olee semmonen ihminen.

=If she happens to be that kind of person.

02 (.)

03 C: Nii:.

Yeah:.

04 (0.6)

- 05 C: Niinhän se on hheh heh (.) .hhhhh *niinhän se*
That's the way it is indeed heh (.) .hhhhh
- 06 onf=EIKU en mä koskaan niinku (.)
fthat's the way it isf I MEAN I have never (.)
- 07 en mä voi .hhhhh #e:# (.) m-m ku en mä(.)
I can't .hhhh #e:# (.) m-m as I don't (.)
- 08 niinku ymmärrä että m- (.) #mmmm# et jos mä
understand wh-(.) #mmmm# if I tried to
- 09 lähtisin niinku itestäni ettimään (.) jotakin
find something from myself (.) like I don't know
- 10 kun en mä niinku tiedä mitä se voisi olla .hh[hhh
what that would be .hhh[hh As I nevertheless
- 11 T: [Mmmm.
- 12 C: et ku kuitenkin niinku näkee ittesä ihan (0.9)
see myself as a quite (0.9) quite decent
- 13 ihan hyvänä tyttärenä siis
daughter like

The client starts to confirm the therapist's reinterpretation already when the therapist's turn is in progress (not shown in the excerpt) and then in line 3, and subsequently in line 5, displays strong agreement through the repeated phrase 'that's the way it is'. Thereafter the client points out that her own observations support this: She cannot find the fault in herself (l. 7–10). After what is shown in the excerpt, the client goes on to display further evidence that support the therapist's suggestion. Now, unlike in the earlier rounds, the client treats this case as closed and unproblematic: She can agree with the suggestion, based on her independent reasoning.

The three excerpts above illustrate how a longitudinal change in psychotherapy can be documented from a recurring type of sequence. In this

case, the long-term change shows in the client's responses, as her responses to the therapist's reinterpretation evolve. By looking at the client's talk in a similar sequential context over time (in responses to reinterpretations), it was possible to see a robust change, although in other sequential contexts the ways in which the client related to this topic varied (Voutilainen et al. 2011).

In the next sections we will look at how a particular theme becomes discussed in other kinds of sequential contexts before and after the point in time when the focal reinterpretation is delivered.

Sequences Leading to a Focal Intervention

What we call a 'focal sequence' is not the first context in which the topic of the focal intervention is introduced. In this section, we will show that before the therapist explicates the content in the reinterpretation, the theme is discussed in other types of sequences. Often focal sequences are the result of a long work of questioning, highlighting similarities across situations and connecting threads, rather than a therapist's immediate response to something occurring in that session. As such, opportunities to unpack a reinterpretation can be passed on to later sessions so that separate threads can be tied up and a reinterpretation unfolds more effectively.

To gather information, therapists can start multiple *enquiry sequences* (Bercelli et al. 2008, 2013), via open-ended questions or other actions eliciting clients' extended (multi-unit) tellings about their own events and experiences. Enquiry sequences can be followed by the therapist's reinterpretations. However, therapists can start different lines of enquiry one after the other without having to provide any reinterpretation. Nonetheless, at some point of the therapy, the therapist usually provides a reinterpretation. Accordingly, courses of action concerning different topics can emerge and develop somehow 'in parallel' throughout the therapy: One can start a new topic while a previously started one is far from complete. In what follows we show data from a systemic therapy in which a therapist prepares the material for his reinterpretation across multiple sessions.

- 07 T: è lei↓=
it's her↓=
- 08 C: =certo=
=definitely=
- 09 T: =e lui è visto un po' come quello che (.) hh=
=and he comes across slightly like the one who (.) hh=
- 10 C: =accondiscende in tutto::=
=always lets her have her own way::=
- 11 T: =come se dice sempre di sì
=as though he always says yes
- 12 T: quindi buono anche tre volte ([])
so he's good even three times over ([])
- 13 C: [sì
[yes

In excerpt (8.4), the therapist characterizes the client's sister-in-law as acting 'dominant' over her husband (l. 4–7), who is instead depicted as 'good even three times over' (l. 12). The therapist does so through a series of formulations (l. 4–5, 9, 11–12) in which he explicitly says that the fact that her brother comes across as too nice and in a sense weak is the result of his wife acting so dominant towards him.

This point, discussed in the fourth session, is resumed in the seventh one, as shown in excerpt (8.5). At lines 1–3 the client is talking about her husband. At lines 4–10 the therapist resumes the point discussed three sessions earlier (about her brother being good 'three times over'). Through this resumption he starts a new enquiry sequence that prepares the reinterpretation including 'so dominant' (ex. 8.6).

Ex. (8.5)

- 01 C: perché Giulio è quello che non-
because Giulio ((client's husband)) is the one who never-
- 02 non dice mai di no, (0.5) è buono (0.3) però poi magari
ever says no, (0.5) he's a goo

- 03 non: (.) non ottempera ai=
he doesn't (.) doesn't come up with the=
- 04 T: =per quante volte?
=how much? ((literally from the Italian: how many times?))
- 05 (0.4)
- 06 C: che cosa?
what?
- 07 T: °quante volte è buono°
°how good is he° ((literally: how many times is he good))
- 08 (2.0)
- 09 T: suo fratello ha detto che è tre volte buono no? (.)
your brother you said he's good three times over right? (.)
- 10 con sua moglie
with his wife
- 11 (1.0)
- 12 C: m: (.) mio marito molto di più secondo me.
m: (.) my husband much more I think.
 ((two turns omitted))
- 19 T: nel rapporto con suo marito (.) lei sente (0.3)
in your relationship with your husband (.) you reckon (0.3)
- 20 di avere un ruolo ancora più (.) diciamo- forte (.) dominante
you're in an even (.) let's say- stronger (.) more dominant
- 21 di quello che ha sua cognata con suo fratello °maggiore°?
position than your sister-in-law is with your °big° brother?
- 22 (2.0)
- 23 C: £hm in maniera diversa::£ però sì, e questa cosa:=
£hm but differently::£ yes, and this:=
- 24 T: =una volta li ha anche confusi, se lo ricorda no?
=you once got them mixed up too, you remember don't you?

At line 2 the client says that her husband is ‘a good person’, using the same term (‘good’) she had used for her brother three sessions earlier. The therapist interrupts the client by asking ‘how much?’ that can be heard as referring both to the term ‘good’ used by the client and to the therapist’s formulation (‘good even three times over’) he had used three sessions earlier. The client initially doesn’t seem to understand (see the repair initiation at l. 6) until she answers, at line 12, that her husband is even ‘much more’ (good) than her brother. By resuming past talk the therapist here opens a further line of enquiry by asking the client to provide her views on her own marital relationship, now *compared* to her brother’s one. At lines 19–21 the therapist then formulates the client’s answer in terms of marital relationships and dominance, as he had done three sessions earlier while talking about the client’s brother: the therapist proposes that the client is even more dominant over her own husband than her sister-in-law is over her brother.

The term *dominant* is used again in the reinterpretation that constitutes the focal sequence here. It occurs one minute after excerpt (8.5). Given the temporal proximity, ‘so dominant’ (ex. 8.6, l. 4) is hearable as both resuming the formulation produced in excerpt (8.5) and being grounded in it. It does so by mirroring the previous ‘even (...) more dominant’ (ex. 8.5, l. 20).

Ex. (8.6)

01 T: avevo pensato che fosse anche una- (0.3) hh così (.) una cosa
 I was thinking it was also a- (0.3) hh like (.) **something that**
 02 che mi era venuta in mente (0.5) hh proprio (0.4) rivedendo un
 occurred to me (0.5) hh precisely (0.4) as I was reconsidering
 03 po’ insomma questo rapporto dove a volte l’essere (0.8) hh (.)
 somewhat this relationship in which at times being (0.8) hh (.)
 04 così dominante rischiava di- (0.3) di diventare uguale alla
 so dominant you were in danger of- (0.3) **turning out like your**
 05 suocera (.) si rischia in qual[che modo (.) no?
 mother-in-law (.) it’s so[mething of a danger (.) right?

06 C: [hm:
[hm:

07 (0.7)

08 C: sì anche perché hm: hm: io sto rivedendo molto me stessa
yes also because hm: hm: I am reconsidering myself a lot

09 nelle mie relazioni (.) prima di tutto con mio marito
(continua)
in my relationships (.) foremost with my husband ((continues))

We have thus reconstructed one thread leading from a series of enquiry sequences, across two different sessions, to the target element of the focal sequence: *so dominant*.

Second Thread

The second thread starts also in the fourth session, precisely when the client answers a therapist's question concerning her father's views about his children. This enquiry sequence follows one regarding her mother's views on the same subject, and the two sequences are manifestly connected one to the other as related items in the therapist's enquiring agenda. While telling a story relevant to the therapist's question, the client produces a slip of the tongue, shown in excerpt (8.7).

Ex. (8.7)

01 C: qualche giorno fa che ero a Cuneo, è venuto fuori- mio
a few days ago I was in Cuneo, it came out- my

02 padre (.) fha fatto delle battute, (.) e- ed eravamo tutti e
tre
father (.) fhe was wisecracking, (.) and- and the three of us

03 i fratelli: a cena, (.) hhh senza la moglie di mio
were there: the children: for dinner, (.) hhh without my
husband's

- 04 marito, perché era: in vacanza, quindi lui era a casa:=
wife, who was: on holiday, so he was at home
- 05 T: =la moglie di suo marito
=your husband's wife
- 06 (0.2)
- 07 C: eh sì oh mio dio di mi(h)o fra(h)t(H)e[lllo
uh yeah oh heavens I mean m(h)y br(h)oth(H) [er's
- 08 T: [hm
[hm
- 09 T: °di suo fratello°
°your brother's wife°
- 10 C: .hh (0.5) sto laps(h)us- vabb(h)e'
.hh (0.5) this sl(h)ip of the tongue we(h)ll anyway
- 11 .hh e:: di mio fratello, era in vacanza, (0.8)
.hh an::d my brother's wife, she was on holiday, (0.8)
- 12 ((continua))
((continues))

The slip of the tongue occurs at lines 3–4 ('my husband's wife'); at line 5 the therapist mentions it and at line 7 the client repairs it. The therapist produces no comment nor enquires any further after the client's repair.

Three sessions later, in the seventh session, the therapist recalls this slip of the tongue and asks a question about it, as shown in excerpt (8.8) (which is the continuation of ex. 8.5). At lines 28–29 the therapist asks the client to interpret that slip of the tongue. At line 34 the client begins answering the question. This enquiry sequence leads directly to the focal sequence targeted by our analysis.

Ex. (8.8)

- 24 T: una volta li ha anche confusi, se lo ricorda no?
you once got them mixed up too, you remember don't you?
- 25 C: hh sì=
hh yes=
- 26 T: =ecco.
=right.
- 27 (1.8)
- 28 T: e io mi sono domandato che cosa voleva dire, lei se-
and I was wondering what you meant, and did- did you
- 29 anche se l'è domandato che- [che cosa- secondo lei
also wonder what- [what- according to you
- 30 C: [sì
[yes
- 31 T: che cosa voleva dire? (.) perché li ha confusi?
what did you really mean? (.) why did you mix them up
- 32 C: mio fratello e mio marito?
my brother and my husband?
- 33 (2.5)
- 34 C: probabilmente (0.4) di fronte a questa cosa:: (2.5) proprio
probably (0.4) he::re (2.5) precisely
- 35 perché:: (1.8) lo considero talmente buono che forse: sono io
because:: (1.8) I think he's so good that perhaps: it's been me
- 36 che ho gestito: (0.5) il rapporto, ho guidato:=
who's been managin:g (0.5) the relationship, I led:=
- 37 T: =ecco perché io ho pensato- anche perché mi ha detto la volta
=that's why I thought- also because you said to me
 ((part of the therapist's turn omitted))

At line 24 the therapist recalls client's slip of the tongue, and then at lines 28–31 asks her to account for it. The client answers and offers her explanation (l. 34–36). Immediately after it, at line 37, the therapist starts a reinterpetative comment that is explicitly grounded in what the client has just said. This is the beginning of the reinterpetation containing *so dominant* (ex. 8.6). The link between the client's explanation and the therapist's reinterpetation is rather transparent: If the client has directed her marital affairs (l. 35–36), then it can be inferred that she is *so dominant* towards her husband. This is then another line of enquiry leading to *so dominant*, again across the fourth and seventh sessions.

In attempting to build a unitary course of action and connecting different conversational threads, the therapist is faced with the problem of making the client see that these different conversational blocks are tied to one another. Moreover, the client's recollection of the previous threads becomes key for connecting the threads. According to Sacks (1992), a speaker can tie an utterance to previous talk through various tying techniques. In the systemic data, participants resume past talk in two main ways: through a *dedicated pre-sequence* and/or in an *embedded* way.

In excerpt (8.8), at line 24 'you once got them mixed up too' explicitly refers to something that was said in a past occasion (the client's slip of the tongue which occurred three sessions earlier). Moreover, the therapist asks the client whether she remembers it.

Past talk can also be resumed in an embedded manner, by repeating parts of the talk to be resumed, rather than through a dedicated sequence. Note that repeating here is not merely telling previously told words and phrases, which could occur 'by coincidence', but bringing off that such telling is 'doing a "repetition"' (Sacks 1992, I, p. 723, cf. the client's reuse of the therapist's idiomatic expression in cognitive therapy).

The two ways of resuming past talk—through a dedicated sequence and in an embedded manner—occur in combination in excerpt (8.5). At line 4 the therapist interrupts the client's telling with a question that embeds a reference, through partial repetition, to an exchange from an earlier session, where the client's brother had been labelled as 'good even three times *over*' (ex. 8.4, l. 59). The words *volte* 'times' and *buono* 'good' in the question *quante volte è buono?* index the past description where the same two words occurred. By repeating, in a hearably abrupt way (l. 3–4),

a phrase which is highly idiomatic and hearable as an extreme case formulation (Pomerantz 1986), the therapist displays that he is *doing repetition* rather than merely saying again what he said in an earlier occasion. Also in this case, then, what is resumed are both a past topic and a past course of action.

Note that a speaker can succeed in resuming a distant piece of talk, by repeating parts of it, if the listener can locate the past occurrence which the speaker refers to. Metaphors, uncommon figures of speech and extreme case formulations (like *good three times over*) are easier to recall than plain talk. Therefore, therapists may recur to such ‘memorable’ expressions in order to facilitate their subsequent possible resumption.

Unlike in the excerpts from cognitive therapy, the systemic therapist did not repeat the same reinterpretation in different sessions, but the reinterpretation that was delivered at one point in time was preceded by *enquiry sequences* that took place in different sessions. The way in which the theme develops in its way from enquiry sequences to the reinterpretation involves movement towards explication of the content in question. The client first talked about a problematic theme (dominant tendencies towards a partner, partner’s submissive kindness) with regard to other people before it was explored in terms of her own experience (ex. 8.6). This development in the theme connects to change in sequential contexts: the content of the reinterpretation is approached through questions and formulations before it is directly suggested by the therapist.

Modification of the Theme After the Focal Sequence

While the previous section showed how a (re)interpretation is grounded in actions and thematic threads running across several sessions, the section at hand will focus on cross-session consequences, or ‘further life’, of a focal intervention. The data come from psychoanalysis. Like in the previous section, the intervention involves an interpretation by the therapist. In particular, we will be investigating the work that is done by a *third position utterance*: the therapist’s comment that comes after the client’s

response to an interpretation. We will be focusing on thematic threads and their transformations that run from the third position utterance and are taken up by the participants during the subsequent sessions. However, unlike in previous section, the continuity between utterances in different sessions remains implicit.

Earlier during this session, the client has talked about his athletics hobby as a teenager, and especially about his disappointment for the lack of encouragement by his mother concerning this hobby. In his long interpretation (only the latter part is shown here), the therapist suggests that the client's disappointment at his mother, in fact, involves a 'deeper' disappointment for the fact that the mother was not father. The sense of this particular interpretation is embedded in the participants' shared knowledge about the client's biography: His father became an alcoholic and eventually left the family when the client was in his early teens (see Peräkylä 2012). So, the therapist's interpretation suggests that the client did not in fact miss mother's encouragement, but what he missed was the father being there. When the excerpt begins, the therapist is about halfway in the interpretation.

Ex. (8.9)

- 01 T: >Mä luulen et sun on< v:aikea oikeestaan,
>I think that it's actually< diff:cult for you,
- 02 (1.2)
- 03 T: myöntää sitä että että y' (.) is#ä:# isä puuttu sinulta.
to admit that that eh (.) you didn't didn't have a father.
- 04 (1.2)
- 05 T: Sillä tavalla et se oli vähän niinku äidin vika,
So that it was as it were mother's fault,
- 06 (1.3)
- 07 T: mt että isä puuttu.
.mt that father wasn't there.

- 08 (0.7)
- 09 T: .hh Ja se ilmenee tällä tavalla että .hhh (0.2) #ä:# sie.
hh And it shows in this way that .hhh (0.2) #er:# you.
- 10 kaipaat niitä ominaisuuksia (0.8) joita
miss the characteristics (0.8) that
- 11 <isässä olisi ollut>.
<the father would have had>.
- 12 (2.2)
- 13 T: Ja (.) oot (tyytymätön) äitiin nyt
And (.) you are (dissatisfied) now with mother for
- 14 siitä (0.7) mt että >äidillä ei ollu< niitä
the fact (0.7) tch that the >mother didn't have< those
- 15 ominaisuuksia.
characteristics.
- 16 (1.6)
- 17 T: Että äiti ei ollu isä.
That mother wasn't father.
- 18 (3.5)
- 19 T: #Isän::# (1.0) tehtävänäh'n (.) tavallisesti
#It's the fa:ther's# (1.0) duty (.) normally
- 20 on: (1.0) # (juu:r) i::#nnostaa (0.5) poikaa u-
(1.0) #() to e#ncourage (0.5) the son to o-
- 21 ulkoiluun ja urheiluun.
outdoor activities and sports.
- 22 (6.0)
- 23 T: mt Metsälle ja,
tch To hunting expeditions and,

24 (1.5)

25 T: urheilukentille ja niin edelleen.
to athletic fields and so on.

26 (18.5)

27 C: .mthhhhff hhhmthh (1.0) mt hhhh
.mthhhhff hhhmthh (1.0) tch hhhh

28 (6.2)

29 C: .mthh Nii:;, (.) Tottahan se on (.) on tietysti,
.mthh Yeah::, (.) It is true (.) true of course,
 30 =Isänhän siellä kentän laidalla >ois pitäny< olla
=It is father who >should have been< by the athletic field.

31 (0.8)

32 C: Hihkumassa.=>Eikö niin<.
Whooping.=>shouldn't he<.

33 T: Niin.

Yeah.

34 (10.0)

35 T: .hh Ja urheiluseuran#:# johtokunnassa
.hh And in the steering committee of the athletic club
 36 (1.0) tukemassa nuorten työtä.
(1.0) supporting the youngsters work.

37 (5.2)

38 C: Nii:

Yeah:

39 (35.0)

40 C: .mthhh °(Tyt-) niin,
.°mthhh °(Wok-) yeah°

- 41 (4.2)
- 42 C: mt Et ↓mää: jotenki >mä en< en en >esimerkiks sit niinku<
 tch So ↓I: somehow >I didn't< didn't didn't >for example<
- 43 lapsenakaan .hhh ees olettanu että isä #e::
 #even as a child .hhh I din't assume that father #erm#
- 44 °°isä tekis semmosta°°.°
 °°father would do something like that°°.
- 45 (4.7)
- 46 C: °Voisko se olla (ihan) niin.°
 °Could it be (even) like that.°
- 47 (4.0)
- 48 T: °Niin.°
 °Yeah.°
- 49 (1.0)
- 50 T: Jos sinusta tuntuu °siltä°.
 If you feel like °that°.

While the client's response (l. 29–32) is apparently agreeing with and elaborating the interpretation, it fails to take up the original edge of the interpretation (displacement of disappointment from father to mother) elaborating instead on the interpretation as it was revised in the therapist's pursuits of answer (especially in l. 19–25). In his third position utterance (l. 35–36), the therapist on one hand aligns with and ratifies the client's elaboration, but on the other, also brings in a modification of the referential world. While the client's elaboration (l. 29–32) depicts the missing father as a somehow childish figure who should have been 'whooping' by the athletic field, the therapist's third position utterance shows a father who should have been an authoritative benefactor for the community ('in the steering committee of the athletic club (...) supporting the youngsters work').

Through the modification of the referential world, the third position utterance underscores the father's failed responsibility, and thereby intensifies the

sense of loss, and displays more of its ramifications: what the client is missing is not only the father cheering for his achievement but also—and perhaps primarily—the powerful and independent paternal figure. While the patient's elaboration depicted a dyadic relation (father-son), the third position utterance depicted the father in the context of the local community.

Importantly, this modification of the referential world is implicit. What the therapist says in lines 35–36 of excerpt (8.9) is offered as affiliating extension of the client's description, continuing the syntactic structure in the client's response (Vehviläinen 2003). The lack of marking any perspective shift is characteristic also for the client's next turn (see l. 38–46). While he, after a long pause, pro forma agrees with and takes up the therapist's third position utterance, he does not orient to any distinction between the *whooping father* and the *father in the steering committee*, and thus, he does not show recognition of the modification of the psychological significance of the description. This lack of recognition is indeed in line with the implicit character of the modification: It is not in the first place offered as something to be taken up.

Thematic Threads in the Subsequent Sessions

To further understand the therapeutic significance of the third position modifications of description like the one in excerpt (8.9), we examined the sessions that took place after the ones with the focal three position sequences. It transpired that the third position modifications of the description encapsulate central topics that get elaborated on during the *subsequent* encounters. While the third position modifications of description brought just implicitly in new themes, these themes became openly attended to in the subsequent encounters. For example, in excerpt (8.9), the therapist's third position utterance invoked a broader social context: The father in the third position utterance was an active member and benefactor in the local community. Two sessions after the one excerpt (8.9) was taken from, a broader social context for descriptions regarding father indeed comes up. The client tells about the time when the father was drinking heavily but had not yet left the family. Strong recollections of shame come up.

Ex. (8.10)

- 01 C: tammostaha se oli sillo< (0.6) sillon
it was like this then< (0.6) at the
- 02 #loppuvaiheessa# niin se- (.) tou#hu ja
#final stage# that< (.) #hassle and
- 03 sitte nimenomaan#< .hhhhhh se oli tosiaan se
then in particular#< .hhhhhh it was really it
- 04 oli hapeallista.
was shameful.
- 05 (1.6)
- 06 C: kyl me karsittiin siita helvetisti
We did suffer so goddamn badly for that
- 07 koko perhe. (°ku tota°).hhhh isa
the whole family. (°as erm°) .hhhh the father
- 08 siella niitten (0.8)
was spending his time with these (0.8)
- 09 juoppo porukoitten mukana pyori ja °tota°,
drunkards and °erm°,
- 10 (3.2)
- 11 T: mmmm:.
 ((8 lines omitted: some details of the
 father's and his drinking buddies mishaps))
- 20 C: pieni kyly ni siella niinku kaikki
tch hhh it was a small village so everybody mt hhh
- 21 ties °aina mita tapahtuu:°.
there always knew °what was happening:°.

- 22 (7.2)
- 23 ? : .hhhhh hhhhhh
- 24 T : .hhhh (.) se on: (.) se on ihan kauhistuttava
.hhhh (.) It is: (.) it is quite a horrible
- 25 sosiaalinen <pu^otoaminen^o>.
social <de^ocline^o>.
- 26 C : °Kyllä kyllä°.
°Yes yes°.
- 27 (16.5)
- 28 T : mt .hhh menestyva mies putoaa
tch .hhh a successful man sinks
- 29 puliukkotas^oolle°.
to the level of °winos°.
- 30 C : Nii <ihan>(.) tosiaan
Yes <quite> (.) really
- 31 puliukk^ootasolle°.
to the level °of winos°.
- 32 (13.0)

The client's memories about his father in the context of the local community, discussed two sessions after excerpt (8.9), are diametrically opposite to the depiction of the missing father in the third position utterance in excerpt (8.9). Now the patient in his own initiative brings in the local community to his description of the father.

The examination of the thematic threads in the sessions that follow the one in which excerpt (8.9) took place suggests that the modification of the description in the third position utterance contributed in a meaningful way to the therapeutic work. It was a part of an interactional project Schegloff (2007, pp. 244–249; Levinson 2012) spanning over several sessions, in which the therapist and the client address key psychological

problems of the client. The third position utterance indexed a possibility for the client to consider his relation to his father from a new perspective. In a later session after the reinterpretation, the content that was first offered by the therapist appeared later in the client's own talk. In other words, the sequential environment where the topic was discussed moved from therapist's initiations more towards client's narration.

The development of theme that we examined here was implicit, in two ways. First, the modification of the referential world by the therapist in the third position was not flagged for the patient to attend to. The patient indeed did not display attention to the modification. Second, the return of the perspectives, initially brought in by the third position modification of description, was made in such a way that no direct connection was displayed between the third position utterance and the narratives in subsequent sessions. Unlike what shown in the preceding sections, no tying practices were employed. Rather, it appears that the participants tacitly oriented to a common cognitive ground. Such tacit orientation to joint understanding may be one way to talk about topics that are not yet clearly articulated.

Discussion

In this chapter, we examined the intertwining of thematic threads and sequences in psychotherapy. We showed how the therapists and the clients orient themselves, explicitly and tacitly, to the longitudinal nature of the therapy, and how the topics re-emerge and get transformed while they are worked in and through sequences of talk.

While our way to analyse the data is not committed to psychotherapeutic thinking, the processes that we tracked had similarities to the processes that are of interest for psychotherapy research (e.g. Stiles 2002). The obvious addition that CA approach can bring to understanding psychotherapeutic change processes is the sensitivity to the sequential context of the client's talk. In this chapter, we offered three different perspectives to documenting how a theme is developed in sequences. In the first one, through an analysis of the client's responses (regarding disappointment at mother), it was possible to see a robust change through

standardizing the interactional context of the client's talk, that is, by examining a sequence that recurred over time. Here, a comparison between two sequential contexts—reinterpretation-response sequence that was our focal sequence and narration that preceded the suggestions—is of interest. The client did express her negative emotions towards her mother in the context of narration, but it was the position after the therapist's reinterpretation that was critical. The client can thus speak differently about her experience, in different sequential positions, even during the same period of time (Voutilainen et al. 2011).

In the analysis of the sequences preceding the focal interpretation in systemic therapy, we saw that the central topic appeared first in other sequential contexts (questions and formulations) in other sessions, before the more prominent reinterpretation, where the therapist directly suggested that the client's experience contains something that the client did not express as such (Peräkylä 2012; Bercelli et al. 2013). Finally, in the analysis of the development of the theme after the focal interpretation in psychoanalysis (third empirical section above), it was shown that the modification of the theme continued through the therapist's third position utterance and later in the client's narration.

Future CA could also investigate sequential contexts of multiple themes in the same therapies. This would give a more profound picture of the therapeutic process by showing how different themes relate to each other. We also assume that therapeutic change is often non-linear and contingent in nature. Sequential CA analysis can also specify the non-continuities in the process.

Psychotherapeutic interactions are longitudinal in nature. There is historicity in the thematic threads (Schegloff 2007) while they are worked with in single sequences. In this chapter, we have shown that the participants can orient to this historicity in different, explicit or tacit ways. What happens between a client and a therapist in a particular moment in time connects to the shared referential world that has been constructed in their earlier encounters. Thus, studying the longitudinal development of the content of the talk is as important as structural sequential analysis in order to understand the interactional meaning of any local action in psychotherapy.

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9

Discovering Interactional Authenticity: Tracking Theatre Practitioners Across Rehearsals

Spencer Hazel

Introduction

Simulated representations of social interaction have remained a relatively unexplored area for interaction-focused approaches to the study of human sociality such as ethnomethodological conversation analysis (CA). Although it is interesting to note how the father of ethnomethodology Harold Garfinkel's task in the Second World War was to train US troops in tank combat on a golf course in Florida, with imaginary tanks having to stand in for real ones (Rawls 2002, pp. 14–15), his and his followers' subsequent explorations of the constitution of sociality have tended to avoid looking at simulated interaction altogether (although see, e.g. Stokoe 2008, 2013, 2014; Schmitt 2010, 2012). Where there has been some application of CA methods to the performing arts, it has focused almost exclusively on the play-scripts (e.g. Herman 1995), rather than the processes of enacting representations of social interaction (but see Broth 2011). However, CA methods are potentially relevant for naturalistic

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theatre, a genre of dramatic narrative art that sets out to model representations of social action on that found in the real world, representing real life on stage (Allain and Harvie 2006). Herman (1991) and Simpson (1998) argue that dramatized social interaction, such as that featured in the speech practices in naturalistic theatre, is linked with actual forms of social interaction through the theatre creators' orientations to the importance of what Elizabeth Burns has described as *authenticating conventions*,

which 'model' social conventions in use at a specific time and in a specific time and place. The modes of speech, demeanour and action that are explicit in the play... have to imply a connection to the world of human action of which the theatre is only a part. These conventions suggest a total and external code of values and norms of conduct from which the speech and action of the play is drawn. Their function is, therefore, to *authenticate* the play. (Burns 1972, p. 32, emphasis in original)

The current chapter focuses on the work done in the theatre rehearsal studio. We look at the work of theatre actors and professionals as they go about their business of developing a naturalistic theatre production over the duration of a rehearsal period. Fieldwork was carried out at two theatre companies who were developing productions of naturalistic plays, one dataset of which will feature here.

I track how a theatre ensemble takes the partial instructions provided by a play-script and embarks on the process of discovering how best to embody them as agreed-upon authentic representations of real-world social encounters. In carrying out their work, performers display their commonsense understandings of the sets of very different components that are mobilized in the formatting of social actions. Although the spoken text itself is on the whole fixed by the script, which constrains the agency of the performer in what they say, the performers are called upon to embody the actions by mobilizing formatting components such as speech velocity, volume and intonation, body visual formatting such as spatial and postural configurations, gesture, gaze conduct and facial displays, and the enactment of stage properties to represent setting-situated objects.

The Theatre Ensemble as Object of Study

Conversation Analysts are interested in studying naturally occurring social interaction as it is produced in real time, identifying the underlying mechanisms that members draw on in producing and making sense of one another's social actions, and the normative paths of sequential organization of such social actions. A central premise is that of conditional relevance, where each sequentially placed social action—such as a turn at talk—projects specific types of next actions. Which of these is selected displays a particular reading of the previous turn.

The pre-formatted script that forms the backbone of naturalistic theatre, however much this may or may not resemble a transcript of spoken interaction, is not an entextualization of real-time interaction (Park and Bucholtz 2009; Haberland and Mortensen 2016). Indeed, even if each presents us with a representation of talk-in-interaction, the dramatic script is made up of imagined action. It invites a reader to imagine situations where what is written in the script *could* happen, and is as such hypothetical. By contrast, CA avoids the imagined and focuses solely on renditions of social life as it has been captured in recordings and transcribed in detail. Possibly for this reason, CA has been uninterested in the work of the actor.

Yet the theatre rehearsal presents a perspicuous setting (Garfinkel and Wieder 1992) for a number of lines of investigation. Rehearsal spaces are, for one, rich interactional settings for observing members' commonsense reasoning on a wide range of social organizational themes, from normatively appropriate turn-taking practices, constitutive practices for enacting types of roles and relationships, social identity production, including institutional identity formation, and the moral order implicated in social actions and their consequences. Secondly, these projects have a begin point (a first day of rehearsals) and an endpoint (the performance) and in the bounded space between these, the ensemble are required to develop the cultural artefact of the performance piece, which in the case of naturalistic theatre concerns recognizable representations of interaction. By documenting the process, one is able to track the development of the performance sequences from their earliest trials all the way through to the

point when they have arrived at a relatively stable shape that is offered up to an audience.

In what follows, I track the process through which actors work to arrive at a particular staging of mundane social interaction.

Data and Method

Data for the current study were produced during fieldwork carried out as researcher in residence with three Danish theatre companies. The company whose work will feature is That Theatre Company, a Copenhagen-based professional company which produces between two and three English language theatre shows each year.¹ The researcher carried out fieldwork in this company as the creative team prepared a production of the play *God of Carnage* by Yasmina Reza (2008).

The data consist of audiovisual recordings of the rehearsals, with recordings commencing during the first week of rehearsals and continuing through to the dress rehearsals, prior to the productions opening to the general public. In total, 13 days of rehearsals were recorded, with each rehearsal day averaging 6 hours. The recordings were made on a variety of video and audio devices, depending on the activity and designated rehearsal space and theatre. Generally, two video cameras were supplemented with extra audio recorder. Data were subsequently annotated using the software tool ELAN with selected sequences subsequently transcribed using the transcription linking software tool CLAN.

For the current study, collections of data segments that relate to the same section of the play-script were extracted from the larger dataset with a view to tracking how an ensemble comes to settle on a particular way to format the prescribed dramatic interaction, as contained in the pages of the play-script. The play-script itself constitutes a secondary data source, as it is used by the ensemble as a partial set of instructions. The ensemble's work in the rehearsal studio involves a process of discovery of how this set of instructions (dialogue, stage directions) can become the destined cultural artefact of the performance (cf. Garfinkel 2002).

Analysis

Analysis Part 1: Discovering the Shape of Action

In Yasmina Reza's play *God of Carnage*, two sets of parents meet at one of the family's apartments to discuss a recent event where their respective young sons have been involved in an altercation, resulting in broken teeth of one of the boys. Although the meeting is arranged to smooth over the resulting bad feelings, the encounter disintegrates into a series of increasingly bitter confrontations between the four adults. In the narrative scene featured in the analysis here, Veronica is returning from the kitchen with drinks and *clafouti*²—a type of cake—which she goes on to distribute among those present, guests Alan and Annette who are sitting at the coffee table, and her husband Michael, standing at the side of the sofa. This sequence is accompanied by talk³: as she approaches, Veronica produces a critical comment relating to their home help, Monica. She then asks what her son has said *to you* (with *you* unspecified in the script). This is followed by two adjacency pairs between Veronica and Alan, first where she offers him sugar, which he declines, and subsequently where he inquires after the type of *clafouti*, which she answers. The stage directions included in the play-script are minimal. The script states that *Veronica comes back with the tray, Drinks and the clafouti*, and a little later, *She cuts the clafouti and distributes it* (Reza 2008, p. 9).

Turning to the data, we observe how, as instructed by the play-script, the actor playing the character Veronica carries a tray of drinks to the section of the stage where a coffee table, sofa and armchair have been placed to resemble the kind of configuration of furniture typical of a living room. She places the tray on the coffee table and proceeds to distribute the drinks and the cake to the others (Fig. 9.1).

The components that appear to need working out in action relate to those details of the embodied instantiation of the scene that are not included in the play-script. Whereas the words that should be spoken are printed in the script, other aspects of speech delivery, *how* the words should be spoken, are omitted. There is nothing on prosody, breath conduct, vocal velocity and word stress, and writers are rarely explicit in



Fig. 9.1 *Left to right: Adam, Michael, Veronica, Annette*

marking pauses (although for a more explicit acknowledgment of gaps and pauses being treated as social actions in their own right, see the work by Harold Pinter). Similarly, gaze conduct, where to look when speaking the lines or when words are being spoken by a fellow actor, is absent from most play-scripts. In the current script, the text merely stipulates that Veronica distributes the cake, but not the order of distribution. All these details, and more aside (relating to, e.g. gesture, postural configuration, touch, the organization of bodies in space), are left for the creative team of actors and directors to discover in praxis. Keeping in mind the actors' concerns with the authentic representation of the everyday world as known to both them and their audiences, the actors are required to reconstitute how things are done ordinarily, in the act of representing.

In the following, I will adopt a naming practice, which differentiates between the actors and the characters they portray, but without providing different names for each. In what follows, for example, the character Veronica is performed by the actor Ver*, the character Alan performed by Ala*, and so on. This gives some visual differentiation between the speech as included in the script, and that of the actors as

themselves, with the reader not needing to learn two sets of names for each person involved.

The Sequence as Routinized Choreographic Construct

The aim of the analysis presented here is to track the development of routine actions. The path we will follow is to take a short sequence from the staged performance and then trace its earlier iterations during the rehearsal process. We do this in order to follow what work the performers undertake to reach the relatively stable routine carrying out of the action.

God of Carnage features a great deal of highly dramatic conflict between the characters, and there is much scope for identifying some extremely colourful, moral, socio-relational work. However, for the exercise here, I have chosen a highly mundane sequence from an early part of the play, revolving around one character, Veronica, serving beverages and cake to the visitors to her and her husband Michael's apartment. This may come across as an uninteresting choice of sequence, when we could be looking instead at sequences of high tension, conflict, social disintegration and all the other more dynamic themes that the play centres on. However, I would contend that by looking closely at the analytical trial-and-reflective work that leads to the enacting of mundane conduct between members, that one gets a glimpse of how members reason about the interactional competences required in accomplishing the routine mundanity of everyday civility. What could be more routine and easy to enact for an audience than that which most of us have done a thousand times before: offering coffee to some guests?

As discussed above, producing recognizable representations of social practices is part of what Burns (1972) has described as "authenticating conventions", affording staged scenes credibility, as they draw on commonsense understandings of the social world that are in turn shared by their audiences. Keeping this in mind, the performers are required to simulate a range of participation and engagement frameworks throughout the duration of the staged play, and achieve an air and semblance of authenticity to the represented proceedings. It is incumbent on them to

discover together routine ways for producing these interactional choreographic constructs, and where each member's contribution is fitted to a jointly agreed-upon structure, usually overseen by an external observer such as the theatre director. This does not imply that the mechanics of these performed sequences cannot allow for any variation in how a performer formats his or her actions.

Indeed, a certain amount of variation is not only unavoidable, it can maintain a level of co-engagement between the performers, as, in a similar fashion as natural interaction, even the slightest change in the formatting of one of the components—for example, intonation, gaze conduct, breath conduct, pause production, velocity, pitch, volume, postural configuration, gestures, facial expression or even audience interjection—can impact on the sequential course of action and require a different response from the performer required to format their own action in the next sequential position (e.g. Streeck et al. 2011; Deppermann 2013; Rasmussen et al. 2014). The contingent possibility for a co-performer to vary the action formatting of their performance from the routine choreographic constructs can therefore encourage actors to remain sensitive to one another and the unfolding performance, avoiding the pitfalls that come with performing the same routine multiple times, and going through the motions, as it were.

That said, the allowed-for variability is, in this type of naturalistic theatre, relatively limited. Studying the same sequence recorded over subsequent occasions shows us that the components that make up the interactional choreographic set pieces are relatively fixed and produced with considerable regularity. It is this that appears to allow for the effortlessness with which the scenes and settings are reproduced, with as a direct consequence the seen-but-unnoticed constitution of the social order. This is deemed central to the audience being able to identify with the authenticity of the action, and suspend the disbelief accordingly, an effect that constitutes a core feature of audience engagement in a naturalistic theatre piece.

As an example, consider the transcript annotations for the particular sequence in question, transcribed from recordings of two dress rehearsals. Dress rehearsals are occasions that precede the premiere of the production.

They allow for performers to try out the performance in front of an audience, prior to the show opening to a paying public. This constitutes the final stage of the rehearsed development (pages 264 and 265).

Although any such transcript will be necessarily partial, we are in a limited way still able to note that the overall shape that the sequence takes is almost identical across the two versions. Although there is some variation in, for example, the timing of the production of the different components that make up the actions in the scene, for example, a slight difference in one of the pauses (l. 38), the shift in gaze direction happening earlier or later than its counterpart in the other version (e.g. Alan in l. 37, Ann in l. 39), the overall shape is the same. Indeed, the two sequences are, at 11.5 seconds, identical in duration.

The routine manner in which this short sequence is carried out by the four performers belies, however, the practical reasoning that underpins the sequence, and the skills with which the actors coordinate the action. Although, as previously suggested, such social actions as entertaining guests in one's home may seem to a viewer as deeply routine and matter of fact, and the actors may appear to be able to carry this off simply by drawing on their own members' knowledge of these everyday routines in their own social world. The moment such a social activity is the subject of artful representation, however, the status of the activity no longer corresponds with that of the activity proper. This is not the activity of distributing or accepting beverages in the informal environment of someone's home. It is the co-joint construction of a representational choreographic artefact, one which depicts the single activity of *these* characters in *this* narrative framework distributing and accepting *these* beverages on *this* point in the narrative and which is produced by actors for the benefit of an attending theatre audience. Where in line 44, Ver*'s gaze shift from Ala* to the tray follows Ala*'s offer-rejecting gesture, itself sequentially produced in next position after Ver's line 43 offer of sugar, the actions here are not context dependant on the prior action in the sequential organization of the event, but they are rather components in a composition, pre-choreographed through various trials in the rehearsals. As such, they involve *premeditation* in the production of each action that makes up the representation, in contrast to an equivalent routine social activity of

Ex. (9.2) Week 4, Dress rehearsal 2, 'Clafouti'

Ver* offstage Stage Left

Mic* sitting on arm of sofa Centre Stage, gaze alternating between Ann* and Ala*

Ann* sitting on sofa Stage Right, gaze to Mic*

Ala* sitting in armchair Centre Stage, gaze to Mic*, legs crossed

- 37 VER: *i don't *know who put the *clafouti *in the *fridge,
**Ver enters SL with tray and crosses to sitting area*
 Mic **stands up from the armrest*
**gaze to table-----*
**leans toward table*
**moves magazines aside to clear space*
**straightens up, moves aside*
**gaze to Ver---*
 Ann **gaze follows Mic's actions-----*
**gaze to the table top*
 Ala **gaze to Mic----*
**gaze shifts to look over to approaching Ver*
**gaze down then over his shoulder*
- 38 (.)
- 39 VER: *monica *puts *everything in the fridge *she *won't be *told,
**Ver gaze to Mic*
**gaze shift away from Mic, to table*
**single head shake*
 Mic **steps aside to let Ver through*
**gazes to Ver-----then back to table*
 Ann **gaze turns to Ver*
**produces smile*
**gaze back to table*
 Ala **gaze to Ver as she comes behind him-----*
**gaze shift to table*
- 40 *(0.6)
**Ver moves to place the tray on the empty space on the coffee table*
**Ann, Mic and Ala watch on*
- 41 VER: *what's benjamin said to *you.
**Ver placing tray*
**looks to Annette----- *gaze met by Ann*
- 42 *(0.4) *
**Ver turns gaze to Ala*
**gaze meets Alan's*
- 43 VER: sugar?
- 44 *(0.3)*
**Ala lifts hands in negation gesture*
**Ver turns gaze to tray*
- 45 ALA: no thanks,
 46 *(0.2)
**Ala uncrosses legs*
- 47 ALA: *what is in the clafouti. (see IMAGE)
**starts to lean forward to table, gestures with left hand to tray*
- 48 (0.7)
- 49 VER: *apples and pears.
**picks up cup and extends it to Alan*



distributing beverages *proper*, which would be contingent on members building the activity through how they respond to prior actions as they are produced.

The members of the ensemble do of course draw on their own everyday experiences of how members in the sociocultural setting suggested in the play-script, carry out such an activity, knowledge which may be shared by audience members. It is the audience who is being invited to assess the plausibility of the representational artefact and how it reflects equivalent instances in the real world. By enacting sequences of interaction for the audience, it is conditional of the choices made by the ensemble that the representation will ultimately be adjudged appropriate—or not—in how it simulates such interaction “authentically”.

The seen-but-unnoticed nature of such interactional events such as those being performed in these data presents analysts with a methodological conundrum: they are the kinds of practice that are most prevalent in our everyday affairs, but due to our having been so thoroughly socialized into them they can become challenging to describe. CA has dealt with this dilemma by adopting methods of making the sequences “strange” through repeated viewings of recorded data, as well as through transcription and annotation. With a longitudinal data set such as this, however, we are also in the position to refer back to occasions where the ensemble works on the same section of the narrative prior to it having become routine. In those moments, we are able to observe the negotiations that performers must undertake in attempting to discover how to enact a set of actions “authentically”, and what shape these should take.

The following segment features an early attempt at the same sequence from the play-script. This is taken from data recorded in the first week of the rehearsals, and it evidences an overall similarity with the routine versions presented above (pages 264 and 265). Again, we have Veronica arriving to distribute beverages to her guests and husband. However, here the set of actions carried out and the timing of them are quite different. An initial observation is that the same sequence takes significantly longer to carry out, lines 37–49 taking a full 15 seconds as opposed to the 11.5 seconds of the other examples.

Ex. (9.3a) Week 1 rehearsals: “Clafouti”

Ver* offstage Stage Left

Mic* sitting on sofa, gaze alternating between Ann* and Ala*

Ann* leaning back on sofa Stage Right, gaze to Mic*

Ala* leaning back in armchair Centre Stage, gaze to Mic*

37 VER: *i don't know: *who put the *clafouti in the fridge.

**Ver enters and walks towards downstage side of the table*

**Mic looks over to Ver approaching*

**Ala looks over to Ver approaching*

38 (.)

39 VER: *monica puts every*thing in the fridge *she won't be told,

**Ver nearing the table*

**Mic reaches forward to rearrange items on table*

**Ver bends down with tray*

40 *(1.0)

**Ver places tray as Mic moves books*

41 VER: so ↑what does *benjamin *sa*y?

**Ver releases tray, straightens her back slightly*

**Ver rotates head and turns gaze to Ala*

**mutual gaze established*

42 Ps: *(0.9)

**Ver looks to the tray again*

43 VER: *sugar?

**Ver rotates head and turns gaze to Ala*

**Mic gets up from sofa*

44 Ps: (0.2)*(0.3)

**Ver looks to the tray again*

268 S. Hazel

45 ALA: *no thanks.

**lifts hand with index finger extended*

46 *(0.8) *(0.6) *(0.3)

**Ala leans forward with hand extended*

**Ver picks up cup and saucer*

**Ala takes the cup, moves it to left hand*

47 ALA: what's in the clafou*ti.

**full hand deictic gesture towards tray*

(see Image)

48 *(0.7)

**Ala withdraws hand*

**Ver attends to items on the tray*

49 VER: *ah:: apples and pears.

**Mic makes a number of attempts to take something from the tray*

50 ALA: °↑huh.°



(extended sequence, without further annotations)

51 (0.4)

52 MIC: °heheh°

53 (0.6)

54 ANN: °apples and ↑pears.°

55 (0.2)

56 VER*: yeah,

57 so i want to go, (0.4)

58 why do i want to go around because i want to give you:,

59 you wanted water right?

60 (0.2)

- 61 ANN*: yes.
- 62 (0.4)
- 63 VER*: °okay (1.0) can you ask me again so,°
- 64 (1.4)
- 65 ALA: °what's in it?°
- 66 VER: apples and pears.

The talk is more or less the same as the dress rehearsal excerpts (Ver*’s line in 41 differs from the text), bound by the instructions of the play-script of what the characters are stipulated to say and the sequential order in which they produce their turns. What the play-script does not provide are indications as to who the intended recipients are of the utterances, instead leaving that to be inferred by the next actions presented in the script. For example, the question *sugar?* (l. 43) can be understood as being directed to Alan, as the script stipulates that it is he who provides a second pair part to the question in the next sequential slot (*no thanks*, l. 45). Subsequently, Alan’s intended recipient for the question *What’s in the clafouti?* could be inferred to be Veronica, as it is she who lists the ingredients in the next slot. However, a question like *What has Benjamin said to you?* does not have a second pair part in the script, and as such the intended recipient needs to be inferred by the members of the ensemble. It needs to be discovered through repeated trials, observation and analysis.

Similarly, as discussed earlier, the play-script gives little or no indication of how utterances should be formatted beyond the verbal level. This is left for the ensemble to discover as they try out different composites, and modify them on each occasion until they are satisfied that the appropriate effect is being achieved (with the narrative arc, the character constructs and the required authenticating conventions being met). We note, for example, that the turn final intonation contour is falling in how Ver* formats the question *What’s Benjamin said to you?* (l. 41) in the later dress rehearsal examples (exx. 9.1 and 9.2). In the earlier attempts this is not so, with the turn initially formatted with rising intonation.

Returning to Alan’s question, *What’s in the clafouti*, the performer is required to discover where to direct his gaze on producing the question. Should it be to Ver*, and if so, should mutual gaze be established between

the performers? Or alternatively, would it be more sequentially fitted to direct gaze at the cake, or somewhere else entirely? Each choice would format the turn differently and also make a different response the relevant next action. In the following excerpt, from the next time round of rehearsing this sequence, we find Ala* trying out a formatting choice where he establishes mutual gaze with Ver* as he enquires after the ingredients (l. 46).

Ex. (9.4 a) Week 3 rehearsals: “Clafouti”

Ver* offstage Stage Left

Mic* sitting on sofa, gaze alternating between Ann* and Ala*

Ann* leaning back on sofa Stage Right, gaze to Mic*

Ala* leaning back in armchair Centre Stage, gaze to Mic*

Alan sitting in chair, leaning back. Veronica arriving at his side.

41 VER: *↑what's benjamin said *to y*ou?

**Ver directs gaze to Alan*

**Ala directs gaze to Ver*

**Ver directs gaze to tray*

42 * (0.6) * (0.7)

**Ver moves to place the tray on the table, picks up cup*

**Ala withdraws gaze, looks to table*

43 ↑sugar?

**Ver directs gaze to Alan*

44 ALA: no ↑thanks

**Alan crosses his legs*

- 45 (0.4)
**Alan raises left hand from arm-rest*
**Ver directs gaze to cup in her hand*
- 46 *what's *in the clafouti.
**Alan produces beats with hand now extended in direction of table*
**Ala directs gaze to Ver (see Image)*
- 47 *(0.4) *(0.2)
**Ver extends cup to Alan*
**Ver directs gaze to Alan*
- 48 VER: *[apple]
- 49 ALA: [clafouti]
- *mutual gaze established*
**Ver maintains position of cup extended to Ala*
**Ala maintains position of hand in direction of table*



On this occasion, Ala* tries out directing the question to Ver* with his gaze fixated on her face. It appears, however, that this formatting causes the performers to experience trouble, and the sequence is suspended mid-way. Although Veronica responds, the performers subsequently get stuck, overlapping their speech, and needing to restart the sequence. On subsequent occasions, we see a different pattern emerging, with Veronica focusing her gaze on the activity of distributing the condiments, and Alan looking in the direction of the tabletop.

Ex. (9.4b) Week 3 rehearsals: “Clafouti”

Image corresponds with line 89 *clafouti*

88 ALA: no thanks,

89 what's in the clafouti. (*see Image*)

90 (0.5)

91 VER: apples and pears.



Over subsequent attempts, Alan also augments this formatting with a postural reconfiguration, leaning into the table as he enquires after the ingredients.

Ex. (9.4c) Week 3 rehearsals: “Clafouti”

Image corresponds with line 174 *clafouti*

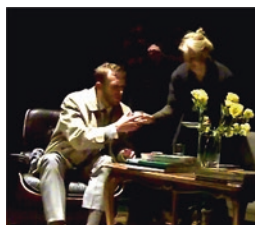
172 ALA: no thanks,

173 (0.2) but (0.3)

174 what's in the clafouti. (*see Image*)

175 (0.5)

176 VER: apples and pears.



Ex. (9.4d) Week 3 rehearsals: “Clafouti”

Image corresponds with line 221 *clafouti*

219 ALA: no thanks,

220 (0.9)

221 what's in the: clafouti . (see Image)

222 (0.5)

223 VER: apples and pears.



We also note that over the four attempts featured here, that the transfer of the cup from Ver* to Ala* is achieved progressively earlier in the exchange. In 9.4a, at the point that Ala* produces the question, Ver* has not yet extended the cup in Ala*'s direction. In 9.4b, she has, but he has not yet reached out to take the cup, which he does now do in 9.4c. Finally in 9.4d, at the same point in the talk, the transfer of the cup has already happened and Ver* has picked up the glass of water, which she is set to pass to Ann*.

We note then how over repeated tries, Ala* and Ver* modify the formatting of their actions until they have arrived at a stable, routinized choreography of this segment of interaction. This composition is eventually adopted by the actors as the routine version that we observed in excerpts (page 264) and (page 265) (from the later dress rehearsals). Whether this staging of the action is accepted by an audience in terms of representing such actions with a degree of authenticity is not observable from this data set. However, for the actors and for the external gaze of the director, the shape of the composition appears to present them with a version that they deem acceptable for all practical purposes.

Analysis Part 2: Discovering the Order of Action

Whereas up until now we have used this sequence to look at how actors are required to discover the interactional properties of carrying out particular social actions and their formatting, we are also in the position to explicate other practices of social organization. Again, by treating

as an accomplishment the routine manner by which the eventual shape of the sequence is carried out, we can seek to track back through the data to locate moments where agreement is reached, and where the actions that are agreed upon by the ensemble are trialled and negotiated.

In the dress rehearsal versions of the sequence (pages 264 and 265), Veronica distributes the beverages to the others in a particular order. She first attends to Alan's coffee, and subsequently passes a glass of water to Annette. Michael is left to pick up his own cup of coffee from the tray while Veronica moves to distribute the cake. Again, the set of actions that make up this exchange passes smoothly, with all members coordinating their actions together in a tight choreography of offering, passing, accepting, receiving, reaching out, manipulating props, picking up, holding and so on and so forth. It would be easy to consider this coordinated action as wholly natural, requiring little in the way of a concerted effort to reach agreement between members of the ensemble of how to do this. Tracking the rehearsals back to the occasions in which the same sequence was developed, however, we are again in the position to observe the practical reasoning behind the decisions made for how to organize the scene.

In the earliest try (ex. 9.3a), we note that Ver* displays some difficulty in how to organize the activity of distributing the various items to the others. In a number of places, she suspends the activity, hesitant at how to coordinate the prescribed talk with the actions of handing the beverages to those present. Mic* also appears to be working through how to coordinate his action of picking up items from the tray himself. We note also that Ala* and Ann*'s conduct differs from Mic* in that they make no attempt to share in the task of distributing the items, or in picking up their cups themselves. This is commensurate with their roles as previously unacquainted guests in someone else's home, where contributions such as helping the host could indicate a level of informality not warranted by the narrative of the play. We note also how Ver* verbalizes her thoughts too, thereby making her reasoning publicly available to the others present (l. 57–59), as well as to analysts.

Ex. (9.3b) (repeated) Week 1 rehearsals: “Clafouti”

- 52 MIC: °heheh°
 53 (0.6)
- 54 ANN: °apples and ‘pears.°
 55 (0.2)
- 56 VER: yeah,
 57 so i want to go, (0.4)
 58 why do i want to go around because i want to give you.,
 59 you wanted water right?
 60 (0.2)
- 61 ANN: yes.
 62 (0.4)
- 63 VER: °okay (1.0) can you ask me again so,°
 64 (1.4)
- 65 ALA: °what's in it?°
- 66 VER: apples and pears.

The *I* and *you* (in l. 57, 58) are ambiguous as to whether they index the actor or the character, but it appears that Ver* is producing an online analysis of Veronica’s actions, although framing them as her own. The meta-commentary (l. 58–59) provides an account for the others for the suspension of the action and is not treated at this stage of rehearsals—in the absence of an audience—as unwarranted. Ver* displays that she has encountered a problem in the way she is enacting this activity. She projects a second attempt (l. 57), while articulating an issue that she has identified as being problematic, namely who to attend to next after having handed the cup of coffee to Alan.

The difficulties encountered in the order of distribution are again touched on at a later date, in the rehearsal session featured in excerpt (9.4a) (Week 3 of the rehearsals). Here, Ver* again starts by offering the cup to Ala*, and proceeds to distribute the remaining cups to the others present. Almost immediately, however, she initiates a self-repair.

Ex. (9.4e) Week 3 rehearsals: “Clafouti”

- 75 VER: *apples and pears. (0.4)
 *Ver picks up cup, rotates upper body, extends cup to Mic
- 76 MIC: *thank[s.]
 *extends hand towards proffered cup
- 77 VER*: *[er] you can, (.)
 *Ver withdraws cup, and returns it to the tray
- 78 sorry i would *(0.5) do the glass first,
 *Ver picks up glass
- 79 (0.3)
- 80 VER* *°give it (0.3) give it back to me°.
 Ver reaches and gestures to retrieve cup from Ala*

Following her attending to Alan, she picks up a second coffee cup and offers this to Michael (l. 75), who is standing at her rear to the side of the sofa. At the point in which Mic* has almost taken hold of the cup, and has initiated an acknowledgement of gratitude (l. 76), Ver* withdraws the cup again and produces an account for why the order of distribution should be different (l. 78).

As articulated by Ver*, the problem is flagged up as relating to the order in which the coffee cup and a glass of water are distributed. The distribution of the first cup is suggested in the text by Veronica asking after a drink which may or may not require sugar. Aside from Veronica,

two other coffee drinkers are present in the scene, and she would already know her husband Michael's sugar preference. The actors are therefore in the position to infer that the first cup is offered to Alan. The choice of recipients for the second and third drinking vessels on the other hand is less discernible from the text, and the actors need to settle on how best to add to the minimal stage directions included in the play-script. It is here that we see Veronica's intervention, with the *I would*-framed analysis acting to establish a link between the to-be-witnessed details that are produced on stage, with how a similar action is carried out in comparable everyday social settings.

In restarting and attempting the action in modified form, Veronica chooses to not only reproduce the current step, but chooses to go back to the initial point of starting to distribute the cups, requesting for Ala* to hand the first cup back to her (l. 80). Once the cups have been placed back on the tray, Ver* restarts the larger process of distributing the cups, first offering a cup to Ala* again, next the glass of water to Ann*, and finally the second coffee cup to Mic*.

In a subsequent try, Mic* and Ver* establish a further modification, where Michael takes his own coffee from the tray, allowing for Veronica to proceed with the cutting and distribution of the cake. In parallel with excerpts (9.3b) and (9.4e) above, the modification is introduced following a suspension of the action by Ver*, who subsequently provides an account for interrupting the stage action.

Ex. (9.4f) Week 3 rehearsals: "Clafouti"

ASS denotes Assistant Director

173 VER: apples and pears.
 174 ANN: apples and 'pears.
 175 (1.1)
 176 VER: my own little recipe,
 177 (1.8)
 178 ASS: °it's going to be too cold?°
 179 (0.4)

180 VER*: ah:: that's there okay.
 181 it's going to be it's going to be,
 182 i'm just thinking if i give it to michael or if he should,
 183 [if i just]
 184 MIC*: [i can get my] own if you like?
 185 (0.4)
 186 MIC*: i [i'll go and he]lp myse[lf]
 187 VER*: [yeah if you just] [if i] g- if i-if i give her the glass
 188 could you just take it so then i can start to cut

In l. 178, the Assistant Director treats the 1.8 second pause as being due to Ver* forgetting what the next line is. In low volume, she provides the line, and this is responded to by Ver* in line 180 with the change of state token and acknowledgement that her line was missing from its proper slot in the text. She then repeats the first part of the line twice (l. 181), before suspending it. In line 182, she gives an account to the others for what she had planned to do at the point of the suspension while projecting the articulation of a possible alternative course of action. Picking up on the emerging suggestion, Mic* suggests he takes his own cup, which is accepted by Ver* (l. 187). She closes the side sequence by restating the new sequence of actions, with Ver giving Ann the glass of water (l. 187), and Mic taking his own coffee so that Ver can move on to cutting the cake (l. 188).

This leaves us with the issue of why *this* particular order of distribution is agreed upon by the members as best serving the purposes of the scene's embodiment. The play-script suggests the first distribution, that is, the coffee drinker for whom Veronica does not know the preference for additional sweetener. This can only be Alan.⁴ We do see however that the social norm for guests being offered a beverage prior to the others is appropriated for the enacting of this activity. Indeed, Michael being left out of the sequence, having to get his own coffee, ratifies his social place in the setting, here representing a gathering in the place where he lives, where he is not accorded any extra grace in the way of service.

The first analytic section was concerned with the theatre ensemble developing, over time and repeated attempts, an embodied architecture for how the action of offering and accepting a cup of coffee during a

conversation is brought to pass. In the second analysis, we tracked the ensemble as they sought to decide how these exchanges figure within the broader representational enactment of a social setting, one of social identities, relationships between people and relationships between the people and the place where the narrative action is set. Here, the task of the actors is to discover how the composition of actions involved in distributing beverages between a group of people constitutes the characters and who they are to each other, and their place within the social world of the narrative drama. In the section of the performance discussed here, actors manage through repeated practice to settle on a particular order of distribution that enacts the scene and characters into being.

Discussion

With naturalist theatre setting out to model representations of social action on that found in the real world, it is incumbent on the theatre ensemble to co-opt their members' knowledge of equivalent actions and social situations in order to format the staged scene. The success of this is found in an audience's acceptance of the staged artefact's verisimilitude and the level of authenticity that the creative team has been able to bring to the embodied enactment of the narrative. It is this that allows the public to contemplate the play's themes as real-world phenomena.

With the ensemble working with what can only be described as a partial set of written instructions provided by a playwright, members must work to discover a fit between what has been included in the script—dialogue, stage directions, a narrative arc—with the composition of embodied actions that transfigures the written artefact into an embodied one, all the while configuring them as witnessable and observable for an audience. This applies to such components as stage design, lighting and sound, and costumes; and as we have seen here, it equally concerns all the unscripted formatting components that make up the interactional architecture of social events. The current study followed a group of actors as they trialled particular compositions of embodied components in their attempts to establish a relatively set choreographic routine around the activity of distributing drinks in an informal encounter. We observed how what may appear to be a representation of a routine everyday activity

nevertheless involves a series of attempts over several weeks, with the creative team introducing modifications on each occasion until the composition has become more or less fixed. These modifications are introduced on the basis of one or more actors orienting to the configuration of interactional components not being fully successful in embodying equivalent constellations in real-world interaction.

Secondly, we tracked the ensemble over repeated attempts as they sought to enact the social setting into being, including place and relevant social identities. Again, the pattern involved the actors trialling particular organizational distributions such as the sequential order of attending to others, and modifying them when they were deemed unfit for the representational task at hand. We noted how the rehearsal was suspended mid-action to allow for an actor to flag up some or other trouble with the composition and suggest an alternative course of action. This would be subsequently trialled on the next occasion.

The apparently routine practice of distributing cups of coffee and cake to guests in one's home while conversing with them involves a range of different types of situated knowledge. The authentic representing of this activity requires an enactment that draws on these various pools of knowledge. We find that this explicit designed choreography of this routine action requires of performers and others that they explicate the different components of the everyday action and reassemble them as choreography, a routinized stage scene. In the sequence discussed here, the action being staged concerned a mundane, everyday activity in which the performers are themselves competent members. By tracking their work longitudinally over the rehearsal period, we can observe the practices through which the ensemble works together to discover how the prescribed text can be worked up into a fully embodied representation of real-world social settings.

Although operating in very different realms, those working in the performing arts and those in conversation analysis have a certain affinity with one another. Both are concerned with intricate studies of human sociality in action, in exploring the interactional machinery underlying conversation, where social relationships and institutions are enacted-into-being by people in co-present social engagement. Whereas CA involves making the ordinary noticeable through the adoption of particular methodological practices, such as repeatedly attending to a piece of recorded data, the sharing of analytic observations in data session activities, the transformation of

recorded data into fixed transcription that can be scanned back and forth, theatre practitioners operating in the naturalistic paradigm work in a way that takes a different direction. Here, with the use of a partial set of instructions, actors repeatedly play out different iterations of interactional sequences in order to move closer to “authentic” representations of interaction. The aim is to settle on a version that is adjudged by an audience to approximate real-world interaction to such an extent that it is agreed upon as being authentic enough for all practical purposes.

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Notes

1. For information on the cast and company: <http://that-theatre.com>
2. It has been pointed out that the French spelling for this delicacy is “clafoutis”. I use the Anglophone spelling as this is also used in the play-script.
3. The section of the play-script states: (*Veronica comes back with the tray, Drinks and the clafouti*).

VERONICA	I don't know who put the clafouti in the fridge. Monica puts everything in the fridge, she won't be told. What's Benjamin said to you? Sugar?
ALAN	No thanks. What's in the clafouti?
VERONICA	Apples and pears.
ANNETTE	Apples and pears?
VERONICA	My own little recipe. (<i>She cuts the clafouti and distributes it</i>) It's going to be too cold, it's a shame (Reza 2008, p. 9).

4. Without the script, another permutation would perhaps suggest itself with the female guest being offered a drink before her partner, on a basis of an orientation to a so-called “ladies first” norm.

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Part V

Collective and Cultural Change

10

Controversial Issues in Participatory Urban Planning: An Ethnomethodological and Conversation Analytic Historical Study

Lorenza Mondada

Introduction

Longitudinal and historical studies in ethnomethodology (EM) and conversation analysis (CA) constitute a challenging field, raising key issues for the conceptualization of action, interaction, temporality, and context. This chapter contributes to an EMCA approach to interactional phenomena as they evolve across time by studying long-term controversies within an urban participatory project. On the basis of a unique video corpus documenting a grassroots political project over six years, the chapter not only shows how it is possible to follow discussions among participants in the long run but also demonstrates how the participants themselves progressively build the history of the project. The issue is to produce an account of history as a locally situated achievement built and oriented to as such by members, within an *emic* praxeological and interactional perspective.

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Issues of Time in EMCA: Longitudinal and Historical Perspectives

Time is a fundamental dimension of the organization of human action as approached by EMCA. Actions unfold in time, in an emergent and incremental way. EMCA has been consequential in exploring this praxeological dimension of temporality because of its focus on situated practice: Human action is not the mere actualization of an abstract (atemporal) schema, but is locally organized, moment by moment, constantly adjusting to the contingencies of its context. This has prompted analytical attention to action as it is sequentially organized here and now—by participants constantly orienting to ‘what’s next?’ and ‘why that now?’ (Schegloff and Sacks 1973).

This raises the question of whether EMCA is able to tackle actions and events as they evolve and change across larger time spans. Even if this perspective has favored a focus on interaction as it is locally organized *now*, it has also variously tackled the study of activities and interactions *over time*. In a nutshell, two EMCA perspectives can be distinguished: (a) longitudinal studies of acquisition and learning describing individual change by analyzing how interactional competences and linguistic resources evolve in time (Markee 2008; Pekarek Doehler 2010; Koschmann 2013) and (b) historical studies analyzing social change by describing how practices, actions, and events change across time (Lynch and Bogen 1996; Clayman et al. 2006). This chapter contributes to the historical perspective by exploring controversies within groups of citizens participating in an urban project over several years.

Historical studies in EMCA remain scarce but have analyzed action in larger time spans in different ways. Within a CA perspective, Clayman et al. (2006) show how questioning presidents in US press conferences evolves through time from being more deferential to more aggressive and confrontational. Their study is based on a large corpus of press conferences—an activity type remarkably stable within time—spanning over 50 years, and on the detailed analysis of the formats of journalists’ questions. The methodology focuses on a specific action and compares, through a quantitative approach, its formats

across different periods (Clayman and Heritage 2009). It adopts an external, or *etic*, view of history: Change is seen within the analysts' perspective. Within an EMCA perspective, Mondada (2006) analyzes a routine practice by which doctors introduce the next patient's case in psychiatric team meetings, showing how its sequential format breaks up, is restructured, and is stabilized again during a critical period in which the boss leaves the team. The study demonstrates how micro-organizational praxeological changes relate to a wider institutional history but also how members recognize and actively treat these changes. Within an EM perspective, Lynch and Bogen (1996) show how during the hearings in the Iran Contra trial, the persons interrogated fabricate the history of the American intervention in Iran and Nicaragua through their reassemblage of testimonies, including their shredding of personal and collective memory. This study is based on recordings of trials as well as text archives: Its aim is not to reconstruct what happened, but to show "how histories – whether professionally accredited or not – are assembled through concerted, and sometimes contentious, actions" (Lynch 2009, p. 88). In their study, Lynch and Bogen were inspired by Garfinkel's (1967, p. 186) analysis of "good organizational reasons for 'bad' clinical records" in which he reveals how members prospectively manage records and archives in a way that is oriented to—thus, anticipating and constraining—their possible uses in the future, thereby shaping from the beginning the history of a case. The latter studies do not focus on longitudinal issues, but uncover, within an *emic* view, members' perspectives on history and, more radically, members' practices for making history.

Thus, EMCA studies tackle history in very different ways. My own approach consists here of both following specific actions through history and in describing members' perspectives on history in the making. The challenge is to describe relevant actions across time spans and contexts, while also considering the participants' perspectives and practices that not only refer to history but actively shape and make it. This chapter attempts to respond to the multiple challenges of (a) describing social actions through time, (b) focusing on participants' *methods* for achieving them and their interactional sequential organization, and (c) taking into

account their endogenous perspective on temporal change. In a nutshell, what characterizes this longitudinal-historical EMCA perspective is a focus on both action across time and the participants' orientation toward time. The latter dimension relates to an *emic* (vs. *etic*) analysis of temporal changes.

Documenting a Participatory Urban Planning Project Over Six Years

This chapter studies a participatory urban planning project spanning over more than six years. Its video documentation offers the unique opportunity to follow the participants within a long series of meetings—until the construction of the planned site.

From 2008 on, a French city organized a participatory project inviting citizens to engage with political representatives and technical experts in the building of a public park on an old military site. The project went through various phases, beginning as exchanges of ideas in informing and brainstorming sessions, evolving into architectural workshops in which plans were collaboratively discussed with the architect, and ending with visits to the construction site prior to the opening of the first section of the park, in 2013. Over these years, I was able to video record all citizens' participatory meetings, including the site visits, producing a unique video documentation of the entire project (26 public events lasting 2–4 h each, for a total of approx. 60 h, covered by multisource audio and video recordings, for a total of approx. 200 h).

Methodologically, such a large corpus constitutes the ideal material for a longitudinal-historical study. However, it also presents several challenges, significant to the issues raised by this kind of investigation. On the one hand, different objects could be compared through time: recurrent actions such as questions, proposals, and criticisms; topical issues and debated objects; and participants' categorization and turn-taking procedures. On the other hand, the activities characterizing the project are not routinely organized through a stable set of actions but constantly vary across different tasks, participation frameworks, and

material-institutional ecologies evolving in time—hindering a comparative analysis of typical and recursive actions through time. This raises the issue of an *etic* vs. *emic* approach to comparison (Watson 2008) and time change: In an *etic* perspective, the analyst orchestrates comparison by choosing the formal objects to be compared, while in an *emic* perspective the analyst focuses on the way participants themselves compare events, actions, and topics.

In this chapter, rather than proposing an *etic* view orchestrating a linear succession of events within the corpus, I develop an *emic* perspective on how participants conceive and build history through time, orienting to previous and next instances of proposals, statements, and decisions.

A series of *history-making practices* can be identified in this context. For example, politicians and administrative personnel organize meetings in a series; refer to global time schedules and formulate current events as respecting the announced plan; and draw retrospective and prospective links between one meeting and the other, in talk through summaries but also on paper thanks to reports and PowerPoint presentations, which are orally presented and constitute the basis for further discussions. Facilitators manage meetings by distributing tasks and topics within sessions, postponing actions as inadequate now and more adequate next time (Mondada et al. 2015), and by constituting proposals as *archivable* through public writing (Mondada 2016). Citizens orient to the history of the project, too, by asking questions about its timeline and progression, reminding political promises, and checking the consistency between current statements and previous agreements. The temporal unfolding of events is addressed by all of the participants as constituting the history of the project, which grounds its legitimacy, transparency, and accountability: History is produced and scrutinized as securing the political foundations of the process. Consequently, it is invoked for moral purposes, for assessing, criticizing, and defending the adequacy and acceptability of the procedure and its results as they are achieved here and now.

The analyses of this chapter take into account participants' orientations toward the production of history as a continuous local accomplishment. In doing so, I focus on some practices recurrently used by them to refer to, remind of, compare with, and confront actions that

happened in past meetings. These practices relate to reported speech (Holt and Clift 2007) and formulations (Heritage and Watson 1979), which—within actions such as proposing, summing up, asking questions, and contesting—establish the emergence, continuity, and retrospectivity of history in fieri. Studies of reported speech in institutional settings have shown their pervasiveness: For example, it allows journalists to speak on behalf of the public, displaying that what they say conveys public, rather than personal, concerns (Clayman 2007). This also builds on previous research on formulations: In institutional settings, they offer candidate understandings constituting a “public display of agreed intersubjectivity” (Antaki et al. 2007, p. 168) and exhibit the understandable, coherent, and decidable character of what has been said (Heritage and Watson 1979, p. 156); they allow imposing a version of the facts (Antaki et al. 2007); in meetings, they can achieve fixing the outcome of a discussion and sequence closing (Barnes 2007). In the setting analyzed here, they allow participants to refer to what somebody said and at the same time ‘collectivize’ it among a larger group (Mondada 2015). As we will see, they are fundamental to the production of coherent, politically, and morally legitimate links between one meeting and another.

In order to show the local relevance, coherence, and continuity of citizens’ concerns, I focus on a controversial topic—the use of bicycles within the park—and on actions proposing, defending, criticizing, or disagreeing with it across time. A special focus is on the methodical practices through which the participants display their orientation to past events, such as quoting past statements, evoking, and referring back to talk, writing, and reading of previous meetings. These practices do not only *refer* to history, they *make* it.

The analysis is chronologically organized in different stages: First, I outline some initial debates in which the bicycle issue is first introduced, proposed, discussed, and inscribed in public notes. This constitutes the beginning of the project, in which participants prospectively debate their proposals here and now but also orient to inscribing and archiving them as conditions for future debates. The next sections describe how these arguments are consolidated in PowerPoint syntheses, presented as

legitimate reports of the initial discussions, how protesting questions critically refer back to previous discussions in order to blame decisions, how past arguments are newly treated when re-inscribed on maps, and how they are finally questioned during the last information sessions before the opening of the park.

Across these moments, the analysis shows how the participants recycle, transform, contest, and reify their political arguments over time, building history through the very way in which they constantly refer back to them.

The Emergence of History: First Proposals

The participatory urban planning project started in 2008, with information sessions and brainstorming sessions gathering a hundred citizens. Within the former, political representatives and technical experts informed the participants about the site to be transformed into a park. Within the latter, citizens worked in smaller groups, producing proposals that were publicly written on a board by a facilitator. Very soon, the question of how bikes were allowed to circulate in the park emerged: Some citizens were in favor of bikes crossing the park, other strongly opposed to them, invoking risks of collisions with pedestrians. The coexistence between cyclists and pedestrians became an issue, generating different solutions—such as either forbidding bikes or building bike lanes.

The following analyses focus on a brainstorming session within a smaller group, focusing on how proposals concerning bikes are (a) formatted, (b) responded to by other citizens, and then (c) publicly inscribed by the facilitator, that is, archived for future decisions. These debates exhibit persistent disagreement, establishing the controversial historical grounds for further discussions. This paves the way for how proposals will be retrospectively treated in future debates, analyzed in the next sections.

We join the action within the group as Perlin (PER), the facilitator, is initiating a new sequence, selecting Bentou (BEN) for a statement.

Ex. (10.1) CAB8_181108_B_1.01.01

- 1 PER alors on va continuer à: à s'écouter
so we'll continue to listen
- 2 (0.3)
- 3 BEN donc pas d'mélange de types de déplacements#
thus no mixture of transport modes

fig

#fig. 10.1



Fig. 10.1 Gaze between BEN and PER

- 4 (0.6)
- 5 BEN c'est-à-dire au niveau des déplacements doux:, ne pas euh:
that is to say concerning soft modes of transport, no to ehm
- 6 concentrer dans les mêmes allées: des: des:: des piétons:,
concentrate in the same alleys, pedestrians
- 7 CHA des [vélos]
bi[kes
- 8 BEN [des] joggers,
[joggers,
- 9 CHA des vé[los]
bi[kes

- 10 BEN [et] [des vélos.]
 [and] [bikes.]
- 11 X31 [°des rollers°]
 [°rollers°]
- 12 (0.4)
- 13 X31 °des vélos°
 °bikes°
- 14 X ah oui
 oh yes
- 15 XXX des vélos
 bikes
- 16 PER d'ac[cord donc] c'est séparer les différents
 ri[ght so] it's to separate various
- 17 HER [des rollers]
 [rollers]
- 18 PER modes de dé[place:ment:]
 modes of transport
- 19 XXX [modes doux]
 [soft modes]
- 20 X ça va être difficile hein
 this will be difficult right
- 21 X on va avoir des problèmes
 we'll have problems
 ((10 lines omitted))
- 31 PER [c'est-à-dire de séparer notamment PIÉTONS CYCLISTES
 [that's to say namely to separate PEDESTRIAN BIKERS
- 32 XXX ça oui
 that yes

- 33 (0.2)
- 34 XXX c'est de la discrimination [ça]
that's discriminating [that]
- 35 JAU [et] quand vous avez un p'tit
[and] when you have a kid
- 36 avec un vélo qu'est-ce que vous en faites?
with a bike what do you do?

Once selected, Bentou proffers a concise negative proposal (l. 3; Fig. 10.1), which is not responded to (l. 4). Consequently, he elaborates on it (l. 5), again within a negative construction, in the form of a list. The list mentions first the pedestrians (l. 6), with a stretched final syllable and a rising intonation, typical of enumerations. Before Bentou produces the second element of his list, Charvet (CHA) proposes it (l. 7), mentioning bikes. Bentou produces the next item (l. 8) concerning joggers. At that point Charvet repropose her item (l. 9) and Bentou integrates it in the list as the final element (l. 10), overlapping with another participants' offering of an extra category (l. 11).

Thus, Bentou's list is collaboratively produced. The facilitator reformulates the output of this collaborative statement (l. 16, 18). However, other disagreeing voices are audible too: First, they critically assess the feasibility of the separation (l. 20, 21); then a bit later, as Perlin provides for a new reformulation (supported by a participant, l. 32), they clearly oppose to it (in terms of 'discrimination' l. 34 and in the form of an objecting question about the exclusion of kids as cyclists, l. 35–36).

So, a proposal is made concerning bikes; responses from the co-participants both align and object. This shows how a controversial position emerges.

Once (dis)agreements have been expressed, the facilitator proceeds to the inscription of the proposal on the board. This offers another opportunity for discussion—which in this group often happens in parallel conversations.

Ex. (10.2) CAB8_B_181108_01.04.30

- 1 PER de toutes manières on est bien d'acc- ON A BIEN DIT
in any case we well agre- WE CLEARLY TOLD
- 2 QU'ON S'RAIT PAS TOUS D'ACCORD, donc on peut p't-être euh::
THAT EVERYBODY WILL NOT AGREE, so we can maybe ehm::
- 3 (4.7) ((parallel conversations))
- 4 PER donc je NOTE,
so I WRITE,
- 5 (4.5) ((parallel conversations))
- 6 PER JE NOTE, deux choses.
I WRITE, two things.
- 7 (1.5) ((parallel conversations))
- 8 PER EUH (0.3) dans les usages donc. (0.4) un usage cycliste,
EHM (0.3) among usages then. (0.4) a usage for bikes,
- 9 plutôt de circulation
rather to transit
- 10 [+ (19.5)
per +writes ,circulation des vélos'-->
- 10a [REN piste cyclable moi j'veux bien
cycle lane me I well agree
- 10b [YAN oui piste cyclable moi [(j'veux bien)
yes cycle lane me [I well agree
- 10c [REN [oui mais:
[yes but:
- 10d [ZIR oui.. en évitant les lignes droites, d'toute façon.
yes. while avoiding straight stretches, in any case.
- 10e [pour que les vélos prennent pas d'la
in order for the bikes not to take any
- 10f [vitesse [hein parce que
speed [right because
- 10g [TAM [oui: i faut
[yes we have

298 L. Mondada

- 10h [STA ça va dégénérer ()
this will degenerate ()
- 10i [REN de toute façon des long- des longues lignes droites
in any case lon- long straight stretches
- 10j [y en aura pas hein
will not exist right
- 10k [ZIR faut faire un parcours sinueux, i faut faire un parcours
we have to make a winding lane, we have to do a lane
- 10l [un peu +sinueux avec [éventuellement des [chicanes pour
a bit winding with [possibly some [chicane in order to
- 11 PER [et [dans c'qui
[and [among what
-->+turns back to the assembly-->
- 12 est souhaité, alors bon. j'veais l'mettre dans les usages,
is wished, then well, I will write it under usages,
- 13 c'est, (0.3) séparation, des euh:: (0.2) des voies d' circ-
it's, (0.3) separation, of ehm:: (0.2) of lanes of traff-
- 14 >de séparation des +voies?<+
>of separation of lanes?<
+grimaces+
- 15 CHA des modes doux
of smooth transport modes
- 16 XXX des modes
of modes
- 17 PER des modes de [circulation?
of modes of transport?
- 18 XXX [de déplacement
[of displacement
per -->+turns to the board-->
- 19 XXX >des pistes<
>the lanes<

20 XXX **dé+pla[cement**
displa[cement

21 MIC **[séparation des modes de déplacement#**
[separation of modes of displacement

per ->+writes ,séparation des #modes de déplacement'-->>

fig #fig. 10.2ab



Fig. 10.2 (a, b) PER writing the proposal

In the midst of parallel conversations, and addressing the obvious fact that the participants are disagreeing (l. 1–2), the facilitator initiates a new sequence, announcing that two arguments will be inscribed (l. 4, 6): She proposes to inscribe the first one (*usage cycliste* ‘usage for bikes’) under a specific rubric on the board (+ *usages*, l. 8–9) and turns to the board to jot it down (l. 10).

While Perlin silently writes the proposal (l. 10), participants continue to talk in parallel: At one table in particular, a group of citizens discusses (l. 10a–10l) with skepticism what the facilitator is writing, as implying the necessity of bike lanes, with a specific design (‘straight’ lanes, l. 10d, 10i vs. *chicanes*, l. 10l). This shows again how each proposal is either overtly responded to or overlapped by disagreements and counterproposals produced in schisms.

Finally the facilitator turns back to the assembly (l. 11), initiating a collective word search about the second argument to be inscribed. Through the design of her turn (l. 11–14, including the grimace), she self-initiates other repair and is corrected by several participants (l. 15–16, 18–21). They actively negotiate the final written argument, for example, by orienting to differences between *circulation* (l. 17) vs. *déplacement* (l. 18, 20)—the first being more compatible with bikes vs.

the second, more generic, that includes walking—or by proposing the term *pistes* (l. 19), explicitly referring to bike lanes (more so than *voies*, l. 14, more generic, used by Perlin just before). She finally writes down *séparation des modes de déplacement* ‘separation of modes of displacement’ (l. 21; Fig. 10.2).

The facilitator’s inscription selectively treats the disagreements of the participants, who might pursue their disalignments and their corrections during the inscription—orienting to its importance for the future history of the debates, as its *archivable* trace. The inscription stabilizes the proposal, even when it is controversial, making it available for future debates.

So in these first brainstorming sessions, controversial proposals emerge, generating counterproposals and disagreements. The issue for the participants is not only to negotiate their positions *here and now* but also to negotiate their public inscription on the board, key for constraining *future* debates.

The Consolidation of History: Synthetic Reports

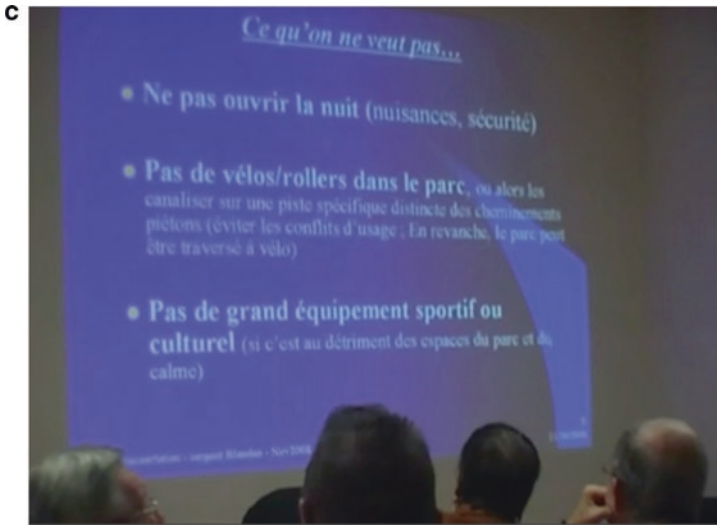
One week later, the citizens meet again. The results of the previous group discussions are first synthesized by another facilitator, Prévost (PRE), in a plenary PowerPoint presentation relying on the previous whiteboard notes. Then the citizens reconvene in parallel smaller groups: A new synthesis is made by the facilitator launching their work. These syntheses consolidate the points of controversy that emerged in the previous meetings; they show both how disagreements persist during these presentations and how a *disjunct format* expressing the controversial nature of the proposals emerges and sediments.

Official Report of Previous Discussions

The report about the previous meeting’s results is based on a PowerPoint commented on by Prévost:

Ex. (10.3) CAB10_261108_2e at/synth_AB_00.56.33–57.02/diapo5

- 1 PRE euh:: euh:: ne pas ouvrir le nuit, (0.4) vous avez évoqué
ehm:: ehm: not to open at night, (0.4) you have evoked
- 2 les questions de nuisances, les questions de sécurité, (0.3)
issues of inconveniences, issues of security (0.3)
- 3 pas de vélos, pas de roller dans le parc. ou alors (.)
no bikes, no rollers in this park, or if so (.)
- 4 les canaliser sur une piste spécifique (0.2)
to canalize them on a specific lane (0.2)
- 5 [distincte des cheminements pié[tons, éviter les
[distinct from the pedestrian footpath, avoid the
- 6 ? [ah oui
[oh yes
- 7 ? [ben ça
[well that
- 8 PRE conflits d'usage, c'est ce que vous avez dit en revan:- en
conflicts of usage, that's what you said howev-
- 9 revanche pour certains, ça a été dit plusieurs fois le parc peut
however for some, this has been said several times the park can
- 10 être traversé à vélo, y avait l'idée +on [peut+ #*passer d'+un+*
be crossed with bikes, there was the idea we [can transit from one
+.....+gesture---+,,,+
- 11 ? [.h ouais
[.h yeah
- jea *repeated nods*
- fig #fig. 10.3ab



17 PRE un peu de la déambulation à l'intérieur du parc. =

a little bit than deambulation within the park.=

• ,Pas de vélos/rollers dans le parc, ou alors les / canaliser dans une piste spécifique distincte des cheminements / piétons (éviter les conflits d'usage; En revanche, le parc peut / être traversé à vélo)'

• ,No bikes/rollers in the park, or then / to channel them in a specific lane distinct from other pedestrian / pathways (avoid conflicts of usage; however, the park can / be crossed with bikes)'

The reading of the PowerPoint (on the wall on the right of the facilitator, Figs. 10.3a, b and c) is animated by Prévost explicitly mentioning, through reported speech, what the citizens said. By referring either in a generic way to *vous* 'you' (l. 1, 8) or in a more particular way to *certain* 'some' (l. 9), he draws hierarchies between different positions, highlighting disagreements but also creating asymmetries between

different arguments. He establishes an explicit link between what is reported in the PowerPoint and the previous meetings, referring to the production of these opinions as facts and thus to his version as indisputable.

The written and spoken presentation of the bullet points concerning the bikes is (a) framed in a negative way (*pas de vélos* ‘no bikes’, l. 3; note that this is highlighted with bigger bold fonts in the PowerPoint, Fig. 10.3c) and (b) characterized by connectives that express exceptions, alternatives, and complementary points—such as *ou alors*, ‘or then’ (l. 3, spoken and written), *en revanche* ‘however’ (l. 8–9, spoken and written), and *mais* ‘but’ (l. 12, spoken). This not only exhibits the controversial dimension of these proposals, it offers, within a monological presentation, a condensation of multiple diverging voices, differentiated but also hierarchized.

Diverse voices are also to be heard in the audience’s response to the reading of the PowerPoint (l. 6, 7, 11, 13–16), expressing diverse stances toward what is being claimed. Again, reading and reformulating proposals re-occasions agreeing and disagreeing responses, further consolidating the emerging history of the controversy.

Recycling Previous Syntheses for Instructing the Next Discussion

The official synthesis is clearly oriented toward the past and attributed to citizens’ past contributions. Just after this plenary session, the participants are again divided in smaller groups: The facilitator launches their brainstorming work by recycling some elements from the previous synthesis. The following excerpt shows how he uses controversial elements to frame the tasks of the day and therefore to constrain future discussions.

The bike ‘issue’ (the formulation crystallizes the ‘issue’ as a *question*, l. 1) is presented with the adverbial phrase *à la fois*, ‘at once’ (l. 2), projecting a bipartite argument. Both aspects are introduced by *on a vu* ‘we saw’ (l. 1, 3), with the pronoun *on* and a verb in the past tense—treating the elements of the controversy as established and as common ground. The first is articulated with the second by the connective ‘but’ (l. 3). While the first position is objectified as an existing fact (“there was...the idea”), the second is attributed to a minority (*certaines* ‘some’, l. 3), voiced through direct speech (l. 3–4). Thus, these two aspects are presented in an asymmetrical way although they are synthesized as a dilemma (‘how to do’, l. 5–6) articulating two competing requirements.

Even if there are no open responses to Prévost, a parallel exchange at one table is exemplary of the way in which this is received: Barley and Bennet also refer, using reported speech, to past sayings (l. 3a). Interestingly, when Barley produces one argument (l. 3a–4a), Bennet responds with an opposing one (l. 5a–6a), introduced by *sauf que* ‘except that’ (l. 5a). Hence, they realize, within an interactional sequence, the same disagreement that is voiced within a unique turn by Prévost.

The synthesis operated by Prévost refers to past discussions, adopts a format that is very similar to the one used in the previous official synthesis, and ends with the opening of the next activity. In this way, instructions for the following step are produced on the basis of previous citizens’ discussions, as elaborated on by the facilitator. Future action is locally built on the basis of the recycling and reshaping of past actions.

Referring to the Past for Asking Protesting Questions

After this first participatory phase, the project was put on hold while the authorities prepared the bid for its architectural planning. During this latency phase, two information meetings were held, in June 2009 and July 2010, in which the authorities explained the progression of the project.

The very fact of holding a meeting, the official introduction reminding of the timeline of the project, and the public speeches held constitute the way in which the authorities build the continuity of the project through time and relate it to what has been planned. With these meetings, politicians actively *achieve* the continuity and progressivity of the project by claiming to be *following* the time schedule.

Within these meetings, the citizens are mainly treated as recipients of information, though some slots for questions are opened. Citizens also orient to the event as being a milestone within a larger history. But they treat continuity in a different way than politicians: They compare the actual presentation of the project with the points that were established in the previous participatory sessions, almost one or two years before. This shows how they actively build their own sense of the project's history, how they act as 'watchdogs' relative to new decisions by referring to past agreements. In this way, they set up an arena for negotiating the actual and future form of the project.

In this section, I analyze instances in which citizens asking questions to politicians explicitly refer to the previous sessions they participated in and trends that emerged there.

In extract 10.5, Collet (COL) asks a question about bikes, which is responded to by Daumat (DAU), the head of the urban planning department in charge of the project.

Ex. (10.5) CAB13-080710_PLE 01.11.00

- 1 COL oui bonjour raphael collet conseil du quartier jean macé, (0.5)
yes good afternoon Raphael Collet neighborhood council Jean Macé
- 2 concernant les cyclistes. (0.5) vous avez précisé qu'y aura
concerning bikers. (0.5) you have specified that there will be
- 3 pas d'aménagement spécifique pour les cyclistes, (0.8) il me
no specific arrangement for bikers, (0.8) it seems to
- 4 semblait dans une réunion de concertation au contraire ont été
me that in a participatory meeting quite the opposite have been
- 5 souhaités des voies de cir- de séparer les voies piétonnes à
whished traffic lan- to separate pedestrian footpaths

- 6 l'intérieur du parc. (1.0) ou est-ce que j'ai mal compris
inside the park. (1.0) or do I have misunderstood
- 7 votre position? est-ce que vous pourriez la préciser? (0.7) merci.
your position? could you specify it? (0.7) thanks.
- 8 (3.7)
- 9 DAU là c'est une question j'allais dire presque de::: de philosophie,
here it's a question I would say almost of::: of philosophy,
- 10 des agréments. (0.3) quand vous avez une piste cyclable, (0.4)
of agreements. (0.3) when you have a bike lane, (0.4)
- 11 y a des gens qui pensent c'est des- c'est un vélodrome. (0.9) euh
there are people who think that's that's a velodrome. (0.9) ehm
 ((9 lines omitted, gives an example of another park))
- 20 (1.0) là on- c'était plutôt l'idée d'une promenade (0.3)
(1.0) here we- it was rather the idea of a promenade (0.3)
- 21 cyclable (0.3) et pas, (0.3) d'une euh piste cyclable.
cyclable (0.3) and not, (0.3) of a cycling lane.
- 22 (4.0)

Collet begins his turn by stating his name and his membership category (Sacks 1992), which establishes a categorical link with the issue at hand and gives a public legitimacy to the speaker. He then refers to the PowerPoint presentation Daumat just completed, to which he gives his opposing version of a past meeting. Note that Collet prefaces his reference to the past in a very cautious way ('it seemed to me', l. 3–4)—contrasting with the way the facilitator refers to past meetings (cf. extract 10.3) factualizing his summary of citizens' arguments.

More precisely, Collet refers to the following slide (Fig. 10.4), in which the distribution between cyclists and pedestrians is visualized in two signs of different sizes. The issue of cyclists is addressed in the second paragraph (highlighted in the picture—its presentation by Daumat is not shown for space limitations):



Fig. 10.4 PowerPoint slide, second paragraph

, - Un parc accessible aux vélos sans aménagement spécifique'

'- A park accessible for bikes without any specific infrastructure'

Collet points to the second paragraph (Fig. 10.4), attributing it to Daumat (*vous avez précisé* 'you specified', l. 2) and partially quoting it, with a focus on the last part that negates any specific infrastructure for cyclists. He then refers, with a strong disjunct marker (Jefferson 1978, p. 221) (*au contraire* 'quite the opposite') to a past 'participatory meeting' (l. 4) in which the separation of cyclists and pedestrians was recommended. This recommendation is introduced within a passive construction (*ont été souhaités* 'have been wished') on which the first argument (*des voies de cir-*)

depends and then self-repaired into a second one (*de séparer*) that is not syntactically fitted any more with the passive verb. This specific format allows Collet to build his oppositional argument by reference to the participatory session without specifying any agency, authorship, or majority: The simple mention of the past session grounds its legitimacy.

Furthermore, by referring to his possible miscomprehension of Daumat's speech (l. 6–7), Collet offers the opportunity to treat the contradiction between these two versions not as a political issue but as a problem of understanding that can be easily repaired. So, Collet does not cast any doubt about his version of what was recommended in the participatory session while offering a possibility to repair Daumat's version.

In his response, Daumat generically evokes a matter 'of philosophy' (l. 9) and establishes a hyperbolic equivalence between 'bike lane' and 'velodrome', highlighting the dangers of a separate lane to argue against it. He further builds the contrast between this kind of infrastructure and the idea of *promenade* (l. 20) in a way that makes the bike lane definitively irrelevant.

We can notice that Daumat does not address what was said in the previous participatory meetings and ignores Collet's legitimacy argument. The final answer (l. 20–21) is formatted with an initial *on*—a third person impersonal pronoun often used instead of *we* which would refer in this case to the authorities and give them agency for the idea—but then quickly self-repairs it into *c'* 'it', which erases any form of agency. Thereby Daumat subtly orients to the issue of agency in decision taking, which is openly raised by Collet in his reference to the citizens' legitimacy.

In another plenary, a citizen raises a similar question in reaction to Prévost's presentation of the participatory discussions eight months earlier. Here is the facilitator's PowerPoint presentation:

Ex. (10.6) CAB12-160609_36.27

- 1 PRE **une demande qui était effectivement sur les pistes cyclables,**
a request that was actually dealing with bike lanes,
- 2 **ça avait fait débat, mais ce que vous avez surtout mis en valeur,**
that had been debated, but what you have mainly highlighted,
- 3 **c'est, attention on on part du concept de piéton.** (0.5) *on*
it's, beware we we start from the concept of pedestrian. (0.5) *we*

- 4 s'oppose pas, (.) à la dimension piste cyclable, mais on
we do not oppose, (.) to the bike lane dimension, but we
- 5 l'organise autour d'une circulation qui est une circulation qui
organise it around a traffic that is a traffic that
- 6 est une circ- euh qui est une circulation d'abord piétonne.
is a traff- ehm that is first of all a pedestrian traffic.

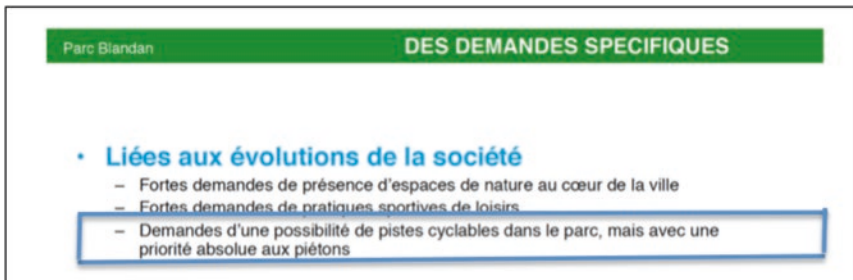


Fig. 10.5 PowerPoint slide, last paragraph

, - Demandes d'une possibilité de pistes cyclables dans le parc, mais avec une / priorité absolue aux piétons'

, - Request of possible bike lanes in the park, but with/ absolute priority to the pedestrians'

In Prévost's talk, bike lanes are introduced as 'request' (l. 1) immediately relativized by the fact that they 'had been debated' (l. 2) and promptly abandoned in favor of a perspective centered on pedestrians—prefaced by 'but' (in the PowerPoint, Fig. 10.5, as well as in the talk, l. 2). The latter is developed through direct reported speech (from *attention on*, l. 3), which powerfully expresses a version attributed to the collective voice of the citizens. In this way, the bike issue is introduced within the perspective of the pedestrians, by the pronoun *on* in the negative phrase *on ne s'oppose pas* 'we are not opposed' and then again the connective *mais* 'but' (l. 4). These formal resources upgrade the salience of the reference to the past and to the citizens' involvement: Even if the syntactical format manifests the tensions between different voices, the priority of pedestrians is presented as undisputable.

After this presentation, the citizen Latuillière (LAT) asks a question.

Ex. (10.7) CAB12_160609_PLE 00.43.00

- 1 (3.5)
- 2 LAT benjamin latuillière habitant du quartier: je fais partie de
Benjamin Latuillière inhabitant of the neighborhood I belong to
- 3 pignon sur rue la maison du vélo, (0.3) je je: j'ai j'suis
pignon sur rue the house of bikes, (0.3) I I:I've I'm
- 4 juste interpellé un petit peu *par euh: ce que j'ai lu:, la
just concerned a little bit by ehm: what I read,
**looks down at his notes->*
- 5 possi>bilité de pistes cyclables dans le parc mais priorité
possi>ble bike lanes in the park but absolute priority
- 6 absolue aux piétons.< *(0.2)* .h alors moi j'suis tout à
to the pedestrians.< (0.2) .h so me I am totally
->, , , , . *looks up at podium-->*
- 7 fait d'accord euh:: avec ça:, de t'te façon+ le piéton euh:+
agreeing ehm:: with that:, in any case the pedestrian ehm:
pre +opens 2H & nods+
- 8 >c'est l'fondement de la ville< .hh >on peut pas faire
>it's the foundation of the city,< .hh >we cannot make
- 9 autrement,> mais, moi je j'avais l'impression dans l'atelier
otherwise,> but, me I had the impression in the workshop
- 10 auquel j'avais participé, (0.3) qu'on avait <plutôt> insisté sur
in which I participated, (0.3) that we <rather> insisted on
- 11 euh:: (0.8) la: séparation des pié[tons,] (0.2) et des
ehm:: (0.8) the: separation between pede[strians] (0.2) and
- 12 PRE [oui.h]
[yes.h]
- 13 LAT cyclistes. (0.2) j'ai- j'ai peur qu'avec la formulation qu'vous
bikers. (0.2) I fe- I fear that with the formulation that you

- 26 piéton qui serait privilégié hein? +mais j'me souviens de:
of pedestrian that will be favored right? but I remember about:
 ->+points at LAT->
- 27 >c'que vous aviez évoqué<+ (appuyer) sur les <traversants>+ heint+
>what you had evoked< (support) PREP the crossing axes right
 -->+crossing gesture w extended arm+,,,,,+
- 28 (0.6)
- 29 DAU j'ai: j'ai pas compris sur les berges euh::
I've: I haven't understood about the riverbanks ehm::

Latuillière self-categorizes as both an inhabitant of a district near the park and a member of two cycling associations: This is a double way to legitimate his contribution. Nonetheless, he manifests his disalignment ('I'm just concerned a little bit', l. 4; 'me I had the impression', l. 9; 'I fear', l. 13; etc.) in a way that (as in excerpts 10.5, 10.3 and 10.4) is very cautious and insists—through the use of the personal pronoun, the lexical choices of the verbs, and the modal relativizations—on the fact that the reference to past events constitutes his personal view rather than an established fact. With 'what I read' (l. 4), he explicitly refers to his reception of the PowerPoint, which is also pointed at in his quote uttered with fast reading³ prosody and by his visibly looking at his notes (l. 4–6).

First, Latuillière manifests his agreement (l. 6–8), which is responded to by Prévost with a gesture treating it as obvious; second, objecting with *mais* 'but' and *plutôt* 'rather', he refers back to his firsthand experience as participant in the citizens' workshops to propose an alternative version (voiced through the pronoun *on*, l. 10) and criticizes Prévost's *formulation* (l. 13) as running the risk of generating a situation that citizens tried to avoid (l. 13–19).

Prévost responds in several ways: He confirms in overlap the reference to the separation (l. 12); he checks his printed copy of the PowerPoint (l. 15–18); and he also responds directly to Latuillière (l. 20), after having secured his floor by looking at the political representatives (who generally respond to questions). He thus manifests his

recognition of what the citizen is saying—explicit in his personal claim ('I remember', l. 20)—although producing a transformative answer (Stivers and Hayashi 2010) by talking about 'the idea of securization' (l. 21) as an equivalent of the gist of Latuillière's last point. Prévost admits that his version might be too sharp (l. 21–22). He then reaffirms the point, introduced by *mais* 'but' and *quand meme* 'nonetheless', with several self-repairs (l. 22–26). However, he ends his turn by coming back to the citizen's perspective, prefaced with another 'I remember', and by 'but'; he introduces an idea that was not mentioned by Latuillière, referring back to bikes being able to cross the park, strengthened by a 'crossing' gesture. This refers to an exchange that took place between them eight months before, in which they co-elaborated the idea of *parc traversant* 'crossing park', uttered here by Prévost with the very same gesture (not shown here for place limitations, but see Mondada 2012, extract 10.6 for an analysis).

As these two excerpts show, critical questions rely on references to past debates that are contrasted with current official summaries. Citizens enact the role of 'watchdogs' by pointing at precise wordings in written and spoken official discourses and by opposing them with quotes of past debates and outcomes—though voicing them in a rather personal and cautious way. By doing so, they contribute to the making of the history of the project and to the project as being the result and the continuation of past meetings.

History in the Making: Negotiating Proposals on Plans

In 2011, the project evolved radically with the arrival of an architect who presented a full-fledged plan of the site. At this point, new workshops were organized with the citizens, now working on the basis of these plans (vs. on verbal proposals and texts the years before), with the architect as a newcomer who had not participated in the previous debates. Consequently, although past arguments were re-discussed in this new context, explicit references to past meetings as a way of

legitimizing claims were dropped. When citizens work on architectural plans, bike issues are tackled differently: Instead of talking about general principles, they look at specific locations on the map and debate the possibility of having bikes there or not. This engenders agreements as well as disagreements, and renegotiations, in which references to past discussions are subtler.

In the next extracts, the citizens work on bike access points at the hedges of the park. First, an inscription on the plan is negotiated between Latuillière (LAT), in favor of bikes, and Leruel (LER), against them.

Ex. (10.8) CAB15_280611_rouge_0.21.30

```

1  LAT      donc +ici:+ la que*stion c'est:,*#
      so here: the question is:,*=
      +sticks empty post-it on plan+

ler      *.....*points to castle-->

fig      #fig. 10.6a

```



Fig. 10.6 (a) LAT and LER point at Post-It note

- 2 LER =sans vélo, surtout qu'y a apparemment y a pas de:*
 =without bikes, first of all because there is apparently no:
 --->*
- 3 (1.4)+
 lat +writes 'passage vélo' --->
- 4 (1.0)
- 5 LER y a rien [pour]
 there is nothing [for it]
- 6 LAT [donc] on ma rque un passage à vélo ici.+
 [so] we write a passageway for bikes here.
 lat --->+
- 7 (0.3)
- 8 LAT [possible]
 [possible]
- 9 LER sans vé[lo]
 without bi[ke]
- 10 LAT [j'sa]is pas hein
 [I don't kno]w uh
- 11 [.h sans vélo?]
 [.h without bikes?]
- 12 DUL [le le le le le] parc n'est [pas]:
 [the the the the the] park is [not]:
- 13 LER? [(voilà)] sans vélo (aussi)
 [(right)] without bikes (too)
- 14 DUL finalement le parc n'est pas: (0.5) +y a pas de pistes+#
 finally the park is not: (0.5) there are no bike
 lat +adds 'sans'-----+
 fig fig. 10.6b#
- 15 cyclables euh: globalement (leparc) n'est pas pour les vélos,
 lanes ehm: globally (the park) is not made for bikes,



Fig. 10.6 (b) LAT's final (smaller) post-it

'passage / sans vélo'

'passageway / without bike'

16 POI il y a pas de pistes cyclables??

there are no bike lanes??

17 LAT n[on]

n[o]

18 CLT [no]n

[no]

19 DUB [non] mais [mais on a-

[no] but [but we ha-

20 POI [y en a pas??

[there aren't??

21 CLT n[on]

n[o]

- 22 ? [non non y a de [()
 [no no there is [()
- 23 CLT [il y a pas la place
 [there is no space
- 24 DUB non non mais c'est c'est des: [c'est des voies partagées
 no no but it's it's [it's mixed lanes
 ((4 lines omitted))
- 29 DUB pour piéton et [vélo
 for pedestrians and [bikes
- 30 LAT [oui on peut y pas[ser euh]
 [yes we can cro[ss it ehm]
- 31 POI [ah piét]ons [vélo oui
 [oh pedestrians [bikes yes
- 32 FAY [c'est pas exclusif
 [it's not exclusive

Latuillière points at one park's entrance on the map (l. 1) and sticks a Post-It note on that location, projecting an inscription. His turn begins with 'the question is' and he projects a response to be written on the Post-It note. Simultaneously, Leruel points at the same location (Fig. 10.6a); he both completes the turn initiated by Latuillière and responds to it, with 'without bikes' (l. 2), adding an unfinished negative account, continued later (l. 5). But Latuillière, occupied with his own writing, ignores it and inscribes *passage vélo* on the Post-It note, which he reads aloud (l. 6), within a turn constituting an assertion rather than a request for confirmation, further incremented (l. 8) and modalized after a pause in which nobody supports it. At that point, Leruel repeats 'without bike' (l. 9), now addressed by Latuillière who initiates repair, repeating it interrogatively ('without bike?', l. 11), manifesting surprise. Duller joins Leruel in producing a negative description accounting for that choice (l. 12–15). Latuillière aligns with them, modifying the inscription by adding 'without' at the beginning of the second line of the Post-It note, before 'bike' (Fig. 10.6b).

This extract shows how the bike problem is renegotiated within another ecology for the discussion, in which proposals are made while looking at maps, focusing on specific locations, and annotating plans with inscriptions. The abundant use of negations and Latuillière's surprise index a subtle reference to past alternative versions of the park.

Duller's account (l. 14–15) refers to the absence of cycling lanes in the park: Its turn-initial *finalement* 'at the end' (l. 14) can be understood as a subtle reference to the past, referring to the decision closing previous debates. Another orientation to the past can be seen in Poire's big surprise (l. 16, 20), manifesting expectations about features of the park taken for granted and locally violated. It occasions an update about the project by her co-participants, which first just negate the bikes (l. 17–19, 21–23) but then take again the form of an articulation between bikes and pedestrians (l. 24–32).

This excerpt shows how proposals are specifically treated within a new institutional-material ecology: Working on plans presented by the newly appointed architect obliges to express opinions and make decisions concerning issues visible and locatable on the map, rather than discussing them in principled ways. These proposals also build on previous debates, although referring to them in more indirect ways, treating them as settled: They are not renegotiated but rather implemented in specific locations and material features (such as access designed for or against bikes). So drawing plans and maps reifies previous terms of the debate and opens up new options and decisions.

Asking Questions at a Final Stage

The last phase of the project opened in 2012 with the beginning of the construction work. Further information sessions were held, as well as visits to the construction site (not shown here), before the first partial opening of the park in 2013.

At this later stage, in one of the last plenaries, the bike issue is raised again. Damaris (DMS) asks a question mentioning bikes and roller skates together (l. 01–03; ex. 10.1). It is not responded to immediately (questions are grouped in series and responses given later). Fifteen minutes

later, Bert (BER), the political representative, reminds the group about it (l. 2). The initial question is formatted as a series of nouns (*accès vélos rollers* ‘bikes roller skates access’, l. 03) without any article or any verbal syntax. This elliptical format treats the issue as known by everybody and the question as a reminder rather than as a new topic. A similar orientation is visible in Bert’s reminder, in which he only mentions “and the bikes? access to bikes?” (l. 2), as well as in the architect’s (Ligour) early beginning of an answer (l. 4). Everybody treats the bike question as well known and thus the reference to past discussions as obvious and settled.

Ex. (10.9) CAB17-031012_PLE 01.30.00/01.44.05

01 DMS ((formulates a first question)) (0.3) *deuxième question,*
(0.3) second question,

02 **est-ce que l’éclairage est photovoltaïque? (1.2) et: euh:**
is lighting photovoltaic? (1.2) and: euh:

03 **ma troisième question (.) est: accès vélos rollers. (0.8) voilà.**
my third question (.) is: access bikes rollers. (0.8) that’s it.
 ((15 minutes omitted))

1 (1.4)

2 BER **et les vélos? (.) euh [l’ac]ces aux vélos?**
and the bikes? (.) ehm [ac]cess to bikes?

3 LIG [les]
 [the]

4 LIG **les accès aux vélo:s, euh c’est: >comme aussi dans les<**
the access to bikes, ehm it’s: >like also in<

5 **parcs, c’est-à-dire euh (0.4) euh on arrive euh:: sur la**
parks, that’s to say ehm (0.4) ehm we arrive ehm:: on the

6 **place, [et on *prend on descend d’son: d’son* vélo (0.4)**
square, [and we take we get off our: our bike (0.4)

nav *turns to LIG-->

7 ? **[c’est un parc ()**
[it’s a park ()

322 L. Mondada

- 8 LIG et on le tient pour aller dans le: (0.7) dans le:: >sur les
and we hold it when walking in the: (0.7) in the:: >on the
- 9 cheminements pié+tons.<
pedestrian footpaths.<
+turns to NAV+
- 10 (1.8)
- 11 NAV mais sur l'esplanade, (0.5) donc euh: la partie euh* (1.0) ici
but on the esplanade, (0.5) thus ehm: the area eh: (1.0) here
*grasps mouse->
- 12 place qu'on vous a montré (0.5) on pourra circuler*à vélo comme
square that we showed you (0.5) we will be able to cycle as
->*mouse on Repos->
- 13 c'était aujourd'hui l'cas,* (0.3) et tran*siter, entre les
it has been the case today, (0.3) and transit, between the
--->*shows Sardou--*shows crossing both ways->
- 14 entrées s-des parvis repos et sardou,* .h euh puisque on s'est
entrances s- of the square Repos and Sardou, .h ehm since we
-->*
- 15 rendu compte, >avec cette ouverture anticipée d'l'esplanade<(0.5)
noticed, >with this anticipated opening of the esplanade<(0.5)
- 16 qu'y avait un flux important (0.4) >et ça permettait de relier
that there was an important flow (0.4) >and it allowed to link
- 17 les quartiers entre eux.< (1.1) °donc ça ça sera maintenu.°
the districts together.< (1.1) °so that that will be maintained.°
- 18 (1.2)
- 19 BER voilà. donc ça a ça a fait l'objet de: (0.2) nombreuses des
right. so that has that has been the focus of: (0.2) number of
- 20 discussions, débats, (0.5) euh des vélos s'ront donc (.) pas
discussions, debates, (0.5) ehm bikes will thus be (.) not
- 21 autorisés euh sur les parcours de ronde et de (0.4) de traverse,
authorized ehm on the round pathways and (0.4) the backways,

- 22 (0.3) mais >le vélo de (0.4) °1- le° j'entends sportifs, bien sûr<
 (0.3) but >the bike of (0.4) °t- the° I mean sportbikes, of course<
- 23 (0.3) par contre si des gamins font du vélo, °beh j'pense° q'ç's'ra
 (0.3) by contrast if kids ride bikes, °well I think° that it'll be
- 24 comme partout, .h toléré dans les parcs, des gamins qui apprennent
 as everywhere, .h tolerated in the parks, kids who learn
- 25 à faire du vélo, que ce soit sur l'esplanade ou sur les: (0.4) ou
 to ride bike, whether on the esplanade or on the (0.4) or
- 26 sur les chemins, (0.4) et l'usage de vélo pour trabouler entre les
 on the pathways, (0.4) and the use of bike for crossing between the
- 27 deux quartiers, soit par la rue qui .h est en train de être
 two districts, whether throught the road that .h is about to be
- 28 réalisée derrière le grand casernement, (0.4) soit via l'esplanade,
 built behind the big barracks, (0.4) whether through the esplanade,
- 29 (0.3) sera lui bien sûr (0.4) autorisé.
 (0.3) will be of course (0.4) authorized.
- 30 (1.1)

Damaris's question is answered by three different persons: by the architect, Ligour (LIG); by the engineer in charge of the project, Navarro (NAV); and by a politician, Bert (BER). Each one gives a different answer, stressing a different aspect.

Ligour's response is restrictive and simply refers to general policies ruling parks: He does not reject bikes but uses a series of verbs to describe the action of getting off the bike and walking with it. His turn is received with some hubbub (l. 7).

At that moment, Navarro turns to him (l. 6), projecting her imminent self-selection. Her turn begins with 'but' (l. 11) and focuses on a different space, the big square: Grasping the mouse of Ligour's computer, she shows the square on the map projected on a giant screen, and she uses it to show the movements of transiting between one extremity and the other. This crossing was already possible at that time, and Navarro confirms that it will be maintained. Interestingly, this decision is grounded

on recent observations about the actual traffic through the park rather than on past participatory discussions.

So, while Ligour addresses the question by focusing on the park—where bikes are not allowed—Navarro complements his answer referring to the big square, where bikes can transit.

After Navarro, Bert completes the answer. He refers to the participatory process (l. 19–20), framing the final solution as the output of previous debates, treating them as settled and even banalizing them, within the continuity of the citizens' participation in the project. The final solution is presented in a format—reproducing previous official discourses—consisting first of negating the use of bikes in some areas of the park (l. 20–21); second, prefaced by a double connective, 'but' (l. 22) and 'however' (l. 23) (and after a retrospective specification of the type of bike that is forbidden, 'sportbikes', l. 22), in tolerating the use of bikes for children (l. 23–26); and third, in adding the authorization for bikes to cross the big square (l. 26–29). A very particular verb is used for the latter point, *trabouler* (from the Latin *transambulare*, 'to cross'), which is a local regional expression referring to passageways connecting houses and constituting an alternative to open streets: Using that verb instead of others recurrently used—*traverser* 'to cross' or *transiter* 'to transit', used by Navarro (l. 13)—is a way of assimilating the described activity with the local culture, thereby associating it with typical activities of local inhabitants and possibly seeking for some local affiliation.

These three answers are category-bound (Sacks 1992): They make relevant the perspective of the architect, the technician, and the politician. The first two are articulated together by a disjunct marker ('but') that is also used to internally structure the complex answer given by the third—which refers to previous debates for its legitimacy and accommodates different types of citizens' expectations (excluding sportspersons, but including families and children as well as inhabitants moving from one urban district to another).

At this later stage, the reference to innumerable discussions does not work as a possible destabilization of the final decision but, quite the opposite, as a way to show that it has been built on participatory debates and therefore to exhibit its legitimacy.

Conclusion: History as a Situated Accomplishment

Describing the procedures through which citizens, facilitators, and politicians ground their arguments, proposals, criticisms, and questions by establishing retrospective links with past meetings and controversies, this study contributes to an EMCA perspective on history as a members' situated accomplishment. The main issue is to show how an *emic* perspective on historical processes can be developed within the analysis of video-recorded interactions occurring over a time span of several years.

The chapter focused on practices through which participants relate their current actions to past actions, thereby constructing legitimate proposals, positionings, and questionings. These practices strongly rely on explicit references to past meetings, in the form of reported speech: references to previous exchanges and statements, quotes, and formulations as well as on more implicit references in the form of negative statements, manifestations of expectations, and treatment of issues as well known or already settled. These practices are mobilized by different categories of speakers—such as citizens, facilitators, and politicians. For instance, while the facilitator refers to versions of the past as agreed-upon and indubitable facts, organizing and orchestrating the original disagreement among citizens for the purposes of the progressivity of the procedure, the citizens repeatedly refer to past debates in a cautious and often personal way, in the service of their questionings of the procedure—not always heard as such and not always successful in changing the official agenda. Thus, these practices assume different forms—more authoritative or more hesitant, more factualizing or more personalizing the reference to the past—having different efficiencies, and being mobilized in the service of different actions, such as stabilizing or criticizing an argument.

The frequent use of these practices within the grassroots democracy project studied here shows how the participants build their moral and political sense of history and by doing so contribute to the participatory making of history. By referring back to previous meetings, even over large time spans, they build—but also possibly question—the continuity and legitimacy of the procedure. All participants orient to its coherence,

referring to previous statements and past meetings: The citizens are entitled to question official reports and decisions by referring to previous agreements and discussions; the facilitator builds his or her professional credibility on syntheses and reformulations of citizens' statements, proposals, and counterproposals; and the public authorities construct the legitimacy of the democratic and participatory procedure on the continuity of the debates. By referring to past proposals and positions, carefully choosing the versions that are presented of past exchanges, and rejecting these versions as not conforming to past exchanges, all participants engage in the situated making of history.

The chapter focused on a controversial topic, followed over six years of debates, showing how verbal and inscribed proposals, spoken and written syntheses of proposals, cartographic versions of proposals, and questioning of past proposals and positions are expressed and negotiated, and then progressively crystallized in a recurrent disjunct format. Emerging from actual disagreements between the participants, it sediments into a monological format: "A + disjunct marker + B". It is continuously used to manage controversial topics through the history of the project, keeping some kind of balance between them—a balance between positions that evolve from dilemmas to asymmetric values to sharper oppositions. This disjunct format is a very simple device that allows speakers to mingle opposite opinions in one single sentence, in order to transport controversies extracted from their original, interactional, disagreeing sequential environments—preserving their controversial flavor but progressively articulating indisputable positions. These practices allow different voices to travel across time, preserve controversies, and oppositional arguments.

The contribution to an EMCA approach to history offered by this study considers together (a) a controversial topic; (b) recurrent actions through which it is elaborated, disputed, and negotiated, such as proposals, counterproposals, reports, and questions; (c) a specific turn format that manifests the controversial nature of the arguments; (d) interactional contexts in which the participants' activities draw on speech and the manipulation of textual and visual inscriptions; and (e) an array of practices that refer to past events and the building of a continuous history. By doing so, the chapter addresses historical change through an analysis that

follows actions and interactions in the long run, considers the details of their praxeological and sequential organization, and integrates within them the participants' orientations to time—their sense of history and their practices for making history.

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11

When Cancer Calls...: Longitudinal Analysis and Sustained Cultural Impact

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Introduction

When analyzing a corpus of family phone conversations across 61 calls, over a period of 13 months (Beach 2009), it became necessary to devise a type of *longitudinal* analysis to capture the breadth and depth of interactions over time. As this collection of calls represents the first natural history of a recorded family cancer journey, from diagnosis through death of a loved one, there was ample motivation to discover progressive interactions as family members navigated their way through the diagnosis, treatment, and prognosis for cancer. But *how* so? Episodic descriptions of single cases were at times necessary, as in the opening few minutes of the first call when dad informed son that mom's tumor had been diagnosed as malignant. The next morning, however, how did son rely on this bad news when speaking with

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his mother for the first time about her recent cancer diagnosis? What similarities and differences existed when comparing dad and mom's depictions of what the doctor had informed them? Across these calls, what insights can be generated by identifying epistemic claims made by dad/husband, son, and mom as a cancer patient whose own body and life was endangered?

From the outset, then, it was clear that exposing snapshots of single occurrences were simply not sufficient for revealing how successive calls were serially ordered, ways that speakers reported on similar events across varying intervals of time, and the cumulative use of specific kinds of practices designed to manage unfolding circumstances. A related issue involved recognizing that while these materials were extraordinary—drawn from a one-of-a-kind and thus rare corpus of phone calls—they also mirrored how ordinary people managed cancer as one of the most feared diseases and health threats. These interactions seemed altogether normal, comprised of routine activities such as updating good and bad news, managing troubles, delivering, and receiving (at times funny) stories about family members' daily experiences, reporting on what others (e.g., doctors) told them during recent clinical visitations, supporting and commiserating with one another about uncertain futures only vaguely seen, and understood, within here-and-now and thus local contexts of interaction.

Examining *longitudinal* materials triggers inevitable and specific methodological quandaries that cannot be figured out in advance. Over the course of this long-term investigation, considerable conversation analytic (CA) research findings were available to enhance descriptions and compare findings with particular practices of interaction (e.g., talk about troubles, Jefferson 1980a, b, 1984a, b, 1988). Yet findings about interactions across extended periods of time, including a wide range of daily settings and circumstances, simply did not exist. It thus became critically important to gain access to not just episodic snapshots of here-and-now conversational involvements, but how these practices and patterns got recruited to manage cumulative courses of action across multiple interactions constituting an extended family cancer journey. The ongoing challenge was to provide evidence supporting how (or if) “participants progressively adjust to some altered social world [and] undergo metamorphosis” (Maynard 2003, p. 78). This is especially (but by no means exclusively) the case when revealing how acute, chronic, and/or

terminal health conditions fluctuate over time and across multiple settings (e.g., see Charmaz 1991).

Regardless of health conditions, daily living is incessantly situated in a complex and vibrant time-space vortex. Patterns of connected interactions are essentially fingerprints revealing how particular speakers navigate their worlds in unique, personalized, yet also generalizable ways. *Longitudinal* analyses trigger constant reminders of the context-sensitive and context-free dimensions of locally produced and sequentially organized conduct in interaction (e.g., see Sacks et al. 1974; Heritage 1984). It becomes possible and necessary to locate and track not only how local actions get produced in-the-moment but also how linkages are made to prior conversations as they get updated, altered, and in other ways built to accommodate any given set of emerging understandings, plans, and troubles. When speakers make available to one another what they have carried over from prior encounters, they recipient-design their talk to demonstrate how these subsequent actions are somehow relevant to an emergent stream of social actions. It is left for recipients, as next speakers, to notice, build upon, or even disattend altogether (knowingly or not) what inevitably becomes a stitched-together fabric of social existence. Interactional involvements thus become a resource for learning, “sediments in the organization of interaction...[and] in the course of a learner’s biography” (Brouwer and Wagner 2004, pp. 35, 41).

These are only a few of the questions that required resolution in order to analyze 61 phone calls mirroring one family’s 13-month journey through cancer:

- How should analysis proceed when it was necessary but not sufficient to examine single episodes—snapshots in time and circumstance—of conversation?
- How do similar social activities get enacted within and across multiple topics, speakers, and phone calls?
- When collections of conversational moments get built, what (if any) difference does it make that speakers are addressing matters linked together by some prior conversations?
- What specific interactional practices get recruited to handle emerging and contingent events (e.g., being able and willing to respond to urgent matters)?

- In short, how was it possible to lay bare telephone conversations as the primary resource for examining not only the course and progression of cancer but also how relationships themselves change over time when facing a terminal disease together, as a family?

To address at least some of these fundamental questions, an examination is offered of a variety of transcriptions from these calls to ground and exemplify *longitudinally ordered social actions*. Selected moments reveal three alternative forms of interaction that, woven together, provide a glimpse of one family's ongoing involvements: (1) the *serial* ordering of successive calls to different airline representatives; (2) *tellings and retellings*, across varying intervals of time and settings, regarding a loved one's actions and health condition; and (3) *cumulative* practices employed by family members as resources for maintaining a *state of readiness* for managing challenging circumstances (e.g., packing/unpacking bags). The import and implications of *longitudinal CA* are then discussed. This chapter concludes with a brief overview of how these basic CA findings have been translated into a nationally disseminated educational program entitled *When Cancer Calls...*, a professional theatrical production adapted from verbatim dialogue in the original phone calls.

Three Alternative Forms of *Longitudinal* Interactions

A variety of transcribed excerpts are examined below from what we refer to as the "Malignancy" phone calls. All data are presented chronologically, from earliest to latest, an analytic orientation emulating the original investigation of 61 phone calls (Beach 2009).

Serial Ordering of Successive Airline Phone Conversations

Having been informed long distance that his mother might be dying, in one evening, son initiates a series of six phone calls to different airlines to

solicit information about fares and schedules. The availability of consecutive calls allows for recurring sets of practices to be revealed and cumulative impacts of calls to be identified.

For example, as is normal when initiating service provider calls, there is a reduction in the opening sequence evident in an absence of “greetings” or “how are you” responses (e.g., Schegloff 1979; Whalen and Zimmerman 1987; Whalen et al. 1988). Agents first announce their institutional affiliation and self-identify, whereas callers tend to not self-identify and move directly to the business of the call. In each of the calls below, however, son instead uses some version of “Hi + question for you” (1→).

Ex. (11.1) SDCL: Malignancy 4 (Airlines Call #1)

- 1 AA: American Airlines. Greg Gaines?
 2 (0.2)
 3 1→ Son: pt Hi. I got a question for you.=

Ex. (11.2) SDCL: Malignancy 5 (Airlines Call #2)

((Son hangs up his call to Continental Airlines after listening to *all our agents are temporarily busy.*)

Ex. (11.3) SDCL: Malignancy 6 (Airlines Call #3)

((Son calls PanAm airlines and quickly apologizes that he is trying to call US Air, stating next *you don't go where I'm trying to go*, before the call moves to closing.))

Ex. (11.4) SDCL: Malignancy 7 (Airlines Call #4)

- 1 US: US Air: reservations. This is Monica?
 2 1→ Son: Hi:: Uhm (.) question for you.

Ex. (11.5) SDCL: Malignancy 8 (Airlines Call #5)

- 1 CN: Continental Airlines. Linda?
 2 1→ Son: pt .hh Hi: Um (.) got a question for you.

Ex. (11.6) SDCL: Malignancy 9 (Airlines Call #6)

- 1 SW: Good evening? Thank you for calling Southwest Airlines?
- 2 This is Jessica. How may I help you?
- 3 1→ Son: Hi? Do you have such a thing as what they call a
- 4 <compa::ssion fare.>

By stating *Hi* son simulates being acquainted with agents he has not spoken with before (Hopper and Drummond 1992). This greeting thus begins to personalize and deformatize a call, actions which accompany moments such as pursuing or soliciting a favor (Maynard and Schaffer 1997). Yet in these airline encounters, specific favors are not explicitly requested. For example, customers calling airlines do not state *Could you do me a favor and provide a timely and discounted airfare?* Nor do callers directly announce their problems at the outset, as with assorted 911/emergency calls (e.g., Whalen et al. 1988; Whalen and Zimmerman 1998), such as *My mom is dying of cancer and I need help*. Rather, as preliminaries (Schegloff 1980), his *Hi* + *question for you* requests information initiating a series of issues that will be raised, the core issue being that he is a person needing affordable and timely travel assistance in the midst of a family (cancer) crisis. Preliminary actions such as these commonly precede offerings of personal and delicate problems, circumstances designed to gain attention, and influence responses aligned with speakers' troubling circumstances.

In Excerpt (11.6), the Southwest agent provides a more personalized opening than apparent during calls with other airlines. In line 1 she does not just announce her employer, but offers *Good evening* and thanks son for calling Southwest Airlines. She then self-identifies before asking how she may *help* (l. 2), which pre-empts son needing to announce that he has a question. Instead, following *Hi*, he simply and directly asks his question about whether SW has *such a thing as what they call a <compa::ssion fare.>* (l. 3–4). In this way, he is demonstrating a cumulative impact of having spoken with other airline agents (apparent in the full calls and transcriptions), several of which informed him that they only offer bereavement (for funerals) rather than compassion fares (for visiting very sick and dying loved ones). He is also treating *compassion fare* as an established category tailored for an agent who assumably is aware of, and routinely deals with, such special fares.

Following these openings, and for each agent, son moves immediately to present his very personal narrative. These problem narratives are rooted in, and provide, the gist of, previous conversations with mom and dad about her condition and son's circumstances. Recurring across these airline calls, each narrative is designed to make a convincing case that (a) he is faced with challenging circumstances and (b) has special needs qualifying him for personalized service including discounted fares. One example appears below, drawn from his first call with American Airlines.

Ex. (11.7) SDCL: Malignancy 4 (Airlines Call #1)

- 1 AA: American Airlines. Greg Gaines?
- 2 (0.2)
- 3 Son: pt Hi. I got a question for you.=
- 4 AA: =Yes?
- 5 1→ Son: I'm (.) a **graduate student** here at the University of Texas
- 6 and uh-
- 7 AA: [°Yes, uh huh.°]
- 8 2→ Son: [I jus- jus'] got a phone call: pt (.) ah and apparently my
- 9 3→ **mother's going to die**: pt (.) and I **need to get back to**
- 10 4→ **San Diego**. (.) I am told there is such a thing as a **compassion fare**
- 11 5→ for **poor fo:lks** like me who need to go somewhere in a hurry.
- 12 (.) **Do you have such a thing?** hhh
- 13 (0.3)
- 14 AA: Well let's check out. Uh Do you wanna leave uh like leave as
- 15 soon as possible?

Notice that his narrative is comprised of distinct resources, linked together to establish the authenticity and urgency of his problem: He is a graduate student (1→), who *just* got a call (2→), is facing probable death

of his mother (3→), needs to travel (3/4→), who understands that *compassion fares* exist (4→), and for *poor folks like me* who needs to get there *in a hurry* (5→). Since these basic features appear during each airline call, it would be tempting to treat son's narratives as pre-scripted—a template for insuring that he receives confirming and timely service.

However, as each call gets interactionally enacted, talk gets adapted to accommodate specific, local, and contingent actions comprising each call. Apparently, son also learns from these serial encounters. In his next call to US Air, son's opening narrative is a slower, more deliberate approach that is hearably more business-like and streamlined.

Ex. (11.8) SDCL: Malignancy 7 (Airlines Call #4)

- 1 US: ((Recording)) Thank you for calling US Air reservations?
- 2 (.) All of our agents are busy? (.) However please stay on the
- 3 line, as your call will be handled-
- 4 US: US Air: reservations. This is Monica?
- 5 1→ Son: Hi:: Uhm (.) question for you. pt .hh I understand that
- 6 there is something called a <compassion fare>. .hhh I just
- 7 2→ found out that I need to: (.) get home, my mother's about
- 8 3/4→ to die?. .hhh U::m pt and I'm a graduate student and
- 9 have not got much money>. .hh [U:m]=
- 10 US: [Umm:]
- 11 Son: =[Do you-
- 12 US: [>We don't really have a compassionate fare. We have
- 13 what we call a bereavement fare.<=
- 14 Son: =Okaf:y. hhh
- 15 US: [And unfortunately <that is when> someone has
- 16 a]ready passed awa::y.=
- 17 Son: =All right. =

While he continues to present his case as a response to recent and urgent news, son's actions also begin to demonstrate how he is tailoring his narrative to the institutional character of the airline system. More personal and affective issues, such as being a graduate student with little money (3/4→), are stated last while *<compassion fa:re>* is now addressed as the first order of business (1→). This is not coincidental, since in the prior call with AA, he learned that they did not offer *compassion fares*, though they would be willing to waive the advanced-purchase fee. Similarly, if US Air in Excerpt 11.8 did not have these fares available—and they did not (see lines 12–16)—then son's shifting of the narrative structure to ask first about *compassion fares* prompted earlier disclosure of that information.

Even before the US agent provided that information, however, son had already upgraded the seriousness of his mom's condition (l. 7–8): He shifted from *apparently my mother's going to die* in the prior AA call (ex. 11.7) to *my mother's about to di:e?* for the US agent, a less ambiguous and thus more certain description that his travel circumstances were urgent. And though surely son's upgrade was unthinkingly produced, it does enhance the persuasiveness of his need to travel.

Son's next two calls, to Continental and Southwest Airlines, suggest that his progressive tellings continue to optimize basic and adept portrayals.

Ex. (11.9) SDCL: Malignancy 8 (Airlines Call #5)

- 1 CN: Continental Airlines. Linda?
- 2 Son: pt .hh Hi. Um (.) got a question for you.
- 3 [pt]
- 4 CN: [Ok]a:y.=
- 5 1→ Son: =Do you do: such a thing as a compa:ssion fa:re.=I just
- 6 2→ found out my mother's going to di:e, and I need to get back
- 7 3→ to San Diego.=and I'm a student and I got very little money.

Ex. (11.10) SDCL: Malignancy 9 (Airline Call #6)

- 1 SW: Good evening? Thank you for calling Southwest Airlines?
- 2 This is Jessica. How may I help you?
- 3 1→ Son: Hi? Do you have such a thing as what they call a
- 4 2→ <compassion fare.> (.) Um- I just found out it looks like
- 5 3→ my mother's gonna die? and I need to get back to San Diego
- 6 4→ from Austin, Texas. And I'm a graduate student and do not
- 7 have a lot of money.

Son's somewhat more elaborate description for the SW agent may be responsive to her personalized greeting and offering of assistance.

In summary, sons' calls-in-a-series progressively reflect his socialization into the institutional and bureaucratic character of airline encounters (Drew and Heritage 1992). His repeated narratives become hearably less emotional in favor of providing streamlined information—issues tailored and responsive to what airline representatives have treated as necessary and relevant for determining whether (and how) son qualifies for discounted round-trip tickets. The more the son called different airlines, the greater he displayed the knowledge and ability to simplify and clarify his circumstances, actions accommodating the very representatives he was soliciting help from. To invoke a colloquial expression, over a series of consecutive calls to the airlines, son's practice resulted in more perfect (e.g., succinct) versions of what representatives not only need to know but were able to manage given their institutional resources (e.g., available offerings for discounted rates, options for waiving 30-day advance purchase fees).

It is significant to note that as son's institutional expertise increased, he proportionately had to give up more affective appeals for help and assistance, personal matters airline staff are constrained (in time, ability, and interest) to address. And therein lies an unsettling irony in these calls: Though "compassion" calls were being inquired about and discussed, such fares were not available. Nor were compassionate responses provided to son for the unfortunate circumstances he is facing. Offers of compassion and caring are actions that perhaps should not be expected

for agents transacting business, yet they nevertheless remain noticeably absent.

Tellings and Retellings: Enacting Time, Situations, and Relationships

While storytelling has been a primary focus of CA research (e.g., Goodwin 1990; Sacks 1992; Beach and Glenn 2011; Mandelbaum 2013), little is known about how stories get produced and retold either successively (i.e., in the same or next interaction) or during subsequent conversations between different speakers. While some attention has been given to “twice-told stories” (Norrick 1997, 1998, 2000), especially to general functions (e.g., group membership) of repeatedly told stories shared among participants who recognize what is being narrated, much remains to be understood about the complex ways stories arise, get repeatedly reported, and responded to.

Three stories, briefly examined below (see also Beach and Glenn 2011), occurred within two days: early and later during day one, and in the evening of day two. Dad is the teller in the initial reporting, when he informs son about an experience with his wife in the hospital. Later that same day, son tells his aunt (mom’s sister) about dad’s reported experience. One day later, son also tells his former wife about what dad had stated. So when tracking these three stories, it becomes possible to *longitudinally* and chronologically examine how a first reporting by dad occurs, and then gets retold by a son (the initial recipient), who twice assumes tellership when speaking with an aunt and former wife. A primary analytic concern is to understand how stories get reconfigured and change over time, from dad’s initial telling across son’s two subsequent stories. Equally important, however, is the ability to address change across situations and relationships. As teller, son makes available and recipient-designs his storified versions for two different family members/relationship partners. And across all three stories, recipients’ responses reveal how similar orientations can occur across differing moments of time and involvement. These behaviors reveal important details about how relationships get managed over time, which will be discussed in more detail following analyses of the three stories.

Story #1: Jesus Christ ya Forgot My Cigarettes

In line 1 of the first story, son reports *This is- this is weird. Hhh* because it is difficult dealing with mom's changing medical condition. His following *O:y vey:* (l. 2, a Yiddish word for "woe is me") expresses exasperation with the uncertain and unpredictable nature of mom's health status. Dad then tells his own weird and troubling story (l. 2–7) about leaving the hospital, not knowing if his wife would live through the evening, and returning to the hospital the next day.

Ex. (11.11) SDCL: Malignancy 12:3

- 1 Son: =£hhh huh huh hh hh .hhh£ This is- this is weird. hhh=
 2 Dad: =Yeah [()] >I mean ya know< ya go=
 3 Son: [O:y vey:.]
 4 Dad: =home at night and (.) ya cry yourself to sleep thinkin'
 5 °w::ell this is the end of it.° Ya come back the next day and
 6 → she says- ((mimicking wife's voice)) >Jesus Christ ya forgot
 7 → my cigarettes.<
 8 Son: £Humphhhh .hh.£ =
 9 Dad: =Q::h gimme a break.=
 10 → Son: Yeah. hhh .hhh heah .hh So what'd the doctor have to say
 11 specifically anything.=
 12 Dad: =We:ll. (0.2) Th- the thyroid is too high, the pain: is
 13 tremendous and it will just slowly keep accumulating.
 14 They will leave her o:n (0.8) u::h the morphine stuff.
 15 (0.4)
 16 Dad: But it will be pill form instead of this drip system and they
 17 will just keep the pain under control.
 18 (0.8)
 19 Son: Okay. [.hh hhh hhhh hhh hh]

A stark contrast is provided in dad's story: His emotional turmoil that night, when *ya cry yourself to sleep* (l. 4) not knowing if mom will die and he will never see his wife again; events reported the next day, as mom not only lives through the night but can be heard as criticizing dad for forgetting to bring her cigarettes. By mimicking her *Jesus Christ ya forgot my cigarettes* voice as insensitive and nagging (l. 6–7), dad animates that it has been a difficult and vexing time for him. He also implies that wife/mom was blameworthy in three possible ways. First, she had not acknowledged and attended to what dad had experienced (i.e., coming to grips with her possible death). Second, she was asking for cigarettes that had contributed significantly to her lung cancer. And third, she was expecting dad to bring cigarettes into a hospital setting, which obviously was not allowed.

In these ways dad offers son a unique, compelling, and complainable incident. He treats son as a knowing recipient (Goodwin 1981), sharing understanding about her demeanor and background with cigarettes. This information would qualify son as a consociate-teller (Lerner 1992), a family member with communal history capable of identifying with, commiserating about, and sharing similar stories about dad's predicament with his mom.

In response, however, son's £*Humphhhh .hh.*£ acknowledges but does not strongly affiliate with dad's critical offering. With laughter son displays that his response to dad's telling is delicate (e.g., see Haakana 2001; Beach and Pricket 2017): He resists getting on board with the opportunity to criticize his mom, essentially rejecting an invitation to collaborate on mom's background, demeanor, and/or smoking. Son also withholds another story, or other collaborative efforts, that could have elaborated on the legitimacy of dad's expressed feelings and/or pursued mom's alleged faults together. Instead, his £*Humphhhh .hh.*£ reaction precedes a topical shift (l. 10–11), drawing attention away from criticizing mom and toward concerns about her medical condition. Prior to son's topic shift, however, dad's *O:::h gimme a break.* (l. 9) is particularly revealing. This "oh-prefaced" response (Heritage 1998, 2002) emphasizes that son's £*Humphhhh .hh.*£ is somehow problematic and triggered a change in state of dad's orientation or awareness. That dad next utters *gimme a break* can be heard as doubly contextual: (1) He needed and was deserving of a *break* after his most recent experience with his wife; and (2) in the absence of son stating so (in so many words), dad establishes his own claim for special consideration and understanding.

Story #2: Given ‘Em Hell for Forgettin’ Her Cigarettes

Later that same day, son talks with his aunt (mom’s sister) about mom’s stabilizing condition. This excerpt begins as son tells her about dad’s original “cigarette” story.

Ex. (11.12) SDCL: Malignancy 17:2

- 1 → Son: ↓Ya know dad said °ya know° last night (.).h^{hh} <it was one
 2 → way an’> this morning she’s m- .hh given ‘em hell for
 3 → forgettin’ her cigarettes (.). ya know. pt hh An’ so f^{hhh} hhh
 4 hh .hhh£=
 5 → Aunt: =Okay. So she was much better this m[or]ning.]
 6 Son: [Ye: ah.] Much better
 7 apparently.
 8 Aunt: ↑I’ll take every day I c’n get without your mother suffering.=
 9 Son: = ↑Ye:ah.
 10 (0.6)
 11 Son: hh .hh ↓Yeah. I- I agree.

Notice that dad’s personal *ya cry yourself to sleep* (ex. 11.11, l. 4–5) is now framed as *last night* (.).h^{hh} <it was one way (l. 1–2). And dad’s mimicked *Jesus Christ ya forgot my cigarettes* (ex. 11.11, l. 6–7) gets reported as *given em hell for forgettin her cigarettes* (l. 2–3). So clearly, quite different versions of dad’s initial reporting are provided by son to his aunt. Son’s emphasis is not given to dad’s reported distress or to dad’s *Jesus Christ* mimicry of mom’s demeanor. Rather, son formulates that what mom had done to dad involved mom’s *given em hell*.

It is not known, of course, whether son recipient-designed *given em hell* for aunt in consideration of aunt’s particular history with both her sister and nephew. Or if *given em hell* was offered as a criticism, endearing

quality, or both. For example, just as dad had provided a troubling story about mom, and an opportunity for son to collaborate in complaining about her, so too does son invite such a response from his aunt. But like son had provided to dad, aunt also passes on criticizing mom in favor of shifting topic and seeking information about her medical condition (l. 5). She also treats mom's *given em hell* as a sign of mom's being *much better*, which both aunt and son commend as good news as this excerpt continues.

Story #3: Where Are My Cigarettes Anyway

And one day later, son had just informed his former wife (Gina) that mom remains in the hospital, could live for a few more weeks, and is “incoherent”. The following moments occur next.

Ex. (11.13) Malignancy 18:2

- 1 Son: But they think that they're gonna >get her ba:ck< to where
- 2 she's- hhhh she floats in an' o:ut.
- 3 (0.2)
- 4 Gina: °Mm hm.°=
- 5 → Son: =U:hm (0.2) and I guess she- .hhhh sh- at one point £dad
- 6 → said£ that (ch')a:ll of a sudden she said (0.8) ((mimicking
- 7 → mother's voice) ↑>Where are my cigarettes £anyw(h)ay
- 8 → .hh hhh£ .hh An' he said< sounds like she's back to normal
- 9 again for a little bit there. =So .hhh S[he-
- 10 → Gina: [>Who'd ya talk- who'd
- 11 → ya talk to toda:y.<
- 12 Son: pt .hh U:h (0.8) Just da::d this morning.

In this instance, now a third reported incident (l. 5–9), son attempts to re-mimic dad’s original (and critical) voice characterizing mom’s demeanor. However, he does so by using an utterance dad did not state: >*Jesus Christ ya forgot my cigarettes.*< versus†>*Where are my cigarettes £anyw(h)ay .hh hhh£.* Son also embellishes by reporting dad having said *she’s back to normal again for a little bit there*, which dad neither said nor insinuated. By invoking and making available what *normal* might be like for mom, yet another opportunity is provided (now for Gina) to address mom’s smoking and behaviors that may be understood as negative and difficult to manage. But as with son and aunt, Gina also withholds any disparaging comments in favor of soliciting information about who son had spoken with (l. 10–11).

Enacting and Maintaining Relationships

By accessing these three connected stories over a period of two days, it is apparent that and how stories get reconfigured in ways fundamentally altering what an initial reporting consisted of. That all three tellers (dad and twice son) made available the possibility for criticism, yet all three recipients independently refused to provide negative commentary, are curious phenomena that can illuminate difficulties that arise when managing relationships across different yet related situations. Importantly, relationships and roles are not just sedentary categories, but get continually enacted in finely grained ways to achieve locally relevant social actions:

participants, in interaction, use their knowledge of the activities, motives, rights, responsibilities, and competencies that they regard as appropriate for incumbents of a relationship category...participants enact having shared knowledge of their past experiences and shared understanding of the relevance of those experiences to the current interaction. (Pomerantz and Mandelbaum 2005, pp. 149, 168)

As storytellers, dad and son reported what they had heard and seen as appropriate for other family members, recipients who shared extensive

past experiences and could thus understand the relevance of a loved one's smoking and demeanor. Yet recipients' orientations away from criticism reveal how talk about own and others' personal and private lives can be inherently delicate work (Bergmann and Linnell 1998). Similar to what Bergmann (1993, p. 99) has described as the "morally contaminated character" of gossip, in all three stories a moral and thus social order is enacted and enforced that, at least for recipients, treats a family member's health and well-being as more important than collaborating in negative portrayals of a dying person. These are the kinds of moments that Jefferson et al. (1987) examined when pursuits of intimacy can result in responses (direct or implicit) treating such actions as inappropriate, improper, or a breach of behavioral standards for any given situation (see also Pomerantz and Mandelbaum 2005; Beach and Glenn 2011). In none of the three stories were dad or son directly confronted with having acted out of bounds or character. Yet by switching topics, it was implicit that for these recipients a boundary had been exceeded, enforcements of preferred normative behavior which dad and son did not challenge but quickly adhered to as talk unfolded about mom's well-being and additional health-related concerns.

Especially when health crises appear, dialectical tensions can and do occur about treating others in "normal" ways rather than as sick persons—the latter often (and understandably so) receiving special considerations (Parsons 1951; Beach 2013). The three stories briefly examined here provide a visible manifestation of how such tensions might emerge in real family interactions: Speakers enact practices that create openings, and decline invitations, to participate in apparently sensitive and potentially inappropriate if not immoral social actions.

State of Readiness: Cumulative Practices for Recurring Family Circumstances

As Sacks (1992, I, p. 798) once observed, "it's a really non-incidental fact in our society that troubles are formed up as 'things happening in a family'". When cancer or any trouble occurs and persists over time, the closer

the family, the more concerted efforts are made to devise ways to address and resolve emerging problems. The moments below evidence one specific set of interactional practices for displaying a “state of readiness” for managing different circumstances. This phrase was not invented, but drawn from son’s vernacular language (l. 2) during a conversation with his aunt.

Ex. (11.14) SDCL: Malignancy 17:9

1 Son: pt. .hhhh ↓Well what I told dad is I will- I will ↑keep things

2 → (.) i::n as much ah state uh readiness as possible.=

3 Aunt: =Ye[ap.]

4 → Son: [pt] And I’ll ↑keep my lesson plans nice and °current°.

5 Aunt: Yeap.=

6 → Son: =pt .hhh A:nd uh hhh .hhh (.) I’ll jus’ (.) ↑do what I need to do.

Son’s next ↑*keep my lesson plans nice and °current°*. (l. 4) is a non-literal, figurative expression (see Drew and Holt 1988; Holt and Drew 2005) that reflects being prepared and ready to move forward. No matter the problems that emerge, son informs aunt that he will ↑*do what I need to do*. (l. 6). In this way son displays resolve and ongoing commitment to make himself available as a family member, joining with others to best deal with mom’s progressive cancer.

References to “Bags” and “Lesson Plans”

The importance of being prepared and available was first noticed several days earlier, in call #3, when son informed dad that he would prefer to travel home now rather than wait for his mom’s memorial service.

Ex. (11.15) SDCL: Malignancy 3:5

- 1 Son: hhh But ah (.) given my druthers I'd come home now.
- 2 (1.2)
- 3 Dad: Okay. (.) Let me talk to: ah: Auntie Carol, see about a plane
- 4 ticket. Don't (1.0) drive to the airport yet.
- 5 → [(**But pack your bags**).]
- 6 → Son: [No but-] I will be here. (.) I'll stay home.
- 7 → **Call me.**
- 8 (1.0)
- 9 → Son: **Tell me what to do, when to do it.** I will ah- .hh
- 10 Dad: (Okay [I-)]
- 11 → Son: [As soon] as I know what and when (.) I will make the
- 12 → **arrangements on this end.** (.) and- ah (0.2) and take care of it.

Dad instructs son not to *drive to the airport yet* (l. 4), but to *pack your bags*—another non-literal, figurative expression for being ready to act when needed. The remainder of son's utterances in this excerpt (l. 6–12) confirms his being willing, and ready, to do whatever is necessary as news about mom and travel unfolds.

Later that same evening, when talking with his aunt, son adapts dad's *pack your bag* expression when responding to aunt's uncertainty about how much time mom has to live, probably *not a hell of a lot*. (l. 2–3).

Ex. (11.16) SDCL: Malignancy 10:6

- 1 Aunt: We've got (0.8) more time. (.) What kind of time. >I don't know.<
 2 I don't know what kind of time. At this point I would say it's not a
 3 hell of a lot.=
 4 → Son: =Yeah well I would- I would **probably not unpack my bag**
 5 → **heh-[hh.]**
 6 Aunt: [No.] Don't do that.=
 7 Son: =Yeah.

With *probably not unpack my bag* (l. 4) son assures aunt that he will remain ready. Followed by delicate laughter (l. 5), son displays being resistant to this inherently uncertain circumstance (e.g., Jefferson 1984a; Beach and Pricket 2017), a kind of trouble that remains as long as cancer threatens his mom's life.

The next day, when talking again with dad, son has just been informed that mom had been diagnosed with new tumors requiring radiation. However, the threat of death was now determined to be later rather than sooner.

Ex. (11.17) SDCL: Malignancy 12:7–8

- 1 → Son: =Yeah pt .hhhh huh o:ka:y (.) Well (.) pt I will- hh .hh **I will**
 2 → **unpack my ba:g: hhh [hh and I'll keep] my lesson plans=**
 3 Dad: [Ye::p ()]
 4 =**current.**
 5 Son: [hhhhhh] .hh
 6 → Dad: [Uhright] (.) **keep yu- your list up tuh date an >ya know<**
 7 → **leave the bag where ya know where it is.**
 8 Son: Yeah. hhh pt Okay. hhh [hh]

In lines 1–2 son conjoins the *bag/lesson plans* expressions by proposing a somewhat less-ready state where, figuratively, his bags would be unpacked but lesson plans kept current. Dad counters (l. 6–7) by telling son to *keep yu- your list up tuh date an >ya know< leave the bag where ya know where it is.*, and son next agrees (l. 8).

And several days later, when updating news about his mom to his former wife (Gina), son attributes the use of these figurative expressions to *they've* (l. 2)—referring apparently in this instance to doctors and medical staff rather than understandings he and dad had constructed together.

Ex. (11.18) SDCL: Malignancy 18:2

- 1 Gina: What's up?
- 2 Son: We:ll (.) the:y've sta:bilized 'er again.=A:nd ba:sically
- 3 → what they said i:s .hhh keep you're le:sson plans
- 4 → current, a:n don't unpack your ba:g comple:tely.=But-
- 5 (.) I don't need ta show up: quite ↑(ch)yet.=So:="
- 6 Gina: =<O:h my G(h)o::d.>

In such circumstances it is, of course, more important to deliver the news than cite specific details about which speakers actually coined these figurative expressions.

Clearly, as speakers referencing *bags and lesson plans*, dad and son are speaking figuratively. They use and rely on the same non-literal but (for them) easily understood expressions, enacting a language code that also gets adapted for aunt and son's former wife. These practices are part of a much more elaborate repertoire of coping strategies. Designed to create continuity across situations, yet locally adapted to specific circumstances, they demonstrate how shared knowledge can facilitate what Heritage (1984, p. 5) coined an “architecture of intersubjectivity”. In historically sensitive ways, dad and son invoke *bags* and *lesson plans* as tailored lexicon, built by and for them (and other family members) to calibrate and cope with the exigencies of a shifting health crisis.

Understood as forms of “tying techniques” extending beyond the use of pronouns, clausal phrases, or connections between pairs of utterances (Sacks 1992), these figurative expressions are employed as carried-over resources for displaying readiness to take action, resolve to be responsible family members, and as opportunities to assess the changing urgency of matters at hand.

Not infrequently, everyday affairs require monitoring and close coordination of actions. Whether the focus is on planning a dinner event, making travel plans, giving birth to a child, or dealing with a chronic sense of urgency about another’s health status, there is often a need to create and manage a “state of readiness” as time passes. The examples above are used *longitudinally*, adapted to multiple occasions when speakers give priority to responding and assuring others that times of trouble can and will be managed effectively. Though unfolding events cannot be fully controlled, they can be responded to in ways that reasonably address possible unanticipated and difficult events.

Longitudinal Inquiry: Addressing the Dynamics of Sustained Living

For conversation analysts attention has historically been drawn to how participants meaningfully produce the local, episodic, and achieved character of interactions. The primacy of understanding here-and-now, moment-by-moment social actions does not change when *longitudinal* analyses are undertaken. Evidence needed to warrant a particular practice, or claim the existence of patterns evident across collections of similarly structured events, remains very much the same empirical challenge: Researchers are seeking to expose the social order of everyday living by repeatedly accessing and making grounded sense of naturally occurring, recorded and transcribed conversations and institutional encounters.

What inevitably changes with *longitudinal* inquiry, however, is how episodes (i.e., single and isolated snapshots) of interactional conduct must become situated within ongoing streams of social activities. Analysts are faced with revealing how the organization of any given moment is some-

how connected to courses of action transcending particular encounters. Exploring the dynamics of *sustained* everyday living thus requires understanding not only how more encompassing patterns of social conduct get built moment-by-moment, but how each action gets progressively woven into an ever-changing and cumulative fabric of social existence. To qualify as *longitudinal* in nature, it is the prolonged character of social order that inquiries must address.

Extending Understandings of Family Interactions

The interactions examined herein are only a sampling of moments drawn from 61 phone calls, over a period of 13 months, involving family members entrenched in the daily management of interactions somehow triggered by cancer. When facing cancer together, social life requires navigating a complex web of encounters occurring consecutively (e.g., calls to the airlines), across varying intervals of time (e.g., reconstructed stories), and displaying cumulative resources for dealing with recurring circumstances (e.g., maintaining a state of readiness). Dad, son, aunt, and former wife continually demonstrate their familial connections and ongoing impacts as each encounter occurs over time. *Learning* can be shown to occur, as when son progressively offers less personalized and emotional appeals to accommodate the institutional character of transacting airline business. The existence and enforcement of *moral orders* can be documented, as all three recipients hearing about mom's demeanor refuse to get on board with criticizing a dying family member. And displaying a *state of readiness and continual resolve* can be demonstrated across numerous occasions as family members work to reassure one another that they are prepared to take action when and if mom's health condition worsens. Social actions constituting learning, moral conduct, and readiness to address emerging health problems are progressively evident and inherently dynamic. Speakers navigate their way through momentary encounters en route to constructing temporal/spatial patterns of interactional participation. The contingencies of each call vary

considerably, yet in all encounters, participants work to build coherence across same and different speakers. Times, topics, and settings also change but a primary focus is on continuously achieving tasks and managing relationships.

Though it is not always possible to control cancer growth, efforts can and frequently are made to keep in touch, commiserate, and work together to insure stability for the patient and the family. These “trials, tribulations, hopes, and triumphs of cancer” (Beach 2009, p. 10) are both *enduring* because of their long-lasting impacts and *endearing* because of the immensely personal investments made to care for special persons and ourselves as life often unfolds in unexpected and (at times) unwanted ways. Viewed *longitudinally*, these orientations speak volumes not only about the interconnectedness of daily living but the primal significance of being family members preoccupied with caring for those who are loved.

The term “family” thus denotes a very extensive and complex set of relationship categories, rights, and responsibilities. When a family member gets diagnosed with cancer, that person immediately becomes categorized as a “cancer patient”. Though the term “survivor” is often attributed to those who have survived treatment and are in remission, it is worth noting that the process of surviving cancer actually begins at the time of diagnosis. Equally important is the recognition that family members are themselves survivors undergoing a family cancer journey (Beach 2009). Though not patients themselves, family members are impacted to the extent they are connected (or not) to the person whose body and lifestyle are threatened and at risk.

Translating CA Findings into an Effective Health Intervention and Campaign

As with any major project, the initial investigation of these phone calls involved generating transcriptions, engaging in data sessions, analyzing case studies, building collections of possible phenomena, and writing preliminary manuscripts. Initially funded by the American Cancer Society, diverse academics, community members, and healthcare providers participated in data/listening sessions. The raw and engaging nature of

these calls generated vibrant discussions about how these family members were relying on phone calls to manage their daily affairs. Moments being analyzed frequently triggered others' stories about their own life-world experiences when managing illness, disease, and especially cancer. Resonant connections were consistently made between recorded family members and the daily interactions produced by ordinary people regardless of age, profession, culture, or gender. Considerable time was given to the positive impacts these calls might have on patients, survivors, family members, medical professionals, and community members whose lives have somehow been touched by cancer (and other illnesses).

As findings were published and data sessions continued, strong encouragement was provided to make these phone calls available to all people (nationally and globally). The message was straightforward: Do not use only publication outlets available to such a small percentage of citizens (largely academics); figure out a way to disseminate these materials widely, inviting all interested to hear and respond to naturally occurring family conversations; provide opportunities to reflect on and talk about "conversations about cancer" and related experiences with illness and disease; and determine how basic CA findings could yield important and long-term realizations about how it might be possible to improve communication and care in homes and clinics.

Innovations in Entertainment-Education

Our response to these requests and long-term visions was to create a professionally acted and directed theatrical production entitled (Fig. 11.1):

The logo features the text "WHEN CANCER CALLS..." in a bold, serif font. The word "CANCER" is significantly larger and more prominent than the other words. The text is centered and has a subtle reflection effect below it.

Fig. 11.1 Logo for performance

Viewings and discussions of *WCC*...are designed to educate a diverse citizenry about communication throughout family cancer journeys. A form of Everyday Language Performance (e.g., Gray and Van Oosting 1996; Hopper 1993; Stucky 1993, 1998; Stucky and Glenn 1993), all dialogue is

drawn verbatim from actual conversations on the telephone. Nearly 7½ hours of family interactions were edited to 80 minutes, an abbreviated yet realistic rendition of the family's cancer journey from diagnosis through mom/wife/sister's death. As described in more detail elsewhere (e.g., Beach et al. 2014a, b, 2015, 2016), by integrating the social sciences and the arts, we have created an innovative learning tool that meaningfully explores ordinary family life. With support from the National Institutes of Health/National Cancer Institute, a national trial was designed drawing attention to the ways family members themselves oriented to the presence and impacts of cancer. A wide array of topics and conversations, enacted by professionally trained actors under the guidance of a skilled Director, were made available to audience members through staged performance.

Understood as an innovation in Entertainment-Education (E-E) (e.g., Singal and Rogers 1999, 2002; Slater 2002; Slater and Rounder 2002; Green et al. 2004), *WCC...* is novel not only because it is grounded in actual conversations but also provides a narrative structure addressing how communication can promote the affirmation of life in the midst of cancer. This structure allows for often delicate, and otherwise inaccessible topics, to be raised and discussed rather than being overlooked and taken for granted. The ordinary ways in which troubling and hopeful matters get coordinated, and matters of daily life and death actually get discussed, adds authenticity to the overall performance. As E-E research has historically shown, such authenticity helps to minimize audience members' disbelief and enhances receptivity to performance content.

Importantly, these interactions debunk what are often dark and foreboding stereotypes associating cancer diagnoses with death. By watching *WCC...*, basic misunderstandings about communication and cancer become detoxified and demystified. For example, at times difficult moments do exist (and understandably so) as talk is directed to topics such as the seriousness of mom's diagnosis, how she is experiencing pain, and the inevitable uncertainty associated with predicting when cancer will take her life. Yet even more frequently, this family attends to activities such as discussing daily affairs (e.g., fixing cars, dogs, work, and finances), telling humorous stories, and producing hearably hopeful discussions about prospects for a bright future. Emphasis is given to accepting mom's looming death (which mom herself promotes and encourages), the abil-

ity to cope with mom's passing, and growing stronger as a family because of shared cancer experiences.

In short, by closely monitoring how family members talk on the telephone, and the *WCC...* rendition mirroring these calls, more attention is given to living rather than dying, and hope rather than despair. The cancer journey is almost universally an uncharted course for cancer patients and their families. In homes and clinics, delicate issues of treatment and prognosis require families to somehow talk about topics that may at times be awkward and uncomfortable (see Beach and Dozier 2015). Yet our national findings confirm that a strong majority of audience members found *WCC...* to be uplifting and hopeful despite mom's eventual death.

In closing, this chapter describes how basic CA research, initiated to reveal the interactional achievement of a family cancer journey but not necessarily change the social world, has nevertheless become translated into an educational resource that triggers meaningful conversations about cancer, family relationships, and medical care. Through these conversations, transformed into *WCC...* performances, thousands of person's lives continue to be positively impacted by experiencing and reflecting on one family's cancer journey. Audience members report that *WCC...* is cathartic, catalytic, motivating, and touches their lives in personal, significant, and *longitudinal* ways. As an intervention for sustained health campaigns, *WCC...* builds on and extends basic CA findings such as those examined herein. Considerable potential exists for improving family communication and encounters with diverse healthcare providers

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Index¹

A

Accountability, 20, 22, 26, 27, 47,
48, 68, 99, 174, 182, 197,
291
Accountable, 8, 13, 15, 18, 20, 26,
41, 49, 56, 60, 62, 68, 96, 97,
99, 109, 143, 174
Advice giving, 15, 18, 198, 200,
201, 203, 210–215
Allergy inquiry, 18, 200
Au-pair interactions, 67, 70, 72,
95

C

Cancer
cancer conversations, 329, 331,
353–355
CA-SLA, 68, 98

Change, 4, 39, 67–100, 106, 144,
173–189, 196, 225–252, 262,
288, 332
over time, 4–7, 9–16, 18–22, 24, 25,
42, 44, 60, 67, 106, 145, 146,
173, 200, 215, 217, 332, 339
Child/Children, 9–11, 14–16, 21,
22, 27, 39–45, 47–50, 52, 53,
55–57, 59–62, 73, 75, 78, 79,
82, 85, 87, 91, 98, 122, 197,
201, 204, 218n1, 235, 239,
324, 350
Choreographic construct, 261–266
Chronology, 4, 5, 8, 21, 73, 75, 81,
91, 93, 147, 292, 332, 339
Classroom, 17, 105, 107–112, 127,
134–137, 138n2, 147, 156,
157, 166, 167, 175, 196, 197,
199–201, 204, 210
classroom interaction, 146

¹Note: Page numbers followed by 'n' refer to notes.

- Collections, 4, 5, 7, 8, 20, 21, 23, 24, 69, 70, 72, 100n2, 109, 138n2, 145, 147, 149, 175, 258, 329, 331, 350, 352
 building collections, 23, 24
- Comparability, 10, 12, 22, 23, 28, 95, 145
- Comparative study, 12
- Comparison
 across settings, 7, 70
 across time, 7, 164, 288
 horizontal, 7, 29
 vertical, 6, 7
- Competence, *see* Interactional competence
- Controversies, 19, 287, 288, 325, 326
- Cultural Impact, 329
- Cumulative practices, 332, 345, 346
- D**
- Development
 developmental perspectives, 40–42
 developmental sociology, 184
 developmental studies, 16–18
- Diachronic, 14, 16
- Documentary method of
 interpretation, 182, 184
- Drug identifications, 18, 198, 200–216, 218n2
- E**
- Educational program, 332
- EM, *see* Ethnomethodology
- Emergent, 28, 288, 331
- Emic, 287, 289–291
 emic perspective, 27, 70, 96, 291, 325
- Enacting time, 339
- English, 105, 107, 109, 110, 112–115, 120, 136, 143–168, 258
- Enquiry sequences, 234–236, 239, 240, 243
- Entertainment-Education, 353–355
- Ethnomethodology (EM)/
 ethnomethodological, 8, 106–108, 174, 255, 287, 289
- F**
- Family
 family members, 97, 167, 329, 330, 332, 339, 341, 344–346, 349–355
 family settings, 352
- Finnish, 226
- Focal sequences, 227–234, 238–240, 243–248, 252
- French, 72, 281n2, 290
- G**
- Gesture
 deictic gesture, 147, 155, 157, 161, 165
 dynamic gesture, 145
 gesture-talk packages, 153
 hand movement, 145, 152, 155
 pointing, 145, 152, 161, 162, 164
- H**
- Hand, *see* Gesture
- Head nods, 51, 52, 54, 60, 61
- History
 historical perspectives, 288–290
 historical study, 287

history in the making, 289,
 315–320
 history-making practices, 291
 Horizontal, *see* Comparison
 Humor, 93, 354

I

Indexicality, 137
 Interactional authenticity, 255–281
 Interactional competence, 16–18,
 56, 68, 69, 72, 95–99, 111,
 144, 145, 195–197, 200, 215,
 216, 261, 288
 Italian, 237

L

Language
 first language, 22, 114
 second language, 15–17, 67, 105,
 108, 143
 Learning, 6, 9, 14, 18, 24, 26, 28,
 29n1, 42, 56, 59, 97, 108,
 109, 134, 135, 137, 138, 144,
 145, 158, 166–168, 226, 288,
 331, 351, 354
 Literacy, 17, 105
 literacy events, 17, 105
 Longitudinal
 longitudinal analysis, 28, 329–355
 longitudinal interactions, 332–350
 longitudinal research, 3–29, 68

M

Mathematical problem, 18
 Methodological challenges, 3, 67–70
 Multimodality, 120, 215

N

Negotiating proposals, 315
 News conferences, 9, 11, 12

P

Participatory urban planning,
 287–327
 Patient, 195, 227, 235, 248, 250,
 251, 289, 330, 352, 353,
 355
 patient counseling, 196, 198, 204,
 216
 Pharmacy students, 18, 195, 200
 Phone-calls, 330–332, 351–353
 Post-reading task, 107
 Protesting questions, 293, 306–315
 Psychotherapeutic change/process,
 225–252
 Psychotherapy interactions, 225,
 226, 252

Q

Question/answer sequences, 78
 Questioning, 9, 11–14, 98, 107,
 234, 288, 325, 326

R

Reading, 52, 53, 55, 56, 105–138,
 146, 176, 181, 257, 292,
 302–304, 314
 Reflexivity, 137, 173, 174
 Rehearsals, 19, 255
 Relationships, 73, 83, 97, 98, 106,
 167, 174, 198, 199, 235, 238,
 257, 279, 280, 332, 339,
 344–346, 352, 355

Repair, 7, 8, 15–17, 27, 43, 52,
54–56, 62, 69, 114, 126, 135,
136, 143–145, 147, 152, 158,
159, 161, 164, 167, 168, 205,
208, 209, 216, 232, 238, 240,
299, 310, 319

Reports, 19, 39–42, 45, 55, 73, 75,
77–82, 85–87, 90, 91,
93–96, 107, 109, 147, 179,
180, 291–293, 300–306,
311, 325, 326, 330,
339–342, 344, 355

Requests, 9–11, 14, 17, 20–22, 27,
43, 50–52, 54–56, 112, 180,
198, 202, 203, 207, 311, 319,
334, 353

Response tokens, 39, 86, 115

Role-plays, 195–217

Routines, 26, 77, 96, 108, 199,
261–263, 266, 273, 274, 279,
280, 289, 330

S

School settings, 16, 17, 40, 105,
106, 137, 196

Second language interaction, 16,
67–99

Second turn position, 39–62

Sense-production machinery, 173–184

Simulated interactions, 255

Socialization, 6, 14, 15, 26, 68, 95,
97, 99, 144, 173, 338

State of readiness, 332, 350, 351

Storytellings, 15, 17, 67, 107, 229,
339

Successive conversations, 332–339

Summon/response (S/R) sequences,
44–46, 49, 56, 59, 60

T

Tasks, 106, 111, 112, 115, 116,
118–120, 124, 126, 134, 135,
137, 146, 149–153, 155, 156,
160, 164, 175, 179, 196, 207,
210, 215–217, 255, 274, 279,
280, 290, 291, 304, 352

Telephone calls
calls to airlines, 332, 351
family calls, 72, 332, 354

Tellings and retellings, 332,
339–344

Theatre
actors, 256, 263
performance, 257, 262, 263
rehearsals, 256–258

Theatrical production, 19, 332, 353

Thematic threads, 19, 243, 244,
248–252

Tracing practices, 21

Turn-design, 18, 195, 196, 201,
210

U

Urban participatory project, 19, 287

V

Verbs
to ask, 112, 115, 155, 157, 160,
164, 337
to say, 27, 54, 62, 177, 269
to tell, 127, 160

Vertical, *see* Comparison

W

Workplace settings, 196, 215