TEACHER-STUDENT INTERACTION IN ONE-ON-ONE ESL WRITING CONFERENCES

BY

JIHYE YOON

DISSERTATION

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Doctoral Committee:

       Professor Irene Koshik, Chair
       Professor Andrea Golato
       Associate Professor Peter Golato
       Associate Professor Makoto Hayashi

ABSTRACT

With a conversation analytic approach, this study analyzes how teachers and students interact in one-on-one ESL writing conferences, focusing on the preference structure of advice-giving, epistemic displays, and teachers' management of students' no knowledge claims.

This study analyzes the preference structure of advice-giving activities, and shows that advice-giving is performed as dispreferred. Characteristics of dispreferred actions, such as being delayed and mitigated, are observed in advice-giving turns in writing conferences. Advice-giving turns are delayed, often prefaced by compliments. Advice-giving is also accompanied by justifications and often mitigated. It is further shown how conditionals can be used to characterize dispreferred responses in this context. In addition, the problem-solving sequences, in which the advice-giving turns are included, are also produced as dispreferred, as they are delayed by compliments or other comments at the beginning of the conference.

The next chapter analyzes the epistemics displayed by teachers and students in one-on-one ESL writing conferences. Recently, a lot of attention has been focused on the role of knowledge in conversations. This chapter aims to contribute to this line of discussion by investigating how teachers and students in one-on-one writing conferences display epistemic access, primacy and responsibility (Stivers, Mondada, & Steensig, 2011). Analysis shows that participants' display of epistemic access is closely related to the participants' orientation to their epistemic responsibility. I describe how participants display epistemic access and lack of epistemic access in two different sequential contexts, as an initiation and as a response. How teachers and students display their epistemic primacy is also explored in this study. I show that there can be a conflict over who has epistemic primacy in the interaction, even between a teacher and a student.

This study also analyzes how teachers manage students' no-knowledge-claims. In a one-on-one writing conference, the teacher cannot allocate the turn to another student when a student claims no knowledge. Rather, the teacher has to interact with the student to help him/her reach a knowing ([K+]) status. This study analyzes different contexts in which the teachers use follow-up questions and provide explanations to deal with students' no-knowledge claims. It seems to be important for the teachers to use the appropriate tool, depending on the topic of the question and the teacher's expectation for the student to be able to provide the answer after being given additional hints.

This study first contributes to our understanding of preference structure, showing how advice-giving is dispreferred in one-on-one writing conferences. This study also provides additional evidence for the claim that preference structure is context-sensitive. The findings of this study also contribute to our understanding of how epistemic displays affect the interaction in an academic setting, suggesting that there is a close relation between participants' display of epistemic access and epistemic responsibility. Lastly, this study has implications for writing pedagogy. This study provides examples of how teachers deal with students' no-knowledge-claims, showing two tools used by teachers in this situation. This study also sheds light on how using compliments when giving advice can help the teachers to effectively point out the students' writing problems. This study also has implications for the training of international teaching assistants or lecturers, as this study provides a microanalysis of the interaction between American teachers and international students in writing conferences.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Focus and Significance of the Dissertation

Following CA methodology, this study analyzes how teachers and students locally manage their talk during one-on-one university ESL writing conferences. The study will specifically focus on the sequential organization and preference structure of advice-giving activities in these conferences, the role of epistemic displays by both teachers and students in the writing conferences, and teachers' management of students' claims of insufficient knowledge.

Studies of pedagogical talk have expanded into various types of classroom settings. While more traditional studies have focused on teacher-fronted classrooms and the so-called IRF (teacher Initiation, learner Response and teacher Follow-up or Feedback) sequence (Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975), recent studies have analyzed task-based classroom talk (Seedhouse, 2004), student group activities (Markee & Seo, 2009), and one-on-one student conferences (Koshik, 2010; Park, 2012a,b; Waring, 2007a,b). A variety of methods have been used to investigate pedagogical talk, from a traditional coding method to a more interaction-based approach such as Conversation Analysis (CA). Studies using CA to investigate pedagogical talk have focused on various aspects of classroom interaction, including the turn-taking system of classroom interaction (McHoul, 1978; Seedhouse, 2004), the sequence organization of classroom interaction, investigating the complexity of the IRF sequence (Lee, 2007; Lerner, 1995; Mondada & Doehler, 2004), the design of turns used in pedagogical interaction (Hellermann, 2008; Koshik, 2002), repair in classroom talk (Kasper, 2009; MacBeth, 2004)[1], and talk in task-based learning (Markee & Kunitz, 2013; Markee, 2015)

Although writing conferences are now an essential part of many university-level writing courses, there has not been much work on the interaction in one-on-one conferences on student academic writing,

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[1] See Gardner (2012) for a detailed review of CA studies on classroom interaction.

except for Koshik (1999, 2002, 2010), Waring (2005, 2007a,b) and more recently Park (2012 a, b).

Koshik studied one-on-one conferences held as part of university ESL writing courses. Her work focused on the design and actions performed by various teacher questioning practices and the student responses to these practices. Waring (2005, 2007a,b) and Park (2012 a, b) studied one-on-one writing conferences that were not part of ESL courses. Waring (2005, 2007a,b) studied interactions between peer tutors and international tutees at a university writing center. Her focus was on the use of accounts in advice-giving and ways that tutees responded to the tutor's advice. Park (2012 a, b) focuses on students' use of polar questions and epistemic downgrades in writing conferences. However, no one has yet studied how these conferences as a whole are organized, particularly advice-giving activities that predominate in these sessions, and the wider role that epistemics of teachers and students plays in these conferences. This study will contribute to our understanding of one-on-one writing conferences, which play an important role in writing pedagogy. Specifically, it will contribute to our knowledge of advice-giving activities in general, and of the role that they play in instruction in one-on-one conferences between teachers and students. It will also contribute to the ongoing discussion of epistemics and the role that epistemic displays play in institutional talk.

1.2. Data

The writing conferences studied in this dissertation took place as part of high intermediate ESL writing courses for undergraduate and graduate students at two large American universities. The TA manual for one of the courses describes the objectives of the course as follows: "to develop students' ability to think critically, to organize and synthesize information, and to write and revise analytical essays. Students will learn about grammar and mechanics, including citation format from assignments" (TA Manual, p.30). Conferences recorded from the other university were based on two different writing courses, one for undergraduates and the other for graduate students. The TA manual for the undergraduate writing course states that "this course is an all-skills course which focuses principally on

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introducing students to the idea of academic writing at the paragraph level" ("ESL 111 TA Resources," n.d.).The manual for the graduate level course states that "this course is an all skills course that focuses equally on academic speaking skills such as oral presentations in seminars and other academic contexts, and on the principles of academic writing at the essay level" ("ESL 500 TA Resources", n.d.). Specifically, all these courses deal with basic academic writing skills such as the writing process, organization, summarizing and incorporating sources. Writing conferences are a regular part of these courses. According to Koshik (1999), the goal of this type of conference is to assist students in the revision of paper drafts and to teach students revision skills that can be used in the future for independent self-assisted editing.

Conferences took place in the instructors' office, where each student met with the instructor individually. Students were to bring the latest draft in progress. Teachers read drafts before the conferences and commented on them. Since the goal of individual writing conferences was to provide feedback on students' papers, the conference consisted of a series of problem-solving activities, including teachers identifying issues within the students' essays, giving advice and discussing potential solutions.

Fourteen conferences held by seven teachers were analyzed in this study. All the teachers were native speakers of English. Three were lecturers, and the other four were TAs (one PhD student in Applied Linguistics and three MA TESL students). The teachers were all instructors of the ESL classes the students were taking. Therefore, the teachers not only gave feedback on the students' papers, as tutors in English writing centers do, but they also graded the final drafts. The students were either undergraduate or graduate students from a variety of language backgrounds. Along with the video recordings of the writing conferences, most of the drafts under discussion were collected. The video recordings were transcribed using conversation analysis transcription conventions[2]. In the transcripts, participants' first initials T and S represent teacher and student, respectively, and the second letter represents the pseudonyms of the teachers and students.

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[2] A description of CA transcription conventions will be provided in the appendix.

The specific organization of the conferences, particularly the order of presenting problems, differed among the teachers. However, how the teachers identify a problem in students' essays and give advice involves a similarly-organized activity, as I show in the analysis.

1.3 Methodology

The methodology of the study follows the CA framework. CA is "the study of recorded, naturally-occurring talk-in-interaction" (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998, p.12). It originated in the field of sociology, and was first introduced by Harvey Sacks, Emanuel Schegloff and Gail Jefferson. The founders were influenced both by Goffman's interest in interaction (Goffman, 1974, 1981) and the field of ethnomethodology (Garfinkel, 1967).

A CA analysis starts with carefully transcribed data taken from audio or video recordings. The data being analyzed are naturally-occurring data, based on interactions which would take place regardless of the presence of the researcher. The reason for not using invented or remembered examples is that "from close looking at the world we can find things that we could not, by imagination, assert were there" (Sacks, 1984, p.25). CA, therefore, has an empirically based research tradition. After the data are acquired, they are transcribed in detail, including aspects of the speech such as pauses, lengthening, intonation, emphasis, loudness, laughter, and gesture.

A CA analysis begins with "unmotivated looking," and not from a hypothesis or an assumption. With an unmotivated look at transcribed data, analysts discover certain patterns of talk, including practices (i.e., forms) and social actions, or a systematic organization governing the whole interaction. Common observations made include "patterns across the samples, patterns within the data, selecting formulation and selecting formats" (Sidnell, 2010, p.30). In other words, similar patterns across different samples or within the same data can be found. Also, the focus could be on the forms, i.e, specific words

or phrases, or on the social actions with a description of different forms used to perform the action. After these observations are made, a collection can be made which forms the basis of an analysis.

Since this study aims to analyze the details of the interaction taking place between teachers and students in one-on-one writing conferences, CA is the best methodology for the study. Specifically, CA helps us understand the sequential organization of the interaction, how participants deliver a certain type of action, i.e., advice-giving, and how knowledge affects the conversation. This study focuses on the organization of talk, collecting samples across different writing conferences. Rather than focusing on one particular form, the study focuses on the overall sequence organization, concentrating on how the talk is shaped by the preference structure or the epistemics of the participants.

1.4 Organization of the Dissertation

The dissertation is organized into six chapters, including the introduction. The reviews of relevant literature are included at the beginning of each chapter.

The second chapter describes the sequential organization of problem-solving activities in writing conferences. Although every teacher organizes the writing conference differently, how the teachers identify a problem in students' essays and give advice involves a similarly-organized activity, which I call the "problem-solving activity." In this chapter, the organization of these "problem-solving activities" is described.

In the third chapter, I focus on the preference structure of advice-giving. By a close analysis of the teachers' advice-giving turns, I show that advice-giving is performed as a dispreferred action in writing conferences. Advice-giving turns displayed characteristics of dispreferred actions, such as being delayed and mitigated. The action of advice-giving is delayed within the conference as a whole and within the advice-giving turn. When advice-giving is delayed within the turn, compliments often preface the advice. Advice-giving is also accompanied by justifications and it is often mitigated. I also show how conditionals can be used to characterize dispreferred responses in this context.

The focus of the fourth chapter is on the epistemic displays of teachers and students in writing conferences. In this chapter, I analyze how teachers and students display epistemic access, epistemic primacy and epistemic responsibility. I first discuss the display of epistemic primacy, including an analysis of a complex case where there is a conflict over who has the epistemic primacy. Then, I show how teachers and students display their epistemic access and how they orient to their epistemic responsibility.

In the fifth chapter, which is the last analytical chapter in the dissertation, I focus on how teachers deal with students' insufficient knowledge claims. When teachers initiate a question, students may claim no knowledge verbally, i.e., "I don't know" or "I have no idea"[3] or non-verbally, i.e., shaking the head or avoiding eye contact. In a classroom setting, when a student claims insufficient knowledge, the teacher usually nominates another student to provide a response. However, in one-on-one writing conferences, teachers cannot nominate another student, since there is only one student in the setting. This chapter looks at practices such as asking follow-up questions or providing explanations, which teachers in one-on-one writing conferences use to deal with students' claim of insufficient knowledge. I analyze the different contexts in which these two different practices are used by teachers.

The last chapter summarizes the study and discusses implications for CA and writing pedagogy and directions for future studies.

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[3] These two expressions both perform the action of claiming no knowledge, but they may not necessarily perform equivalent actions. Further discussion seems to be beyond the scope of this dissertation.

CHAPTER 2

SEQUENTIAL ORGANIZATION OF ADVICE-GIVING ACTIVITIES

2.1. Literature Review

2.1.1. Advice-giving

Advice is defined by Searle (1969) as an act that conveys a proposition which the speaker thinks will be beneficial to the hearer (p.67). In a CA sense, advice can be defined as sequences of talk which "describes, recommends or otherwise forwards a preferred course of future action" (Heritage & Sefi, 1992, p.368). Researchers have investigated how speakers give and receive advice in various settings such as nurse – patient interaction (Heritage& Sefi, 1992; Heritage & Lindström, 2012; Leppanen, 1998), radio advice programs (DeCapua & Dunham, 1993; Hutchby, 1995), helpline interaction (Hepburn & Potter, 2011; Hutchby, 2014; Emmison & Firth, 2012), counselor – student interaction (Erickson & Schultz, 1982; Vehviläinen, 2001), tutor – tutee interaction (Waring, 2005, 2007a,b, 2012), and mundane interaction (Shaw & Hepburn, 2013; Shaw et al., 2015) Studies on advice-giving focused on various aspects including how advice is initiated by the advice-givers (Leppanen, 1998; Silverman, 1997; Vehviläinen, 2001), how it is initiated by the advisees (Vehviläinen, 2009), and how advice is accepted or rejected (Jefferson & Lee, 1992; Poulios, 2010, Pudlinski, 2002, 2012; Waring, 2007a). These studies suggest that how participants give advice to the other party differs depending on the context in which the advice is given. In this section, I will introduce those studies on advice-giving which are closely related to the current study, focusing on how the participants give advice.

The most widely studied context for advice-giving is a medical setting. Leppanen (1998) analyzed how Swedish district nurses give advice to the patients they visit. The District nurses in the study visited adult patients for routine tests or treatments. Findings of the study suggest that advice was given in three different positions in relation to the problem: immediately after the problem has been noticed, after they finish talking about the problem, and postponed until other activities not related to the problem have been finished. Still, it is evident that the advice-giving sequence was triggered by some manifestation of a problem. Leppanen (1998) also analyzed how advice-giving was designed. The nurses'

advice-giving involved three characteristics: (1) "proposal of a course of action" (2) a set of "body movements", and (3) an "account" (p.223). When proposing a course of action the nurses use different turn designs, depending on the context. They use the imperative mood or imperative modal verbs (i.e., should) when patients seem to acknowledge what the problem is, but do not know the solution. The following excerpt illustrates a use of an imperative. The patient asks the nurse to examine his eyes and the nurse physically examines his eyes before the beginning of the excerpt.

```
(1) Leppanen(1998, p.224) [V17:4:H]
1   N:    but you have no feeling of soreness in it,
2   P:    no I haven't(h), (.) I thought he was- (.) .hhhh but
3         it i:t takes a very long time there at the eye
4         clinic.
5   N:    but call up an- [and hear how long they have come =
6   P:                    [no:
7   N: = with (.) the appointment
```

The nurse asks the patient if his eyes feel sore (line 1), and in lines 2-4, the patient answers this question and points out a problem that there is a very long wait at the eye clinic. After this, in lines 5 and 7, the nurse gives advice using the imperative mood to the patient that she should call the eye clinic. When the patients acknowledge there is a problem, the nurse uses the imperative mood. In contrast, the nurses present the advice as a possible alternative or describe the patient's future actions when the patients do not even know that there is a problem. Consider the following excerpt, where the nurse finds out there is not enough medicine in the patient's house.

```
(2) Leppanen(1998, p.224) [V6:2:H]
1  N:  so that e:h, (2.6) that we can arrange so to speak,=the
2      same way if you then go to the doctor-hhh so: e:hm
3      (2.4) can you ask him to fix a prescription for you
4      so that we have,
```

The nurse gives advice to the patient to ask the doctor for more medicine (lines 2-4). The patient did not know that he was almost out of his medicine, so he did not know there was a problem at all. In this case,

the nurse presents the advice as a possible option ("if you then go to the doctor"). This suggests that the preference structure of advice-giving turns may differ depending on the immediate context.

The second characteristic of the design of nurses' advice is a certain set of body movements. The nurses design the advice to be a "single activity," (p.227) therefore halting whatever action that was going on, i.e., giving shots. Also, the nurses move their gaze to the patients and often wave with their hands. These body movements all contribute to the nurses' effort to focus the patients on the advice.

The third characteristic is that accounts often accompany advice. In other words, the nurses support the advice by presenting their knowledge regarding the advice. For example, the nurse describes a future consequence when the advice is not followed ("because then you get a little dizzy").

In a similar setting, Heritage and Sefi (1992) investigated patient visits by British health visitors. British health visitors (HVs) mostly visit families with children under the age of five, and focus on identifying health problems in the community and giving advice in managing children's health issues. The design of the advice turns was quite similar to that of Leppanen (1998). Four different forms were identified to be used in the advice-giving turns: (1) imperatives, (2) verbs of obligation, (3) recommendations (i.e., *I would recommend giving her a ba:th every da:y*), and (4) factual generalizations (i.e., *Lots of mums do: progress to thuh (0.8) terries when they're a bit older*). Although the last type of advice-giving is less direct, Heritage & Sefi (1992) conclude that "in general, …, the HVs delivered their advice explicitly, authoritatively and in so decided a fashion as to project their relative expertise on health and baby-management issues as beyond doubt" (p.369).

However, advice-giving is not always delivered directly. The advice-giving turns by HIV counselors analyzed in Silverman (1997) were delivered rather indirectly. For example, they were presented as nonpersonal information (i.e., "Now when someo:ne is tested (.) and they ha:ve a negative test result .hh it's obviously ideal uh:m that (.) they then look after themselves to prevent any further risk of infection" (Silverman, 1997, p.21)) or presented in an interview format by asking questions and answering.

2.1.2. Advice-giving in pedagogical settings

        The term "advice-giving" will be used in this dissertation to refer to an action in which the teacher makes suggestions about how to solve a particular problem in the students' essay. Advice-giving shares characteristics that are similar to error correction. In both of these actions, the teacher gives feedback to the student. The difference is that error correction is unidirectional and is not embedded in a problem-solving activity[4]; error correction is often found in side sequences (Jefferson, 1972) which are sequences that occurs in the middle of an on-going activity, which seems to be somewhat relevant to the on-going activity. In contrast, advice-giving is often the culmination of a problem-solving activity. Since numerous examples of advice-giving will be presented throughout the dissertation, I will present an example of error correction below. This excerpt is from a writing conference between the teacher, TB and the student, SD. They are discussing SD's summary-critique paper and TB is going over her comments written on SD's paper.

(3) TBSD_20131108

```
1     TB:   .hh ↑here I don't- °everyone is doing this.
2           It's very interesting.° Okay. "As revealed
3  →        by the research (.) population" (1.0) °you have
4           these random gaps.° u::::m (2.5) .hh
5           "the population (1.7) ((typing)) with mood
6           disorders are sensitive to artificial
7  →        sweeteners." (.) To THIS artificial sweetener.
8           =Not all of them.
9     SD:   °mm°
10    TB:   They only tested one. .hhh I have a problem
11          with this sentence because-
12          >why do you think I have a problem with
13          this sentence<
```

After TB starts to read aloud the problematic portion of SD's essay in lines 2-3, TB adds a comment that there are random gaps in SD's essay (lines 3-4). TB is pointing out a formatting problem in SD's essay, in

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[4] A detailed discussion of this will take place in the next section of this chapter.

a form of a quick side comment. In line 5, as TB continues to read aloud the problematic portion of SD's essay, she corrects the error herself by deleting the random gaps on the computer (described as ((typing)) in the excerpt in line 5). She then continues to read aloud the problematic portion without further commenting on the correction. After this, TB finds another problem which is related to the number of a noun, "artificial sweetener". The paper talks about only one type of artificial sweetener, but the student uses the plural form "artificial sweeteners" in his essay. In line 7, right after TB reads aloud "artificial sweeteners," she starts a side sequence of correcting this error. After a brief pause (in line 7), TB corrects the error and repeats the phrase with the corrected form, emphasizing "this" which has been corrected. Then, in line 8, TB explains why it is an error, and SD minimally responds in line 9. In line 10, TB adds another explanation that the researchers in the original article only tested one type of artificial sweetener. After an in-breath, TB then moves on the main problem of the passage she read aloud, prompting the student to guess what the problem is. It turns out after this excerpt that the main problem of this passage is the incorrect usage of the verb "reveal" which appeared in line 2. TB focuses on this problem quite extensively within a problem-solving activity. However, the two problems mentioned earlier, the formatting problem and the number problem, are dealt with in a form of a side comment or a side sequence, in a brief way not involving an extensive problem-solving activity.

The teachers' advice in the writing conferences in this study may differ from tutors' advice in writing centers[5]. This is because writing conferences are a part of ESL writing courses; the teachers give advice to students and later on grade the students' papers, whereas the tutors in writing centers do not grade the tutees' papers. In this sense, teachers' advice in writing conferences may be more course-specific and may have more authority than the tutors' advice in writing centers.

Problem-solving activities in writing conferences share many similarities with the "performance feedback," investigated by Jacoby (1998). Jacoby uses the term "performance feedback" to describe the activity where a professor gives feedback to students after their conference talk rehearsals. Both activities involve an instructor giving feedback on student performance. In Jacoby's work, the performance was a

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[5] See Waring, (2005).

conference presentation rehearsal. In writing conferences the "performance" is a written product. I

discuss similarities between these two types of feedback later in the dissertation.

2.2. Organization of problem-solving activities

Since the main goal of writing conferences is to give feedback and advice to help students revise

their papers, all of the writing conferences that I analyzed consisted of a chain of problem-solving

activities. The following schema summarizes the general structure of each of the problem-solving

activities.

| Identification of Problematic Portion |
| • by either Teacher or Student |

⬇

| (Problem Discussion)* |
| • (Questions from Student) |
| • Elaboration by Teacher |

⬇

| (Compliment) |
| • by Teacher |

⬇

| Advice-giving |
| • by Teacher |

⬇

| (Justification or reason for the advice) |
| • by Teacher |

⬇

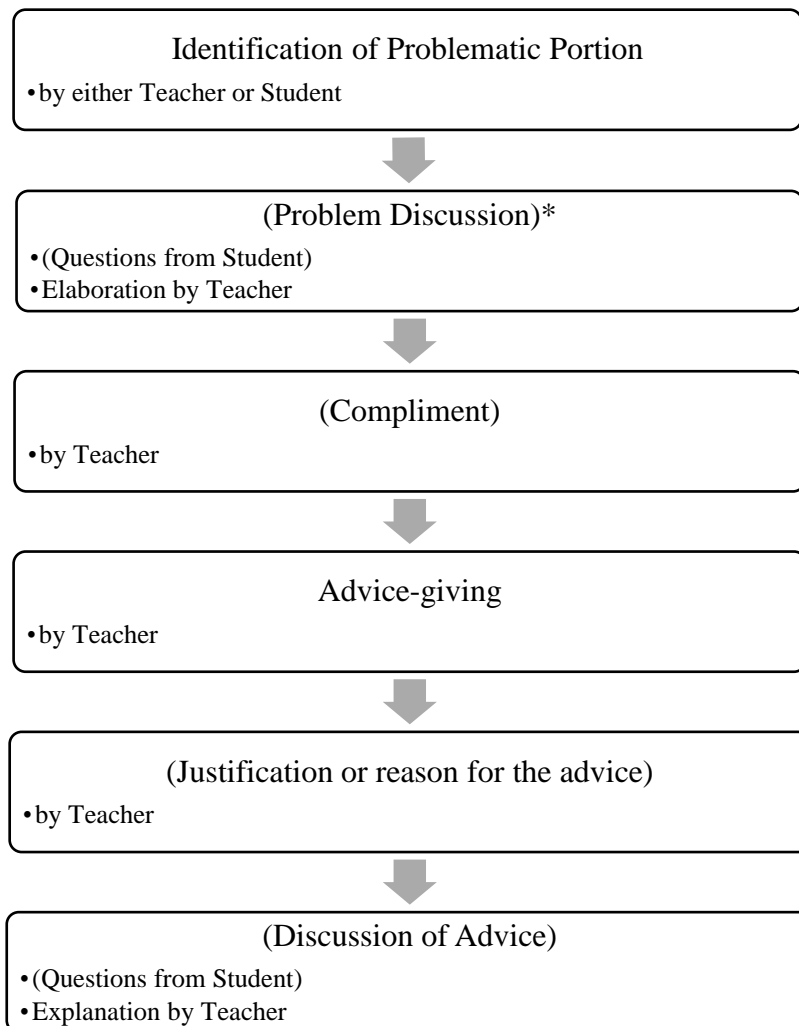| (Discussion of Advice) |
| • (Questions from Student) |
| • Explanation by Teacher |

Figure 1: Structure of problem-solving activity

* Activities enclosed in parentheses indicate that they are optional, and may not always take place.

All of the writing conferences consisted of a chain of these problem-solving activities. Each problem-solving activity started with pointing out the problematic portion; this was followed by an advice-giving turn by the teacher. Discussion of the problem and the advice also often took place.[6] The following excerpt illustrates the structure of a problem-solving activity found in writing conferences. Before the following excerpt, TD and SD discuss SD's writing in general, i.e., how SD seems to have many expressions that are directly translated from his own language. Then, starting in line 1, TD starts to focus on a specific problem in SD's essay.

(4) TD & SD: need to cite

```
1    TD:    Um::(0.8) You said "these kinds of natural resources
2           are not stored in every country," (0.4) well
3           that's very nice to say but (0.3) you're-
4           you're
5           (.)
6    SD:    [s-
7    TD:    [an economist right?
8    SD:    yeah.
9    TD:    economists don't ever say anything without
10          including a number.
11   SD:    um hm
12   TD:    right?
13          (0.4)
14   TD:    How do you know that?
15          (0.6)
16   TD:    and so that's- that's very important.
17          Not just- well >in- in academic writing
18          in general.<
19   SD:    um hm
20   TD:    again, we keep talking about the fact that
21          there is this- this tension between the fact
22          that we're not experts yet.
23          (0.4)
24   TD:    so we need to cite our (.) sources.
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[6] This problem-solving activity resembles the "advice as a 'big package'" Limberg, (2010: p. 243) found in office hour interactions between professors and students. As opposed to "advice as a 'small package'," this practice of giving advice "takes up a considerable part of the interactional space during an office hour consultation" (Limberg, 2010, p.243). Since the purpose of writing conferences is to give feedback and advice to students, more extensive advice-giving, or "advice as a 'big package'," is commonly found in writing conferences.

```
25          (0.8)
26  TD:     People who know more than us. But at the
27          same time we're supposed to have our own
28          opinions and our own [thoughts,
29  SD:                          [°um hm,°
30          (0.8)
31  TD:     But (.) we're supposed to s- i- i- it
32          just keeps going on and on [it never ends
33  SD:                                [yes. (like that)
34  TD:     um: but with stuff- with a statement like
35          this one, you very definitely need to say
36          (0.5) well okay, [I kno::w he's::
37  SD:                      [um hm
38  SD:     °huh°
39  TD:     n::ot an expert in field, so where this comes from
40  SD:     haha
41  TD:     It's not just good enough to say well it's true.
42          Well then you're like
43  SD:     [um hm, .hhh
44  TD:     [six year old in the playground "it's true
45          no it's not yes it is no it isn't."
46  SD:     yes. I think I- I have difficulty in uh::
47          (0.9) s- s- separating uh sentences. Which one
48          is knowned (.) by everyone, and which none-
49          which one [needs eh nom- (     )
50  TD:               [((in a creaky voice))I get it.
51          ((clearing throat))and see I didn't even think
52          about that.
53  TD:      I didn't even (0.8) um: (0.5) ts but if you
54          have to (.) guess,
55          (1.2)
56  TD:      assume that people probably don't know it.=
57  SD:      =yes.
58  TD:      that's the safer guess.
59  SD:      uh huh
```

In lines 1-2, TD identifies the problematic portion by reading that portion aloud. This is how a problem-solving activity is typically started in writing conferences. In lines 2-3, TD adds a compliment before giving the actual advice. This is also a very common tool used by the teachers in writing conferences, and teachers' use of compliments will be explained in detail in the next chapter. "But" (in line 3), which comes right after the compliment, already alludes to the fact that a contrasting comment, i.e., a criticism,

is forthcoming. However, TD inserts a side sequence, reminding the student that as an economist, he should know the importance of using numbers. TD seems to insert this side sequence to explain what the problem is, by bringing in what SD is familiar with. Then, TD starts giving advice line 14, stating that the question "how do you know that" is important in academic writing. In lines 20-22, TD briefly explains why citation is needed in academic writing, and in line 23, TD more directly gives advice that SD needs to include citations. Then in lines 26-59, further explanation of the advice and a short discussion of the advice follows.

2.3. Organization of writing conferences

Each of the writing conferences was structured differently, in terms of the overall organization. Brief summaries of the organization of individual writing conferences are presented below.

One teacher (TJ) divides the conference into the three aspects of writing - language, content and organization. These three aspects were the basis of grading the students' essay.[7] The teacher first starts with the language aspect, and identifies grammatical errors in the first paragraph with the student. The teacher had not put comments on this paragraph on purpose, in order to discuss it during the conference.

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[7] The following excerpt is from the very beginning of the conference, where TJ explains how he is going to organize the conference.

```
(5) TJ & SH
1    TJ:     [ok.you know that we're grading in three
2            [((TJ turns over colored sheet of paper and
3            positions pen to write))
4            areas.right?
5    SH:     um hu[m
6    TJ:         [content organization and language .hh
7                [((TJ writes on colored paper))
8            an I'll try n (.) address the main points that
9            I have noticed in each of these three areas.
10   SH:     um [hum]
11   TJ:        [uh ] in this paper. .h u::m .h the
12           easiest and simplest one is ta always start
13           with the language stuff.
```

The teacher and student focus on correcting the verb tense by first reviewing the English tense system in general, and going through the incorrect tense uses one by one. The grammar aspect is dealt with rather quickly, as shown in TJ's comment wrapping up the grammar aspect (that's just uh: a grammar point that I wanted to go over.). The teacher focuses on the content and organization for the rest of the conference. The transition is explicitly marked by the teacher's utterance.[8] This part of the conference consisted of a chain of problem-solving activities. These problems-solving activities follow the general structure described above.

Another teacher, TT, first asks what the student is happy about regarding his paper and then asks what he is worried about. When they discuss the positive aspects of the student's paper, the teacher tries to elicit from the student what he has done well in his paper. After a brief exchange where the student points out a few good aspects of the paper and the teacher agrees with it, they go on to talk about some aspects of the essay which the student is worried about. In this conference, then, the student more often points out his concerns about his own paper. However, the teacher points out problems as well. When pointing out the problem, normally the problematic portion of the essay is read aloud first. Then, similarly to the conference above, the teacher makes a suggestion or gives advice to the student. An elaboration or explanation of the advice sometimes follows the advice. At the very end of the conference, the teacher wraps up the conference by making a positive assessment on the student's essay.

The third teacher, TC, goes through the paper, following the order of her comments. The teacher first starts with a positive comment on the essay in general. Then, the teacher goes through the paper focusing on problems concerning content, organization and language following the order as they appear in the paper. Each of these advice-giving activities is structured similarly to those in other conferences.

---

[8] (6) TJ & SH
```
1   TJ:    now
2          {4.8} / ((turning pages))
3          in terms of content, which I- which is
4          always the most important thing ta me,
```

The fourth teacher, TD, starts the conference with a general positive comment on the student's revised draft. Then, the teacher goes through the rubric of the assignment and addresses some aspects of the essay which need more work.

The fifth teacher, TA, starts the conference by giving a positive comment about the student's revision. Then, the student brings up a few issues related to her draft and TA gives advice on the issues. After this, TA goes over some of her written comments and explains them in detail. While doing this, TA also answers the student's questions about her comments.

Four conferences held by TB, the sixth teacher, were collected. With two students, TB started the conference by asking whether the student has any question about the paper. TB then went over her comments on the paper. With the other two students, TB started the conference by going over her comments and dealing with the problems of the students' essays. After that, TB asked whether the students had any other question about their essays.

Three conferences held by TK, the seventh teacher, were collected. Since TK had asked the students to bring questions about their papers, the conferences generally started with students asking the questions to the teacher. Then, TK focused on a few of her comments which had been written on the students' papers before the conferences.

2.4. Conclusion

This chapter investigated the overall organization of one-on-one ESL writing conferences. I have identified the basic activity of writing conferences, which I call a "problem-solving activity." This activity includes the actions of problem identification and advice-giving. Each of the writing conferences consisted of a chain of these problem-solving activities. I have also summarized how each of the writing conferences is organized differently. The teachers organized the writing conferences based on their own preferences, either starting by asking whether the students have any questions or concerns about their

papers, or giving general positive comments. Some teachers divided the conferences into several parts, focusing on different aspects of writing, i.e., content, language or organization. In spite of these differences in overall organization, all of the teachers commonly addressed the comments that had been written on the students' essays during the writing conferences using problem-solving activities as outlined above.

In the next chapter, teacher's advice-giving turns will be analyzed in detail, focusing on how these turns are done as dispreferred first pair parts.

CHAPTER 3

PREFERENCE STRUCTURE OF ADVICE-GIVING IN WRITING CONFERENCES

This chapter analyzes the preference structure of advice-giving turns in writing conferences. Preference has been a key concept used by conversation analysts for describing how "participants follow principles … when they act and react in a variety of interactional situations" (Pomerantz & Heritage, 2013, p.210). In other words, preference reflects "the alignment in which a second action stands to a first" which could be roughly expressed as "plus" and "minus" (Schegloff, 2007, p.59). Preferred and dispreferred turns also have different turn shapes. These turn shapes will be discussed in more detail later in the chapter.

Early studies on the preference structure focused on describing how speakers respond to certain actions such as assessments (Pomerantz, 1984) and invitations (Atkinson & Drew, 1979), in addition to how speakers initiate actions such as other-corrections (Jefferson, 1987) and requests (Sacks, 1992).[9] Most of the studies have focused on the preference structure of second pair parts, or responses, and a smaller number of studies have investigated the preference structure of first pair parts, or initiating utterances (i.e., Al-Gahtani & Roever, 2014; Antaki & Kent, 2015; Fox, 2015; Kobin & Drew, 2014; Koivisto, 2013; Maynard, 2003; Pillet-Shore, 2012; Robinson & Bolden, 2010; Schegloff, 2007; Speer, 2012). This chapter analyzes how advice-giving turns, which are first pair parts, are dispreferred in writing conferences.

As discussed in the prior chapter, previous literature on advice-giving has shown that the preference structure of advice-giving turns depends on the surrounding context. Some advice-giving turns were produced in a direct, rather preferred way by the British health visitors in Heritage & Sefi (1992), but other advice-giving turns were produced in a more dispreferred way by the HIV counselors in Silverman (1992) or by the physicists in Jacoby (1998). This chapter investigates the preference structure

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[9] For a summary of more recent works on preference, please refer to Pomerantz & Heritage (2013) in The *Handbook of Conversation Analysis*.

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of advice-giving activities in yet another setting, writing conferences. Before the actual analysis, a brief introduction of the notion of preference will be presented in the next section.

3.1. Preference

Preference, one of the key concepts in the analysis of conversation, springs from a more basic structure observed in conversation, i.e. adjacency pair organization (Schegloff, 2007; Heritage, 1984b; Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998; Pomerantz, 1984). A minimal adjacency pair is comprised of two turns which are produced by two different speakers consecutively. The first turn of this pair is called the first pair part, which initiates a sequence, and the second turn is called the second pair part, which responds to the prior turn. When a first pair part is uttered, only certain types of second pair parts can ordinarily follow, e.g., greetings are responded to by greetings. However, unlike greetings, invitations can be accepted or refused, permitting two different types of second pair parts. Schegloff (2007) explains that these alternative types of response are not equivalent. The responses that align with the first pair part, and are ''oriented to as invited'' (Pomerantz, 1984, p.63), are referred to as preferred responses, whereas their alternatives are referred to as dispreferred responses. In other words, "actions which are … normally affiliative & supportive of social solidarity" are preferred responses, and "actions which are … generally disaffiliative & destructive of social solidarity" are dispreferred ones (Heritage, 1984b, p.267). For example, agreement and acceptance are preferred while disagreement and rejection are dispreferred in general.[10] This type of preference is called "action-type" preference in that the preference structure is "grounded in the character of the course of action" (Schegloff, 2007, p.62). For example, the action of inviting someone to a party is considered successful when the response is an acceptance of the invitation, and therefore the preferred response is an acceptance, whereas the dispreferred response is a declination. There is another type of

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[10] Note, however, that sometimes agreement can be dispreferred and disagreement preferred, i.e. after a self-deprecation (Pomerantz, 1984).

preference, which is called "design-based" preference. This type of preference is grounded in "the design of the turn embodying the first pair part" (Schegloff, 2007, p.62). Design-based preference is based on various linguistic tools like grammar, prosody or word choice. For example, when there is a Negative Polarity Item (i.e., "any", "ever", or "yet") in a question, that question prefers a negative response. These two different types of preference may be "congruent", or point at the same direction, but they may also be "cross-cutting", or point at different directions (Schegloff, 2007, p.76).

It is important to note that the concept of preference is "a social/interactional feature of sequences and of orientations to them, *not a psychological one"* (Schegloff, 2007, p.61). Although the term "preference" may seem to suggest that there is a preferred answer by the speaker, which he or she wishes to hear from the recipient, this is not the focus of the CA concept of preference.

3.1.1. Design of preferred and dispreferred second pair parts

We have seen that preference structure is grounded in the action or the design of the first pair part. Preference structure can also be grounded in the shape of the responses that follow the first pair parts. Previous studies have found that preferred turns and dispreferred turns have different characteristics in their turn shape and sequential placement (Sacks, 1987; Pomerantz, 1984; Heritage, 1984b; Hutchby and Woofitt, 1998; Schegloff, 1988). Preferred turns are generally short and concise, positioned immediately after the prior turn (Schegloff 2007). In other words, they are produced ''contiguously'' (Sacks, 1987) to the prior turns and are not delayed.

In contrast, dispreferred turns are mitigated and even attenuated to a point where the actual response is not articulated. They are also elaborated and often accompanied by accounts (including justifications or explanations), excuses, disclaimers (i.e., "I don't know."), and hedges (i.e., "I don't wanna make anything definite." (Schegloff, 2007)). Dispreferred responses are delayed, "breaking the contiguity", between the first and second pair parts (Sacks, 1987). This is done in two ways – before the turn and within the turn. Dispreferred responses may also be prefaced by agreement expressions, which

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are described as "pro-forma agreements" by Schegloff (2007, p.69). The most familiar example is the "yes, but …" expression where the agreement token "yes" is used to delay the dispreferred response.

3.1.2. Preferred and dispreferred first pair parts

First pair parts, like second pair parts, can also be preferred or dispreferred. The structural difference between preferred and dispreferred is observed in not only responses, but also in first pair parts (Schegloff, 2007). There are several well-known examples of first pair parts which show preference in American English (Schegloff, 2007). There is a preference for offer over request first pair parts, i.e., an offer such as "would you like some more?" is preferred over a request such as "could I have some more?". There is a preference for noticings over tellings, i.e., noticings such as "you had a new haircut" is preferred over tellings such as "I had a new haircut". There is also a preference for recognition over self-identification in the opening of American phone calls, i.e., recognition in phone call opening such as "hi John" is preferred over self-identification such as "this is John". The preference structure of these first pair parts results in different turn shapes and structures, similar to those of second pair parts. Dispreferred first pair parts are delayed within the first pair part turn, usually accompanied by accounts and mitigations. They are also delayed within the whole conversation since the speakers try to withhold the dispreferred action and wait for the other participants to produce the counterpart of that action (Schegloff, 2007). For example, speakers who are about to produce a request or correction or deliver bad news will delay these actions and wait for the other participants to give an offer, self-correct or deliver the bad news themselves (Pomerantz & Heritage, 2013). Dispreferred first pair parts can also be disguised as other actions, often as the preferred counterpart actions (Schegloff, 2007, p.84). For example, requests can be disguised as offers. Consider the following excerpt from Schegloff (2007, p.85-86).

(7) Schegloff (2007), p.85-86

```
1      Lot:  ↑Don't chu want me tih come down: getchu
2            dihmorr'en take yih dow:n dih the beauty parlor?
```

```
3           (0.3)
4     Emm:  What fo:r I ↑jis did my hair it looks like pruh-
5           a perfess↓ional.
…
15    Emm:  If[you wa]nt ↑ME TIH go't the beauty pahler ah wi:ll,
16    Lot:     [°Oh:.°]
17           (.)
18    Lot:  ↑W'l I jus thought mayb we g'd gover duh Richard's
19           fer lunch then after uh get muh hair ↓fixed.
20    Emm:  Awri:ght
21    Lot:  Oka:y,
```

In this excerpt, the offer in lines 1-2 is actually a request disguised as an offer. This offer is rejected in lines 4-5, and in the omitted lines. In lines 15-16, Emma unmasks the offer as a request, offering to go to the beauty parlor. Here, Emma interprets the offer in lines 1-2 as a request disguised as an offer.

In this chapter, I will analyze the turn design and the placement of the advice-giving turns, which are first pair parts, to determine the preference structure. The reason I am not using an action-based approach, but focusing on the design of the turns is because although an action-based account can be useful in determining the preference structure of second pair parts, it may be difficult to apply this account to the preference structure for first pair parts. Not all actions of first pair parts are preferred in every culture. Consider self-identification and recognition in telephone openings in various cultures. As mentioned earlier, self-identification is preferred over recognition in American English (Schegloff, 2007). However, Dutch speakers commonly self-identify themselves when answering the phone and the callers also self-identify themselves in the next turn, suggesting that self-identification is preferred over recognition in this culture (Houtkoop-Steenstra, 1991). Self-identification is preferred over recognition in Swedish as well, as a study by Lindstrom (1994) on Swedish phone call openings suggest. The results of these studies suggest that there is a cultural variation in the preference structure of first pair parts. This makes it difficult to determine the preference structure of a first pair part based on its action. There is no such action that is preferred by nature universally; the action can be preferred in one culture but dispreferred in the other. Therefore, I will reserve using the action-based account, limiting explanations

such as advice-giving turns seem to be dispreferred due to its criticizing action. Instead, I will focus on the design and placement of the advice-giving turns in order to determine the preference structure.

3.1.3. Preference and advice-giving

Prior literature on advice-giving seems to suggest that advice-giving turns can be preferred or dispreferred, depending on the context. The district nurses in Leppanen (1998)'s study and the health visitors in Heritage & Sefi (1992)'s study give advice in a direct, straightforward manner. In other words, advice-giving turns seems to be performed as preferred first pair parts in this type of setting, except, in Leppanen (1998)'s study, when patients did not have knowledge about the problem beforehand. The advice-giving turns by HIV counselors in Silverman (1997)'s study, were delivered quite indirectly. It may be difficult to say that this advice is given in a dispreferred way, as a closer analysis of the sequence is necessary. However, at the very least it can be said that not all advice is performed in a direct way. The results of these studies suggest that the preference structure of advice-giving turns is context-sensitive. Advice-giving can be preferred or dispreferred, depending on the surrounding context. In this line of study, this chapter will analyze the preference structure of advice-giving turns in one-on-one ESL writing conferences.

3.2. Writing Conference Advice-Giving as Dispreferred

This section will analyze advice-giving turns in one-on-one writing conferences in their sequential context and in the conference as a whole. The analysis demonstrates how these advice-giving turns are performed with the characteristics of dispreferred actions, including delays, accounts, and/or mitigations. I also show how the use of conditionals can be a characteristic of dispreferred responses in this context.

3.2.1. Delayed advice-giving

Just as dispreferred responses can be delayed within the turn and before the turn (Pomerantz, 1984), dispreferred first pair parts such as advice-giving turns in writing conferences also seems to be delayed in two different ways. First, the whole problem-solving activity in which advice-giving turns occur is delayed within the writing conference. Second, advice-giving is delayed within the problem-solving activity and occasionally within the turn.

3.2.1.1. Delay of problem-solving activities

If we look at the overall organization of the writing conferences, teachers start with a general positive comment about the student's paper, rather than starting with giving advice to the students. As dispreferred first pair parts are delayed in conversation as a whole (Schegloff, 2007), problem-solving activities seem to be delayed by general positive comments. This is similar to how the post-run-through feedback phase is launched in Jacoby (1998)'s study. The principle investigator launches this phase with an overall assessment of the performance, which is typically positive. Out of seven cases, only one overall assessment was negative, which was a comment on a seriously over-timed run-through. It seems that in most cases, at the very beginning of the feedback phase, a general positive comment is made and when negative overall feedback is given, it is either avoided or presented indirectly. The following data excerpts from writing conferences show a similar opening, where a general positive comment is made.

Extract (8) comes from the opening of a writing conference between TC and SD (T indicates teacher and S, student).

 (8) TC & SD

```
1     TC:    You did a really good job of: like e- this
2            is the way tha- the paper should be
3            organized. so that's really good.
4     SD:     [mm hmm?]
5     TC:    l[ike .hh] yer: (.) I mean (1.0) as far as
6            (2.5) you have the right idea that the:
```

```
7              (0.2) the explanation:s  are kind of leading
8              your paper yer ex- (0.2) the explanations
9              about why he was a good leader?
10   SD:       yeah?
11   TC:       are: (0.5) definately: like (.) the reasons
12             why you put facts about de Gaulle in there.
13             .h so that's really good.
14             (0.5)
15   SD:       [(yeah    )]
16   TC:       [((sniff)) ]
17             (1.0)
18   TC:       because:: (0.8) um: (0.2) yeah. so .h you
19             have the right idea as far as (0.2) ya know
20             synthesizing and explaining de Gaulle's
21             leadership.
22             (0.5)
23             .h so you're actually a step ahea- ahead of
24             other people (.) who're (.) on this paper.
25             .h so the next step is to: (0.2) .h (.) ta
26             get a clearer (0.8) um: (1.2) main idea.
27   SD:       yeah, ok.=
```

TC starts the conference by complimenting the student on his paper. In line 1, TC uses the positive adjective *good* along with the intensifier *really*. However, the object being complimented is not mentioned and is cut off after *of*. Then the teacher gives a new compliment and specifies what has been done well, which is the overall structure of the essay in lines 2-3. In lines 5-9 and 11-13, TC adds a more specific compliment on the student's essay, positively evaluating the explanations included in the essay. After this, TC explains why the explanations included in the student's essay was done well (lines 18-21). In lines 23-24, TC summarizes her compliment, and marks this as the upshot of her prior talk starting with a "so" (Schiffrin, 1987; Raymond, 2004). She positively evaluates SD's performance in comparison to the other students' essays. Then, in lines 25-26, TC starts to give advice. In this advice, the teacher implicitly points out that SD's main idea is not clear and therefore subtly conveys criticism. After this extract, TC and SD focus on a problem of the student's essay, which is that the essay has two separate

main ideas[11]. Thus, TC compliments the essay's overall organization before she points out the problems

of the essay, delaying the criticism and the advice-giving activities.

The next extract, which is the very beginning of a writing conference between TT and SR, shows

another way the problem-solving activities are delayed in a writing conference. This takes place after they

wrap up talking about casual subjects which are unrelated to the conference.

(9) TT & SR

```
1    TT:     (.hh) okay: let's talk about the subject at
2            ha:nd here,=um: tch! (.hh) why don't you tell
```

---

[11] The extract below shows what follows extract (8). TC produces a long turn specifically explaining what the
problem is – the two main ideas are not fully developed (lines 28-49). Then in line 50, SD demonstrates his
understanding of the problem, by rephrasing the problem in his own words. In lines 54-56, TC gives advice to fully
develop both of the ideas presented in SD's essay.

(8-1) TC &SD
…
```
28   TC:     =.h like (.) actually up here? .h it's: like
29           cause: ok. here's the thing.
30           {1.8} / ((turning pages))
31           I had the impression at the end of the paper
32           that you had two: (0.2) main ideas. which
33           would be ok.
34           (0.5)
35           but if you're clear about that you wanna
36           make two main points, .h then all the way
37           through the paper you can (0.2) separate
38           out (0.2) when you're talking about one and
39           when you're talking about the other.
40           {2.0} / ((TC: sniff))
41           so the two: (.) um: (1.0) I- (0.5) I guess I
42           shouldn't say con:flicting here, (0.5)
43           that's not (0.5) what it is (0.5) it's
44           not- they're not conflicting,
45           {1.0} / ((crosses out comment: 'conflicting'
46           on last page of paper))
47           .h um the two main ideas here::
48           (1.8) neither of <which gets> completely
49           developed.
50   SD:     completely done?
51           (0.2)
52   TC:     r:ight.=
53   SD:     =o:k,
54   TC:     yeah. so if you s- if you:: (.) realize that
55           you have these two ideas then you develop
56           both of them fully. that would be cool. .h
```

```
3          me about *u::* ((*: creak)) the paper and how:
4          you put it together. h
5          (0.2)
6    TT:   a:nd what you're h but- then you can tell
7          me what you're happy about.=and then you- I
8          know what you're (0.5) worried about. (0.2)
9          s- from your little
10         comment[s here. so    ] .hhh so why do[n't=
11   SR:        [hh huh huh huh]                 [h
12   TT:   =you tell me how you put it together
```

In line 1, TT starts her turn by the transition token "okay" (Beach, 1993) and announces the opening of the writing conference ("let's talk about the subject at hand here"). She continues in lines 2-4 to prompt the student to talk about the organization of his paper. However, when there is no response by the student in line 5, TT again starts to continue but cuts off in the middle of the TCU and self-repairs her turn. It seems that TT self-repairs the trouble source *and* and *but* to *then* with a stress on the repaired word (in line 6). So TT in lines 6-10 and 12 is laying out the order of the conference to start with a description of the structure of the paper, then what the student is happy about, and lastly what the student is worried about. Here, again, TT prompts the student to first talk about what he is "happy about" and then talk about what he is "worried about", which are written down as comments in the paper. This layout of the conference again delays the actual advice-giving activity to start later in the conference. This is because, even though a discussion on each of these aspects can prompt the teacher to give advice, an explanation about this proposed organization of the conference, as in this extract, itself delays the advice-giving activities.

The beginning of the writing conference between TD and SD is also very similar to the previously discussed conferences. Extract (7) is taken from the very beginning of TD's conference. TD and SD are looking at the computer screen, which is showing SD's paper and TD's comments on it.

(10) TD & SD

```
1    TD:   Okay. Um I- eh the information you're
```

```
2          interested in is right (0.9) ↑here,
3          I:- I- I hope you're happy with that,
4   SD:    um hm,
5          (0.4)
6→  TD:    You did a nice (1.8) you made some good
7          changes,(0.6) uhm:: (0.6) you made some good
8          changes to your paper,
9   SD:    [((nodding))
10→TD:     [um: I appreciate that. (0.7) As we are talking
11         about in th- this class is- a- a lot of it is
12         having to do with (0.5) um: (1.3) the fact that
13         writing is a process,
14  SD:    um hm
15  TD:    not just (.) okay you- you write something
16         °(you got)(    )°. This is you revise, and
17         change and change and change. .hhh And um
18         (0.3)and I know that can be a little- (0.6)
19         a little FRUSTRATING,
20  SD:    hahahuh
```

In lines 1-3, TD is referring to his comment or grade on SD's paper and expressing a wish for the student

to "be happy with" with his evaluation. Then in line 6, TD starts to make a positive comment on the paper

but cuts off. After a pause, TD self-repairs and goes on to provide a positive comment on the paper,

specifically on the changes that the student made. It is possible that this self-repair shows TD's effort to

make some kind of positive comment before the whole advice-giving activity, producing a more limited

compliment when an overall compliment does not seem to be appropriate.

  Another teacher, TJ, organizes the conference slightly differently from the other teachers,

dividing the conference into three parts. He talks about grammar first, then content and organization. The

problem-solving activity, however, still seems to be delayed in this conference as well. TJ starts the

conference focusing on grammar. Instead of pointing out the grammatical problems and making criticisms,

TJ explains the English tense system in general. Although the problem-solving activityis not prefaced

with general positive comments like the previous excerpts, it is delayed with these explanations.

  The extracts above show that the whole problem-solving activity, and the advice-giving within

the activityas well, is delayed in the writing conference. This is comparable to the characteristics of

dispreferred first pair parts which are delayed in the conversation. However, the teachers in the writing conferences do not seem to wait for the students to do the counterpart action, as the speakers delivering bad news or making requests wait for the co-participants to do the counterpart actions (i.e., the recipient telling the bad news or making an offer) (Pomerantz & Heritage, 2013). This seems to be due to the fact that the counterpart action of teachers' advice-giving does not seem to occur frequently in writing conferences. As mentioned earlier, 'advice-giving' is defined as an actionthat "describes, recommends or otherwise forwards a preferred course of future action" (Heritage & Sefi, 1992, p.368). A counterpart action of a teacher's advice-giving, then, would be a student suggesting his or her own way to improve the draft. However, this rarely happens in writing conferences due to the asymmetrical nature of the institutional setting where the teacher is more knowledgeable than the student. Since the student had already written a draft prior to the conference, the student expects to receive advice on the draft, rather than suggesting his or her own solutions. Furthermore, it is often the case that the student does not have the knowledge to provide suggestions. In sum, the counter-part action of advice-giving seems to be unobservable in writing conferences even when the whole problem-solving activity is delayed since the counter-part of advice-giving is not likely to occur due to the asymmetry in knowledge between teachers and students in writing conferences.

3.2.1.2. Delayed within the activity

As described in the previous chapter, advice-giving turns are placed after problems are identified and a discussion of this problem takes place. Advice-giving turns can be further delayed by compliments and pauses.

Compliments

Compliments are commonly used to delay dispreferred actions in general (Golato, 2005). This also seems to hold true in writing conferences in that advice-giving turns are often delayed within the advice-giving activity through prefacing with a compliment. Compliments then seem to be commonly used to delay the

advice-giving activity within the writing conference as a whole and the advice-giving turns within the activity.

Excerpt (8) illustrates an example of an advice-giving turn prefaced by a compliment. TC has been focusing on two things prior to this excerpt: citing sources properly and organizing the paragraph. Before this excerpt, which occurs near the end of the conference, TC and SD again talk about these two problems. TC starts out by focusing on a specific paragraph that seems to contain issues regarding both idea organization and proper citation.

(11) TC & SD

```
1    TC:    it see:ms like maybe there's: a few
2           different
3           [points in this paragraph.
4           [((TC points with the pen in her hand toward
5           the top of paragraph 3, p.2; then in a line
6           downward toward the bottom of the paragraph
7           which ends at the bottom of p.2))
8           {5.2} / ((TC's eyegaze on text, reading silently))

((28 lines omitted, where TC and SD talk about the problematic
paragraph in detail.))

32   TC:    so- (.) wy- what you need to do is (0.2) you're
33          bringing in all these ideas:,
34          (.)
35   SD:    yeah?
36          (0.5)
37 → TC:    from the reading.=which is good.=I'm glad
38          you're doing that. .h but you need to: (0.8)
39          ya know or- more (.) organize your paragraph
40          around those ideas?
41          (1.0)
42          rather than jus[t bringing in the ideas
43   SD:                   [((sniff))
44   TC:    (0.5) whenever you think of them.=organize
45          your paragraphs around the ideas?
46          .h a:nd (0.5) mention (0.2) ya know y-
47          [it gives you more] credit to say:, [that=
48   SD:    [the author's name?]                [yeah
49   TC:    =you read it (.) from someone.=it gives you
50          more credit when you recognize (0.5) that
```

31

```
51          you did all the work
52          o[f reading (those articles).]
```

TC first indicates that there is a problem with idea organization in one of the paragraphs (lines 1-7). In lines 9-31, SD and TC together elaborate on this issue, with TC attempting to explain what is problematic with the paragraph. In line 32, TC starts her turn with "so," which can be used to introduce an "upshot of prior talk" (Raymond, 2004). This turn, then, is a summary of the discussion which has been taking place up to this point, by suggesting the solution for the first time. As mentioned earlier, the major problems of SD's essay was the inadequate organization of ideas from other sources and subsequently, the incorrect citations. TC addresses the organization issue first. After the "so," TC begins to straightforwardly give advice regarding the problem at hand by saying "wy- what you need do is" (line 32). However, the sentence is cut off and not finished. After a brief pause, TC starts to begin a new utterance (lines 32-33), mentioning what SD has included in the problematic portion of the essay. In line 37, TC quickly goes on to add an explicit and positive evaluation of this ("which is good") and her own positive stance towards it ("I'm glad you're doing that"). After these positive comments, the teacher adds her advice by stating what should also be done in the student's essay (lines 38-40). This suggestion is contrasted with the prior comment, marked with "but." What is being contrasted here is what the student has included in his essay – i.e. the positive, versus what the student should do in the essay -i.e. what needs improvement. The student included "ideas from the reading", but he did not "organize [his] paragraph around those ideas." When the student does not respond to this comment (line 41), the teacher presents another contrast, this time more directly criticizing SD. She restates the problem and her advice, directly contrasting what SD has done incorrectly with what he should do (lines 42, 44-45).

TC's advice here to organize the ideas (in lines 38-40) is prefaced with a compliment, thus it is delayed. The (0.8) pause (line 17), "ya know", and self-repair of "or-" into "more" and again to "organize" (line 39) also delays the advice-giving component, supporting that advice-giving turns are performed in a dispreferred way.

However, the contrast created by this compliment seems to contribute more than merely

indicating preference. The teacher is pinpointing the exact issue which the student needs to correct. TC is saying that the use of ideas from the readings in itself is not something SD has done wrong, but that the student needs to organize those ideas. Also, by positively commenting on one aspect of the student's writing which is closely related to what the teacher is currently suggesting, the teacher is making a connection between what the student has already written and what the teacher is suggesting that the student still needs to do. In essence, the teacher is indicating that the student has completed the first step, but the second step still remains to be completed. This can then help the student to better understand the teacher's advice, and to determine where to begin revising. Thus it seems that teachers in writing conferences include positive comments before the actual advice giving for several specific purposes, i.e., to mitigate and delay the advice, to connect what the student already has completed to what he still needs to complete, and to pinpoint the exact problem.

The next extract also shows a compliment prefacing the teacher's advice. It is taken from a conference where SR and TT discuss SR's essay on Adolf Hitler. They have been talking about how Germany's economic growth was an obstacle for Hitler, and the economic crisis an opportunity. TT continues by reading from the paragraph itself.

```
(12) TT & SR
1    TT:     ((reading))
2            "however(.hh)Adolf Hitler had also lived
3            through a perfect time in which" (.hh)
4            >okay< why: is this <however> here.
5            (1.0)/((TT writes on SR's paper))

((28 lines omitted where SR trying to answer TT's question and TT
agreeing that SR is trying to do a "word play", where a good thing for
Germany can be a bad time for Hitler, and visa versa.))

31   TT:     (.hh) okay. (.hh) yea::h.
32           (0.5)
33   TT:     u- I think those kind of phrases can go at
34           the end of an explanation.
35           (1.5)
36   TT:     at the en:d when you've sai:d (.) >you
37           know< then the great depression came:,
```

```
38              (0.2) all the[se
39   SR:                   [mm hmm.
40              (0.5)
41   TT:        >you know< horrible sufferin- suffering
42              whatever,
43   SR:        oh:. o[kay.
44   TT:              [an: germany: just like in world
45              war: wu- at the end of world war one was (.)
46              totally being beaten down again, (0.8) an:d
47              (.) you know (.) this (.) horrible event
48              turned out to be the perfect event for
49              hitler.=so that it's (.h) (0.2) so that you
50 →            kind of wai:t for those I mean those are
51              very nice [(0.5) things to do but (0.5)=
52   SR:                  [uh huh
53   TT:        =they h[ave to come in order. so (.hh)=
54   SR:               [yeah.
55   TT:        =this just threw me.
```

In lines 1-3, TT reads the part of SR's essay which is problematic. In lines 4-5, TT points out the problem by asking the student a question about the use of the connector *however*, and the logical relation between two clauses. In the omitted lines, TT, with SR's help, states that SR is trying to do a "word play" where a good thing for Germany can be a difficult time for Hitler, and vice versa. In line 31, TT wraps up the discussion about what the problem is and in line 32, a short pause occurs. These together delay the upcoming advice. In lines 33-34, TT gives the advice to place this word-play expression later on, at the end of the explanation. Thus, TT is implicitly pointing out the problem as being the location of the content. This advice is mitigated by the use of the phrase *I think*, limiting the advice to a personal opinion. SR produces a continuer in line 39, and after a pause (line 40), TT restates this advice (lines 41-42). TT explicates what she meant "by those kinds of phrases" (line 33), by pointing to the content that should be moved. This continues until line 49, and in lines 49-50, TT restates her advice by again focusing on the location. In line 50, however, TT self-repairs her own utterance by the use of *I mean*, and compliments the student on the use of the expressions (*those are very nice things to do*). Then, she goes back to advice giving, shifting the focus back to the placement of the expression. This last piece of advice is the most

explicit among the three pieces of advice produced in a row, and so it seems that this one is further

delayed with a compliment preface.

The following extract is from the writing conference between TD and SD, which again shows

advice being delayed with a compliment. Here, TD is pointing out the importance of citation.

(13) TD & SD

```
1   TD:    Um:: You said "these kinds of natural resources
2          are not stored in every country," (0.4) well
3  →       that's very nice to say but (0.3) you're-
4          you're
5          (.)
6   SD:    [s-
7   TD:    [an economist right?
8   SD:    yeah.
9   TD:    economists don't ever say anything without
10         including a number.
11  SD:    um huh
12  TD:    right?
13         (0.4)
14  TD:    How do you know that?
15         (0.6)
16  TD:    and so that's- that's very important.
17         Not just- well >in- in academic writing
18         in general.<
19  SD:    um huh
20  TD:    again, we keep talking about the fact that
21         there is this- this tension between the fact
22         that we're not experts yet.
23         (0.4)
24  TD:    so we need to cite our sources.
```

In lines 1-2, TD reads aloud the problematic portion of SD's paper. After a short pause in line 2, TD pays

a compliment on the content of that part of the paper in line 3. This compliment, however, is directly

followed by *but*, signaling an upcoming contrast. After *but*, TD does not directly make a criticism, but

makes a statement about SD's major and asks him for confirmation (lines 3, 4, and 7). This seems to be a

type of preliminary checking necessary for what is to be said next by the teacher.[12] When SD confirms this in line 8, TD brings up an aspect about economists which turns out to be related to the process of writing. After the student agrees (line 11) and the teacher again asks for confirmation (line 12), the teacher now turns back to the essay and, in line 14, animates the voice of a typical reader who is not a member of the class. This practice can show the student that the answer to this question is missing in the essay (Koshik, 2010). In line 16, the teacher ties the economist-related comment and the animation of a reader's voice together, starting with *and so*, and develops this into advice-giving in line 24. The teacher justifies his advice by saying that since students are not experts in certain fields (lines 20-22), readers might question their authority, and therefore students should cite sources (line 24) in academic writing (lines17-18).

3.2.2. Accounts

The advice given in line 24 of excerpt (13), "so we need to cite our sources", not only conveys advice for the student to cite sources, but also implicitly indicates a problem of the student's essay that the student did not cite sources in his essay. In writing conferences, teachers seldom directly point out a problem, but the problem is implicit in the advice that they give, and therefore criticism is also implicit in the advice. Accounts that follow advice can further mitigate the criticism implicit in the advice. Accounts are also generally used with dispreferred actions (Drew, 1984; Heritage, 1988; Schegloff, 2007). Accounts commonly preface dispreferred second pair parts, further delaying the dispreferred action. In advice-giving in writing conferences, however, accounts did not preface the advice-giving, but rather followed the advice. In writing conferences, rather than delaying the advice, accounts seem to mitigate the strength of the criticism that is implicit in the advice. Accounts provide a legitimate reason for the advice-

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[12] Personal comment by M. Hayashi (2016)

giving turn[13], and also draw students' attention to the positive effect of the advice and not the criticized problem.

In excerpt (14), TJ starts to talk about the content of SH's paper.

```
(14) TJ & SH
1    TJ:    {4.8} / ((turning pages))
2           in terms of content, which i- which is
3           always the most important thing ta me, .h I
4           notice that you ask a couple of questions up
5           here. (0.2) in your thesis statement.
6    SH:    mm hmm. (.) ((sniff))=
7    TJ:    =I would love to- I'd u- I'd love to see you
8           answer those questions.
9    SH:    u:h right after the questions?
10   TJ:    I wouldn't even ask the questions.
11          (0.8)
12          .h answer the questions, (0.5) an then take
13          the questions out.
14   SH:    mm hmm
15   TJ:    that's how I would suggest ya do it. .h
16→         because tha[t way you're gonna get a very=
17   SH:               [s-
18→TJ:      =stro:ng thesis statement.
19   SH:    °mm [hmm°
```

TJ organizes his writing conference into three parts, grammar, content, and organization of the student's paper. In lines 2-3, TJ announces the start of the "content" part of the conference, and in lines 3-5, he points out a specific problem. However, TJ doesn't explicitly criticize nor define it as a problem; rather, he just introduces the problematic part of the text by characterizing it as something he noticed (lines 3-4): "I notice that . . ." After SH produces a continuer in line 6, TJ produces the first piece of advice (lines 7-8). This advice is mitigated by the use of the phrase *I'd love to*. It is not presented as advice to fix SH's problem, which would have been done in a form such as "You should X," but as a statement of preference by TJ. When SH asks a clarification question about where to include the answers in his essay, TJ answers this question and reformulates the advice in line 10. After a pause in line 11, which delays the forthcoming advice, in lines 12-13, TJ gives the advice more directly by explicitly suggesting a solution.

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[13] It is also pedagogically important to provide a reason for the advice, since students need to understand why certain practices are important for writing a good essay.

In line 15, TJ characterizes this advice as a suggestion, and right after that, he justifies the advice he gives by stating that SH will get a very strong thesis statement that way (lines 16, 18). When doing this, TJ uses a positive term *strong* with an intensifier *very* to emphasize the positive effect of revising the thesis statement. Here then, by providing the justification, TJ seems to minimize the criticism, which is implied in TJ's advice. In this extract, TJ does not explicitly criticize SH's essay but rather indicates the problem as something he noticed (lines 3-4), and gives advice to solve the problem. The account that comes after the advice further mitigates the implied criticism by diverting the student's attention to the positive side, rather than the negative side of the advice.

Extract (15) takes place when TJ and ST are discussing the conclusion. Before the extract, TJ asks SH about what more he could write in the conclusion. TJ specifically asks whether sociologists should only describe problems of the society or educate people by directly expressing their thoughts about morality. SH responds that as a member of a society himself, he thinks that sociologists should directly express their moral stance towards certain problems. The extract begins with TJ's evaluation of SH's response.

```
(15) TJ & SH
1    TJ:    good answer.
2           (0.8)
3    TJ:    is that here yet?
4           (1.5)
5    SH:    excuse me?
6    TJ:    is that- what you just said?
7    SH:    uh [huh,
8    TJ:       [is an excellent answer.
9    SH:    uh huh.
10   TJ:    [(          here yet)?
11          [((static))
12   SH:    no: I don't think [so.
13   TJ:                       [mm. it should be,
14          (.)
15→TJ:      I think it would make a great ending.
16   SH:    tch okay. h
17          (0.5)
18→TJ:      yeah. I think it would ma- make a wonderful
19          wonderful ending.
```

```
20          (0.2)
21→TJ:     .h uh it would tie everything up together.
```

In line 1, TJ positively assesses SH's answer on what to include in a conclusion. In line 3, TJ poses a reversed polarity question (RPQ) (Koshik, 2002) to SH, conveying that ST has not included the information in his conclusion. As SH initiates other-repair, TJ clarifies and restates the question in lines 6, 8, and 10.When ST finally answers in line 12, TJ goes on and gives advice to include that information in the essay (line 13). Then after a micropause, TJ continues to provide a justification for this advice by adding that when the missing information is added, the conclusion would be "great". Here again TJ uses a positive adjective which seems to imply that SH's conclusion is good already, but when it is improved it would be "great," thus masking the fact that the advice is directed to a problem in the essay. In line 18, TJ reformulates this advice by using an even more upgraded term, *wonderful*, and adds a specific reason for the advice (line 21). Accounts, then, are used with advice-giving turns to provide a legitimate reason for the advice as well as focusing on the positive outcome of the advice and avoiding giving direct criticism.

3.2.3. Formulation of advice-giving turns

In terms of their formulation, the advice-giving turns have several characteristics, including use of mitigation, use of conditionals and backing down, which again seem to support the dispreferred nature of advice-giving in this context.

3.2.3.1. Mitigation

As mentioned earlier, dispreferred turns are often mitigated to "avoid too overt a disalignment" (Schegloff, 2007, p.64). For example, a dispreferred response stating that a place is not near Edinburgh can be mitigated as "Edinburgh? It's not too far" (Schegloff, 2007, p.64). Expressions such as "I don't think …" are also used to mitigate dispreferred turns (Sidnell, 2010, p.79). Similarly, advice-giving turns can be mitigated as well. Accounts can mitigate advice-giving turns as described in the prior section, but the expressions used within the advice-giving turns themselves can also mitigate the advice-giving.

Consider the following excerpt where the advice-giving turns are highly mitigated. Prior to the excerpt,

TJ talks about a portion of SH's essay, where similar ideas are repeated.

(16) TJ & SH

```
1    TJ:    =it. .h ((reading)) "as a conclusion I
2           consider" (duh duh duh) .h u:m so I just
3           took the second one out.
4           (0.5)
5    SH:    mm hmm,
6    TJ:    uh it's not really necessary. .h but what I
7           do think is necessary is that you address
8           mo:re, (0.5) <within the thesis statement
9           itself> an within the conclusion the answer
10          to this question.=now you do it up here in
11          the body of the paper.
12          .h[h but I'd like ya ta (.) like maybe .h
13   SH:      [mm hmm,
14   TJ:    within (.) uh a few wor:ds or (0.2) at the
15          level of not even quite a sentence.
16   SH:    mm hmm.
17   TJ:    maybe a clause.
18   SH:    mm hmm.
19   TJ:    a- a:dd a little bit mor:e about where do
20          these come from. ((reading)) "°morality,
21          sense of responsibility, concern towards
22          others,°" now you've talked about them up
23          here.
```

In lines 1-3, TJ first addresses a rather simple issue of deleting repeated information in the essay. Then, in

line 6, by the use of contrast, TJ steers the direction of the talk into the issue of adding more information

in the thesis statement. In lines 10-12, TJ contrasts the location of the information, the fact that the

information is included in the body but not in the thesis statement. Then from line 12, TJ gives a specific

piece of advice to include this information in the thesis statement. When doing this, TJ mitigates the turn

with the bold-faced words and expressions such as *I'd like ya ta, like* (line 12), *maybe* (lines 12 and 17),

and *a little bit* (line 19). These mitigating expressions tone down the advice, so that it is presented as not

too definite (i.e., with the use of *maybe*) or not too difficult (i.e., with the use of *a little bit*) and as a

statement of preference rather than advice (i.e., with the use of *I'd like ya ta*).

Another teacher, TT, also uses similar mitigating expressions in the conference as shown in the next excerpt.

(17) TT & SR
```
1   TT:                 [okay so: (.h) so can you
2          maybe give a bit little more <background>
3          [about what the nazi party was doing
```

When giving advice to the student to add more background information in the essay, TT uses *maybe* and *a bit little more*, which seem to be serving similar functions to those in the previous excerpt.

The following excerpt from yet another teacher, TA, also shows an example of the use of mitigation. TA refers to her comments on SA's paper, and gives general advice to SA before this excerpt takes place.

(18) TA & SA

```
1   TA:   um, (0.3) tch one little point here though,
2         ah- think about how much detail you really
3         need. .hhhh ehhhh hh
4         this part here, (0.9) you know, "during the
5         [(              )"you know,
6   SA:   [oh. oh.
```

TA now focuses on a specific problem of SA's paper, pointing out that SA included too much detail. In lines 1-3, TA points this problem out, delayed within the turn by *um* and a pause. Here, she mitigates her advice-giving turn with the phrase *one little point here*, stressing that this is not a big problem. When she gives the advice in lines 1-3, she doesn't directly state what the student should do, but rather makes a recommendation for her to think about the problematic part. After this, TA reads aloud the problematic portion of text in lines 4-5, that is related to the advice, and later on she comments that SA should "report" the problematic portion TA read aloud, instead of "quoting" it.

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3.2.3.2. Use of conditionals

Another practice used in advice-giving turns in writing conferences is the use of conditionals. Similarly to mitigating expressions, the use of conditionals also makes the advice less definite, and therefore shows the dispreferred nature of advice-giving turns.

Consider the following excerpt, where TJ and SH are discussing what more to include in the thesis statement. TJ comments to SH that he should include an answer to "what is this paper about?" in his thesis statement.

```
(19) TJ & SH
1   TJ:     .h now here's the thing. (1.0) u::m (0.8) .h
2           you talk here in the conclusion (0.2) uh:
3           about (.) >morality sense of responsibility
4           concern towards< others (0.2) .h an all of
5           this information here a:nd you talk about- a
6           certain level of humanity an education in
7           the conclusion.
8   SH:     mm hmm.
9   TJ:     d'you talk about it in the thesis statement.
10          (1.2)
11  SH:     mmm.
12          (0.5)
13  TJ:     if not, (3.0) .h you should.
```

In line 9, TJ asks SH whether he states what the paper is about in the thesis statement. Where there is no response from SH, with pauses in lines 10 and 12, and only a minimal response in line 11, TJ gives advice. Even though it is evident that SH has not included the information in the thesis statement, TJ still states this as a possibility, using the conditional in line 13. This seems to weaken the criticism in that the teacher is not claiming that the student did something wrong, but suggesting that as a possibility.

3.3. Conclusion

Advice-giving is a core activity of one-on-one writing conferences. In fact, a writing conference is a chain of advice-giving activities. The findings of this study show how these advice-giving activities are performed by American teachers as dispreferred first pair parts. Prior studies on advice-giving in nurse-patient interaction (Leppanen, 1998; Heritage&Sefi, 1992) have shown that advice-giving turns can

be performed straightforwardly or indirectly, depending on the context. In writing conferences, advice-giving turns were delayed, i.e., with compliments. Not only were advice-giving turns delayed within advice-giving activities, but the advice-giving activities were delayed as well, within the conference as a whole, by general positive comments. Advice-giving turns were also mitigated, justified, and expressed with conditionals, similar to the characteristics of dispreferred turns found in previous studies (Pomerantz 1984, Schegloff 2007). This was similar to the findings of Jacoby (1998), who found that "comment sequences" in presentation rehearsals are performed in a dispreferred way. As discussed earlier, advice-giving turns can be preferred or dispreferred, depending on the surrounding context. The similar nature of writing conferences and feedback sessions in presentation rehearsals seems to account for the fact that both advice-giving turns and comment sequences are dispreferred. The writing conferences occur in an academic setting where a teacher gives advice which include criticism of the students' performance. Criticism is an action which could be a "generally disaffiliative & destructive of social solidarity" (Heritage, 1984b, p.267) action, and it seems to support that both the advice-giving turns and comment sequences are dispreferred.

CHAPTER 4

EPISTEMICS IN ONE-ON-ONE ESL WRITING CONFERENCES

4.1. Epistemics in interaction

How knowledge plays a role in conversation has received a lot of attention from researchers from various backgrounds, including communication (Shannon & Weaver, 1949), functional linguistics (Chafe, 1994; Prince, 1981), pragmatics (Grice, 1975; Levinson, 2000), and conversation analysis (Drew, 1991; Heritage, 2006; Stivers, 2002).

Specifically, CA studies have investigated how interactants orient to knowledge displays in conversations. Although early studies have not used the term "epistemic", they did address the issue. Pomerantz (1980) discussed the difference between Type 1 knowables, which the speakers have firsthand experience of, and Type 2 knowables, which the speakers know through other people or by inference. Other studies analyzed how knowledge is accessed differently by different participants in certain institutional settings such as courtrooms (Pollner, 1987) and medical interactions (Heritage, 2006).

Recently, researchers have been even more interested in this issue of how knowledge plays a role in conversation. Recent studies (Heritage, 2012a, b; Drew, 2012; Sidnell, 2012; Stivers, Mondada, & Steensig, 2011) argue that participants' displays of knowledge not only affect the shape of individual turns but also the entire interaction. Researchers have also been interested in how participants display and orient to knowledge in institutional settings (Drew, 1991; Drew & Heritage, 1993; Park, 2012a, b). This chapter adds to this line of discussion, investigating how knowledge is displayed in an institutional setting, ESL one-on-one writing conferences. This chapter specifically focuses on how teachers and students display their epistemic access, epistemic responsibility and epistemic primacy in this setting.

4.1.1. Terminology of epistemics in conversations

Since knowledge plays a key role in conversation, it is essential for researchers to explain what the participants know and to what extent they know, in order to understand the interaction taking place. However, it is very difficult to explain in clear terms what and how much people know. As an attempt, many notions regarding knowledge in interactions have been proposed. Among these terms, I introduce here the terms which are most relevant to the present study, and which I think help explain epistemics in conversations most clearly.

4.1.1.1. Epistemic status and stance

Epistemic status is defined as "relative epistemic access to a domain or territory of information as stratified between interactants such that they occupy different positions on an epistemic gradient" (Heritage, 2012a, p.4). In other words, epistemic status refers to what people know about a certain knowledge domain, relative to the others. Often, the knowledgeable position is called the [K+] position, and the opposite position where the interactant lacks knowledge is called the [K-] position (Heritage & Raymond, 2012). For example, when someone asks another person an information-seeking question, the questioner is said to be in a [K-] position, whereas the answerer in a [K+] position. Epistemic status is not a fixed status of participants. Rather, it is "relative to others, … tend[s] to vary from domain to domain, as well as over time, and can be altered from moment to moment as a result of specific interactional contributions" (Heritage, 2012a, p.4).

Whereas epistemic status is a notion which explains what the interlocutors know about the matter at hand, epistemic stance is a notion which explains how that status is displayed in interactions. It is therefore related to "the moment-by-moment expressions of these [social] relationships, as managed through the design of turns at talk" (Heritage, 2012a, p.6). The display of "epistemic gradient" (Heritage and Raymond (2012)) shows how different epistemic stances are expressed. It shows that there is a

gradient of knowing, meaning that gap between the knowing participant ([K+]) and the unknowing

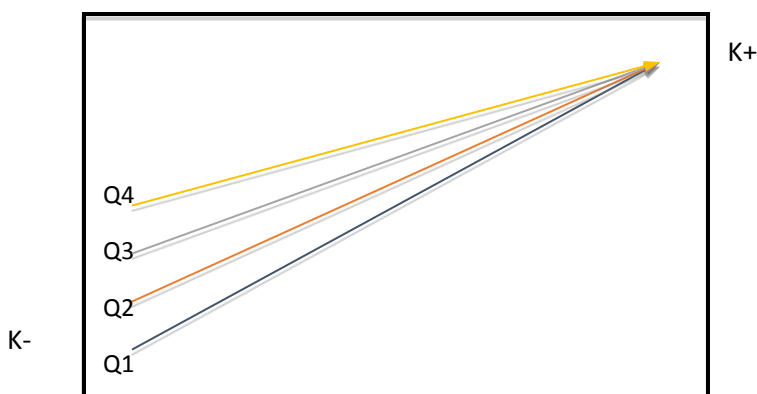participant ([K-]) can vary. This is shown in the graph below.

Figure 2: Epistemic gradient of information-seeking questions (Heritage & Raymond, 2012, p.4)

Note here that there are various possibilities of the amount of the gap between [K-] position and [K+]

position. The slopes of the lines in the figure above signal the epistemic difference between the

interlocutors. The steeper the slope is, the more different it is between the display of what one speaker

knows and what the recipient knows. The left end of the lines signal how much the speaker knows

relative to the recipient, and the right end of the lines signal how much the recipient knows. Heritage &

Raymond (2012, p.4) provide an example of various types of questions that express each of these

epistemic gradients. Q1 is a *wh*-question which claims no knowledge of the topic such as "Who did you

talk to?" Q2 is claiming to know a little about the topic, but still signaling uncertainty such as, "Did you

talk to John?" By asking a polar question, the questioner claims to know a little more than asking a wh-

question, since the question itself includes more information, i.e., "John" in the case of "Did you talk to

John?" Q3 is a tag-question signaling a little more certainty than Q2, such as, "You talked to John didn't

you?" Q4 is an assertion with a rising intonation, such as, "You talked to John?" displaying nearly equal

epistemic stance to the recipient. It should also be noted that the figure above does not present all the

options possible of epistemic gradient. For example, when a speaker is making a news announcement, the

slope of the lines would have a negative value, starting from a higher position from the left of the graph

and going down. This represents the fact that in the case of news announcements, the speaker is displaying more knowledge of the matter at hand, and the recipient relatively less knowledge.

As Heritage (2012a, b) mentions, the distinction between epistemic status and stance is quite important. Although these two will converge in most cases ("principle of epistemic congruency" (Heritage, 2012a, p.7)), epistemic status and stance of a particular turn may differ. For example, one can display one's epistemic stance to be knowledgeable about a topic ([K+]), when one actually has very little knowledge of it (epistemic status – [K-]). In a classroom, for example, a student can answer a teacher's question, such as "Do you know X?", with "Yes." In this case, the student is claiming [K+] epistemic stance, when he or she actually may not have any knowledge ([K-] status). This paper will focus on how participants' epistemic stance is displayed in the interaction, due to the fact that epistemic status is hard to be directly observed in conversations. However, the notion of epistemic status will be referenced when it is evident that the displayed epistemic stance seems to differ from what the speaker actually knows. Also, it should be noted that the binary distinction of [K-] and [K+] might not always capture the complicated nature of epistemic status as mentioned by Sidnell (2012). One example mentioned in Sidnell (2012) is when both speakers have equal access to the matter at hand, such as a masseuse and the client having equal knowledge about the client's shoulder muscles. This situation cannot be explained by speakers having either [K+] or [K-] status. The notions I will discuss in the next section will better capture this more complex situation.

4.1.1.2. Epistemic access, primacy and responsibility

Whereas Heritage (2012a,b) focused on how much a participant knows relative to others, and how that is displayed in real interactions, as seen in the prior section, Stivers, Mondada, and Steensig (2011) focus on notions that will help explain epistemic asymmetries. They propose three dimensions of knowledge in conversation, which are epistemic access, epistemic primacy and epistemic responsibility.

Epistemic access is a term related to the information to which a participant has access. Stivers et al. (2011) describe some norms that are related to this term. These norms[14] include: speakers should not announce news to recipients who already know the news (Goodwin, 1979; Sacks, 1992) and speakers should not announce anything about which they do not have enough knowledge (Heritage and Raymond, 2005).

Epistemic primacy refers to the "relative rights to tell, inform, assert, or assess something, and asymmetries in the depth, specificity or completeness of their knowledge" (Stivers et al., 2011, p.13). Epistemic primacy is different from epistemic access in that it not only concerns who knows something or not, but also who knows more about the issue and who has rights over it. For example, if one speaker has lived in Tokyo for ten years and another speaker just visited the city, the two people both have access to the topic of 'life in Tokyo.' However, the first speaker has epistemic primacy over the topic since the person who lived in Toyko for ten years is expected to know more about life in Toyko than the person who just visited the city. This notion is similar to "epistemic authority" or "epistemic right" also used by conversation analysts.

The last notion introduced by Stivers et al. (2011) is epistemic responsibility, which refers to what people have responsibility for knowing. For example, people should know their own feelings, what they did, and what they are currently doing, which corresponds to what Pomerantz (1980) has previously classified as "Type 1 knowables."

These notions introduced by Stivers et al. (2011) can explain some phenomena related to knowledge in conversations which the two notions of Heritage (2012a, b) cannot fully account for.

In the next section, I will review the importance of epistemics in interaction.

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[14] These norms are similar to Gricean maxims used in the pragmatics field.

4.1.2. Epistemics: the engine of interactions

In his two representative articles, Heritage (2012a, b) argues that who knows more (or less) determines how certain linguistic structures are understood and also how the sequence unfolds. Heritage (2012a) focuses on the fact that the same form or structure can be understood as different actions depending on the epistemic status of the participants. He gives an example of information seeking turns, arguing that "epistemic status is fundamental in determining that actions are, or are not, requests for information" (p.7). A number of different linguistic structures can be used to request information, such as, "declarative morphosyntax, rising intonation, tag questions, negative interrogative syntax, and interrogative syntax" (p.7). For example, declarative sentences are generally thought to be connected to asserting, rather than requesting information. However, depending on who knows more about the topic being stated, a declarative sentence can be treated as a request for information. Consider the following excerpt from Heritage (2012 a, p.10).

```
(20) [Rah:12:4:ST]
1    Jen: ->      =[Okay      then I w]'z askin=' er en she says yer
2          ->      working tomorrow ez well.
3    Ida:         Yes I' m s'pose to be tihmorrow yes,
4    Jen: ->      O[h:::.
5    Ida:           [Yeh,
```

Jenny's declarative sentence in lines 1-2 is conveying what she heard from others about the recipient, Ida. It is certain that what is being stated here is in the epistemic territory of Ida, and therefore Ida has the epistemic primacy over the topic. Thus, this declarative sentence is not treated as an assertion made by Jenny, but a request for confirmation. What follows in line 3 shows that Ida does respond to Jenny's request and confirms that she is working the next day. Also note that Jenny produces an information receipt "oh" after this, which is a "change-of-state token" (Heritage, 1984a). This supports that Jenny's epistemic status changed and that her epistemic status at the beginning of this excerpt was [K-]. This is just one example demonstrating that epistemic status of the interlocutors can determine how an utterance is understood, regardless of the linguistic form of that utterance.

Heritage (2012 b) argues that when there is a display of an "imbalance of information between speaker and hearer" (p. 32), the sequence may move on until it is balanced. He claims that this "imbalance of information" can explain more about the sequence organization which the adjacency pairs alone cannot account for (Schegloff, 2007). Specifically, Heritage claims that there are two different ways in opening up or closing down an interaction, guided by participants' epistemic stance. First, when a speaker claims to be less knowledgeable ([K-]) than the recipient(s), the speaker may elicit information from the recipient, opening up the interaction. Examples include when there is an information request from the [K-] speaker, and when the speaker makes an assertion that is in the recipient's knowledge domain (i.e., Jenny's assertion (lines 1-2) in Extract (1)). After the interaction is initiated in this way and expanded through a response, the [K-] speaker may receipt the information (i.e., with the "change-of-state marker" *oh* (Heritage, 1984a) or an assessment turn). This is when the [K-] speaker becomes [K+] on the matter, and thus the sequence is closed. Second, the reverse situation when a speaker claims to be more knowledgeable ((K+]) than the recipient(s) can also open up the interaction by the speaker simply initiating the topic to the less knowledgeable recipient(s). The [K+] speaker can produce a 'pre-announcement' (i.e., "Hey we got good news."(Heritage, 1984a, p.41)) to initiate a sequence of interaction regarding the news. In sum, Heritage (2012b) emphasizes the role of epistemic status and stance of the speakers in interactions, and argues that it could be contributing as much to the sequence organization as adjacency pairs, which until now was considered as the essential mechanism to drive interactions.

Heritage (2012a, b), therefore, sheds new light on the importance of epistemics in conversations. It has been thought to be important, but now it seems that epistemics might be in fact be one of the key factors which shapes the sequential organization of conversations. This motivates this study to investigate how epistemics is, then, shaping the interaction of a writing teacher and a student.

4.1.3. Epistemics in institutional settings

In institutional settings like writing conferences, epistemics is slightly more complex than in ordinary conversations. Although interactions in institutional settings share a great similarity with ordinary interactions, they have unique characteristics as well (Drew & Heritage, 1993). For example, a question-answer sequence in certain institutional settings—i.e., classroom talk—may be different from ordinary conversations. The question-answer sequence in classroom talk often includes a third turn that gives feedback, and the questions teachers ask students are often "known-information" questions (Mehan, 1979) or "display questions" (Long & Sato, 1983; Brock, 1986; Chaudron, 1988), which are different from "information-seeking" questions (Mehan, 1979) in ordinary conversations[15]. Similarly, although the epistemics of institutional settings is similar to that of ordinary conversational interactions, epistemics displays in institutional interactions also have some unique characteristics. The most significant characteristic is perhaps the inherent asymmetry in institutional interactions that comes from the external identities of the participants. Consider a doctor-patient interaction or a teacher-student interaction, for example. Because of the nature of their assigned role, some participants—i.e., doctors and teachers— often have higher epistemic authority than the others.

Drew (1991) summarizes some of these characteristics of asymmetry of knowledge in institutional interactions. First, as mentioned earlier, one party—i.e., the teacher—has access to some technical knowledge to which the other party—i.e., the student—does not have access. Second, "states of relative knowledge are attributed to role identities" (Drew, 1991, p. 25). This means that the asymmetrical state of knowledge is largely due to exogenous identities. Third, due to this asymmetry of knowledge, there is often a disadvantage for one of the participants. In the case of teacher-student interaction, however, this asymmetry of knowledge is not necessarily a disadvantage to the students since the teachers are supposed to have more knowledge so that the students can learn from them. Fourth, this asymmetry results in a communicative difficulty—i.e., misunderstandings or mutual incomprehension—of which the

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[15] Refer to Drew & Heritage (1993) for more studies on institutional talk.

participants themselves might not be aware. What is important, however, is how the participants orient to this asymmetry of knowledge and how they manage it interactionally. Also, it is important to see "how exogenous structural categories can come to matter for the endogenous or local production of talk" (Drew, 1991, p. 32). One example illustrating these points is provided below.

```
 (21) Extract 2.5 [Drew, 1991, p.38]
Pt:   B't this time I have a little problem.
      (0.9)
Pt:   I seem to have
      (0.8) ((during which thumping sound, as
          though thumping hand on desk))
Dr:   nYe[:s.
Pt:      [what is it- contracted
      (0.4)
Dr:   khn [Ye:s.
Pt:       [tendon:.
Dr:   That;s right. How long have you been: in developing thi:s.
```

In this extract, the patient is using a technical term: "contracted tendon." However, when using this term, the patient orients to the epistemic authority of the doctor by showing hesitancy with pauses and mitigation and prefacing the term with an "attributive phrase" ("what is it"). Here, the patient orients to the fact that the doctor has epistemic primacy over the technical term he or she produced. The exogenous identities of the participants have emerged in this interaction, having interactional consequences.

Recent works of Park (2012 a, b) investigate a very similar setting with the data analyzed in this dissertation, which is advice-giving in writing conference. Park (2012 a, b), however, analyzes the writing conferences held as a part of regular university courses, and not as a part of ESL courses. Park (2012 a,b) confirms that there is an epistemic asymmetry between the teacher and the student in writing conferences, by looking at how the students produce epistemic downgrades and how they make use of different types of polar questions. Park (2012a) focuses on how students orient to teachers' epistemic primacy by producing epistemic downgrades. This is done through if/wh-complements as in "I don't know if that's completely like the communicative approach" (p.2011), or "but I'm not quite sure how I can prove that it is- it influences language acquisition of young girls" (p.2015). Park (2012b) focuses on two types of

questions used by students: yes/no questions used to launch new topics and declarative questions produced as an upshot and therefore used to close down the sequence. Both types similarly display [K-] status of the students as Heritage (2002) noted, and teachers also orient to this by producing a confirmation after these questions.

Building on these prior works on epistemics, this chapter examines a specific institutional setting: ESL one-on-one writing conferences. Specifically, this chapter explores how epistemic access, epistemic primacy and epistemic responsibility are displayed in the interaction between the teacher and the student.

4.2. Epistemics in ESL one-on-one writing conferences

In this section, how teachers and students display their epistemic primacy, epistemic access and epistemic responsibility will be analyzed. I first examine the resources used by teachers and students to display their epistemic primacy and then examine how teachers and students display their epistemic access in relationship to their orientation to epistemic responsibility. This division, however, does not imply that participants' display of epistemic primacy is independent of participants' display of epistemic access and responsibility. I have found a closer relationship between participants' display of epistemic access and responsibility in writing conferences, and that is why the two notions are being discussed together. Participants' display of epistemic primacy often involves participants' display of epistemic access and responsibility as well, and these aspects will be included in the analysis as well when needed.

4.2.1. Epistemic Primacy

Throughout the writing conferences, the teachers often orient to having epistemic primacy over various aspects of writing. There are some instances where the students have epistemic access to an aspect of writing, but the teacher is the one who has epistemic primacy over the issue. It seems that in these cases, the exogenous identity of the teacher as being a writing expert seems to be displayed in the

interaction. The types of knowledge which the teachers display primacy over include grammar and content of course readings, which is closely related to the teacher's expertise in the language, i.e, English.

There are also some instances where the students, not the teachers, display their epistemic primacy. The students, especially graduate students, usually display their primacy over issues related to their major or culture.

There are also some cases where there is a conflict between the teacher and the student over who has epistemic primacy. The student's exogenous identity as the author or writer of his essay and the teacher's identity as a writing expert seem to be simultaneously displayed in the interaction and therefore a conflict in who has the epistemic primacy over the knowledge domain takes place.

4.2.1.1. Teachers' displays of epistemic primacy

There are several ways the teachers display their epistemic primacy in the writing conferences, including asking known-answer questions, and using RRQs. This chapter focuses on how teacher's epistemic primacy is displayed through these questioning strategies.

When the teachers point out a grammar problem in the students' essays, they display their epistemic primacy over the issue by asking a known-answer question to the students and evaluating the response afterwards. Whether or not a question is a known-answer question is not determined by the turn design of the questions; rather it is determined by the action the question is conveying, and the epistemic stance that is displayed in the question (Koshik, 1999, p.162). In other words, the same question, i.e., "why did you include this?", can be an information-seeking question or a known-answer question, depending on the surrounding context . These known-answer questions are closely related to epistemic primacy in that by asking students a known-answer question, the teachers are displaying that they not only have access to the answer, but also that they know more about it. Teachers are not only displaying access to the knowledge domain, but asking a question for which they have the answer to the students,

checking whether the students have access to the knowledge domain as well. By checking whether the

students know the answer to the question, i.e., whether they have access to the knowledge domain, the

teachers display their relative rights over the knowledge domain. In other words, the teachers are

orienting to their "relative rights to tell, inform, assert, or assess something" (Stivers et al., 2011, p.13), or

epistemic primacy, by asking these known-answer questions.

The following excerpt is from a conference between TJ and SH, and because SH had some errors

on tense, TJ draws a timeline to explain the tense system.

(22) TJ & SH: Tense I
```
1   → TJ:          [past tense. .h but what do you use,
2        .h if you're (.) beginning at this point in
3        time.
4    SH:    um hum
5    TJ:    and referring to an event that happened even
6        before that.
7        (2.0)
8        {1.5) / tch .h ((sound of lips parting and
9        inbreath))
10   SH:    tch u::m
11        (0.5)
12        °(what is call it.)°
13        (0.2)
14        like a some form
15        (0.5)
16        [of (the)/(uh) had
17   TJ:    [yeah.
18   SH:    .h
19        (0.2)
20        [an
21   TJ:    [um hum
22        (0.2)
23   SH:    uh: [had something.(yeah)/(again).
24 → TJ:       [exactly.
25   SH:    [hh
26 → TJ:    [°exactly.° exactly. ha:d
27        (1.5)
28        plus the verb be:
29        (1.5)
30        plus: u:m
31        (0.5) .h usually u:m
32        (0.5)
33   SH:    past participle?
34   TJ:    it could be the past participle.
```

```
35   SH:    mm hmm,
36   TJ:    .h uh or it could be: u:h past plus ai en
37          gee form.
38   SH:    mm hmm.
39   TJ:    it could be both.=depending upon whether it's
40          a finished activity,
```

Before the extract, TJ first points at the past tense on the timeline and asks SH what it is called. SH

answers the question correctly with "past tense," and TJ repeats and confirms the answer in line 1. Now in

lines 1-6, he moves on to another tense, past perfect, by asking a known-answer question referring to the

timeline ("this" in line 2 refers to a specific point on the timeline). By asking a question which the teacher

already has the answer to, the teacher displays epistemic primacy over the knowledge of tense to the

student. The teacher displays that he is expected to and has the right to evaluate the response of the

student. In line 10, SH starts to answer the question but shows some difficulty in finding the exact term,

evidenced by the hesitation in line 10 and private speech in line 12. SH seems to interpret TJ's question as

asking for the name of the tense but fails to retrieve it, as shown in line 12 "what is call it". He then

moves on to describe the form in order to answer TJ's question, as an attempt to display his epistemic

access to the tense. In lines 14-23, SH provides part of the past perfect tense, "had," showing access to the

knowledge of the form of the tense, but at the same time showing uncertainty. Here, then two different

types of knowledge related to past perfect tense, which are the name and the form of the tense, are being

oriented to by the speakers. In line 24, TJ confirms SH's answer to be right, with a very upgraded form,

"exactly," even before the answer is completely uttered. Here TJ seems to acknowledge SH's struggle to

provide the response which is displayed in lines 10-16, 18-20, and encourage SH to continue. In line 26,

TJ repeats "exactly" twice followed with a repetition of SH's answer, "had," which positively evaluates

SH's answer. Here, TJ again displays epistemic primacy over the form of past perfect tense, by showing

he has the right to judge whether the student's answer is right or wrong. The teacher is showing that he is

the expert in grammar and therefore has primacy over the student, who is still learning the grammatical

rules of English, and who has made grammatical errors in his essay. In line 28, TJ adds what is missing in

SH's answer, the verb 'be.' He tries to add another form in lines 30-32, but starts a word search as shown

by the pauses (lines 31, 32), use of fillers ("um" in lines 30, 31) and lengthening (lines 30, 31). In line 33, SH tries to help resolve TJ's word search by displaying his epistemic access to what can come after the word "had". He still orients to TJ's epistemic primacy, by employing rising intonation, eliciting confirmation. SH's orientation to TJ's epistemic primacy here comes from the fact that TJ was the one searching for the word, therefore the word TJ was searching for belongs to TJ's epistemic territory.[16] However, it seems that TJ was not searching for the form of past perfect tense, but the past perfect progressive tense, as already shown in line 28, "the verb be." Although SH provides an answer which is not what TJ has been searching for, he confirms SH's turn as a possibility in line 34, saying something positive before a negative, similarly to line 24. He then continues in line 36 what he originally was searching for, "past plus ai en gee form". In sum, three different domains of knowledge related to the past perfect tense are relevant in this interaction. The first is how to spot and correct grammatical errors. This is closely related to the goal of this interaction, which is to give feedback on tense errors which SH had made in his essay. By bringing up this issue as a problem and explaining the tense system in order to guide the student to correct his errors, TJ is displaying his epistemic primacy. The second domain of knowledge is the name of tense. The student displays lack of epistemic access to this domain of knowledge (line 12). However, the teacher never mentions nor orients to this domain of knowledge in this interaction. This is closely related to the goal of this interaction, which is to help the student to detect and correct errors in writing. It is possible that TJ decided this domain of knowledge to be unnecessary in terms of this pedagogical goal. The third domain is the form of the tense. When the student displays partial access to this domain in lines16 and 23, the teacher confirms this (lines 24, 26) and displays his primacy over the domain.

The following excerpt shows a similar instance of the teacher displaying epistemic primacy over a grammatical issue. The excerpt is from the same writing conference as the prior excerpt, which takes place a little later on in the conference, where TJ and SH now read the essay and try to correct the errors

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[16] This practice of giving candidate answers to others' word searches also appears in ordinary conversations (Pomerantz, 1988).

together. The teacher produces a "designedly incomplete utterance," (DIU, Koshik, 2002) in this extract (line 13), which is a common practice used by teachers when eliciting students' response. By producing a DIU, the teacher intentionally stops right before the error, and provides an opportunity for the student to finish the sentence by correcting the error. A DIU, therefore, functions similarly as a known-answer question.

(23) TJ & SH: Tense II

```
1    TJ:     .h "thirteen hours, (0.5) [<after>, (2.0)
2                                      [((TJ points on
3            time line))
4            he was fatally injured in a fight with two
5            acquaintances.
6            (1.0)
7            an left in a ditch."
8            (1.0)
9            .h: ((reading)) >he died not from injuries.<
10           (0.5)
11           but drowned
12           {1.2} / ((TJ & SH gaze silently at text))
13 →         <after he>
14           {4.5} / ((TJ & SH gaze silently at text))
15   SH:     had been?
16 → TJ:     there ya go.
```

In lines 1-13, TJ reads aloud portion of SH's paper, which contains an error on tense. He stops right before the phrase containing the error, producing a DIU (Koshik, 2002). The student completes the utterance with the correct form, displaying epistemic access to the correct tense form. He still orients to the teacher's epistemic primacy over the tense form with rising intonation, asking for the teacher's confirmation. TJ confirms this answer in line 16, showing that he did know the answer already, and displaying his epistemic primacy by judging the correct tense form.

The teacher can also display his or her epistemic primacy by using "reversed polarity questions" (RPQ, Koshik, 2002, 2010). These are *yes/no* questions or *wh*-questions, conveying the reversed polarity of the question as a statement. The excerpt below from Koshik (2010), demonstrates how these RPQs are used by teachers, and what they are conveying.

(24) TC & SD: Why did you talk about that

```
1    TC:    ok. ((reading)) "according to de Gaulle"
2           ((she meant "Gardner")) here's what you say
3           "according to de Gaulle leaders are char-
4           categorized as direct indirect (0.2)
5           ordinary innovative (0.5) or: (.)
6           visionary."
7           {1.5}/ ((TC eyegaze on text; bent over text))
8           why did you: talk about that.
9           {0.8} / ((TC moves paper toward SD;
10          straightens body; eyegaze still on text))
11   SD:    uh s- [cause (0.8) d- this one of the
12                [((SC looks up briefly at TD, then
13          down at text))
14          sources that we (.) read in cla[ss.
15   TC:                                    [um [hum?
16   SD:                                        [so I jus
17          wanted ta include that.
18          as a: information.
19          {0.5}/ ((TC eyegaze on SD))
20→  TC:    Is it relevant? *to what you're saying?
21          (1.0)* ((*SD looks down))
22   SD:    no it's just background. heh h
23   TC:    it's background?=
24   SD:    =yeah.=
25→  TC:    ok how is it background.=because I- like .h
26          most people wouldn't know[: maybe what he
27   SD:                             [((sniff))
28   TC:    meant by direct indirect ordinary innovative
29          or visionary.
30   SD:    (yeah.)/(well) ok,
```

After TC reads aloud the problematic portion of SD's paper, she asks a *wh*-question in line 8, "<u>why</u> did you: talk about <u>that</u>." Although SD treats this as a real question and answers in lines 11-14, it is shown later in the excerpt that TC wasn't merely asking the reason why SD wrote the problematic portion of text. Rather, she was making the student accountable for the problematic portion of his essay. This is shown more directly in the RPQ in line 20, "is it relevant? to what you're saying?", which is clearly asserting that the problematic portion of text is not relevant to SD's topic. The reason why this question is heard to convey a reversed polarity assertion is explained in Koshik (2002). First, the teacher and the student both know that TC knows the answer to this question. TC has already read SD's essay and made

comments on the paper. As a writing teacher, TC must have known whether the portion she just read is relevant or not to SD's whole essay. In fact, TC must have read aloud the portion because she thought the portion is problematic, i.e., the portion is irrelevant to SD's whole essay. This means that the teacher is not asking an information-seeking question. Second, there is no reason to ask this question at this point if the answer to this question was "yes". The reversed polarity assertion is conveying that there is a problem in this portion of the paper. When SD agrees with this RPQ by answering "no," but adds that it is background information (line 22), TC poses another RPQ "how is it _b_ackground" in line 25. This RPQ conveys a reversed polarity meaning "It is not background," which directly disagrees with SD's response. TC then continues, and adds a *because*-clause which logically connects to the assertion that is made with the RPQ. The *because*-clause provides the reason for the assertion, "it is not background," and not for the *how*-question, suggesting that the *how*-question is indeed conveying a reversed polarity assertion (Koshik, 2002, 2010). By producing these RPQs, TC is displaying very strong epistemic primacy over the knowledge domain of judging what is relevant in a paper.

The extract below demonstrates how a teacher uses a statement that is similar to these RPQs to point out a problem in the student's essay and thus displays his epistemic primacy over the topic. TD and SD[17] are going through SD's paper, following the comments TD has written in the paper prior to the conference. Prior to this extract, TD points out a problematic portion of SD's paper which is not related to the topic of the paragraph. TD concludes that the problematic part should not be in the paragraph, although "it's good information." After this, there is an interruption caused by a passerby asking for directions to someone's office. This extract takes place right after this interruption. TD resumes the conference by pointing out a problematic quotation in SD's paper.

(25) TD&SD 15:39

```
1    TD:   Alright. Um: (1.0) now, you needed to inclu-
2          (0.8) You n-You needed to include a quote. (.)
3          Right? You knew you needed to do that for
4          the assignment.
5    SD:   uh huh,
```

[17] SD in extract (25) is not the same student as SD in extract (24).

```
6            (.)
7 →   TD:    .ts I, (0.3) ↑don't know why you included <this
8            quote¹⁸ here.>
9            (1.3)
10    TD:    Because you're talking about (2.2)
11           "nuclear power is necessity for countries
12           who have to deal with high energy need,"
13           (1.7) so you- you're saying (.) that Urane-
14           uh that Uranium is a good source,
15           is a concentrated source of energy,
16    SD:    °mm hm°
17    TD:    but that doesn't have uh- anything to do with
18           (1.2) countries who need it.
19    SD:    [((nodding))
20    TD:    [Right?
21    SD:    mm hm
22    TD:    so, that- eh ih ih that's a fine quote.
23           But again, it would be much better somewhere
24           else.
25    SD:    yes.
```

In lines 1-2, TD first brings up the fact that the student needed to include a quote in the paper for the assignment. TD is topicalizing the topic of 'quotation' and since the goal of the conferences is to identify and correct the errors in SD's essay, TD is indicating a possible problem regarding this topic. In line 3, TD asks for confirmation, but without waiting for an answer he goes on and makes an assumption that SD knew about the requirement for adding a quotation in this paper. SD agrees with the assumption in line 5. After checking with SD that he knew the requirement, TD now brings up the issue of the placement of the quotation. In line 7, TD claims that he does not know why SD included the quotation in the part of the paper which TD and SD are looking at together. However, this statement claiming no knowledge seems to be doing a different action than just a claim. In fact, TD seems to be conveying a criticism. In other words, what TD is conveying by this statement is "I think you should not have included this quote here." TD is stating that if he, the teacher, does not know the reason SD included the quote in his essay, it is probably the fact that SD should not have included the quote. The following turns support

---

[18] SD's quote was: "The basic energy fact is that fission of an atom of uranium produces 10 million times the energy produced by the combustion of an atom of carbon from coal." (McCarthy, 2005)

this analysis. TD's turn in line 10 is designed to be an increment to TD's prior turn, starting with a conjunction, "because." However, the *because*-clause does not connect to the prior statement. Instead, it is describing the reason why the quote is not in the right place, i.e., the quote has nothing to do with the surrounding context. TD elicits confirmation of the quote being irrelevant to the surrounding context from SD in line 20 and SD does confirm in line 21. Then TD summarizes the discussion in lines 22-24. He points out that the quote itself is fine, but the placement is problematic. TD's statement in line 7 actually has an embedded question, "why did you include this quote here," which is strikingly similar to TC's RPQ, "why did you talk about that." in line 8 in the above excerpt. This embedded question is conveying a reversed polarity assertion, that is, "you should not have included this quote here." Also, the *because*-clause which is following TD's "I don't know" statement is not logically connected to the surface meaning, claiming no knowledge. Rather, it is connected to the reversed polarity assertion. This is similar to the RPQ and the *because*-clause in the prior extract. TD's statement in line 7, then, could be analyzed as an assertion "I don't know" with an embedded RPQ. The RPQ is: "Why did you include this quote here?", conveying, "There is no [good] reason to include this quote here." . This statement seems to be conveying a very strong epistemic primacy of TD. This is evidenced by first, the prosody. The upward intonation of "don't" and the slow, choppy enunciation of "this quote here" seem to emphasize the problem, and therefore deliver TD's strong stance. Second, the fact that it is a RPQ, which conveys criticism of SD's paper, shows that TD is displaying his knowledge of using quotations in appropriate places, displaying that he is in the position to make criticisms on the matter. Moreover, by using the "I don't know" phrase, TD is saying that if he, the authority who has epistemic primacy, does not know, then there must be a problem. He is then claiming a very high epistemic primacy over the issue.

This section analyzed how teachers display their epistemic primacy using known-answer questions and RPQs. By asking a known-answer question or a RPQ to the students, the teachers show that they not only have epistemic access to the answer of that question, but also show that they have the right to check whether the students know the answer or not and to assess students' responses. In the next

section, I will analyze how the students display their epistemic primacy in one-on-one writing conferences.

4.2.1.2. Students' displays of epistemic primacy

Sometimes, the students display their epistemic primacy over certain knowledge domains, such as issues related to their own major or culture. Since the students, especially graduate students, are being trained as an expert in the area of their major, they often show that they have the authority over this knowledge domain. Students, especially graduate students, can also display epistemic primacy over the knowledge domain of academic writing in their own culture, since they are already familiar with the academic writing in their own culture, and they are aware of the fact that the American teachers have very little access to this knowledge domain. However, not many cases were found where the students clearly displayed epistemic primacy. This is because the participants of the conferences focused on talking about the student's paper, and not on the student's major. Also, the topic of academic writing in the student's culture seldom came up in the conferences since the conferences were focused on academic writing in the American culture.

The following excerpt demonstrates how a graduate student displays epistemic primacy over a knowledge domain related to her major, in this case the citation style used in her field of study. TB and SW are discussing SW's summary-critique essay. In this excerpt, the teacher comments on a formatting problem of SW's essay, which is that one of the in-text citations in her paper is missing page numbers.

(26) TB & SW IEEE

```
1    TB:   If you use APA, ma[ke sure:(you put the page)
2    SW:                     [yeah yeah(hh) I(hh)
3          just forgot.
4    TB:   um:: [but I don't know.
5             [((shrugging shoulders))
6          [do you guys use APA?
```

```
7            [((looking at SW))
8  →  SW:   uh [no.
9               [((shaking head))
10           we use uh I [triple E.
11    TB:                 [((nodding)) I triple E.
12           So, I don't really kno:w how I triple E
13           does that.
14           (1.0) ((TB tapping on her desk
15           with thinking face))
16 →  SW:   maybe just the number?
17    TB:   .ts maybe just the number, and then
18           (.) I wonder (0.7) ((swallow))
19           If you use I triple E and a quote,
20           which is Very rare. You guys very rarely
21           [quote.
22    SW:   [yeah. Yeah.
23    TB:   okay? .hh Um: maybe in the reference
24           page, you will have the page number?
25           I don't know.(.).ts think about it
26           [though.
27    SW:   [((nodding))
28           [°okay.°
29    TB:   [okay? U:m pay attention to how that-
30           That works.
```

In line 1, TB asks SW to include page numbers in the citation when using the APA style. SW

accepts this suggestion in overlap with TB's prior turn, producing multiple "yeah"s and claiming that it

was just a mistake. In lines 4-6, TB questions the assumption she made earlier in line 1 that APA style is

used in the student's field, and asks SW whether she actually uses APA style or not. Here, TB is directly

displaying lack of epistemic access to the citation styles used in SW's field, and already seems to orient to

SW having the epistemic primacy over this knowledge domain of what citation style is used in SW's

major. SW in line 8 indeed orients to having epistemic primacy over this knowledge domain by providing

a definite answer "no" to TB's question. SW does not mitigate his response (i.e., "probably not" or "I

don't think so"), but provides a definite "no" answer to TB's question, displaying that she not only has

epistemic access to the knowledge domain, but also has epistemic primacy over the knowledge domain.

In line 10, she adds the citation style used in her field of study, which is IEEE. TB acknowledges this by

repeating "IEEE" and adds that she does not know the exact citation style of IEEE. When TB displays a

thinking face (lines 14-15), SW comes in and provides a possible explanation of how in-text citation is done in the IEEE system. SW explains that in-text citation in IEEE only includes numbers that correspond to each item in the reference list. Although SW provides this explanation with uncertainty, which is evidenced by the use of "maybe" and rising intonation at the end, SW is actively displaying her epistemic access to what TB has just claimed no knowledge of. This active display of epistemic access can also be seen as SW displaying epistemic primacy over this domain of IEEE citation style, as SW is showing that she knows more about this knowledge domain than TB. In line 17, TB repeats SW's prior utterance, agreeing with SW. Then, TB attempts to add more information, suggesting that it might be different when there is a quote ("If you use I triple E and a quote" in line19). TB then inserts a comment that researchers using IEEE rarely use quotations (lines 20-21). TB uses the word "you guys" to refer to researchers using the IEEE system, indicating SW as one of the researchers using IEEE and at the same time excluding herself from that category. Here, TB is expecting SW to know more about the IEEE system than herself, therefore orienting to SW having the epistemic primacy. In line 22, SW agrees with TB's utterance and confirms that quotations are rarely used. In line 23, TB continues her utterance from line 17-19, and provides the main clause. She suggests that when there is a quote in a paper using the IEEE system, the page number might be included in the reference page. However, she says this with uncertainty, evidenced by the emphasized "maybe" (line 23), the rising intonation (line 24), and the quickly added "I don't know" (line 25). TB lastly adds that SW should think about it (lines 25-26). In lines 27-28, SW accepts TB's suggestion, and in lines 29-30, TB once more makes a suggestion for SW to pay attention to how the IEEE system deals with quotations. TB's suggestions in lines 25-26 and in lines 29-30 show that TB is letting SW be in charge of learning and using the IEEE style, orienting to the fact that TB does not have epistemic access or epistemic responsibility for this knowledge domain.

Although there were only a few instances of students clearly demonstrating epistemic primacy in writing conferences, this excerpt has demonstrated how a graduate student displays epistemic primacy over a domain which is related to her own major. The student displays her epistemic primacy by actively displaying epistemic access to information which the teacher claims no knowledge of and providing

definite answers to the teacher's question regarding a knowledge domain related to her major.

The next extract demonstrates how a student displays epistemic primacy over a knowledge domain related to academic writing in his culture. The extract takes place after TD points out several problems in SD's reference list. TD makes a recommendation to pick a "standard," "fairly current" article and follow the reference style of the article. TD wraps up this discussion by saying, "so other than that, yeah!" SD then starts to bring up a related issue in the following excerpt.

(27) TD & SD: citing websites

```
1    SD:    I'm most confused is about the referencing eh
2           websites. Um (0.6) is there a: uh (site/right)
3           about showing the websites as reference.
4           =because, in Turkey,
5    TD:    ((clearing throat))
6    SD:    eh: there we use eh:: websites as reference.
7           We have to use, uh:: the reaching date
8           on to their site.=but it's [(uh          )
9    TD:                                [the accessing date?
10   SD:    yes.
11   TD:    okay. (0.5) uhm, honestly I don't know
12          the answer to that question.
```

In lines 1-3, SD asks a question to TD about how to cite websites. Then in lines 4 and 6-8, SD quickly adds what he knows about citing websites in his home country, Turkey. Although SD displays lack of epistemic access to citation style in the U.S., SD actively displays epistemic access to citation style in his own culture. SD uses the pronoun "we" (lines 6 and 7) to include himself as an expert in citation style used in Turkey, and at the same time excludes TD as one of the experts in citation style of Turkey. Here, SD is displaying epistemic primacy over the knowledge domain of citation style used in his own culture. In line 9, rather than challenging SD's display of epistemic primacy over this knowledge domain, TD displays epistemic primacy over another knowledge domain, English lexicon. TD does this by an embedded correction (Jefferson, 1987), correcting an incorrect lexical item "reaching date" to the correct form "accessing date," in the form of an understanding check.

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This section showed that students can display epistemic primacy over certain knowledge domains. Students, especially graduate students, display epistemic primacy over knowledge domains related to writing in their own cultures or their majors. This is done through students actively displaying epistemic access to the knowledge domain and presenting themselves as experts of the knowledge domain, by using pronouns in a way that includes the student but excludes the teacher from the category with that knowledge.

4.2.1.3. Areas of conflict in epistemic primacy

It is not always true that participants agree on who has the epistemic primacy in the interaction. In some instances, there is a conflict over who has the epistemic primacy and the participants display this in the interaction. The next excerpt shows an instance where this conflict in epistemic primacy occurs, demonstrated by a student challenging the teacher's epistemic primacy. This excerpt is from a writing conference between a teacher TJ and a graduate student SH. They are discussing SH's argumentative synthesis essay on bystander apathy. TJ is focusing on problems regarding the content of SH's essay as stated by TJ in line 1.

(28) TJ & SH: morality

```
1    TJ:    .h u:m (.) again we're dealing with content,
2           ((reading)) "her fear of troubles .h was
3           much more than her morality." .h isn't fear
4           of troubles a kind of morality?
5           (0.8)
6    ??:    h
7           (2.0)
8    SH:    u:h it's not.
9           (0.5)
10   TJ:    why not.
11          (2.5)
12   SH:    mm ((cough)) (7.0) mm:[:
13   TJ:                          [think about it.
14   SH:    [((cough))
15   TJ:    [you don't have to come up with a quick
16          answer. .h I'd prefer that you thought about
```

```
17        it. .h my point is: that it occurred to me
18        as I read that sentence that .h u:m people
19        don't act morally. they don't act (.) in
20        what society says isn't moral,
21   SH:  mm [hmm
22   TJ:     [because they're afraid.
23        (0.5)
24        .h >but then it occurred to me< (0.5) tch
25        isn't being afrai:d, (0.8) just a different
26        kind of morality?
27        (1.5)
28        maybe?
29        (3.0)
30   SH:  u:m:
31   TJ:  maybe maybe no:t.[it's something to think]=
32   SH:                   [(                      )]=
33   TJ:  =[about.]
34   SH:  =[(  ) yeah.
35   TJ:  .h u:m but it occurred [to me as I read
36   SH:                         [((cough))
37   TJ:  =that that was something that could be
38        addressed right here. u:h fear is
39        morality? maybe?
40        (1.0)
41        I'm not sure. .h you might wann[a (disagree)
42   SH:                                 [I (don't)
43        really think s(h)o. huh h[uh
44   TJ:                           [yeah. u:m but it's
45        jus' something that u- that I thought of as
46        I read it. uh you can: discard it. (.) if
47        you want to.=uh it's not (.) necessary. it's
48        jus something that I thought of as I read
49        it.
50        (0.5)
```

TJ first reads aloud the problematic portion of SH's essay and produces an RPQ (Koshik, 2002) in lines 3-4, conveying TJ's suggestion that fear is one kind of morality. SH responds to this in line 10, disagreeing with TJ's ideas. This is delayed with pauses (lines 5 and 7) and "u:h" (line 8), and therefore done in a dispreferred way. Although it is done in a dispreferred way, the disagreement itself is quite direct and not mitigated, as shown in the concise and direct turn with negation ("it's not"). SH, then, is not orienting to TJ as having the epistemic primacy, but as someone who has similar epistemic status over this type of knowledge. After a pause (line 9), TJ asks SH to justify his answer, since he had not provided

a warrant for his disagreement. TJ here is not asking SH to give reasons for something he wrote about, but to give reasons for why SH is disagreeing with his suggestion. This, therefore, can be heard as a challenge to SH. However, SH does not back down and just pauses (lines 11 and 12) and "mm"'s (line 12) follow. In line 13, TJ suggests to SH that SH should think about why he is disagreeing with him. Here, TJ is displaying his epistemic primacy by claiming that SH needs a warrant in order to disagree with him, the teacher. However, in lines 15-22, TJ seems to back down, due to the lack of agreement in the prior turns. This is done in the following ways. First, TJ clarifies his earlier suggestion and states that SH does not have to give an immediate answer in lines 15-16. Second, TJ presents his argument as his preference, and not a direct command (lines 16-17). Third, TJ presents his argument as a spontaneous thought, an idea that "occurred to me[him]" (line 17), and not a long-standing opinion. This is once more emphasized in line 24, "but then it occurred to me". SH does not respond to TJ's turn as shown in the continuer in line 21, and pause in line 23. Therefore, TJ repeats the RPQ posed earlier in lines 24-26, once more trying to elicit an agreement. SH still does not respond (pause in line 27) and as a result, TJ backs down in line 28. TJ weakens his argument by adding "maybe?", but at the same time still tries to elicit agreement by the upward intonation. When there is quite a long pause (line 29) followed by a "u:m:" in line 30, suggesting an upcoming dispreferred response, TJ further backs down in line 31. This time, he adds a negative alternative "maybe no:t." to which SH can now agree with. Also, this is done in a falling intonation, not eliciting a response anymore. TJ continues in lines 31 and 33 and weakens his claim by repeating that it is something to think about. In lines 35-38, TJ starts to do something slightly different, to give advice. He first repeats that it is a spontaneous thought (line 35). Then, he suggests that the issue of fear being morality can be placed at a specific part of SH's essay, and presents this as a possibility. Then he reformulates his idea in lines 38-39 and tries to elicit agreement for the last time by the upward intonation in both "morality?" and "maybe?". However, this last attempt fails as shown in the pause in line 40, and TJ further backs down in line 41. He claims that he is not certain, and states a possibility that SH might disagree. TJ's several back-downs and providing disagreement as an option (in line 41) displayed a weakening in TJ's epistemic stance In lines 42-43, SH does produce the dispreferred response, a quite

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direct disagreement to TJ's idea. To this, TJ first agrees by producing the agreement token "yeah" in line 44, but adds once more a warrant for his thought. When providing the warrant, TJ again weakens his epistemic stance by emphasizing it is a spur of the moment thought ("it's jus something that I thought of as I read it.") and stating the possibility of disagreement ("you can: discard it. (.) if you want to.=uh it's not (.) necessary").

The knowledge domain which is being addressed in this extract is related to a specific part of the content of the student's essay, i.e., whether or not "fear of troubles" is "a kind of morality." It is shown in this extract that the student tries to display his primacy over this knowledge domain as the author or writer of the essay, and simultaneously the teacher also tries to display his primacy as a writing expert. Therefore, a conflict in who has the epistemic primacy over this knowledge domain takes place.

4.2.1.4. Summary of analysis

Teachers and students display their epistemic primacy during one-on-one writing conferences in a variety of ways. Teachers make use of known-answer questions and reversed polarity questions to show that they not only have access to the answer of those questions, but have the authority to assess students' responses. By asking students these questions, the teachers display their epistemic primacy. On the other hand, students also display their epistemic primacy over certain knowledge domains such as areas related to their majors or their own culture. Students actively display access to these knowledge domains and present themselves as experts of the field while excluding the teacher from the expert group. Lastly, there are also instances when the teacher and the student do not agree on who has the epistemic primacy over a certain knowledge domain. In these cases, a conflict between the teacher and the student is found in the interaction, where each participant displays their own epistemic primacy.

4.2.2. Epistemic access & epistemic responsibility

4.2.2.1. Students' display of lack of epistemic access

This section describes how students display a lack of epistemic access and orient to their epistemic responsibility. The most common topics to which the students display a lack of epistemic access, but admit to having epistemic responsibility for, are ones that are taught in class prior to the conference or during the conference, such as issues related to the formatting of the essay (i.e., citation style and writing conventions) and course readings.

Two different sequential contexts will be described: one where the students display a lack of epistemic access as a response to teachers' questions and another where the students initiate a display of lack of access, i.e., by asking questions.

4.2.2.1.1. Students' displays of a lack of epistemic access as a response

When teachers ask questions to check students' epistemic access to particular issues, students may not know the answer and display a lack of epistemic access. In this situation, students often display at least partial epistemic access, orienting to their epistemic responsibility. The following excerpt shows a student's display of a lack of access that is prompted by the teacher's question. TC and SD are discussing SD's essay on leadership. In line 1, TC starts to focus on the issue of proper citation.

(29) TC & SD: Wills_citation (20:37-21:45)

```
1    TC:    ok, ((reading)) "a leader (0.2) a leader
2           requires followers." so now you're on to:
3           (1.0) another: i[dea.
4                         [((TC looks up at SD))
5           (0.2)
6           is that right?
7    SD:    yeah.
8           [{3.0} / ((SD sniffs))
9           [((TC's eyegaze returns to text))
```

```
10    TC:    a:nd
11           {5.0} / ((SD sniffs twice))
12    TC:    did you [get this idea from: (1.2)
13                   [((TC's eyegaze moves from paper to
14                    SD))
15           [one of the readings?]
16    SD:    [I read it          ]among the: articles.
17    TC:    yeah? which article.
18           (3.0)
19 →  SD:    s::: a don know. (hh) (0.5) Zaleznik? I
20           think?
21           (0.5)
22    TC:    Zaleznik? [the charismatic     [ca-]=
23    SD:              [(either Zaleznik) yea[h: ]
24    TC:    =consensus?
25    SD:    ye[ah, (.)
26    TC:      [((lateral headshake, smiling))
27    SD:    not? wi- was it Gardner?
28           (0.5)
29    TC:    no-? ((smiling))
30    SD:    or: (1.5)
31           [Wills.
32    TC:    [what did you say here about Will::s.
33           {0.5} / ((TC shifts eyegaze to D's text,
34           turns to page 1 of text))
35           here you sai:d (0.5) ((reading)) >"Wills
36           defines a leader as a person who <mobilizes
37           other:s[:.
38    SD:           [but every uh: (.) every other
39           [like (.) articles little bit talk about]=
40    TC:    [toward a goal: shared by followers"    ]
41    SD:    =the- about the followers.
42           (3.0)
43           [((TC begins turning back to p. 2 of SD's
44           [text))
45           [ok. (0.2) but [you might wanna just give a
46    SD:                   [(m)
47    TC:    =little bit of credit to: Wills
```

After reading aloud the problematic portion of SD's essay (lines 1–2), TC starts to produce a

yes/no question ("did you get this idea from:") to the student in line 12 but leaves it incomplete. The last

word is lengthened, a pause follows, and the teacher's gaze shifts to the student, suggesting that TC is

producing a designedly incomplete utterance (DIU) (Koshik, 2002). TC invites the student to complete

her utterance and provide the source of his idea. When the student does not complete the DIU, TC

completes the question with the phrase "one of the readings?" in line 15. By completing the question in this way, TC manages to avoid giving specific information about the source. When SD answers this question without providing the specific source (line 16), TC treats it as an insufficient response by asking a more specific question, "which article" (line 17). After a long pause (line 18), SD answers this question by claiming no knowledge, i.e., "I don't know." This claim of no knowledge is delivered in a dispreferred way, being delayed with a pause and "s:::". It is also produced in an embarrassed manner with laughter. After SD displays lack of access, however, he also makes an attempt to provide the answer (lines 19–20). A candidate for the author of the source ("Zaleznik?") is produced with an upward intonation and followed by "I think?" SD therefore tries to display his epistemic access to the answer with a degree of uncertainty, even after he claims no knowledge. This seems to be related to SD's orientation to his epistemic responsibility for this knowledge domain, which is related to the course readings. After SD's response, TC initiates repair by repeating "Zaleznik?" with rising intonation and adding the main idea of that author, also with rising intonation. Other-initiated repairs can be understood by participants as either showing a problem of understanding or a challenge to the prior utterance (Drew, 1997; Goodwin, 1983, Schegloff, 2007). SD seems to orient to the repair initiation as a problem of understanding and confirms his answer in line 25. However, TC shakes her head to this answer, indicating that her repair initiation was not related to a problem of understanding but was a challenge to the prior utterance. SD responds to this nonverbal feedback by providing another candidate answer. This answer is also produced as a part of a question—"was it Gardner?"—which shows SD's lack of certainty. When this response again receives negative feedback ("no-?" in line 29), SD provides yet another candidate answer which is grammatically designed to be a continuation of his prior utterance connected with "or" (lines 30–31).

Although SD claimed to have no knowledge in line 19 as a response to TC's question, SD provided a possible answer, which was epistemically downgraded. Also, after TC's negative feedback (lines 26 and 29), SD provided other candidate answers (lines 26 and 31). Course readings were discussed in class prior to the writing conference. Therefore, the student orients to his epistemic responsibility for

the authors of the readings by producing several attempts to claim epistemic access to the knowledge instead of just displaying lack of epistemic access.

When the students display lack of epistemic access as a response to teachers' questions, the students sometimes orient to their epistemic responsibility by giving accounts for the lack of access. The following excerpt demonstrates this. The excerpt is from the same writing conference as the prior extract. TC again focuses on the issue of citing relevant sources.

(30) TC & SD: Author

```
1      TC:     ((reading)) "the leaders are usually
2              recognized during hard times"=ok.
3              .hh and who: (0.2) who talked about that.
4              {1.5} / ((TC turns paper toward SD))
5              who talked about leaders being recognized
6              during hard times,
7  →   SD:     uh: I don't remember. heh
8      TC:     yeah[:.
9      SD:          [I'vent known this for: s long time so I
10             just put it there.
11     TC:     oh. ok,
12              (1.5)
13     SD:     I ((=it)) was one of the (0.5) authors? the
14             authors?
15              (0.5)
16             is this from?
17     TC:     um- maybe Gardner.
18             di-  [Gardner talked about so much stu:ff.
19     SD:          [oh yeah?
20             yeah:=
21     TC:     =He might've mentioned it, yeah.
22     SD:     ok I'll look it up.
```

After reading aloud a portion of SD' essay in lines 1-2, TC checks SD's access to the identity of the original author who mentioned the content in line 3. TC brings up this issue in order to point out that SD needs to have a proper citation, which is the main agenda of this writing conference. Since SD needs to know who mentioned the related information in order to properly cite that author, TC first checks if SD has access to the original author. In lines 5-6, TC rephrases her question by specifying the referent "that" in her original question. In line 7, SD displays his lack of epistemic access with the phrase "I don't

remember". Although SD displays lack of epistemic access, he seems to be orienting to the fact that he has responsibility to know. In line 7, unlike the prior excerpt where the student stated "I don't know," the student claims not to remember, asserting that he had access to the knowledge sometime in the past.[19] This epistemic responsibility is also evidenced in the following turns. Although what SD says in lines 9-10 is unclear, it seems that SD is providing an account for why he didn't cite, claiming that he has known the information for a long time. Then, SD asks if the information is from one of the course readings in lines 13-16, orienting to TC's question (lines 3-6) as pointing out a need to include a citation. This also seems to be SD's attempt to narrow down the scope of the answer of TC's question, "who talked about that". Here, SD is claiming at least partial access of the answer to TC's question, that the author seems to be from one of the authors of the course readings, orienting to his epistemic responsibility. At the same time, SD is displaying lack of access to the exact author, addressing a question to TC, trying to elicit the answer from her. Finally in line 17, TC provides an answer, although without certainty. In line 22, SD adds a final comment on this issue that he will look up the citation information himself, again orienting to his epistemic responsibility. This extract showed an instance of a teacher question serving as a prompt for student's display of lack of epistemic access. In this extract, since the issue is related to what the student had written in his essay, he orients to his epistemic responsibility and displays that along with his lack of access to the knowledge.

The next extract also shows an example of a student displaying lack of epistemic access as a response to the teacher's initiation. It is, however, different from the prior extracts in that the student does not display partial access to the knowledge domain or provide an account for not knowing. This is done when the knowledge domain is related to something that has not been mentioned in the conference or in class, therefore when the student does not have epistemic responsibility for the knowledge domain. This extract is from a writing conference between TT and SR, in which they discuss SR's essay on Hitler's leadership. The extract takes place after TT reads aloud a portion of another students' essay with a similar

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[19] This is similar to findings of Hayashi (2012), who analyzes "not knowing" versus "not remembering" in Japanese.

topic. "This goal of European hegemony" in line 1 therefore refers to the goal mentioned in the other student's essay.

(31) TT & SR: Hegemony

```
1     TT:    didju read anything about this goal of (0.2)
2            european hegemony,
3            (1.0)
4  →  SR:    a- (0.2) european what?
5     TT:    hegemony
6            (0.2)
7     TT:    this word hegemony,/((TT shows paper to SR,
8            points on paper and writes down the word))
9            (0.5)
10    TT:    know what it [means?        ((TT reaches for
11→   SR:                 [uh: I dunno.     dictionary))
12    TT:    mgh mgh mgh.
13           (1.0)
14    TT:    tsuh- it's a big word and I only learned it
15           about [(0.8) two years ago myself so.
16    SR:          [hhh
17    SR:    hh [hh
18    TT:       [heh heh [heh hh hh
19    SR:                [I guess I n(h)ever (l(h)earned
20           [it
21    TT:    [.hhh hh [hh okay. (.hh) that's okay.=you're=
22    SR:            [hhhhhh
23    TT:    =a lot younger than me.=you have an excuse.=I
24           should have learned it[ (.) a long time ago.
```

In lines 1–2, TT asks SR whether he read about the topic that is discussed in the other student's essay. This turn includes the trouble source term, *hegemony*. After a pause in line 3, instead of answering the question, SR initiates repair targeting the trouble source by repeating part of TT's prior turn and replacing the trouble source with a question word, *what* (line 4). Here, SR already displays lack of epistemic access by initiating repair of the target word, *hegemony*. In line 5, TT repeats the trouble source in an attempt to complete the repair, since TT treats SR's repair initiation as a display of a hearing problem. After a short pause (line 6), TT seems to notice that the problem is not a hearing problem and checks if SR knows the meaning of the term (lines 7–10). This is done rather directly by repeating the term (line 7), writing it

down, and adding a question asking whether SR knows the meaning of that word (line 10). Even before TT finishes the question, SR displays his lack of knowledge of the term *hegemony* in line 11, again in a very direct way, using the phrase "I dunno." SR does not add any partial access to the knowledge (e.g., as in the prior excerpt) and therefore does not orient to having epistemic responsibility. The reason for the direct display of lack of knowledge might be related to the fact that the knowledge domain is related to vocabulary which is not the focus of the conference and also which has not been taught or mentioned in the writing class. By displaying lack of epistemic access in a direct way, SR orients to the fact that he has no epistemic responsibility for the meaning of the word *hegemony*. In fact, in lines 14–15, TT also orients to SR having no epistemic responsibility for the word. TT gives an account of why the student might not have this knowledge: that the word is a difficult word which the teacher herself had also learned recently. After this, in lines 19–20, SR again displays that he has no knowledge of the word, and TT continues to state that SR has no responsibility for knowing the word.

This extract demonstrates how a student displays his lack of epistemic access to an issue that is not the focus of the writing class and, therefore, is something that the student does not have responsibility for knowing. In this case, the student seems to display a lack of epistemic access in a direct way, first by a repair initiation. Because this repair was not resolved by the teacher's repetition of the trouble source, "hegemony," it showed that the problem was one of understanding rather than hearing the word. The student's lack of epistemic status was also directly displayed by the response "I dunno" to the teacher's question. Also, by providing a justification for student's lack of epistemic status, the teacher displays that the student has no responsibility for knowing this vocabulary.

In sum, when the student displays a lack of epistemic access as a response, the student produces a no-knowledge claim as a response to the teacher's question. The student produces this no-knowledge claim with a partial display of epistemic access when he or she orients to having epistemic responsibility, as in excerpts (29) and (30), and only produces the no-knowledge-claim directly when he or she orients to not having epistemic responsibility for the knowledge domain, as in excerpt (31).

4.2.2.1.2. Students' display of a lack of epistemic access as a sequence-initiating action

Students not only display a lack of epistemic access when prompted by the teacher, but they also

voluntarily display a lack of access as a sequence-initiating action. Similarly to when the students display

a lack of epistemic access as a response, the students orient to their epistemic responsibility when the

knowledge domain is related to something that was mentioned in class or during the writing conference.

The following excerpt shows an instance of a student displaying a lack of knowledge about writing

conventions, specifically capitalization. The excerpt takes place when the student is looking through the

comments the teacher had made prior to the conference.

(32) TT & SR: capitalization

```
1 →  SR:     oh yeah I have one question do I (us- use a)
2            cuz' (0.2) in the (.) book, uh- this is
3            capital. u- (.) capitalized,
4            (0.5)
5     SR:     so if I wanna make it u-
6     TT:     mm hmm, ((nods head))
7            (0.2)
8     SR:     so I [should jus' do that=
9     TT:          [mm hmm.
10    TT:     mm hmm? ((nods head))
11    SR:     °(oh)
12    TT:     very good. mm hmm, (.hh)
13           (2.0)
14    SR:     okay.
```

The most common way for the students to voluntarily display their lack of epistemic access is to ask

questions about the topic, as in this extract. In line 1, SR displays a realization of a new idea that had just

occurred to him by saying "oh," marking the idea as "just realized" (Heritage, 1984).[20] After this, SR

explicitly states that he has a question about an issue and therefore already displays his lack of epistemic

access to the upcoming issue. SR continues and starts producing a yes/no question ["Do I (us- use a)"].

By directing this question to the teacher, SR is orienting to TT as having a [K+] status to the issue

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[20] "Oh yeah" as a single intonation unit may suggest that something has been remembered.

(Heritage, 2012). However, this question is cut off by a *because*-phrase that gives the reason for his

original usage of the capital letters. Here, then, instead of displaying a complete lack of epistemic access

by the sole use of a yes/no question, the student displays partial access to the issue by providing

knowledge that is closely related. While the student is displaying that he does not know whether he

should use capital letters in his own essay, he is displaying that he knows what the original source used.

By displaying partial access to the related information, the student orients to his epistemic responsibility

for the formatting issue, which has been taught in class. After a short pause in line 4, SR continues to

produce the question that was cut off before, starting with an *if*-clause. Even before the *if*-clause is

finished, TT comes in and produces a positive response with a head nod in line 6. In line 8, SR asks for

confirmation once more by referring back to what he wrote in his essay ("that" in line 8). In lines 9 and 10,

TT again confirms this by "mm hmm?" with a stronger rising intonation and emphasis along with a head

nod. In line 11, SR finally seems to display receipt of new information with "oh" (Heritage, 1984a). Then

in line 12, TT positively evaluates what the student has done, praising him for the knowledge he has

displayed earlier.

In sum, the student in this extract initiates a display of a lack of epistemic access to using capital

letters in his essay and orients to the teacher's [K+] status by asking the teacher a question. However, by

cutting off this question and inserting a justification, the student displays partial access to related

information, orienting to his epistemic responsibility.

The following excerpt, which is the same extract as extract (24) discussed earlier, demonstrates a

student initiating a display of a lack of epistemic access to an issue related to citation.

(33) TD & SD: citing websites

```
1 →  SD:   I'm most confused is about the referencing eh
2          websites. Um (0.6) is there a: uh (site/right)
3          about showing the websites as reference.
4          =because, in Turkey,
5     TD:   ((clearing throat))
```

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```
6    SD:   eh: there we use eh:: websites as reference.
7          We have to use, uh:: the reaching date
8          on to their site.=but it's [(uh      )
9    TD:                              [the accessing date?
10   SD:   yes.
11   TD:   okay. (0.5) uhm, honestly I don't know
12         the answer to that question.
```

In lines 1–3, SD asks a question about how to cite websites, displaying his lack of epistemic access to the

knowledge. Then SD quickly adds in lines 4–8 what he does have access to, which is how to cite websites

in Turkey, his home country. By doing this, SD is displaying access to a related domain of knowledge,

citation in a different cultural setting (i.e., Turkey), showing that he does not completely lack knowledge

in the knowledge domain. Here, SD is orienting to his epistemic responsibility for creating a reference list,

which has just been discussed prior to the excerpt. Although the particular issue of citing websites has not

been dealt with before, SD still seems to orient to his responsibility for knowing this. This seems to be an

exception of the generalization that students orient to their epistemic responsibility when the issue has

been mentioned in the conference or in class. In this excerpt, the student seems to be orienting to the fact

that he is a graduate student, who has responsibility for knowing citation styles in his own culture. SD is

displaying lack of access to how websites are cited in the American culture, whereas he is displaying his

access to how websites are cited in his own culture, and also orienting to his epistemic responsibility for

knowing this.

What follows SD's display of lack of access actually reveals that TD does not have access to this

issue. After TD does a repair of the trouble source "the reaching date" in SD's utterance, correcting it into

the appropriate English phrase, "the accessing date" (line 9), TD answers SD's question with a no-

knowledge-claim, displaying lack of epistemic access (lines 11–12).

This extract demonstrates how a student displays lack of epistemic access voluntarily by asking

the teacher a question. Similarly to the prior extract, the student adds a justification for his question to

display epistemic access to related knowledge. This is produced with a *because*-clause that immediately

follows the question displaying a lack of epistemic access. What is different about this excerpt is that the

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student displays and orients to his epistemic responsibility for something that has not been mentioned in class nor in the conference before. Here the student orients differently to the knowledge domain in two different cultures, displaying lack of epistemic access to the issue of citation style in the American culture whereas displaying access to the issue of citation style in his own culture. This seems to be due to the fact that the student is a graduate student who orients to his responsibility for knowing the citation style in his own culture.

4.2.2.2. Students' display of epistemic access

Students not only display their lack of knowledge, but they also display their epistemic access to certain knowledge domains. When they are displaying epistemic access as a response, i.e., answering a question, displaying access itself fulfills the students' epistemic responsibility in these situations. They do not need to do additional work to display their epistemic responsibility. It is only when the students display epistemic access as an initiating action that they do specific work to also display that they are orienting to their epistemic responsibility. In this section, I will explore excerpts that show how students initiate a display of epistemic access, which is usually done with overlaps or collaborative completions with the teachers' turn to display their epistemic responsibility. The domains to which students display their epistemic access as an initiating action are often the ones that were brought up in the conference before. By displaying epistemic access to the issues, the students fulfill their epistemic responsibility to remember the things they have learned during the conference.

The following extract shows an example of a student displaying epistemic access to the knowledge domain mentioned earlier in the extract. The extract is from a writing conference between TC and SD where TC is focusing on two major problems of SD's paper: organizing ideas in a paragraph and citing properly.

(34) TC & SD: how to cite
```
1    TC:    so- (.) wy- what you need do is (0.2) you're
2           bringing in all these ideas:,
```

```
3                  (.)
4      SD:    yeah?
5                  (0.5)
6      TC:    from the reading.=which is good.=I'm glad
7             you're doing that. .h but you need to: (0.8)
8             ya know or- more (.) organize your paragraph
9             around those ideas?
10                 (1.0)
11            rather than jus[t bringing in the ideas
12     SD:                    [((sniff))
13     TC:    (0.5) whenever you think of them.=organize
14            your paragraphs around the ideas?
15            .h a:nd (0.5) mention (0.2) ya know y-
16            [it gives you more] credit to say:, [that=
17 →   SD:    [the author's name?]                 [yeah
18     TC:    =you read it (.) from someone.=it gives you
19            more credit when you recognize (0.5) that
20            you did all the work
21            o[f reading (those articles).]
22     SD:     [but  (as  I  write) how  do] I um:
23            (0.2) like (.) mention their name. (0.5)
24            in- in a sentence structure.
```

In lines 1–14, TC gives advice on the first problem, which is how to organize ideas in a paragraph. In lines 15–16 and 18–21, she continues to give advice on the second problem, which is how to cite. In line 17, SD overlaps with TC's talk and tries to help resolve TC's possible word search, which is evidenced by the pauses and "ya know" (line 15). Here, SD is displaying epistemic access to what the teacher is about to say, although without certainty, which is displayed by the rising intonation. During this writing conference, the teacher had already mentioned the issue of proper citation, prior to the excerpt.[21] Since the

---

[21] TC mentioned the issue of citation several times earlier in the same conference with SD. Below are two excerpts showing this.

(1) TC & SD

```
1      TC:    ((reading)) "the leaders are usually
2             recognized during hard times"=ok.
3  →          .hh and who: (0.2) who talked about that.
4             {1.5} / ((TC turns paper toward SD))
5  →          who talked about leaders being recognized
6             during hard time,
7      SD:    uh: I don't remember. heh
8      TC:    yeah[:.
9      SD:        [I'vent known this for: s long time so I
```

student was reminded earlier in the conference that he has to cite, he orients to his epistemic responsibility and actively displays access to this knowledge by overlapping with the teacher's turn and completing it with the information he is responsible to know before the teacher gives the information herself. The teacher, however, does not confirm or acknowledge SD's attempt to resolve her word search and continues to provide advice. The student's display of epistemic access in this extract is different from the other excerpts in that it does not have a sequential consequence, as the teacher cancels the sequential consequentiality of SD's utterance by not addressing it. However, the student's display of epistemic access still shows the student's orientation to his epistemic responsibility even when his turn has no sequential consequence. On the other hand, what has not been mentioned earlier in the conference and

```
10          just put it there.
11    TC:   oh. ok,
12          (1.5)
13    SD:   I ((=it)) was one of the (0.5) authors? the
14          authors?
15          (0.5)
16          is this from?
17    TC:   um- maybe Gardner.
18          di-  [Gardner talked about so much stu:ff.
19    SD:        [oh yeah?
20          yeah:=
21    TC:   =He might've mentioned it, yeah.
22    SD:   ok I'll look it up.
```

(2) TC & SD

```
1     TC:   ok, ((reading)) "a leader (0.2) a leader
2           requires followers." so now you're on to:
3           (1.0) another: i[dea.
4                          [((TC looks up at SD))
5           (0.2)
6           is that right?
7     SD:   yeah.
8           [{3.0} / ((SD sniffs))
9           [((TC's eyegaze returns to text))
10    TC:   a:nd
11          {5.0} / ((SD sniffs twice))
12 →  TC:   did you [get this idea from: (1.2)
13                  [((TC's eyegaze moves from paper to
14                   SD))
15          [one of the readings?]
```

what the student does not have access to is "how" to cite the author's name. This is brought up in line 22-24, where SD asks TC a question and displays his lack of epistemic access.

The next excerpt also shows a student voluntarily displaying epistemic access to something that was mentioned before in the writing conference. TA and SA are going through TA's comments written on SA's draft. SA's major is education, and her essay is based on classroom data she collected. SA's essay focuses on an analysis of one student, Jaseline (as mentioned in line 12), and how she behaves in two different classes. One of the major goals of this particular conference was to shorten the essay, since the essay was too long. Before this excerpt, TA starts to focus on this problem, identifying a portion of the draft that can be deleted. TA gives advice that the portion can be deleted since it focuses on the teacher, rather than the student, Jaseline. TA continues to give advice and explanation on this issue in the excerpt below.

```
(35) TA & SA: connection
1      TA:    I think the reader would expect
2             to see why .hhh see more'v Jaseline
3             and [why .hhh (0.5) in your analysis.
4                 [((moving her hand horizontally))
5      SA:    um hm
6      TA:    why she's behaving the way she is. Um:,(2.5)
7             u:::m .ts the:n (.) at the end of that
8             you go into [this part
9                         [((pointing at a portion of the paper))
10            [of previous-
11     SA:    [Um yeah.
12     TA:    a:nd so when you come back to the discussion,
13            (0.6) [it's been all this space (0.3) talking about
14                  [((pointing at a portion of the essay))
15            something else, [and so: .hhh
16                            [((pointing at two points of
17            the essay alternatively)
18  →  SA:    the connection is not?=
19     TA:    [=thee: yeah.
20            [((raises her hands as if she is holding
21               an invisible object))
22            gets kinda weak in there.
23     SA:    uh huh
```

TA orients to the readers' perspective (lines 1–4, 6), formulating her advice in terms of the readers'

preference, rather than her own preference. Then TA indicates that at the end of the problematic portion, SA goes back to the topic that was mentioned before that portion of the essay (lines 7–10). In lines 12–17, TA rephrases what she said in lines 7–10, focusing on what the specific problem is. She indicates that the problematic portion is "talking about something else" (lines 13–15). After this, TA starts to conclude her explanation of the problem, starting with "and so." However, before TA finishes her sentence, SA tries to collaboratively complete the turn (Lerner, 1987) in line 18. Although SA's turn in line 18 ("the connection is not?") is also not a complete sentence, it conveys the meaning that the connection between the problematic portion and the text surrounding that portion is weak. SA's attempt to collaboratively complete TA's turn displays her understanding of what TA wants to indicate as the problem. Also, by pointing out the problem herself, SA manages to avoid being criticized and produces a self-criticism instead, which is similar to Lerner (1987)'s findings that speakers can convert a dispreferred action into a preferred action through collaborative completions. TA's explanation in the prior turns, her gesture in lines 16–17 that points to two different portions of the essay, and her earlier advice on leaving out the portion may all have prompted SA's display of epistemic access in line 18. Instead of waiting for TA to finish her turn in line 15, SA actively displays her epistemic access by the attempt to perform an anticipatory completion in line 18. Here, SA orients to her responsibility for knowing and understanding TA's advice and explanation that took place in the excerpt before line 15.

In this excerpt, the student displays epistemic access as an initiating action by collaboratively completing the teacher's prior utterance. The student displays epistemic access to a knowledge domain that has been described in the extract before the student's turn. This knowledge domain is related to a problem of her essay—that a portion of her essay is irrelevant to the rest of the essay. The student orients to her epistemic responsibility since the problem has been explained by the teacher in the prior turns verbally and non-verbally and actively displays epistemic access by anticipatorily completing the teacher's turn.

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4.2.2.3. Teachers' display of lack of epistemic access

It is not only the students who display lack of epistemic access in writing conferences. The teachers display their lack of epistemic access as well. When they do, they also orient to their epistemic responsibility if the knowledge is in a domain that they are responsible for. In my data, it seems that the teachers display lack of epistemic access only when they are prompted by the student. This seems to be closely related to the teachers' role in writing conferences. Teachers commonly give explanations to students regarding problems in the students' essays, or provide answers to the students' questions. Since providing explanations is a way of displaying epistemic access, teachers usually display lack of epistemic access when they provide a response to students' questions.

The following excerpt demonstrates how the teacher orients to his epistemic responsibility and provides accounts when he fails to meet that responsibility. TD in this extract is a TA who is an MA student and is in the process of being trained as a writing teacher. The extract takes place after TD points out several problems in SD's reference list. TD makes a recommendation to pick a "standard," "fairly current" article and follow the reference style of the article. TD wraps up this discussion by saying "so other than that, yeah!" SD then starts to bring up a related issue in the following excerpt.

(36) TD & SD: citing websites

```
1     SD:    I'm most confused is about the referencing eh
2            websites. Um (0.6) is there a: uh (site/right)
3            about showing the websites as reference.
4            =because, in Turkey,
5     TD:    ((clearing throat))
6     SD:    eh: there we use eh:: websites as reference.
7            We have to use, uh:: the reaching date
8            on to their site.=but it's [(uh        )
9     TD:                                [the accessing date?
10    SD:    yes.
11  → TD:    okay. (0.5) uhm, honestly I don't know
12           the answer to that question.
13    SD:    um hum,
14    TD:    um (0.8) according to: I- I think one day I
15           showed you (1.7) um::: (0.3) in class,
16           >that was one day that only a third of
17           the students were there but< (0.5) we looked
```

```
18           over some- (1.0) uh we looked over some different
19           refer[ences page,
20    SD:         [uh huh,
21    TD:    and I don't think I saw that.
22    SD:    [yes.
23    TD:    [on there.
24    SD:    I- I- I haven't saw it [(       )]
25    TD:                          [but,     ]
26           but that does make sense. Because then you
27           say well because if you go look at that
28           link later on, well, file not found or
29           (0.4)
30    SD:    um hm
31    TD:    site [not found.
32    SD:         [yes. Uh huh
33    TD:    >and you can say,< well, it was there when
34           I looked.
35    SD:    ah ha ha [so,
36    TD:            [right,
37    SD:    in turkey for example, at the end uh:
38    TD:    accessed May [twenty-fifth nineteen (       )
39    SD:                 [I have to- I have to put the
40           date of access.
41           (0.8)
42 → TD:    That makes sense. Uh I- I- I- I don't know
43           what [the
44    SD:         [um hm,
45    TD:    standard is [here.
46    SD:                [yes.
47    TD:    and um (0.4) and- so part of- (.) part of what
48           I am doing when I'm teaching this class is
49           I am- I'm learning how to teach, and not
50           only (.) learning how to teach or w- what to
51           teach but I'm also finding resources.
52    SD:    um hm
```

In lines 1-3, SD asks TD a question about how to cite websites, displaying his lack of epistemic access to

the knowledge. Then SD quickly adds in lines 4-8 what he does have access to, which is how to cite

websites in Turkey, his home country. By doing this, SD is displaying access to a related domain of

knowledge, in a different setting (i.e., Turkey), showing that he does not completely lack knowledge in

the knowledge domain. Here, SD orients to his epistemic responsibility for knowing the citation style in

his own culture. In line 9, TD does a repair of the trouble source "the reaching date" in SD's utterance,

correcting it into the appropriate English phrase, "the accessing date". Here, TD is doing being a language teacher, pointing out a language problem in SD's utterance. SD accepts this in line 10 and TD closes the repair sequence in line 11 with "okay". In line 11, TD answers SD's question posed in lines 1-3, with a no-knowledge-claim, displaying lack of epistemic access to the issue. This response is produced in a dispreferred way, delayed within the turn with a pause, "uhm", and "honestly" (line 11). This is interesting since no-knowledge-claims are not generally dispreferred in ordinary conversation.[22] The fact that a no-knowledge-claim is produced in a dispreferred way, then, signals that the teacher has an epistemic responsibility for a certain knowledge domain in these writing conferences. As an expert in writing, the teacher has an epistemic responsibility to have knowledge of formatting issues, including citation style. Line 11 shows an instance where the teacher fails to fulfill this responsibility, and thus the utterance admitting no knowledge is produced in a dispreferred way, and modified with "honestly". Later on in the interaction, TD refers to a handout he gave out to the students (lines 14-19) and points out that information on citing websites was not on there (lines 21, 23). TD's attempt to retrieve information from the handout then fails. As a last resort, in lines 25-28, TD goes back to what SD mentioned about the citation style in Turkey, and states that the convention "makes sense". Here, then, although the teacher is still displaying no epistemic access to the knowledge domain, he is trying to orient to his epistemic responsibility and at least make a guess. In lines 42-43, and 45, TD summarizes what he had said and displays both his epistemic responsibility by an attempt to answer SD's question ("That makes sense") and his lack of epistemic access by a no-knowledge-claim ("I don't know what the standard is here"). Then, TD provides an account for not knowing, emphasizing that he is finding resources while he is teaching the class. Here again, TD is orienting to the fact that he is expected to have epistemic responsibility over this subject.

The following extract also demonstrates how the teacher orients to her epistemic responsibility, specifically how the teacher provides accounts when she fails to fulfill her epistemic responsibility. TC

---

[22] No-knowledge-claims generally serve as "inability accounts" after information-seeking questions in ordinary conversation (Heritage, 1984b).

and SD are talking about SD's essay on leadership in the following extract. TC points out that SD is talking about two different things in one paragraph, which are "direct leadership" and "leadership through action". These terms come from the course readings on various types of leadership, which were meant to form the basis for this essay. TC claims that these are two different things, but SD argues that leadership through action is one form of direct leadership. Right before this excerpt, TC gives advice to SD to more clearly explain the terms in the essay to avoid confusion.

(37) TC & SD: I forgot

```
1     TC:     so maybe (0.5) yeah: (1.2) ya need ta get
2             that distinction clear because: I
3             [think what (0.5) Gardener's saying is that
4             [((turns to page 2))
5             (0.8) a direct leader is a person who te:lls
6             a story.
7             (2.5)
8             [(a:nd)
9     SD:     [and the action is one of the way: (a tellin
10            a) story. isn't it?
11            (0.5)
12    TC:     sorry?
13    SD:     (is it) and then: the action is one of the
14            ways tellin a story.=embodies story.
15             (.)
16    TC:     embody the stor[y?
17    SD:                    [yeah.=
18    TC:     =.h I think an indirect leader might (1.0)
19            oh. .h ok, yeah wait. you're right.
20            I'm- I'm confusing it. I think you're right.
21    SD:     [(ok)
22    TC:     [I think you're right.
23            (3.2)
24            yeah. actually, you're right.
25            (0.5)
26    SD:     [hh
27    TC:     [it's: a: (1.2) yeah.=so an indirect leader
28            is:: more of a person who:: (0.5)
29    SD:     influence others others by his: ideas?
30    TC:     his ideas. ok.
31            (0.5)
32            .h ok, so then: [yeah.
33                           [((turns back to page 1))
```

```
34            (0.8)
35            explain that up here.=
36   SD:      =[ok,
37             [((TC draws vertical line on p. 1 next to
38            "direct, indirect" and turns to page 2))
39            (1.2)
40 → TC:      see I forgot. [I'm even your teacher and I=
41   SD:                    [heh heh
42 → TC:      =forgot about it.=ok. .h so: even though I've
43            read about these articles, I might not have
44            the same (0.8)
45   SD:      impression?
46 → TC:      .h wul- (.) I might be: (1.0) like (0.5)
47            thinking of the ideas in a slightly
48            different way then you're thinking of them?
49            .h and so if you show me first.'kay this is
50            how: (0.8) how I w- when ya summarize an
51            article you're automatically kind of putting
52            your interpretation on it.=
53   SD:      =yeah?
54 → TC:      .h and so: (1.2) you- if you say ok here's
55            how I saw the indirect leadership, so that
56            it directly then explains (0.5) here we go.
57            this is an embodyment of [a story.
```

In line 1, TC starts her turn to wrap up her advice, as signaled in "so", but displays some uncertainty. This is shown in the hedging word "maybe," the pauses within the turn in lines 1,3 and 5, and stating the advice as her personal opinion ("I think" in lines 2-3). After a pause (line 7), TC and SD both start to speak, and SD gains the floor. SD's turn in lines 9-10 is done as an increment to TC's prior turn, designed to collaboratively complete TC's turn. However, if we look closely at the content of this turn, it is not a continuation of the prior turn, but a contrasting comment. SD is arguing that since action is one way to tell a story, it is categorized as direct leadership, rather than indirect leadership as TC said. SD is framing this contrastive comment as not a direct disagreement, but rather an increment to TC's talk, which is shown in the connector "and". Also, SD asks for confirmation by the tag-question ("isn't it?" in line 10). The disagreement done as an increment to the prior turn, along with asking for confirmation both seem to imply that SD is orienting to TC's epistemic primacy even when he has a different opinion. It is notable that although SD has limited English skills, he is managing to "sneak in" his disagreement as a

collaborative completion to TC's turn, orienting to TC's epistemic primacy. TC must have not expected SD's disagreement since SD accepted the advice earlier. Her surprise is shown in the pause (line 11) followed by an open class repair initiator in line 12. The use of open class repair initiator seems to suggest that the prior turn was not expected by TC, since they are often produced as a "response to sequentially 'problematic' prior turns" (Drew, 1997, p.83). In lines 13-14, SD completes the repair by repeating his explanation, now using a new term, "embody". In line 16, TC again initiates repair by repeating the phrase including the new term. SD confirms TC's candidate understanding by saying "yeah." in line 17. Apparently, TC does not agree with SD's idea, and starts to give her own understanding of what an indirect leadership is in line 18. However, she cuts this off, and after a short pause in line 18, she displays a change of state of her knowledge by "oh" in line 19 (Heritage, 1984a). Since "oh" is not produced as a response, but in the middle of her own utterance, it seems to show that TC is displaying some kind of realization of her own. If "oh" were produced turn-initially, TC might have displayed that she is accepting what SD said in the prior turn and her state of knowledge has changed as a result. However, here TC displays that the change of state of knowledge is based on her own realization. She accepts SD's understanding of the categorization by "ok", and agrees with it by "yeah." Then she once more displays that she is changing from disagreeing to agreeing, stopping the action in progress and changing the direction by "wait" (Koshik, 2014). She confirms that SD is actually right and repeats this two more times (lines 19, 20 and 22). In line 24, she makes a self-repair to admit that SD is right, which is marked by "actually," a "change of mind" token (Clift, 2001). When there is no further response by SD, TC starts to state her new understanding of the concept of 'indirect leadership' in line 27. She starts with an anaphor "it", but then self-repairs to specify the referent to "an indirect leader". This turn, however, indicates that she has some trouble, perhaps in reforming her concept. This is shown in the self-repair, sound stretches and the pauses (in lines 27 and 28). Since defining 'indirect leadership' as a leader who influences people only by his ideas was SD's understanding all along, it seems that at this point, SD has epistemic primacy over this subject. Therefore, when TC displays some trouble in lines 27-28, SD comes in and collaboratively completes the turn, and finishes the definition in line 29. Note that SD is collaboratively

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completing TC's turn, displaying his epistemic access, but at the same time orienting to TC's epistemic primacy as well, by the rising intonation at the end. TC seems to be cautiously accepting SD's completion by repeating it ("his ideas") and confirming it ("ok") in line 30. After a short pause, TC continues to accept this new idea ("ok" in lines 32) and connects that with giving advice. She starts with "so then" in line 32, logically connecting the advice with the prior turn, and gives direct advice to explain about what an indirect leader is (line 35). In line 36, SD accepts this advice right away. In TC's next turn starting from line 40, she admits that she forgot how the reading categorized leadership. She then points out that forgetting is not something a teacher should do, referring to teacher's authority ("I'm even your teacher" in line 40). TC is then orienting to her epistemic responsibility as someone who should not forget about the content of the course readings. She is mobilizing a membership categorization of being a teacher in order to orient to her epistemic responsibility. Then she provides an account of why she was confused, again orienting to her epistemic responsibility (lines 42-44, 45-48). She connects this account with advice-giving, and suggests that SD should clearly explain his interpretation of the readings (lines 49-52, 54-57). By connecting her confusion to a new piece of advice to SD, TC is cleverly emphasizing SD's responsibility to write and explain clearly and at the same time masks the fact that she failed to fulfill her epistemic responsibility. Here then, the teacher is orienting to her epistemic responsibility for knowing the content of the course readings which she assigned to the class. So when she fails to fulfill this responsibility she provides accounts and tries to connect the accounts to advice-giving.

4.2.2.4. Teachers' display of epistemic access

Teachers in the writing conferences most often display epistemic access and orient to their epistemic responsibility for having expert knowledge related to writing essays. The following excerpt demonstrates how the teacher displays his epistemic access and epistemic responsibility and how the teacher orients to the student's epistemic responsibility. This excerpt takes place near the end of the conference between TJ and ST. After TJ goes over all the major points, he briefly addresses "small things"

which he commented on the paper. The first "small thing" TJ addresses is footnotes. When this extract

takes place, TJ is looking at ST's paper and pointing at a particular place, which probably has a footnote.

(38) TJ&ST: Footnote

```
1     TJ:    okay? .hh [U::::M:: (4.0)
2                      [((TJ hits table with pen. Then,
3             during the 4 second silence, TJ hits table
4             with pen seven times, rhythmically))
5             f::ootnotes (uh-/ar-) what field are you in.
6             (0.2)
7     ST:    u:h urban planning.
8     TJ:    urban planning.
9             (.)
10    TJ:    footnotes are probably okay in urban
11            planning. but you should check. .hh u::m
12            <urban planning probably has a handbook.
13            .h[h
14    ST:       [mm hmm=
15    TJ:    =u:m that shows what> (0.2) kinds of things
16            like this: [are (0.2) correct an proper.
17    ST:                [footnotes or endnotes.
18    TJ:    pro- u- footnotes or endnotes or .h <in-text
19            citation.>
20    ST:    uh huh,
21    TJ:    which means that these things would come
22            right up in the text.
23    ST:    mm hmm
24    TJ:    it depends on your field. as you're (gri-) a
25            graduate student, I'll leave it to you.
26            (0.2) u:m to determine. (.) which is the
27            proper one.
28            (1.2)/((static))
29    TJ:    my field we use: uh ay pee ay.
30            (0.2)
31    TJ:    american psychological association.
32            (0.2)
33    TJ:    I have no idea what urban planning does but
34            I'll leave it to you to figure it out.
35    ST:    mm hmm okay.
36    TJ:    okay? .hh U:::M: [(4.2)
```

In lines 1-4, TJ starts looking at ST's paper, and in line 5, topicalizes the issue of footnotes. Rather than

further explaining or problematizing this issue, he makes a self-repair and asks ST a question. As shown

in the self-repair, it seems that to further comment on this issue, TJ needs information about ST's major. This question about the student's major is done in a direct way, where TJ displays lack of epistemic access and orients to not having responsibility for this knowledge domain. In line 7, ST answers with his major, urban planning, and TJ receipts this by repeating it in the next turn. After this inserted sequence, TJ now turns back to the original issue, footnotes, and connects this issue with the new information attained, which is ST's major (lines 10-11). Instead of criticizing ST's use of footnotes, TJ produces a weak statement mitigated by *probably*, "footnotes are probably okay in urban planning." In line 11, TJ modifies his confirmation and makes a suggestion for ST to check and adds where he can find the information. In lines 15-16, TJ further explains what kind of information could be found in those handbooks. Although TJ's assertion is weakened by the use of "probably" in lines 10 and 12, TJ is still displaying [K+] stance on which citation style is appropriate in Urban planning by making an assertion, not asking a question. When one participant is in the [K+] status and the other one is in the [K-] status, one common interactional consequence is that the [K-] participant poses a question to the [K+] participant (Heritage, 2012a). The question in line 5 is an example of this. However, in lines 10-11, TJ does not ask a question directly to ST. Rather, he makes a weak assertion, displaying a much stronger epistemic stance than asking a question. It is interesting that when addressing ST's major, TJ displays his epistemic stance as weak, but when addressing the citation style, he displays a stronger epistemic stance. This may be due to the fact that the topic, citation style in the field of urban planning, is partially in TJ's "epistemic domain" (Stivers and Rossano, 2010). Here then, TJ displays himself as having epistemic primacy over and responsibility for citation style and he orients to ST having epistemic responsibility for knowing what his major is. Following is a representation of the epistemic domains of TJ and ST which are relevant to this interaction.
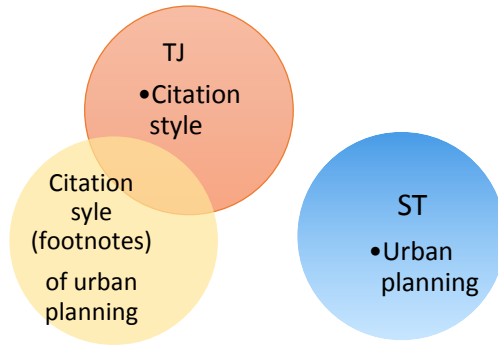
Figure 3 Epistemic domain of TJ and ST in lines 10-11[23]

TJ is displaying his epistemic stance towards the citation style of urban planning as something that is not entirely in his domain, but not in ST's domain either. Although ST has access to the knowledge domain of urban planning, TJ is assuming he does not have access to the citation style of his major. Instead, he displays some access to this knowledge domain himself, since it is related to citation styles, which he has access to. Here, TJ is emphasizing the knowledge being in his epistemic domain, and displays a [K+] stance towards it.

Another interesting fact is that TJ not once directly asks ST about this, and just assumes that ST does not have access to the knowledge. It seems that TJ doesn't expect ST to know this information. This is also evidenced in line 11, where TJ urges ST to check it. ST in line 17 indeed shows his lack of knowledge by giving the two options, footnotes and endnotes, while displaying his understanding of TJ's prior statement that he should check "what kind of things… are correct". In lines 18-19, TJ adds another option, which is 'in-text citation' and further explains what this style is in lines 21-22. Here again, TJ displays no expectation for ST to have knowledge of what 'in-text citation' is. This is perhaps due to line 17 where ST provided two options, without 'in-text citation'. In lines 24-27, TJ explains why he doesn't have direct access to the information, that every field uses different citation styles. This is further elaborated in lines 29 and 31 where TJ indicates what style is used in his own field. He is showing he is

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[23] This diagram is a representation of how the epistemic domains are surfaced in the interaction between TJ and ST in lines 10-11. Although it is possible that the "citation style of urban planning" is partially overlapped with ST, in lines 10-11, TJ does not orient to this and ST does not give any information on citation style in urban planning.

knowledgeable in his own field, displaying epistemic primacy over this knowledge domain and fulfilling

his epistemic responsibility. At the same time, TJ is claiming that he has no responsibility to know

citation styles in other disciplines. Since ST is a "graduate student" (line 25), TJ expects ST to be able to

find out what citation style his field uses (lines 24-26). In line 33, TJ summarizes the interaction so far,

claiming no knowledge of what citation style urban planning uses and giving ST responsibility to figure it

out. This is slightly in contrast to TJ's turn in lines 10-11, where he did display some knowledge of the

issue by making an assertion. By claiming no knowledge, TJ is emphasizing that this issue should be in

ST's epistemic domain, and therefore ST has the responsibility to "figure it out" (line 34). Here, then, TJ

is categorizing citation style in urban planning to be in ST's epistemic domain, as the following figure
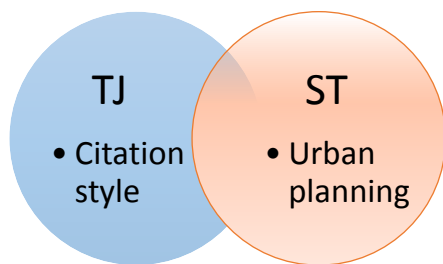
shows.

Figure 4 Epistemic responsibility of TJ and ST in lines 33-34

In this excerpt, then, the epistemic responsibility of TJ as a writing expert and an expert in his own field is

displayed, along with the epistemic responsibility of ST as a graduate student who knows what his major

is, and who can figure out what citation style his major follows.

In sum, in writing conferences, the teacher and the student orient to the teacher's epistemic

responsibility for epistemic domains which the teacher is expected to have access to, such as formatting

issues in academic writing in the U.S. and content of course readings. On the other hand, the teacher and

the student orient to the student's epistemic responsibility for knowledge domains which the student is

expected to have access to, such as knowledge related to the student's major. Display of epistemic access,

then, is closely related to epistemic responsibility in writing conferences.

4.2.2.5. Summary of analysis

This section has analyzed how teachers and students display epistemic access or lack of epistemic access in ESL one-on-one writing conferences. The following charts summarize the findings of this study. This table, however, is not an exhaustive summary of what happens in a writing conference in terms of epistemic access and responsibility. Also, the categories in the table do not imply that there is a strict division between them. As shown in the extracts above, there is a continuum between the categories (i.e., between displaying access and lack of access).

Table 1: Students' display of epistemic access in writing conferences

	Students' display of epistemic access		Teachers' display of epistemic access	
	Orienting to having epistemic responsibility	**Orienting to not having epistemic responsibility**	**Orienting to having epistemic responsibility**	**Orienting to not having epistemic responsibility**
Displaying access [K+]	Active display – overlap, collaborative completion *Excerpts (34), (35)*		Answering students' questions Giving explanations/ advice *Excerpt (38)*	
Displaying lack of access [K-]	Displaying at least partial access *Excerpts (29), (30), (32), (33)*	Direct question, repair initiation "I don't know" *Excerpt (31)*	Dispreferred (delayed, accounts) *Excerpts (36), (37)*	Direct questions *Excerpt (38, line5)*
Epistemic domain	Something mentioned earlier in the class/conference	Something that has not been taught in class/mentioned in the conference	Something related to language and writing	Something related to the students' major

When a student orients to having epistemic responsibility and displays access, this is usually done actively in overlap with the teacher's turn or as a collaborative completion of the teacher's prior utterance. When a student orients to having epistemic responsibility but displays lack of access, the student usually provides display of at least partial access. When a student orients to not having epistemic responsibility and displays lack of access, it is usually done with direct questions, repair initiations, or no-knowledge-

claims such as "I don't know". Students orient to having epistemic responsibility for something mentioned earlier in the conference, and students orient to not having epistemic responsibility for something that has not been taught in class or mentioned in the conference. The only exception to this is when the student orients to having responsibility for an issue in his own culture, which has not been mentioned in class or in the conference. In this case, the student displays himself as a competent graduate student who is responsible for knowing writing conventions in his own culture.

Teachers usually orient to their epistemic responsibility when displaying access or lack of access. Teachers display epistemic access by answering students' questions and giving explanations and advice. Teachers' displays of lack of access to knowledge they are responsible for is produced as dispreferred, as it is delayed and accompanied by accounts. Teachers sometimes orient to not having epistemic responsibility when the knowledge domain concerns the students' major. In this case, teachers display lack of epistemic access by asking direct questions to students.

4.3. Conclusion

This chapter investigated how teachers and students display their knowledge in ESL one-on-one writing conferences by looking at how three different aspects of epistemics asymmetries proposed by Stivers et al (2011) are displayed in writing conferences. Teachers display epistemic primacy over knowledge domains related to formatting essays. This is done by using known-answer questions followed by confirmations. There are also some instances where students display their epistemic primacy over knowledge related to their major. This often takes place when the student is a graduate student. Students display their lack of epistemic access to domains of knowledge such as grammar and writing techniques. While doing this, however, the students generally attempt to display partial epistemic access to some related topics, orienting to their epistemic responsibility. Students display their epistemic access to knowledge that was mentioned before in the conference. Teachers also display their lack of epistemic access to certain domains of knowledge. When they have epistemic responsibility for this knowledge, they orient to their epistemic responsibility by providing accounts for their lack of epistemic access.

Therefore, in writing conferences, there seems to be a close relation between display of epistemic access and orientation to epistemic responsibility.

This chapter first shows how different orientations to knowledge are displayed in writing conferences. Therefore, this chapter supports findings of Heritage (2012 a,b) and extends his argument to the institutional setting of a writing conference. Secondly, epistemics in writing conferences seem to be a very complex phenomenon. There are times when a student displays lack of epistemic access, and he or she still attempts to show some knowledge. Third, display of epistemic access and epistemic responsibility are closely related. When a teacher admits lack of epistemic access to a certain topic he or she has responsibility for knowing, the teacher orients to his or her epistemic responsibility and provides accounts or related knowledge. Finally, there are also various domains of knowledge that are active in one interaction, making the picture more complex.

It is evident that what the participants know and who has the epistemic primacy and responsibility shape the interaction taking place in writing conferences. Thus, knowledge displays cannot be neglected when analyzing talk, including this kind of institutional interaction.

CHAPTER 5

TEACHERS' MANAGEMENT OF STUDENTS' CLAIMS OF INSUFFICIENT KNOWLEDGE IN WRITING CONFERENCES

This chapter examines teachers' management of students' claims of insufficient knowledge. When teachers initiate a question, students may claim no knowledge verbally, i.e., "I don't know" or "I have no idea" or non-verbally, i.e., shaking their heads or avoiding eye contact. How students produce these no-knowledge claims and how teachers deal with them have been investigated in a classroom setting (Sert, 2011; Sert and Walsh, 2013). In the classroom setting, when a student claims insufficient knowledge, the teacher usually nominates another student to provide a response. However, in one-on-one writing conferences, teachers have no choice to nominate another student, since there is only one student in the setting. This chapter looks at practices teachers in one-on-one writing conferences use to deal with students' claim of insufficient knowledge.

5.1. Literature Review

In this section, I will first provide a summary of the literature on claim of insufficient knowledge in both non-pedagogical and pedagogical settings. Then, relevant literature on response pursuits and teacher third turns will be introduced.

5.1.1. Claim of insufficient knowledge

5.1.1.1. Claim of insufficient knowledge in non-pedagogical settings

Claims of insufficient knowledge are defined by Sert & Walsh (2013) as "participants' observable and explicit displays of and orientations to an epistemic state of insufficient knowledge, which is enacted following a first pair part of an adjacency pair" (p.543). They include various forms of verbal and non-verbal expressions such as "I don't know," "I have no idea," and headshakes. They have also

been classified as "non-answer responses" by Stivers (2010), in her study of classifications of American question and answer sequences.

There has been a line of studies on how speakers claim insufficient knowledge (i.e., with "I don't know") in various settings, including ordinary conversation (Beach & Metzger, 1997), child counseling (Hutchby, 2002), and courtroom interaction (Beach & Metzger, 1997). The semantic content of the insufficient knowledge claims seems to suggest that speakers would express their lack of epistemic access when producing these utterances. However, as Beach & Metzger (1997) point out, "speakers' 'I don't knows' may have little or anything to do with not knowing" (p.563), and therefore "whether a recipient producing 'I don't know' actually knows or not is a matter to be interactionally worked out" (p.568). In fact, many studies identified various actions accomplished by insufficient knowledge claims, which will be summarized below.

Earlier studies that mention the use of insufficient knowledge claims include Sacks (1987) and Pomerantz (1984). They both indicate that the insufficient knowledge claims can be used to preface dispreferred responses. Sacks (1987) indicates that "I don't knows," or insufficient knowledge claims, "characteristically precede something less than an agreement" (p.59). Pomerantz (1984), in her study on how speakers agree or disagree with assessments, notes a similar finding that insufficient knowledge claims can be one way of "warranting a declination" for a second assessment (p.58).

Beach & Metzger (1997) explore how insufficient knowledge claims are produced as a response in both ordinary conversations and courtroom interactions. Their study summarizes various actions that are accomplished by the insufficient knowledge claims. Their results show that the insufficient knowledge claims "[mark] uncertainty and concerns about next-positioned opinions, assessment and disagreement," "[construct] neutral positions designed to mitigate agreement and disagreement" and "[postpone] or [withhold] acceptance of others' invited and requested actions" (p.562).

Similar findings were found by Tsui (1991), who analyzes the pragmatic function of the utterance "I don't know" used in ordinary conversations between native speakers of English. The pragmatic functions identified in the study include "avoidance of making an assessment, a preface to a disagreement,

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an avoidance of an explicit disagreement, an avoidance of commitment, a minimization of impolite beliefs and a marker of uncertainty" (p.607). She concludes, however, that although there are various functions of the utterance "I don't know", there seems to be "a central meaning which unifies all instances of its occurrence: a declaration of insufficient knowledge" (p.620).

Studies of claims of insufficient knowledge in non-pedagogical settings suggest that utterances such as "I don't know" have various functions including mitigating and avoiding dispreferred utterances such as disagreements and declinations. Their findings also show that claims of insufficient knowledge are most often produced as a preface to a response. However, in pedagogical settings, students produce claims of insufficient knowledge with the more literal meaning and most often produce them as a free-standing turn, as outlined in the next section.

5.1.1.2. Claim of insufficient knowledge in pedagogical settings

In pedagogical settings, the epistemic status of the students is closely related to the goal of the interaction. It is important for the teachers to check whether the students have epistemic access or not to specific knowledge domains discussed in class. However, it is difficult to directly observe what the students know and do not know. One situation where students' claims of epistemic access is observable is when the students produce claims of insufficient knowledge. In this section, I will review studies that investigate claims of insufficient knowledge in classroom settings.

In his study on Zones of Interactional Transition (ZIT), Markee (2004) briefly mentions the use of no-knowledge claims by students. Markee (2004) analyzes the student's no knowledge claim used as a challenge to the teacher who asks the student a counter question. The following excerpt demonstrates the student's use of a no knowledge claim as a challenge.

(39) Markee (2004), p.586

EXCERPT 1
No Idea

```
522 L11:    ok (0.2) excuse me (0.2) uh: what what does it mean hab-
523         (0.5) habi-
524         (0.4)
525 T2:     habitats
526 L11:    habitats
527 T2:     yeah (.) you had that word as well (0.2) what do you think
528         it means
529         (0.8)
530 L10:    -hhh [hh]
531 T2:          [yours] talked about habitats didn't it
532         (0.4)
533 L10:    uh:m
534 T2:     the [m]ost important (1.2) habitat
535 L10:        [I]
536         (1.0)
537 L10:    I think (.) the habitats is the: /em/ (1.0) e[nvironment uh] and uh
538 L9:                                                  [environment]
539 L10:    (0.8) environment and uh (2.0) uhm ·h
540         (1.2)
541 L9:     is it [is it   ] the: nearest [environment]
542 L10:          [for for]               [for the fish ] you (mea be:) hh
543 T2:     ·h yeah what would be another word for a habitat then (0.7)
544         it's like
545         (1.3)
546 T2:     [it's hli-]
547 L11: →  [I ha    ]ve ↓no idea↑ =
548 L?:     = home
```

In this excerpt, it was the student (L11) who first asked about the meaning of the word, "habitats" (lines

522-523). After several lines during which the teacher (T2) asks a counter question (lines 527-528) and

receives answers from two other students (L9 and L10), she asks for "another word for a habitat" in line

543. To this, the student (L11) produces a no knowledge claim in line 547 which "draws T2's attention to

the fact that she [L11] cannot be expected to know the answer to this question and that T2's selection of

L11 as next speaker is bound to be unsuccessful" (Markee, 2004, p.585). Markee (2004) concludes that

the student's no-knowledge-claim in this extract is used as a challenge to the teacher. The teacher

responds to this no-knowledge-claim by providing the answer, "home".

Sert's (2011) dissertation provides a more comprehensive analysis of students' claims of

insufficient knowledge (CIK) (see also Sert, 2013; Sert and Walsh, 2013). Sert (2011) analyzes two

"English as an additional Language" classrooms in a public school in Luxembourg. His analysis focuses

on how the students produce claims of insufficient knowledge, both verbally and non-verbally, and the sequential contexts the claims of insufficient knowledge are found in.

Findings of Sert (2011) shed light on the characteristics of insufficient knowledge claims used by students in a classroom setting. Sert (2011) shows that the claims of insufficient knowledge in teacher-fronted classroom settings are "almost always employed as freestanding turn constructional units" (p.127), as opposed to claims of insufficient knowledge in ordinary conversations which are "rarely freestanding" and "most frequently preface additional talk" (Beach and Metzger, 1997, p. 579).

Sert (2011) summarizes the sequential format in which students' claims of insufficient knowledge are found. The analysis shows that the most common sequence organization formats involve the teacher allocating the turn to another student after a student produces a claim of insufficient knowledge. The three types of sequential formats are shown in the figure below.

Type 1

1   T: Teacher Initiation
2   S: Claim of Insufficient Knowledge (CIK)
3   T: Turn Allocation

Type 2

1   T: Teacher Initiation
2   S: Claim of Insufficient Knowledge (CIK)
3   T: "You Don't Know? (YDK)
4   T: Turn Allocation

Type 3

1   T: Teacher Initiation
2   S: Claim of Insufficient Knowledge (CIK)
3a T: "You Don't Know? (YDK)
3b S: Confirmation "No" (ConIK)
4   T: Turn Allocation

Figure 5: Sequential format of students' CIK in classrooms (adapted from Sert & Walsh, 2013, p.558-559)

As shown in the figure, the teacher allocates the turn to another student right after the student's claim of insufficient knowledge (Type 1) or the teacher responds with "you don't know?" before allocating the turn to another student (Type 2). On rare occasions, students produce a confirmation to this "you don't know?" and after that the teacher allocates the turn to another student (Type 3). By the teacher's turn allocation to other students, "progressivity of the activity is pursued, and intersubjectivity is co-constructed with the involvement of other learners rather than the producer of CIK" (p.129). However, Sert (2011) also mentions that sometimes the teachers do not allocate the turn to another student and instead help the students to provide a response. Teachers employ various tools such as "deictic gestures, embodied vocabulary explanations, code-switching and Designedly Incomplete Utterances (DIU)" (Sert & Walsh, 2013, p.554). These tools can lead to increased student participation and thus a more successful lesson. Sert (2011) argues that "they prove to be fruitful interactional resources deployed after CIK in that they contribute to the progressivity of talk, enhance further student participation and in some cases even lead to claims/demonstrations of understanding" (p.122).

This chapter investigates how teachers use various tools to manage students' insufficient knowledge claims in one-on-one writing conferences, where the teacher cannot allocate the turn to another student. Instead of allocating the turn to another student, teachers either pursue a response from the student who originally claimed no knowledge or provide explanations. The next section summarizes previous literature on how speakers pursue response in everyday talk and institutional talk.

5.1.2. Response Pursuits

Speakers often pursue a response when their initiating actions (i.e., questions) are not followed by a response or are followed by an inadequate response (Antaki, 2002; Bolden, Mandelbaum & Wilkinson, 2012; Chazal, 2015). Since teachers in writing conferences often pursue a response after students provide claims of no knowledge, this section will provide a brief summary of tools used by speakers to pursue a response.

Bolden, Mandelbaum & Wilkinson (2012) summarizes three resources exploited by speakers to pursue a response: sequence-organizational resources, turn-constructional resources, and repair. Speakers of initiating actions use sequence-organizational resources by pursuing a response after the lack of a recipients' response. Sequence-organizational resources here refer to resources that make use of the whole turn constructional unit. In the following excerpt, A, the speaker of the initiating action pursues a response by reissuing the original question.

Extract (40) Heritage, 1984, p.248 cited in Bolden et al., 2012, p.138

```
01   A:   Is there something bothering you?
02        (1.0)
03   A:   Yes or no
04        (1.5)
05   A:   Eh?
06   B:   No.
```

In line 1, A asks a question and this is followed by no response (pause in line 2). Thus, in line 3, A pursues a response by asking the question again, this time with two alternative options ("yes" or "no"). When this again fails to elicit response (pause in line 4), A once more pursues a response by producing a response prompt ("eh?" in line 5).

Speakers of initiating actions may also use turn-constructional resources (i.e., increments) to pursue response. Unlike sequence-organizational resources, the use of turn-constructional resources pursues a response covertly. The following excerpt demonstrates this.

Excerpt (41) Bolden et al., 2012, p. 140.

```
01   Guy:   'Av ↑you go(.)t uh:     ↑Seacliffs phone number?h
02          (1.1)
03   Guy:   by any chance?
04          (0.3)
05   Jon:   Yeeah?
06          (2.6)
07   Jon:   .k.hhh hIt's uh:< (.)    .t.h FI:VE THREE SIX::
```

Guy's initial question in line 1 is met with a silence (line 2), and thus Guy adds an increment ("by any

chance?") to pursue response. By adding this increment, Guy converts the inter-turn gap (in line 2) to an

intra-turn gap, not holding the recipient responsible for the absent response, but still pursuing a response.

The third resource for pursuing a response introduced by Bolden et al. (2012) is repair. Like turn-

constructional resources, repair also "obscure[s] the turn transition problem" (p. 140), rather than

"expos[ing] the lack of a response as a problem" (p.140). In the following excerpt, the speaker of the

initiating question (the call-taker) uses self-repair in order to pursue response.

Excerpt (42) Bolden et al., 2012, p. 141.

```
[SW:FM:D003]
01     Clt:   Oka:y.   A:nd how did you hear about us:.
02            (.)
03     Clt:   Thee   (.)   helpline.
04     Clr:   Uh:::m   (.)   hhh I'm just tryin' to thi-
05            <oh well I think it was throu:gh uh:m
06            (.)   uh:   Christine Craggs-Hinton:'s book.
```

In line 1, call-taker asks a question, which is followed by silence (line 2). After the silence, the call-taker

self-repairs the indexical reference "us" (in line 1) into "thee (.) helpline" (line 3). By specifying the

referent of "us", the speaker attributes the reason of the lack of response to the ambiguity of the reference

form. At the same time, the speaker provides another slot for the recipient to provide a response.

Therefore, repair can be used by speakers as a way to pursue a response covertly.

Speakers can also pursue a response in an institutional setting. Antaki (2002) analyzed 'service audit' interviews between care staff and people with learning disabilities and found that interviewers added an insertion after inadequate responses provided by the interviewees. Interviewers provided a personalized context to the initial question, which helped the interviewees to readily accept the context of the question After this, interviewers asked a revised question to pursue a response. The following excerpt demonstrates how the interviewer pursues a preferred response after an inadequate response to the initial question. In the excerpt, Jim, the interviewer, is asking Derek, the interviewee, what he would say if the care team asked Derek to do something he does not want to do (lines 4-5). The answer Jim wants to hear from Derek is that he would "say no". However, Derek answers with "I wouldn't say no I say yeah" (line 7).

Excerpt (43) Antaki, 2002, p.414

1	J	So we we give you ideas. do[n't we ask you um?	
2	D	[Hh yeah::	
3		(1.2)	
4	J	But what if you didn't want to. (.) do something	
5		↑we sugg↑ested <°what would ↑you say?°>	*original question*
6		(0.8)	
7	D	I I wouldn't say ↑no:: (.) I say ↑ye::ah::	*response*
8		(0.7)	*receipt withheld*
9	J	But if you didn't <want to go> [say I said	*insertion begins*
10	D	[(no)	
11	J	ohh let's go to::	
12		(1.0)	
13	J	let's go to Paris.	
14		(0.4)	
15	D	Ye↑ah:=	
16	J	=and have breakfast.	*insertion completed*
17		(1.2)	
18	J	What (.) [what	*revised question*
19	D	[(and I::=)	
20	J	=what would you say if I said that to you.=	

When Jim's original question in lines 4-5 is met with an inadequate response (line 7), Jim withholds response receipt (the pause in lines 8), and starts an insertion. In this insertion (lines 9-17), Jim embarks

on a hypothetical scenario which is closely related to Derek's own life. This seems to help Derek to better

relate to the content of the original question (i.e., doing something the care team suggested, which he does

not want to do). Then, Jim reissues the question which is now grounded in the new scenario. Even though

the original question and the revised question seem to ask something similar, the second question is more

limited, since it is grounded in the inserted scenario.

I found that teachers in writing conferences often add an elaboration after the student's claim of

insufficient knowledge. This elaboration helps the student to provide a response, functioning similarly to

the insertion described above. Teachers' use of elaboration and follow-up questions after students' claims

of insufficient knowledge will be introduced in the analysis section. Before the actual analysis, teachers'

third turns will be briefly discussed in the next section, since the turn in which the teachers manage

students' insufficient knowledge claims is the third turn after a teacher initiation.

5.1.3. Teacher's third turns

The teachers' turns providing feedback after students' responses are traditionally called the third

turns in the pedagogical literature. Since the turns in which the teachers respond to students' no-

knowledge-claims can also be categorized as third turns, relevant studies on teachers' third turns will be

summarized in this section.

The most well-known study of teachers' third turns was done by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975),

who identified the three-turn sequence in classroom interaction. Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) named this

sequence an IRF sequence, which stands for initiation, response and follow-up. Mehan (1979) also

identified this sequence which begins with a teacher's "known-answer" question and named it slightly

differently, as an IRE sequence[24]. This stands for initiation, response, and evaluation. Further studies

investigated what happens in the third turn, analyzing how teachers react to the students' response

(Barnes, 1992; Carlsen,1991; Cazden, 1986; Lee, 2007; Nassaji and Wells, 2000). Among these studies,

Lee (2007) is most closely related to the current chapter in that it focused on the "contingencies and

---

[24] This sequence is also often referred to as the "triadic dialogue" (Lemke, 1990).

practical accomplishments enacted in the third turn positions" (Lee, 2007, p.1206). Lee (2007)

emphasized that although coding and categorizing teachers' third turns "[allow] researchers to represent

diverse cases of third turn position in a functionally stable and analytically predictable manner" (p.1208),

the abstract categories may obscure the complex and diverse nature of the teachers' third turns. As a result,

Lee (2007) suggests analyzing the contingent context of teachers' third turns and how the teachers locally

manage the contingencies. The following quote from Lee (2007) further explains this view.

> The analytic objective in this alternative view is then to trace back the participants' interpretive undertaking of their own discourse and thus to bring out their orientation, because the participants ''furnish each other with instructions for discovering the sense and interactive implications of their talk'' (Lee, 1991:217). The local exigencies that surround the third turn, therefore, help us to see that classroom interactions become orderly, reliable and thus stable, not in the regularities of conceptual categories, but through the competent work of understanding by the teachers and their students who make sense of and act on each and every turn in the course of their interaction. It is in this dealing with interactional contingencies we find the practical life of classroom teaching and learning and their action and activities. (p.1210)

Following this view, this chapter will focus on the contingent context of the teachers' third turns that

respond to students' claims of insufficient knowledge. I will present exhibits of how this is done, which

demonstrates how teachers locally manage the students' insufficient knowledge claims.

5.2. Teachers' management of students' claims of insufficient knowledge in writing conferences

The teachers in one-on-one writing conferences deal with students' insufficient knowledge claims

by asking follow-up questions or providing explanations instead of allocating the turn to other students.

Teachers seem to ask follow-up questions to pursue a response from the student who produced the

insufficient knowledge claim, or they provide an explanation when a response pursuit seems to be

impossible or difficult. How the teachers make use of each of these tools and the context in which the

teachers use these tools will be analyzed in detail in the following sections.

5.2.1. Asking follow-up questions

One way teachers deal with students' insufficient knowledge claims is to pursue a response by asking students follow-up questions. After the student fails to answer the teacher's original question and claims insufficient knowledge, the teacher can produce a follow-up question which provides additional hints and another opportunity for the student to respond. Asking follow-up questions is an example of sequence-organizational resources, among the three response pursuit resources introduced in Bolden, Mandelbaum & Wilkinson (2012). This is because the teachers ask follow-up questions as a separate turn after the students' inadequate response (i.e, insufficient knowledge claim). Asking follow-up questions also seems to be a way to pursue responses in an overt way, exposing the students' inadequate response as a problem.

The following analysis reveals that the teachers' choice to ask a follow-up question after the students' insufficient knowledge claim is contingent upon the context in which the insufficient knowledge claim is made. Various factors such as the teacher's expectation for the student's ability to answer the question and the nature of the question seem to determine the teachers' decision to use follow-up questions after students' claims of insufficient knowledge. For example, the teacher asks a follow-up question when the teacher expects the student to be able to provide an answer after being given hints, since the original question deals with an issue that has been explained previously (as in extract (35)). The teacher also asks a follow-up question when the teacher's original question asks about the student's own arguments presented in his essay (as in extract (36)). In both cases, the original question deals with something that the teacher expects to be in the student's epistemic domain. In addition, the follow-up questions are usually produced in a form that is easier to be answered by the student, and the teacher provides additional hints with the follow-up question. Therefore, these follow-up questions help the students to eventually provide a response.

The following excerpt is from a writing conference between TC and SD. They are discussing SD's essay on Charles de Gaulle's leadership. TC focuses on the issue of organizing relevant ideas

together in the same paragraph. In one paragraph of his essay, SD presents why he thinks de Gaulle is a good leader and in the next paragraph, he introduces two different types of leadership mentioned by Zaleznik. The following figure shows the two paragraphs from SD's draft, which TC and SD are looking at during this extract. The draft also shows TC's comments written on the side.
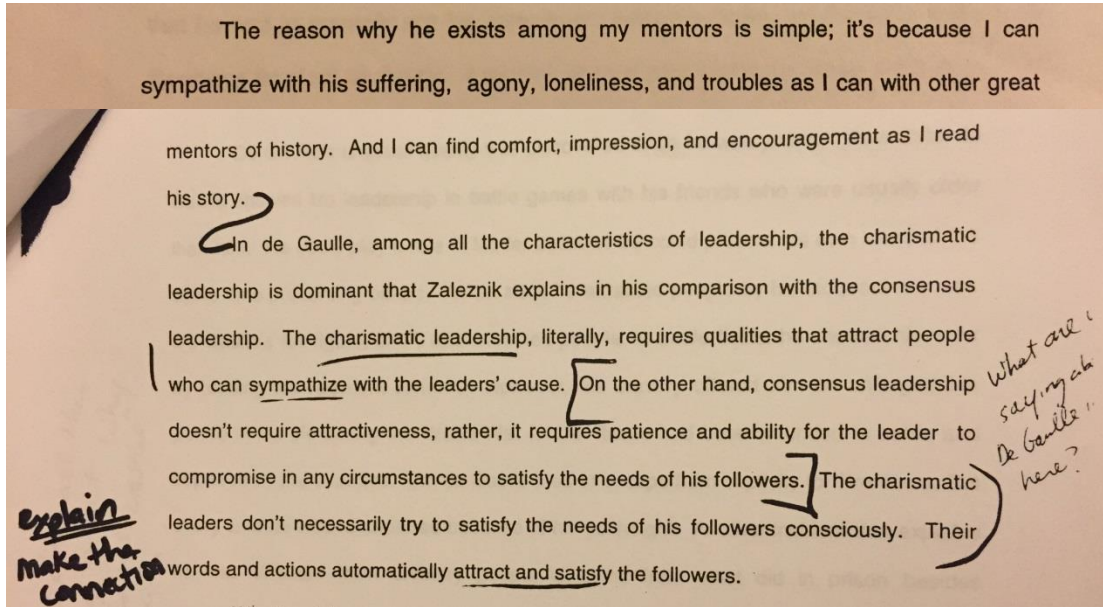

Figure 6: Excerpt from SD's essay

TC focuses on the issue of synthesizing SD's own idea of de Gaulle's leadership with the ideas of Zaleznik mentioned in the next paragraph. Before this excerpt, TC explains how SD's idea of de Gaulle's leadership is related to Zaleznik's idea. There is also a side sequence on deleting the irrelevant portion of SD's essay where SD talks about consensus leadership. This irrelevant portion of SD's essay is marked with brackets in the figure above. After this side sequence, TC comes back to the main problem in this portion of SD's essay and explains the concept of synthesis in writing. The following excerpt begins after TC's explanation of what synthesis is.

(43) TC & SD

```
1    TC:    I'm saying (0.5) w- (0.5) which
2            [parts are relevant to each other.
3            [((TC clasps her hands together))
4            so you bring- (0.2)
5            when- when you bring in something that
6            Zaleznik said about leadership, .h and you
7            have this thing right next to it that talks
8            about (1.0) your own: (0.5) connection with
9            de Gaulle.
10           (0.5)
11Q1         ya know (0.8) does one: relate to the ↑other.
12           (0.2)
13   SD:     [(m)
14Q1 TC:     [and how.
15           (4.2)
16CIKSD:     [I don know.(hh huh)
17            [((slightly shaking heads))
18Q2 TC:    you don know so wul what about this:
19           charismatic leadership
20           [thing. do you think it relates to what
21           [((underlines "charismatic leadership" in
22          paper))
23           you've just said before?=
24   SD:     =yeah?
25           (0.5)
26           but not (.) consensus,
27           (0.8)
28   TC:     ok. consensus (0.5) not really.=right?=
29   SD:     =ye[ah
```

In lines 1-3, TC uses a hand gesture to explain that the main issue of this problematic portion of

SD's essay is how the different elements in the essay are related to each other, or synthesized. TC starts to

add an explanation in line 4, but she cuts it off, and self-repairs the clause "so you bring" to the beginning

of a subordinate clause, "when you bring." This clause describes what SD has done in the problematic

portion of the essay (lines 5-9). TC indicates that SD included ideas from an author, Zaleznik, right after

he talks about his interpretation of these ideas in relation to de Gaulle. TC then asks SD if the two are

related to each other ("does one: relate to the ↑other"), line 11. After a short pause (line 12), TC adds

another question asking how the two are related ("and how" in line 14). Whereas the first question in line

11 is a rather simple yes-no question, the second question in line 14 asks for a more complex answer.

After a long pause (line 15), SD claims no knowledge by saying "I don know" and shaking head (lines 16-17).

TC responds to this no-knowledge claim first by an acknowledgment ("you don know"). This acknowledgement has been also commonly found in classroom settings after students' no-knowledge claims (Sert & Walsh, 2013)[25]. TC continues her turn by producing another question (lines 18-22). TC provides this question as a follow-up question for the first set of questions she produced in lines 11 and 14. "So wul what about" in line 18 marks this question as a follow-up question since "so" explicitly marks the new question to be responsive to SD's no-knowledge claim in the prior turn (Schiffrin, 1987). This follow-up question is designed to be easier for the student to answer in several ways. First, the subject of the follow-up question is more specific than the original question, and the subject is emphasized with a topicalized structure. TC presents the follow-up question in a topicalized structure, starting the question with the subject ("what about this charismatic leadership thing" in lines 18-19). With this topicalized structure, TC emphasizes what has been changed from the previous question, which is the subject. The subject of the follow-up question, "charismatic leadership," is more specific and concrete than the subject of the first question, "something that Zaleznik said about leadership." Also, "what you've just said before" in the follow-up question points at an exact portion of SD's essay, whereas "your own connection with de Gaulle" is a little vague. In addition, the follow-up question is a yes-no question without a following wh-question, so the student only needs to respond with either "yes" or "no".

To this follow-up question, SD provides an answer right away, although with uncertainty as shown with the rising intonation. After this, a short pause (line 25) follows and SD adds that consensus leadership is not relevant to his ideas written in his essay. Here, SD seems to be referring back to the side sequence that occurred prior to this extract where TC gave advice to delete a sentence about "consensus leadership" which is irrelevant to the main idea of the paragraph. TC acknowledges SD's comment in line 28.

---

[25] See Figure 5 above.

In this extract, the teacher asks a follow-up question to deal with the student's no knowledge claim, showing that the teacher expects the student to be able to provide a response when additional hints are provided. The question in this extract dealt with the concept of synthesis, which had been explained before the teacher asked the original question. In other words, the question asked for something that is expected to be in the student's knowledge domain. This seems to be the reason why the teacher asks a follow-up question after the student's no-knowledge-claim, which is designed to be easier for the student to answer and provide additional hints to the student.

The following excerpt also demonstrates how the teacher deals with the student's no-knowledge claim by asking a follow-up question and providing hints about the answer. In this excerpt, the original question is related to the student's argument in his essay, so the teacher seems to expect that the student will be able to provide an answer once additional hints are provided. The excerpt is from a writing conference between TJ and ST. They are discussing ST's essay on bystander apathy. Here, TJ gives advice on including more information in ST's thesis statement and conclusion. Specifically, TJ suggests that ST should include a discussion on who might be responsible for educating people on morality, since education is suggested by ST in his essay as one way a sense of morality can be developed. In lines 1-4, TJ starts to read aloud the last sentence of ST's essay.

(44) TJ & ST

```
1    TJ:    "it is necessary to educate people to have
2           a certain level of humanity. (0.5) in order
3           to reduce tragedy, such as genovese's and
4           levick's".
5    ST:    °mm [hmm.°
6    TJ:        [>the question when I read this<
7           education (0.2) which is: (0.2) what you're
8           talking about here.
9    ST:    °mm hmm°=
10   TJ:    =education, the church, social activities,
11 Q1  (1.0) who will do this.
12          (0.5)
13   ST:    tch okay, th- u- actually [(it's)/(that's) a
14                                     [((static))
```

```
15            very (0.2) good (0.2) question.
16    TJ:     mm hmm,[ (mm hmm)
17CIKST:             [and uh I don't (0.5) I don't
18            [(                  not) means uh .h
19            [((static from mic))
20            (doing)/(very) clear (0.5) answ[ers.
21    TJ:                                    [.hhh well,
22    ST:     mgh m[gh
23    TJ:          [the problem is (.) uh (3.0) trajedy
24            (.) such as genovese's and levick's (0.2)
25            exist today.
26    ST:     m[m hmm
27    TJ:      [they exist. .h so whatever (0.2)
28            education, the church, an social activities
29            (.) are currently doing,
30    ST:     mm hmm,
31    TJ:     is not sufficient.
32            (0.2)
33    ST:     yes.
34    TJ:     .h now we have other people to look to.
35            within the paper.
36            (.)
37            [right?
38    ST:     [mm hmm
39            (.)
40    TJ:     sociologists.
41    ST:     mm hmm.
42            (0.5)
43Q2 TJ:      s:should sociologists? (0.5) be responsible
44            for educating those people?
45            (0.5)
46    ST:     no: I don't think so.
47    TJ:     [(          need to) talk about it.
48            [((static from mic))

      ((Lines eliminated where TJ explains why ST should include the
      answer to his question in his essay and describes what
      sociologists do))

189   TJ:     .hhh they describe the problem. an they
190           describe hh (0.5) uh: explanations for the
191           problem.
192   ST:     (mm [hmm)
193   TJ:         [but they never really offer (0.8) uh:
194           (0.2) a solution.
195   ST:     [(    )
196   TJ:     [an they never actually come right straight
197           out an say (0.2) this is bad.
```

```
198           (1.5)
199   TJ:     should they?
200           (2.0)
201   TJ:     an thereby (0.2) educate people to have a
202           certain level of humanity?
203           (2.5)
204   ST:     tch (.) u:m (.) ((cough)) (0.2) tch I think
205           a:s research- researchers in the field of
206           sociology they don't have to, .hh but i-
207           (0.2) as a member of society, (0.2) I think
208           they should.
209           (0.5)
210   TJ:     good answer.
211           (0.8)
212   TJ:     is that here yet?
213           (1.5)
214   SH:     excuse me?
215   TJ:     is that- what you just said?
216   SH:     uh [huh,
217   TJ:        [is an excellent answer.
218   SH:     uh huh.
219           [(          here yet)?
220           [((static))
221   SH:     no: I don't think [so.
222   TJ:                       [mm. it should be,
223           (.)
224   TJ:     I think it would make a great ending.
225   SH:     tch okay. h
```

After TJ reads aloud the last sentence of ST's essay (lines 1-4), he adds a question regarding this sentence in lines 6-8 and 10-11. In lines 6-7 ("the question when I read this education"), TJ explicitly connects his question to the sentence he has just read and points out the topic of that sentence, which is "education". Then TJ produces a question asking who is responsible for educating people, and gives several options including "[the] education [system]," "the church" and "social activities" (lines 10-11). A short pause follows the question, and in line 13, rather than answering the question, ST acknowledges it with "okay" and produces a positive assessment of the question by saying that it is a "very good question" (line 15). By producing an assessment of the question, ST seems to be displaying his epistemic primacy over the content of the question. ST is claiming that he has the right to evaluate the content of the question, which is closely related to the content of the paper he wrote. TJ receipts this in line 16, and in lines 17-20, ST

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states that he does not have a clear answer to the question. This no-knowledge claim is produced in a dispreferred way, with hedges ("uh" in lines 17, 18), pauses (lines 17, 20), and mitigation ("I don't … (very) clear answers").

After ST produces the no-knowledge claim, TJ starts to elaborate on his original question. TJ starts this elaboration with a hedging word "well" (line 21) and provides more background information regarding the original question. TJ explains that tragedies mentioned in the problematic portion of ST's essay (as read in lines 3-4) remain in the society (lines 23-25). In line 27, TJ emphasizes the fact that tragedies exist and connects this fact to the problem that the current organizations are not doing a good job in preventing the tragedies (lines 27-29, 31). TJ, then, is ruling out all of the options he gave in the original question ("education, the church, social activities" in line 28). Now TJ suggests a new direction and starts to introduce an alternative (lines 34-35). TJ seems to intentionally use a placeholder ("other people" in line 34), trying to elicit its referent from the student. TJ adds a hint at the end of his turn, suggesting that this alternative he is about to introduce was actually mentioned in the student's own paper. However, ST does not provide the referent (line 36), and TJ prompts the student once more by asking for confirmation ("right?" in line 37). This question, however, is designed to elicit an agreement or confirmation of the whole statement in lines 34-35, rather than eliciting the referent for the placeholder. ST thus answers by confirming, and still does not provide the referent. In line 40, TJ provides the referent himself ("sociologists"). ST receipts this in line 41, and when ST does not continue to speak (pause in line 42), TJ provides the follow-up question to his original question in line 43, specifying the referent as "sociologists." TJ asks whether sociologists, the newly introduced option, are responsible for educating people or not. Compared to the original wh-question ("who will do this"), this follow-up question is designed to be easier to answer. The follow-up question introduces only one candidate whereas the original question presented three options. Furthermore, all three options presented in the original question are rejected by the teacher in lines 27-29, 31 ("whatever education, the church, an[d] social activities are currently doing is not sufficient.") and "sociologists" is presented by the teacher as an alternative option

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in line 40. This makes the follow-up question easier to answer since the teacher is guiding the student to accept the new option, "sociologists". The teacher introduces this new option in the elaboration inserted between the original question and the follow-up question (lines 21-41). This is similar to what the interviewer does in the data analyzed in Antaki (2002). The interviewer inserts an elaboration between the original question and the revised question so that the interviewee better relates to the context of the original question and provides the appropriate response. The teacher in the above excerpt also inserted an elaboration to explain the context of the original question and introduced a new option so that the student would be better able to provide the response the teacher prefers. This follow-up question also helps the teacher to fulfill the pedagogical goal of this extract in the writing conference, which is to give advice to the student to include more information in his conclusion about the issue of where the sense of morality comes from and who is responsible for educating people. By asking this follow-up question with one candidate, "sociologists," the teacher seems to be suggesting "sociologists" to be a valid option for the student to consider.

After a short pause (line 45), however, the student does not accept this candidate (line 46). TJ seems to accept this answer in line 47, but since his intent of introducing sociologists as a candidate answer was not accepted, TJ adds more explanation. He first explains why ST should include the answer to his question in his essay and justifies "sociologists" as a good candidate by explaining what sociologists do (lines 49-188, not included). In lines 189-197, he continues describing what sociologists do and do not do. Then, TJ once more asks the same follow-up question (lines 199, 201-202), and this time, ST produces a satisfactory answer in lines 204-208, and TJ accepts and compliments this response. Lastly, TJ gives advice and suggests that ST should include what he had just said in his essay.

In this excerpt, the teacher deals with the student's no-knowledge-claim by providing more background information and asking a follow-up question. In the follow-up question, the teacher provides an alternative option (i.e., sociologists), which is different from the options of the original question (i.e., education, church, and social activities). The teacher encourages the student to consider the new option

and guides the student to this new direction. The teacher seems to have chosen to ask a follow-up question since the issue is related to the content of the student's paper, which is not only in the student's epistemic domain, but for which the student also has responsibility as the author. Furthermore, the question is related to the student's argument, so it would be impossible for the teacher to make a decision and provide an answer, without the student accepting the decision[26]. Similarly to the prior excerpt, the teacher's expectation for the answer to be in the student's knowledge domain and the student to be able to provide an answer has prompted the teacher to ask follow-up questions and provide hints and therefore give another opportunity for the student to provide an answer.

5.2.2. Explanations

Unlike the extracts above, there are certain situations where the teacher does not ask the student a follow-up question after the student claims no knowledge. In these situations, it is unlikely that the teacher expects the student to be able to provide an answer even after hints are provided. In these cases, the teacher employs various tools to give explanations to the students, including using metaphors, using nonverbal language, or explaining general facts.

In the following extract, TT and SR are talking about SR's essay on Hitler's leadership. Before this excerpt, the teacher asks the student to talk about any concerns the student has regarding his own paper, other than the comments the student had already written down on the paper. SR starts to answer this question in line 1.

(45) TT & SR

```
1     SR:     like (0.2) in (0.2) in the conclusion
2             (    [  )
3     TT:        [mm hmm,
```

---

[26] In this excerpt, the teacher seems to be urging the student to accept his own answer by providing only one option. However, the teacher presents this option by asking a follow-up question, and asking for confirmation, rather than presenting it outright as a definitive answer.

```
4            (0.2)
5    SR:     the- d- (0.5) a- (0.8) >I dunno< I jus'
6            like to know that (0.8) a- cuz' (2.2) I I'm
7            not I wa- I:(h) wasn't (0.5) I(h) (1.5)
8            have not really bee:n like (.) a <great
9            conclusion writer so>
10   TT:     (.hh[h)          hh hh
11   SR:         [I (have) I'm having problem w(h)ith
12           hh hh (reading/really) conclusion of m(h)y
13           ess(h)ay.
14           (0.8)
15           °so.°
16           (1.0)
17   SR:     the idea is to (0.5) bottom line your essay
18           an to
19   TT:     mm hm[m,
20   SR:          [>like< (.) draw the (0.2) main points
21   TT:     righ[t.
22   SR:         [ye[ah.
23   TT:            [which you've done. I think that
24           you've done.
25   SR:     okay the (.) yeah.
26   TT:     righ[t. but there's also  [right.
27   SR:         [but I I think so too [but
28   TT:     then there's the other element.
29           (0.2)
30 Q TT:     wha- what do you feel is the
31           missing element. you do bottom line
32           it but [(.h) do you think there's something=
33   SR:            [yeah that-
34   TT:     =else that (.) conclusions need that (0.5)
35           you aren't able to provide. right now.
36           (0.8)
37 CIK SR:   °that's what I was gonna ask. I don't know.°
38           hh [.hh
39   TT:        [hmm. tch yeah I think it's like putting
40           a bow on a package.
41           (0.2) ((looking at SR))
42   TT:     you know,
43           (0.2)
44   TT:     it's or (.) wrapping paper on a package.
45           (.h) the contents can be nice, but (.h) if
46           it's in a nice package, then it's
47            [also
48            [((looking at SR))
49   SR:     mm hmm
50   TT:     nice you know.=an I think that's kind of
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```
51        the en:d (0.2) part. you wanna leave people
52        (0.8) with (0.2) a sense of what the
53        paper's been about but (0.2) also (0.5)
54        kind of a sense of (0.5) so what.
55        (1.0) ((TT looking at SR))
56   TT:  you know, s- s:o (0.2) so what. now I
57        understand (0.2) something about hitler.
58        (0.2)
59   TT:  an an how he: (0.2) he got to be: (1.5)
60        you know this h- I mean he was a horrible
61        guy:. (.h) but [how h- how he ma:naged (0.2)
62                       [((looking at SR))
63        despite his horrib[le
64   SR:                    [horrible.
65        (0.2)
66   TT:  guyness that.
67   SR:  hh [hh
68   TT:     [ta get (.) ya know (.) ta get to the
69        place that he got and to lead all these
70        people right, so now we know that. (.h)
71        (0.2) so: so what.
72        (1.0) ((TT looking at SR))
73   TT:  I think these are harder. this: this kinda
74        conclusion is harder to write because it's
75        an explanation.  you're not coming out of
76        this really strong argument that you've
77        made.=you don't have (.hh)[   this argument=
78   SR:                            [mm hmm
79   TT:  =ta (.) propel you.
80        (5.0)
81   TT:  so maybe the place to go is to think about
82        what you learned. from writing the paper.
83        (0.5)
84   TT:  that you think (0.5) is an important lesson
85        to know from the (.hh) analysis you've done.
86        (2.0)
87   SR:  (w- w-) (0.5) (.hh) *u:* ((*creak)) (1.2)
88   TT:  I'm [not ex-
89   SR:      [u: (I don't)
90   TT:  I'm [not
91   SR:      [(see a-) hh [hh
92   TT:                   [ya don't see any th-
93        a[ny gray
94   SR:   [(.hh) hh hh (hh)I d(h)on't hh s(h)ee
95        (h)any
96   TT:  you don't see an[y. okay,
97   SR:                  [hh hh (.hh) hh
98   TT:  okay,
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99   TT:    (.hh) well maybe you should just go home
100         an think about it.
101         (0.2)
102  TT:    I'm not asking you to p- pull rabbits out
103         of hats, you [know, you can't do] that.=
```

In line 1, SR responds to the teacher's question and starts to describe his concern about the conclusion. In lines 5-9, the student elaborates on this. SR first starts to formulate a request for information ("I jus' like to know that" in lines 5-6), but cuts off before the object. The cut-offs ("the- d- " "a-"), pauses, and "I don't know" (in line 5) which take place before this request, and the fact that the request is cut off before the object is mentioned suggest that the student is having trouble formulating what the exact problem is. After explaining that he has not been good at conclusions (lines 6-9), SR just vaguely states that the problem is about the conclusion (lines 11-13). Although ST does not directly produce a no knowledge claim yet, he is claiming a [K-] status on this issue of writing conclusions by stating it as his concern. When the teacher does not respond (line 14), SR produces the token "so" which is used to project the upshot of the prior talk (Raymond, 2004). The upshot does not immediately follow (silence in line 16), and the student seems to be waiting for the teacher to produce the upshot by identifying the problem of his conclusion and giving advice. However, the teacher does not respond, and SR himself attempts to characterize what conclusions should include (lines 17-18, 20). To this, TT responds with a confirmation ("right" in line 21) and points out that what SR just provided as characteristics of a good conclusion was actually done by SR (lines 23-24). In the sentence "I think that you've done", TT emphasizes the referential word "that" with a contrastive stress and conveys that there might be something else missing from the student's conclusion. TT makes this explicit in line 26, by a contrastive marker "but" and continuing with the phrase "there's also". In line 28, TT states that there is another element of a good conclusion. Instead of providing what that other element is, TT produces a question asking SR what it is (lines 30-31). This question is the first pair part of the sequence including student's no-knowledge-claim. In lines 31-35, TT rephrases the question, explaining what she means by "missing element". First, by recycling SR's words in line 17, TT states that SR includes the "bottom line" in his conclusion. Then, TT

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asks SR what he thinks is missing from his conclusion. Although this question is grammatically presented in a yes/no question format ("do you think there's something else that (.) conclusions need that (0.5) you aren't able to provide right now"), it actually serves as a wh-question with a similar meaning as the question in lines 30-31, "what do you feel is the missing element." After a pause (line 36), SR responds to this question by claiming insufficient knowledge[27]. SR first states that he was going to ask the same question ("that's what I was gonna ask" in line 37). This seems to be due to the fact that the topic of conclusion was brought up earlier by the student himself (line 1). This statement in line 37 also serves as a justification for claiming insufficient knowledge that follows right after this statement.

To this no knowledge claim, the teacher gives an explanation in various ways, which includes using an analogy, explaining the concept in general, and connecting the general concept to the student's essay. The teacher seems to provide explanations, rather than asking a follow-up question, because the student explicitly states that the answer to the question is not in his knowledge domain right before he claims no knowledge ("that's what I was gonna ask" in line 37). In fact, it was the student who brought up the issue of writing conclusions earlier (in line 1) before the teacher asks the question. TT first uses an analogy to explain what a good conclusion is, comparing it to "putting a bow on a package" (lines 39-50). Then, TT moves on to relate this analogy to what a good conclusion should do in general (lines 50-54). When the student does not provide any response to this (line 55), the teacher shows how her explanation of good conclusions can be applied to SR's conclusion (lines 56-63, 66, 68-71). After this explanation, TT comments on the difficulty of the task (lines 73-79) and gives advice to the student to think about what he learned while writing the paper (line 81-85). Here, TT seems to emphasize that her original question in lines 30-35 was a difficult question to answer, making it clear that she is not blaming the

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[27] This no-knowledge-claim could also be interpreted as some sort of a challenge, similarly to Markee's (2004) analysis. As shown in the excerpt earlier, a student in Markee's (2004) data claim insufficient knowledge after the teacher's counter question. This no-knowledge-claim serves as the student's challenge to the teacher, as he was the one who asked the question in the first place. Although the setting here is a little different from Markee's (2004) data, as this extract is from a one-on-one conference and not from a classroom data, what the student does with the no-knowledge-claim seems to be similar. The student in this extract also seems to argue that he was the one who brought up the topic in the first place.

student for not providing the answer right away. TT comments on the difficulty of the task (lines 73-79), states that she is not expecting an immediate answer (lines 102-103), and gives advice to think about the answer at home (lines 99-100).

This extract shows how a teacher deals with the student's no-knowledge claim by giving explanations and advice, not asking follow-up questions. This seems to be because the student makes it clear that he has no access to the knowledge domain. The student produces the statement "that's what I was gonna ask" right before the no-knowledge-claim, making it clear that he has no access to the answer to the teacher's question. Also, the issue related to the teacher's original question is how to write a good conclusion, which is a general concept that cannot be discovered in the student's text. It is difficult for the teacher to point at a specific part of the student's essay to provide hints and elicit the answer from the student. Therefore, the teacher provides an explanation so that the student can think about the answer. The teacher first starts with providing an analogy, then provides a general explanation and connects this general explanation to the student's essay. When the student still does not provide the answer, the teacher gives advice to think about the answer after the conference. Although the teacher asks questions (i.e., "so what" in line 71) after she provides an explanation, these questions are different from follow-up questions in the prior excerpts. While the follow-up questions were used to give hints and elicit answer to the original questions in the prior excerpts, the questions in this excerpt are produced after explanations have been already provided by the teacher. By asking these questions, the teacher seems to prompt the student to apply the general explanation, which has just been provided by the teacher, to the student's own essay.

The next extract also demonstrates how the teacher manages the student's insufficient knowledge claim by using various tools other than a follow-up question. The teacher, TB, and the student, SD, are discussing SD's summary-critique paper of a journal article on the side effects of Aspartame, a type of artificial sweetener. They are going over TB's comments on SD's essay which TB had made before the writing conference took place. In the following excerpt, TB focuses on a word choice problem, specifically the incorrect usage of the verb "reveal."

(46) TBSD_20131108 3:21

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1      TB:    .hh ↑here I don't- °everyone is doing this.
2             It's very interesting.° Okay. "As revealed
3             by the research (.) population" (1.0) °you have
4             these random gaps.° u::::m (2.5) .hh
5             "the population (1.7) ((typing)) with mood
6             disorders are sensitive to artificial
7             sweeteners." (.) To THIS artificial sweetener.
8             =Not all of them.
9      SD:    °mm°
10     TB:    They only tested one. .hhh I have a problem
11            with this sentence because-
12 Q          >why do you think I have a problem with
13            this sentence<
14            [(4.0)
15            [((TB drinks water))
16            [((SD puts his hand on his forehead,
17            looking at his essay displayed on screen))
18     SD:    °°ehm:::::((creeky voice)) (1.5)
19 CIK I- I don't know,°°
20     TB:    [I don't know?    [.hhh
21            [((looking at SD))[((breaking eye gaze))
22     SD:    °(I mean-)°
23     TB:    Here's the problem that I have with
24            the sentence.=and think about this.
25            When you say this (0.8) it means
26            that you a hundred percent agree
27            with what they clai::[m
28     SD:                        [Oh.
29     TB:    the research did.
30     SD:    okay
31     TB:    alright? Um:: and- it's not a fact.
32            They are [arguing something.
33                    [((TB makes a fist then spreads
34            three fingers out))
35     SD:    But I said ["as revealed" in this.
36                      [((pointing at the screen))
37     TB:    .hh [rev-
38     SD:       [so the- the research is:: to-
39     TB:    .ts [°everybody did that.°
40     SD:       [um to (state that).
41            (2.3) ((TB typing))
42     TB:    The problem with using revealed, or like (.)
43            <Re[veal,
44     SD:       [(rev-)
45     TB:    show, explain::>
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46    SD:   like a fact.
47    TB:   exactly.
48    SD:   okay.
49    TB:   Exact[ly.
50    SD:        [((SD nodding))
51    TB:   And- I know it seems really weird
52          everybody did that. Um:: and I can't find
53          a good way to explain it Humh but (.) we
54          use that language [(0.3)
55                            [((thumping the desk
56                               2 times))
57          when they are [explaining a [fact.=
58    SD:                 [((nodding))  [okay.
59    TB:   =Right? Einstein revealed MC square.
60          (.)
61    SD:   [uh huh,
62    TB:   [Right? Or he showed or he explained it.
63          But here, we want to make sure that
64          (.) the reader knows that it's not a
65          fact.=it's just what they're arguing.
66    SD:   um hm,
67    TB:   so, um:: claimed, argued, all of those
68          will show you (0.7) um:: (0.7)
69          "as claimed by the research" (1.0) .hh
70          so I would even reword this.
71          I would do it backwards. The research
72          [claimed (0.3)
73          [((TB nodding))
74    SD:   okay.
75    TB:   this.
76    SD:   okay.
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As described in chapter 3, it is typical for the teacher to first read aloud the problematic portion of the student's essay. In this excerpt, the teacher also reads aloud the problematic portion of SD's essay, but adds a comment before that. In line 1, after pointing at the problematic portion of SD's essay by the use of a referential pronoun, "here", TB inserts a comment that all of the students' essays seem to have a common problem. Then, she transitions into the main activity, which is signaled by "okay" (Beach, 1993). TB reads aloud the problematic portion, and while she reads it, she corrects a formatting error. She does this by inserting a comment ("you have these random gaps" in lines 3-4) and correcting the error on the computer herself (line 5). She then corrects another problem by adding the corrected phrase with

emphasis on the changed words ("to THIS artificial sweetener" in line 7). She adds an explanation in lines 8 and 10 that the research is on one type of artificial sweetener, and not on all artificial sweeteners. Then in line 10, TB starts to deal with the main problem of the problematic portion of SD's essay. TB indicates that she has a problem with the sentence, but cuts off her turn constructional unit after "because-", stopping right before she provides the specific details of the problem. In lines 12-13, instead of explaining what the problem is, TB asks the student why he thinks the teacher has a problem with this portion of SD's essay[28]. This question, "why do you think I have a problem with this sentence," is the first pair part of the sequence I am focusing on in this excerpt. After looking at his essay, SD responds by claiming no knowledge ("I- I don't know" in line 19). This is done in a dispreferred way, evidenced by the long pause before the turn (line 14), the hedge ("ehm" in line 18), the pause within the turn (line 18) and the quiet voice.

After SD's no-knowledge-claim, TB asks for confirmation in the next turn (("I don't know?" in line 20), exactly repeating SD's insufficient knowledge claim with rising intonation.[29] SD starts to respond, but cuts off as TB speaks. From line 23, TB deals with the student's no-knowledge-claim by providing the answer herself, with explanations and synonyms. TB guides SD to the answer step by step. First, in lines 25-27, TB provides her understanding of the sentence and therefore implying that the student's intended meaning and the actual meaning conveyed by the sentence might be different. To this, SD responds with a change-of-state token, "oh" (Heritage, 1984a), marking that he did not know that fact before. Then in lines 31-34, TB adds an explanation that the authors of the Aspartame paper are presenting an argument, not a fact in their paper. SD defends himself by saying he included the phrase "as revealed" in the sentence (line 35). This shows that the student does not yet understand his misuse of the verb "reveal," as he thinks that the verb carries the meaning of presenting an argument rather than a fact. Finally in lines 42-43, TB points out the problem with using the verb "revealed" and continues to

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[28] This seems to support the preference for elicitation over informing in pedagogical talk in North-American culture (Scollon & Scollon, 1981; Koshik, 2002).

[29] This is a slightly different form of a more common way teachers ask for confirmation after students' claims of insufficient knowledge claims, "you don't know? (Sert, 2011).

provide synonyms of "reveal". To this, SD demonstrates his access to the meaning of the word "reveal" (in line 46), and this is acknowledged by TB with a positive feedback "exactly" (in lines 47, 49). SD finally seems to understand the problem with using the word "reveal" in this context. In lines 51-53, after repeating the fact that a lot of the students have made the same mistake, TB admits that it is difficult to explain why using the word "reveal" is inappropriate. In line 54, she resorts to her authority as a native speaker, and claims that the word "reveal" is only used to explain a fact. TB uses "we" (line 53) to refer to native speakers of English, emphasizing her membership as a native speaker. She adds an example sentence using the verb "reveal" to further show the context in which the word is used. Then, in lines 63-65, TB contrasts this context with the context in SD's essay, highlighting the inaccurate usage of the word in SD's essay. SD receipts this (line 66) and in the next turn, TB provides a solution to the problem and suggests alternative words which could be used in the context instead of "reveal". She substitutes the appropriate word in the context used in SD's essay, and adds one more piece of advice to change the voice of the sentence to active voice.

In this excerpt, when the student claims no knowledge after the teacher's question, the teacher provides a detailed explanation providing examples and synonyms. The original question asks for what the teacher thinks the problem is, which deals with the connotative meaning of the word "reveal" used in academic writing. In providing an explanation rather than hints that continue to pursue a response from the student, the teacher does not display an expectation that the student would be able to provide an answer with additional hints. Also, it is inefficient to provide hints and elicit the connotation of a word when the student does not have the knowledge of it. This seems to prompt the teacher to give the answer herself and not ask another question to the student. When she provides the answer, however, she continuously tries to invite the student to think about the problem by inserting comments like "think about this" (line 24), and asking for confirmation of understanding by using "alright?" (line 31) or "right?" (lines 59, 62). This shows that even when teachers provide explanations that answer their questions, they do not entirely abandon pursuing some type of response from the students.

5.2.3. Conclusion

This chapter investigated how teachers manage students' claims of insufficient knowledge in one-on-one writing conferences. How teachers deal with the students' no knowledge claims in one-on-one ESL conferences seems to be different from how teachers deal with students' no knowledge claims in a classroom context. Without the option to allocate the turn to another student, the teachers seem to be obliged to change the student's [K-] status to somewhere closer to [K+] status. The teachers can employ various tools such as asking a follow-up question after students' no-knowledge claim or providing an explanation. The analysis shows that whether the teacher chooses to ask follow-up questions or provide an explanation seems to be contingent upon the context in which the students' no-knowledge-claims are produced. The most important factor that seems to affect the teacher's decision to use follow-up questions or not is the teacher's expectation for the student to be able to answer the questions with additional hints, and the topic of the question. If the teacher decides that the student's epistemic status can be changed from [K-] to [K+] with additional hints, the teacher asks a follow-up question as in extracts (1) and (2). This expectation seems to be closely related to the topic of the question. When the original question asks for something that is expected to be within the student's epistemic domain, and that is something that the student has the responsibility for knowing, then the teacher expects the student to be able to provide a response once additional hints are provided. This was shown in extract (1), where the original question asked for how elements in the student's essay are synthesized. Since this was explained right before the question, the teacher expects that the student would be able to provide an answer with additional hints. In extract (2), the original question is related to the student's own argument presented in his essay, therefore the student has an epistemic responsibility for a response. Again, the teacher provides another opportunity for the student to provide an answer by asking a follow-up question. These follow-up questions provide another slot for the student to provide an answer and simultaneously give additional hints by being more specific and providing different options. On the other hand, if the teacher expects that the student would not be able to provide an answer with additional hints, then the teacher provides an explanation rather than asking additional questions. In extract (3), it is clear that the student has no access to the answer of

the question, since the student attempted to ask the same question earlier. Therefore, once the student

provides a no-knowledge-claim, the teacher provides an explanation after the student's no-knowledge-

claim. In extract (4), the original question not only asked for something that the teacher has epistemic

primacy over, the question was related to the connotative meaning of a vocabulary item. Since the student

had a different meaning of the word already in his epistemic domain, it would be difficult for the student

to retrieve the correct connotative meaning even when additional hints are provided. Thus, if the teacher

asked a follow-up question in this context, it would have been difficult to elicit a response from the

student. In all of these extracts, teacher's successful management of the students' claims of insufficient

knowledge seems to eventually lead to effectively achieving the pedagogical goal of the interaction.

It can be frustrating for teachers when they ask questions and the students claim no knowledge,

especially in a one-on-one setting where the teacher cannot allocate the turn to other students. This

chapter explored how teachers deal with this situation, and found that the two most commonly used tools

are asking follow-up questions and giving explanations. Because of the cultural preference for elicitation

over explanation in teaching in North America (Scollon & Scollon, 1981), one might expect that teachers

would prefer giving follow-up questions and eliciting answers from students after no-knowledge claims.

However, it seems that teachers do not always attempt to elicit the answers from the students, but rather

decide to give explanations in certain circumstances. As summarized above, this includes when the

student makes it clear that he or she does not have access to the knowledge domain being questioned or

the answer is difficult for the student to have access to even when additional hints are provided. This

confirms that eliciting from students may not always be the best approach in teaching, and that it would

be more important for the teachers to acknowledge the local environment in which the students' no-

knowledge claims occur.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

6.1. Summary

This study analyzed how teachers and students interact in one-on-one ESL writing conferences, focusing on the preference structure of advice-giving, epistemic displays, and teachers' management of students' no knowledge claims.

This study has shown that the North American teachers studied in this research commonly use compliments before the actual advice when giving feedback. These compliments were used by teachers to pinpoint the exact problem of the student's essay by creating a contrast between what has been done well in the essay versus what needs improvement. The use of these compliments also provides evidence that advice-giving is dispreferred in writing conferences, since the compliments delay the actual advice-giving activity. Other evidence that advice-giving is dispreferred was also found. This evidence includes mitigation, use of justifications and conditionals. I have also argued that the problem-solving sequences, in which the advice-giving turns are included, are also produced as dispreferred, as they are delayed by compliments or other comments at the beginning of the conference.

The next chapter analyzed the epistemic displays of teachers and students in the interaction. As Heritage (2012 a, b) argues, epistemic displays have a significant effect on the interaction, often determining the shape and length of the interaction. This study explicated how the participants' epistemic displays effect the interaction in a pedagogical setting. Since the goal of writing conferences is for the teachers to give feedback and help students to improve their drafts, it is especially important for the teachers to determine whether the student has epistemic access to a certain knowledge domain or not. Therefore, epistemic displays of teachers and students are commonly found in writing conferences. This study has found that participants' displays of epistemic access are closely related to their orientation to their epistemic responsibility. When the students orient to their epistemic responsibility for a knowledge

domain, such as issues that have been already mentioned in the conference or in class, the students directly display epistemic access (i.e., by overlapping the teacher's talk) or at least display partial access. When the students orient to not having epistemic responsibility for a knowledge domain, such as issues that were not mentioned earlier in the conference or in class, they display lack of epistemic access quite directly (i.e., by producing no-knowledge-claims). The teachers also display their epistemic access or lack of epistemic access in writing conferences. When the teachers orient to their epistemic responsibility in domains that they are responsible for as teachers, they directly display epistemic access by providing an answer to a question or giving an explanation. When the teachers orient to their epistemic responsibility and display lack of epistemic access, they display partial access and provide accounts for their lack of access. When the teachers orient to not having epistemic responsibility for a knowledge domain, such as issues related to the student's major, and display lack of epistemic access, the teachers ask direct questions. How teachers and students display their epistemic primacy has also been explored in this study. I showed that there could be a conflict over who has epistemic primacy in the interaction, even between a teacher and a student. In the case analyzed in this study, the student challenged the teacher's epistemic primacy over a knowledge domain which was related to a specific part of the content of the student's essay. The student tried to display his primacy over this knowledge domain as the author or writer of the essay, and simultaneously the teacher also tried to display his primacy as a writing expert. Therefore, a conflict over who has the epistemic primacy over this knowledge domain took place.

This study also analyzed how teachers manage students' no-knowledge-claims. In a one-on-one writing conference, the teacher cannot allocate the turn to another student when a student claims no knowledge. Rather, the teacher has to interact with the student to help him/her reach a knowing ([K+]) status. This study has analyzed different contexts in which the teachers use follow-up questions and provide explanations to deal with students' no-knowledge claims. It seems to be important for the teachers to use the appropriate tool, depending on the topic of the question and the teacher's expectation for the student to be able to provide the answer after being given additional hints.

6.2. Implications for CA: preference structure

This study contributes to our understanding of preference structure, which is one of the key concepts of CA. Although the notion of preference was studied quite extensively early in the field (Sacks, 1987; Sacks and Schegloff, 1979; Pomerantz, 1978), most of the studies have focused on the preference structure of second pair parts, or responses. A smaller number of later studies have investigated the preference structure of first pair parts, or initiating utterances (i.e., Al-Gahtani & Roever, 2014; Antaki & Kent, 2015; Fox, 2015; Kobin & Drew, 2014; Koivisto, 2013; Maynard, 2003; Pillet-Shore, 2012; Robinson & Bolden, 2010; Schegloff, 2007; Speer, 2012). This study analyzed the preference structure of advice-giving, and found that advice-giving is produced by teachers as a dispreferred first pair part in ESL one-on-one writing conferences. As shown in chapter three, the problem-solving sequences in which the advice-giving turns are located, are delayed in the writing conferences. The advice-giving turns are also delayed, mitigated and justified, similarly to dispreferred first pair parts as described by Schegloff (2007). However, in writing conferences, the teachers do not wait for students to produce a counterpart action to advice-giving, as do speakers of other dispreferred first pair parts (i.e., making a request, delivering bad news). This seems to be due to the asymmetrical nature of writing conference, where the counterpart action of advice giving (i.e, students suggesting their own way to improve the draft) is unlikely to occur.

This study also provides additional evidence for the claim that preference structure is context-sensitive. Prior studies on advice-giving in different contexts such as medical setting have found that the preference structure of advice-giving is context-sensitive. In fact, many studies on preference show that the preference structure depends on the surrounding institutional context. This study also helps to confirm that preference structure is context-sensitive, in the sense that advice-giving is produced as dispreferred, similarly to "comment sequences" in presentation rehearsals (Jacoby, 1998), and not preferred, as in a health visitor-patient interaction (Heritage & Sefi, 1992).

Another insight of this study is that the use of conditional clauses can display characteristics of dispreferred actions. Although conditional clauses have not been mentioned as a characteristic of dispreferred actions in the prior literature, this study showed that the participants make use of this type of clause consistently when giving advice. Teachers seem to use conditional clauses to mitigate the advice by stating a problem in student's essay as a possibility, and not as a fact.

6.3. Implications for CA: epistemic displays

This study also analyzed the epistemic displays of teachers and students in an academic setting. Using the notions of Stivers, et al. (2011), this study described how teachers and students display their epistemic access, responsibility and primacy. The findings of this study contribute to our understanding of how epistemic displays affect the interaction in an academic setting. First, the findings of this study suggest that epistemics in writing conferences is a very complex phenomenon. When a student displays lack of epistemic access, he or she often attempts to show some knowledge, displaying partial access. This happens when the student orients to his or her epistemic responsibility. There are also various domains of knowledge that are active in one interaction, making the picture more complex. An international student can display lack of epistemic access to one knowledge domain, i.e., citation style in the American culture, and display epistemic access to similar but different knowledge domain, i.e. citation style in his or her own culture. Second, this study found that there can be a close relation between participants' display of epistemic access and epistemic responsibility. While epistemic access and epistemic responsibility seem to be distinct notions, this study found that how the teachers and students display their epistemic access is affected by whether or not they orient to their epistemic responsibility. For example, if the student orients to his or her epistemic responsibility and displays lack of access, the student attempts to display at least partial access. However, when the student orients to not having epistemic responsibility and displays lack of access, the student directly produces a no-knowledge-claim. Thus, it seems that speakers' display of epistemic access can be directly affected by the orientation to

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their epistemic responsibility. The types of expressions used when speakers display epistemic access or lack of epistemic access (i.e., "I don't know"), the way speakers display epistemic access or lack of epistemic access (i.e., in overlap, produced in a dispreferred way), and the utterances that follow the speakers' display of epistemic access or lack of epistemic access (i.e., accounts, justifications) all depend on how speakers orient to their epistemic responsibility.

6.4. Implications for writing pedagogy

A review of prior studies on writing conferences concludes that effective writing conferences "include predictable and focused discussion between teacher and students that allow students to generate their own ideas and solutions for their writing problems" (Bayraktar, 2012, p.2). Walker & Elias (1987) also show that in an effective writing conference, teachers build on students' responses. Having an effective interaction with a student in writing conferences, then, involves generating a constructive discussion on students' writing problems and responding well to the students' responses. This study provides insights on how teachers actually interact with students in one-on-one writing conferences.

First, this study provides examples of how teachers deal with students' no-knowledge-claims. When students claim no knowledge, it is difficult for the teachers to continue the interaction. However, since the teacher can determine what the student does not have epistemic access to, students' claim of no knowledge can be a good opportunity for teaching and learning to take place. For successful teaching to take place in this situation, teachers should deal with the students' no-knowledge-claims effectively. This study reveals two tools teachers can use in this situation. First, teachers can ask follow-up questions after students' no-knowledge-claims. By asking follow-up questions, teachers not only give students another opportunity to provide the answer, but give hints by rephrasing and explaining the original question. Therefore, teachers can choose to ask follow-up questions when they expect the students to be able to answer the question when additional hints are provided, and the topic of the question is easily accessible to the student (i.e., discoverable in the student's text or mentioned earlier in the conference). Second,

teachers can provide explanations to the students. When the teachers do not expect the students to be able to answer the original question even when additional hints are provided, and when the topic of the question is not immediately accessible to the student (i.e., a content related issue that needs some thinking), teachers can provide an explanation. What is important when dealing with students' no-knowledge-claims is using the appropriate tool depending on the context.

Second, this study also sheds light on how using compliments when giving advice can help the teachers to effectively point out the students' writing problems. The analysis in chapter three shows that American teachers often preface advice with compliments to effectively identify the exact problem in students' essays. Teachers use the contrast created by the compliment and advice to pinpoint the problem and therefore guide the students to the area of improvement. The use of compliments, then, can help students to better understand teachers' advice, and to determine where to begin revising.

As this study provides a microanalysis of the interaction between American teachers and international students in writing conferences, this study also has implications for the training of international teaching assistants or lecturers. As the number of international teaching assistants and lecturers who teach English in the United States is increasing, the importance of training the international teachers not only in the content knowledge, but also in the cultural difference in teaching is also increasing. The results of this study can serve as a guideline for international teachers to understand how North American teachers interact with students during writing conferences, especially how teachers give advice and feedback to the students. Although exactly following what the North American teachers do in writing conferences is not necessary, it is essential for the international teachers to understand what the norm is, and what the students may expect during the conference. Therefore, the analytical results of this study on the overall organization of writing conferences and the common features of the teachers' utterances in these conferences will be a great resource for international teachers and those who are planning to train these international teachers.

6.5. Directions for future research

There are a few directions for future studies. First, a cross-cultural study would enrich the findings of this study. This study focused on how North American teachers interact with international students in writing conferences. It would be interesting to see how teachers with different cultural backgrounds give advice and manage students' no-knowledge-claims. As this study confirmed that the North American teachers do use compliments before giving advice, future research could confirm or reject widely held beliefs, for example, that German teachers are more direct when giving advice or Japanese teachers give advice in a very indirect way. Uncovering these cultural differences could also help the training of international teachers in the United States. Second, a closer analysis of how conditionals are used in dispreferred utterances would generalize the findings of this study. This study found that teachers make use of conditionals when giving advice as a dispreferred turn. However, since the use of conditionals has not been mentioned in the prior literature as a characteristic of dispreferred turns, an analysis of the use of conditionals in various settings and contexts will help our general understanding of this usage. Another direction for future studies in relation to the preference structure is the preference structure of first pair parts. There are still fewer studies on the preference structure of first pair parts than that of second pair parts. Also, there is more to be discovered regarding the characteristics of the preference structure of first pair parts. The findings of this study suggest that in asymmetrical relationships, the speaker may not have the choice or ability to produce the counterpart action instead of the dispreferred first pair part. More studies on first pair parts in various contexts (i.e., in other institutional settings) may reveal even more characteristics of the preference structure of first pair parts.

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Appendix

Transcription Conventions

[Overlapping or simultaneous talk

=   A "latch" sign is used when the second speaker follows the first with no discernible silence

         between them. It can also be used to link different parts of a single speaker's utterance when

         those parts constitute a continuous flow of speech that has been carried over to another line to

         accommodate an intervening interruption.

:   Colons indicate prolongation of the immediately prior sound. Multiple colons indicate a more

         prolonged sound.

<u>a</u>   Underscoring indicates some form of stress, via pitch and/or amplitude.

A   Capital letters indicate a louder voice than the surrounding talk.

(0.5)   Length of pause

(.)   Micropause

° °   Degree signs are used to indicate a passage of talk that is quieter than the surrounding talk.

.   A stopping fall in tone, not necessarily the end of a sentence.

,   A continuing intonation

?   A rising intonation, not necessarily a question

¿   A slightly rising intonation

-        A cut-off or self-interruption

> <   "More than" and "less than" signs indicate that the talk in-between was produced quicker than

         the surrounding talk.

hhh   Hearable aspiration: It may represent breathing, laughter, etc.

.hhh   Hearable inhalations

(())   Transcriber's descriptions of events

()   Uncertainty on the transcriber's part

(guess) Transcriber's best guess at an unclear utterance