Interaction and collaboration across proficiency levels in the English language classroom

Lydia R. Dutcher

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Linguistics, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences
University of Sydney

2018

Declaration

This is to certify that to the best of my knowledge, the content of this thesis is my own work. This thesis has not been submitted for any other degree or other purposes.

I certify that the intellectual content of this thesis is the product of my own work and that all the assistance received in preparing this thesis and sources have been acknowledged.

Lydia R. Dutcher

February 2018

Abstract

One aim of adult General English courses is to help people to develop the ability to communicate in English with a diverse range of speakers, including individuals with different levels of linguistic proficiency. However, classes that are streamed by linguistic proficiency level provide little opportunity to communicate with a diverse range of interlocutors during class time. This study investigates peer–peer interaction in multi-proficiency-level class sessions that were introduced to mitigate this perceived gap. In these sessions, participants in multi-level groups completed tasks designed to provide opportunities to develop aspects of interactional competence relevant to goal-oriented, collaborative interaction. At the time of the study, implications of proficiency for participation in the group tasks were not well understood, which impeded further development of task materials.

With this study, I aim to provide greater understanding of the relationship between differences in proficiency and speakership in the group tasks. Groups were recorded as they completed the task and conversation analytic methods were used to investigate key features of group interaction. As a result, I identified the recurrent practice of *joint-project-initiating moves*. With these moves, speakers propose joint action (Clark, 1996, 2006, 2012) in sequential first position for potential uptake by other group members. Two classes of joint-project-initiating moves were identified: canonical first pair parts that make response from another speaker strongly relevant (Stivers & Rossano, 2010), called *more-response-mobilising moves*, and non-canonical actions done in first position that make response less strongly relevant, called *less-response-mobilising moves*. Within each class, I describe recurrent actions done by participants, use of response-mobilising features of turn design, and distribution of speakership across group members of different relative linguistic proficiency. For the most common type of joint-project-initiating moves, *idea-generating moves*, I describe features of moves in next position.

The study contributes to our understanding of the interrelation between asymmetries in relative linguistic proficiency and participation in collaborative group work through the interactional competence of initiating and taking up joint projects. The thesis concludes with recommendations for further research based on these findings.

Acknowledgements and dedication

I would like to convey my gratitude to the people who provided support and guidance throughout this project.

First I would like to thank my supervisor, Professor Nick Enfield. You helped me to formulate concrete questions and findings out of broad observations and an abstract vision. Thank you for the time you spent discussing how to refine and articulate this work. I admire your clarity of thought and expression and have tried to emulate this in my own work.

I am grateful to A/Professor Ahmar Mahboob for taking a chance on me as an HDR student. The opportunities you extended gave me the confidence to dare to engage in academic discourse.

Thank you to Professor Brian Paltridge for generously sharing your expertise on academic writing. I am exorbitantly lucky to have learnt to communicate my findings from an expert in the field.

This study was made possible by the support of the University of Sydney Centre for English Teaching, especially by Patrick Pheasant, Katherine Olston, and Daniel Bruce. I will always appreciate your encouragement of research in the workplace.

I am so grateful to the Conversation Analysis in Sydney (CAIS) group for sharing your data and discussing mine. With you I began to understand how and why we "do" data sessions. I do not believe I can sufficiently express my gratitude to Dr Scott Barnes. Thank you for being a mentor and friend. Thank you to Scott and Dr Joe Blythe for feedback on early drafts.

I am indebted to Professor Steve Clayman at UCLA's Center for Language, Interaction, and Culture (CLIC) for serving as my faculty sponsor during my visit. Thank you Steve, Professor John Heritage, and Professor Tanya Stivers for welcoming me to lectures, seminars, and data sessions. I continue to reflect on the learnings from that time.

Thank you to Dr Eszter Szenes and Dr Namali Tilakaratna for your firm friendship and for patiently answering questions about this whole process.

I am incredibly grateful to the participants in this study who opened up their classrooms to the video camera and me.

Thank you to Emma Driver for your assistance (and patience) with copy editing and proofing this manuscript.

Lastly, thank you to my family. Martin and Rita, thank you for understanding when I needed to retreat to the study and for pulling me back to the real world again. I promise the weekends are yours now. Martin, Mom, and Katie, you always knew I could do this and never let me forget it.

During the timeframe of this PhD journey, we lost a loved member of our family and welcomed a new addition. I dedicate this thesis to these two. This is for my late father, D. Jonathan Dutcher, and for my daughter, Rita Gertrude Wechselberger. I wish you could have met each other.

This project was supported by an Australian Postgraduate Award.

for Dad
(1949–2014)

and then, for Rita

Table of contents

List of figures

List of tables

Chapter 1
Introduction and background

1.1 Overview of the study

Students in any classroom have different strengths and weaknesses, and ESOL (English for speakers of other languages) classrooms are no exception. During class sessions, students are asked to work in groups to do language-learning tasks and activities. These groups are unavoidably made up of people with differences in skill levels. Differences in linguistic competence mean that some students in a class are able to do a wider variety of actions in English than others. These differences can impact their ability to complete essential parts of the activities in the target language, such as understanding the task at hand and clarifying areas that are unclear, proposing possible first steps in the process, and responding positively or negatively to such proposals.

Linguistic competence is typically the domain of assessment in language education, where individuals are given tests to assess their language proficiency according to a particular measure. This study focuses on interaction between peers in the classroom to examine how differences in speakers' language proficiency emerge in and through conversation. When people in a group have different language proficiencies, this can result in a range of different experiences for the students. Ideally, group members will find a way to work together to complete the activity to the best of their ability and ensure that everyone is learning the language through the group work. However, large differences in language proficiency may result in frustration for group members. People with higher levels of expertise may dominate the activity in a way that leaves behind lower-proficiency group members, or a higher-proficiency group member may become frustrated with the slower pace of a largely lower-proficiency group. It can be difficult to predict which of these outcomes will transpire.

In order to understand these group dynamics better, it is important to understand the interactional methods people use to complete collaborative classroom activities. Any collaboration starts with an initiation of some kind that begins a course of activity. This typically takes the form of a verbal utterance that relates to some aspect of the task at hand, such as a question posed to the group or a proposal of an idea. These initiating actions are

followed by responses that take up the initial proposal in some way. Collaborative action is achieved through these sequences of initiations and responses. Thus these sequences are functionally important and structurally well-defined phenomena that provide grounding for the research. This study begins by examining initiations of collaborative action and works from there to investigate the phenomena that follow from initiations.

To grapple with these issues, I ask the following research questions in this study:

1. When students of different language proficiencies are working together on classroom activities, how do they initiate collaboration?
2. Who tends to initiate collaboration more often: higher-proficiency or lower-proficiency students?
3. To whom are these initiations more often addressed: higher-proficiency or lower-proficiency students?
4. Who responds more often: higher-proficiency or lower-proficiency students?
5. How do other group members tend to respond to these initiations?

By answering these questions in this thesis, I show clear correlations between language proficiency and differences in speakership during group work. This work goes beyond the simple assumption that higher-proficiency students speak more in such tasks by identifying a particular kind of action necessary for task completion – initiation of collaboration – and showing how and where asymmetries in participation manifest at these junctures. I find that higher-proficiency speakers tend to do these moves most often. For those moves done by other group members where a single next speaker is selected, the higher-proficiency group members are selected as next speaker most often. Finally, high- and medium-proficiency group members respond most often to initiating moves. These findings, along with detailed description of these initiating and responsive actions, provide new insights into language classroom interaction during group work and the impact of diverse abilities on student participation.

1.2 Background and focus of the study

English language courses for adults have flourished with the internationalisation of English (Richards & Rodgers, 2014). A portion of this market is occupied by General English (GE) courses offered by English language centres in English-speaking countries. These courses typically focus on four skills – reading, writing, speaking, and listening – in daily class sessions.

The courses are marketed to prospective students who aim to improve their English during an extended visit to the respective country.

Teaching approaches in GE courses are influenced by several paradigm shifts that have occurred in the past century. Where previously the focus of language teaching was on reading, a primary goal of modern GE language teaching is spoken interaction (Richards & Rodgers, 2014). Furthermore, educational theories such as social constructivism (Vygotsky, 1978) and situated learning theory (Lave & Wenger, 1991), along with the advent of communicative approaches and a focus on meaning (Canale & Swain, 1980; Hymes, 1972; Savignon, 1987), have informed an emphasis on learner-centred approaches. Cumulatively, these shifts have led to a conception of the classroom as a site of social interaction that provides opportunities for learning. The professed aims of GE courses marketed internationally reflect these trends. One aim of GE programs at adult English language centres is for graduates to be able to successfully navigate diverse speaking situations for work, study, and travel, including interacting in English with speakers with varying competence in English (as described in the research site's 2012–13 brochure).

Class groups in GE programs are typically formed of students with similar competence (Harmer, 2015), which has its advantages and disadvantages. At most English language centres, prospective students sit a placement test upon enrolment that serves the purpose of designating a linguistic proficiency level. The practice of streaming enrolees into mono-proficiency-level classes provides benefits such as focused language support and provision of appropriate scaffolding for each level. Despite purported benefits, these streamed classes provide little practice in communicating with the wider range of speakers that learners will encounter outside of the classroom.

Streamed, mono-proficiency-level classes are an expectation in the field of English language teaching to the extent that much of the literature on teaching in multi-proficiency-level classrooms frames advice for teachers in terms of strategies for coping with or managing this presumably abnormal situation (e.g. Bell, 2012; Harmer, 2015; Hess, 2001; Mathews-Aydinli & Van Horne, 2006). Paradoxically, this same literature also acknowledges that truly mono-proficiency-level classes are somewhat of a myth, as there will always be diversity in the strengths and weaknesses of different learners, and limitations in program resources that present difficulties in creating truly streamed classes. Hellermann (2008) notes that despite the focus on linguistic proficiency level as a source of difference in abilities, there are

numerous sources of heterogeneity in language classrooms, including age, and cultural and educational background. The term "mixed-ability" tends to refer to classes that are diverse for a range of reasons, including but not exclusive to linguistic proficiency level, while "multi-proficiency-level" refers specifically to diversity in the linguistic proficiency level of participants. Researching interaction in multi-proficiency-level classrooms is an important step in further understanding the complexities of these diverse language-learning environments. This research also has implications beyond the classroom, as conversations between speakers of English as an additional language who have varying levels of proficiency are only increasing in ubiquity (Carroll, 2000).

In the present study, I analyse interaction between participants in a series of multi-proficiency-level class sessions in order to more fully understand the relationship between linguistic proficiency level and participation in these learning contexts. These class sessions were developed in a GE program to complement daily streamed class sessions, and to address the perceived discrepancy between streamed classes and broader curricular aims of interacting successfully with diverse interlocutors. Task-based approaches to curriculum design meant that there were defined objectives (Bygate, Skehan, & Swain, 2001) to be collaboratively achieved by the mixed-ability groups. In this setting, the task objectives typically took the form of the creation of some kind of artefact, such as a written text, image, or physical object. The achievement of these objectives was intended to motivate discussion between participants so that they could develop their ability to communicate in more diverse practical contexts. In the study, I investigate naturally-occurring interaction in these sessions and look at the way speakers of different language proficiency levels initiate collaborative actions for achieving task objectives. I aim to contribute to our understanding of asymmetries in multi-party interaction, initiation of sequences of talk in joint activities, and implications for English language teaching and learning.

In this chapter, I introduce the setting of the project and issues motivating the study. Throughout, relevant prior research is presented in order to introduce key terminology, identify gaps in the literature, and foreground the research questions. The chapter concludes with an overview of the thesis structure.

1.3 Research setting

The site of this study is a GE program for adults at a university language centre in Australia. The GE program at this centre was designed to "improve English language skills for general

conversation, travelling, or life in an English-speaking country" as well as "to enhance job prospects" for enrolled students (2012–13 brochure). Adult students in the GE program came from a wide range of cultural, linguistic, educational, and professional backgrounds. What the vast majority had in common is that they did not intend to migrate permanently to an English-speaking country or study at an English-medium university. They came to Australia for a long visit (from 5 weeks to 1 year) to learn English intensively and travel. Most would return to their home countries, or another foreign country, to study and/or work. Therefore they were learning English in order to participate in international business and travel settings where English is a lingua franca (Seidlhofer, 2011).

The curriculum for the program was aligned with the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR). *The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, teaching, assessment* (Council of Europe, 2001), the primary reference document at the time for the CEFR, presents scales with descriptors of actions a speaker of a particular proficiency level should be able to accomplish. The recently released companion volume provides updated descriptors, including additional areas such as plurilingualism (Council of Europe, 2017). CEFR reference levels for linguistic proficiency range from A1 (beginner) to C2 (proficient user). These reference levels provide a shorthand for referring to a speaker's overall competence in a language. In this context, competence refers to "the sum of knowledge, skills and characteristics that allow a person to perform actions" (Council of Europe, 2001, p. 9). Three types of communicative competences are described in these Council of Europe documents: linguistic, sociolinguistic, and pragmatic. These are seen as "intertwined in any language use; they are not separate 'components' and cannot be isolated from each other" (Council of Europe, 2017, p. 129). The descriptors for different levels describe actions that people can achieve at these different levels of proficiency by drawing upon communicative competences. These descriptors are framed as can-do statements, such as "can ask people for things, and give people things" (p. 86). This particular descriptor is included in the set for an A1-level speaker in the activity of goal-oriented co-operation. In sum, for this activity, the CEFR descriptors set out actions that speakers of different levels should be able to accomplish. Throughout the thesis, the term *linguistic proficiency level* refers to use of the CEFR reference levels to designate a participant's assessed ability in English, while *competence* (or the plural *competences*) refers to abilities of speakers displayed through accomplishment of actions.

At the time of data collection for this project, the GE program consisted of four classes, named according to the four middle CEFR levels with which they corresponded: A2 (pre-

intermediate), B1 (intermediate), B2 (upper-intermediate), and C1 (advanced). Prospective students in the program sat a placement test upon enrolment; the results informed their placement in the appropriate class according to proficiency level, with the aim being that learners in each level would share an approximately commensurate level of proficiency. Enrolment was taken on a continuous, weekly basis, so that prospective students could join a class immediately and enrol for as long or as little time as they wished. During their enrolment, they took periodic progress tests and advanced to the next class level as their English language skills developed. The classes met for five days a week for two daily 2-hour sessions (4 hours in total per day, 5 days a week). Attendance of these classes for 20 hours per week enabled enrolled participants in the program to fulfil the requirements of their student visas. These daily class sessions were conducted in the level-based groups described above. Materials were designed to be level-appropriate and facilitate the mastery of a set of descriptors for each level over the course of the term.

The broad aim of the program was for speakers of all levels to develop communicative competences through the range of activities outlined in the curriculum. As part of the focus on the international use of English, five additional aims of the program were outlined in the curriculum. These aims described contexts of communication for development through the curriculum activities. They were for students to be able to confidently:

1. communicate with different individuals;
2. communicate with speakers of different proficiency levels;
3. communicate with speakers of different cultural backgrounds;
4. communicate on different topics;
5. communicate in different group configurations, e.g. in pairs or small groups.

Once new students in the program were placed into the appropriate class level, they typically spent their time in class interacting with people of a similar proficiency level. These streamed class groups provided an environment to practise and develop speaking skills with co-interlocutors at a similar proficiency level. As well as delivering lessons on lexicogrammatical concepts, teachers facilitated communicative tasks on a range of topics that encouraged the students to work together with their fellow class members in different kinds of group configurations. However, though there were slight differences in proficiency level within the level-based classes, these kinds of classes did not provide the opportunity to practise speaking with people of more widely diverse levels. This meant that context #2,

"communicate with speakers of different proficiency levels", was not addressed in day-to-day classroom activities.

In the short term, this was viewed as problematic because students in the program met people from a more diverse range of abilities when they left the classroom to carry out their daily activities. In the long term, this meant that there would not be an opportunity to practise speaking with the wider range of English speakers that graduates of the program would encounter in future pursuits. To address this perceived gap, weekly cross-class activity (CCA) sessions were introduced to the program. These were task-based sessions facilitated by the teaching team, wherein students would work together in multi-level small groups. These sessions were preceded by streamed preparatory class sessions that introduced the topic and useful language for the upcoming CCA session. The two sessions occupied one day on the timetable. CCA days occurred two to three times in each five-week term of the program as a supplement to day-to-day sessions in level-based class groups. The main purpose of the CCA sessions was for students to practise speaking with speakers of various levels across a wide range of topical contexts so that they would become more confident in speaking with a wider range of interlocutors.

The rationale for planning the sessions around collaborative tasks was based on the literature on task-based learning. Though there are many task-based approaches (Ellis, 2003; Long, 2015; Nunan, 2004; Prabhu, 1987; Van den Branden, Bygate, & Norris, 2009; Willis, 1996), Jackson and Burch (2017) argue that Bygate et al.'s (2001) definition of a task in the language classroom is both broad enough to encapsulate a range of approaches and specific enough to capture the pedagogical work in this area. This definition also aligns with the conception of a task in the design of the GE curriculum. Bygate et al. define a task as "an activity which requires learners to use language, with an emphasis on meaning, to attain an objective" (2001, p. 11). The activity and accompanying objectives are therefore intended to motivate interaction between group members. Task-based language teaching approaches are commonly recommended for mitigating challenges that can arise from the linguistic asymmetry in multi-level classes. In tasks done in heterogeneous groups (see Figure 1.1), learners can "develop skills needed to plan, organize, negotiate, and arrive at a consensus" (Mathews-Aydinli & Van Horne, 2006, p. 3) and group members of different levels can play different roles according to their abilities (Bell, 2012).

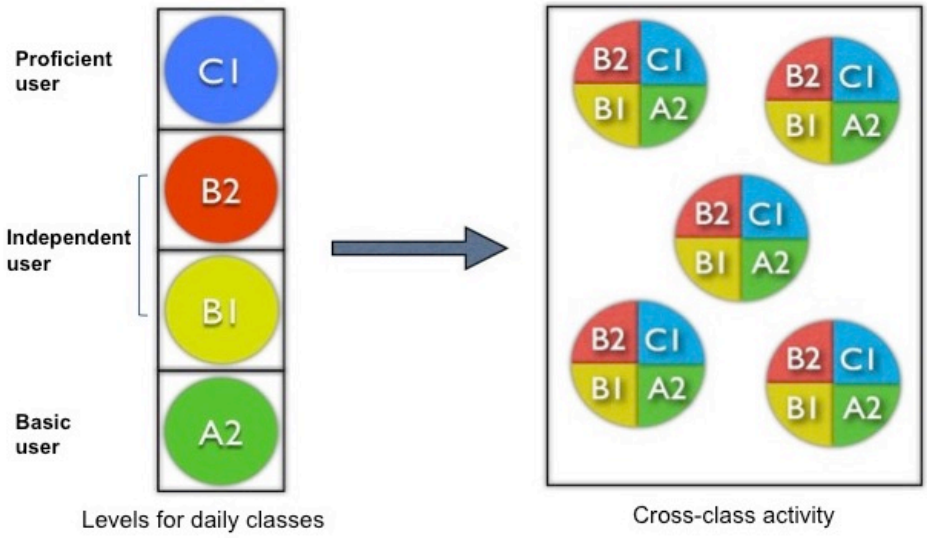


Figure 1.1. Streamed class groups and small, multi-level groups in the cross-class activity.

The materials for the CCA sessions were designed by a team of teachers working in the GE program. I was part of this team in the early stages of task development. We worked together to select topics of focus for the sessions that would be accessible to students of a range of levels. For example, we selected the topics "designing a flag for a country" and "creating an invention" to practise "presenting new ideas" in two different tasks. The activities were designed to be flexible in terms of outcomes so that groups could complete them to differing degrees of complexity depending on their abilities. For example, if a group was working together to create an invention, they could develop simple or more complex types of inventions. They could also decide whether or not to delve into additional detail on sub-topics, such as the possible marketing for an invention, depending on how far they progressed in the task in the allotted time.

Sessions were typically structured into three main stages, as outlined by Ellis (2006): a teacher-fronted pre-task review of the context, topic, and task objectives; completion of the task itself in peer–peer groups; and a post-task feedback stage consisting of groups reporting on what they had accomplished. The task-completion stage of peer–peer group work was the primary focus of the CCA sessions and it typically took the most time in the sessions. The tasks were thus designed to facilitate opportunities for collaborative interaction (Ellis, 2003, 2006) between students of different levels. They were also unfocused tasks (Ellis, 2003),

meaning that they were not designed to elicit specific linguistic structures, but instead focused on meaning and the accomplishment of task objectives.

As a member of the materials design team, I was familiar with the contextual and theoretical rationale for introducing the CCA task sessions. But I found that while teaching in the sessions I was unable to observe participation in the tasks for long stretches, as I was occupied with facilitating the activities. This meant that I was unable to track participation by speakers of different levels in order to further develop the materials with the team. As Seedhouse and Almutairi (2009) note, studies of interaction in tasks have found a discrepancy between the task-as-workplan, or the lesson plans for tasks, and the task-as-activity, or the way the task is actually carried out by participants (Breen, 1989; Coughlan & Duff, 1994; Seedhouse, 2004). For example, tasks do not necessarily result in interaction that resembles everyday talk, despite the fact that they are typically intended to develop skills that transfer to everyday life (Mori, 2002). Thus researching participant organisation of the CCA tasks-as-activities meant that it would be necessary to study group interaction in the tasks. This study is motivated by my curiosity in this area. This curiosity arises from the realisation that without understanding the task-as-activity, developing improved task workplans targeted to participant needs would be a difficult undertaking. Researching the task-as-activity would also inform evidence-based teaching practice in other kinds of multi-proficiency-level classes. For this reason the focus of the study at this stage is not on the pedagogy of the sessions, but rather on participation within them.

1.4 Participant observations of interaction in CCA sessions

In addition to studying naturally occurring group participation in CCA sessions, I also conducted interviews with students in the GE program. The purpose of these interviews was to gather observations about the CCA sessions from the participants themselves. This preliminary data complemented the primary data of recorded CCA sessions (Maynard, 2003) and informed the focus of the analysis.

A recurring theme raised by participants in the interviews was asymmetries in participation by speakers of different levels. The following interview extract, Extract 1.1, provides an example of this. This excerpt is in Courier font (Heritage, 2014), a monospaced font that is often used in transcripts. However, because the purpose of this transcript is to present the content of the participants' talk rather than analysing conversational structures, as will be done in later chapters in this thesis, the full set of transcription conventions from Appendix A are not used.

Extract 1.1 comes from a discussion with Tammy and Ally from the B2 class. Tammy participated in two of the CCA sessions in this study and Ally participated in one session. In these sessions, Tammy and Ally were both higher-proficiency participants in their respective groups. Both Tammy and Ally acknowledged that particular group members spoke more or less than others, but provided different reasons. When asked how they felt speaking with people of different levels as opposed to speaking with other students in their streamed class, Tammy answered first, saying that it was "a little difficult" to speak with students of lower levels. She went on to say that sometimes after she asked a question, interlocutors of lower levels would provide a short answer like "oh yes" and then fall silent. Ally attributed differences in participation to the people in the group, saying it depends on whether or not the group is "interesting" or not.

Extract 1.1. B2 student group interview 00:23:38

Participants: Interviewer (Lydia), Tammy, Ally

Interviewer:	and um how do you feel when you're speaking to the people of different levels, is it different for you than when you're in your regular class? with all the same level? or is it similar.
Tammy:	mm you know sometimes if speak to the lower level, it's a little difficult.
Interviewer:	mm hm,
Tammy:	because them always don't like speaking.
Interviewer:	ah okay.
Tammy:	yeah, sometimes you don't know how to talk about you just um I just ask you a question (he) say oh yes.
Interviewer:	mm hm,
Tammy:	and quiet (laughs)
Interviewer:	ah okay and what about you ally
Ally:	i don't know it's really - it depends of the person.
Interviewer:	mm.
Ally:	because maybe you are in a good group? so you enjoy your time? with these people but maybe sometimes th- the group is not really interesting. you know?

The second extract from the interviews, Extract 1.2, comes from a discussion with four A2-level students who were typically lower-proficiency participants in the recorded CCA sessions: Chris, Ivy, Todd, and Jamie. Prior to this question, they were asked to recall the first CCA session they had participated in. They said that two months prior they had attended a session on the topic of film. They were then asked how they felt in the most recent session. There was unanimous agreement that it was "difficult" to speak with people from other levels. For these students, all participants of other levels were from higher-level classes. Chris went on to explain that if he was in a group with a C1-level student and a B1-level student, the C1-level student might completely understand a question posed by the teacher and the B1-level student might understand somewhat, while he would not understand at all. As Todd explained, this meant that the two higher-level students would discuss the question and the A2 students did not know what was happening. Thus these students expressed a perception of the differences between their own participation and participation of other, higher-proficiency group members.

Extract 1.2. A2 student group interview 00:18:10

Participants: Interviewer (Lydia), Chris, Ivy, Todd, Jamie

Interviewer:	so you had to speak with people from other levels, yes?
Todd:	yeah.
Chris	yes.
Interviewer:	how did you feel?
Todd:	a little difficult. (Chris, Jamie, and Ivy smile)
Interviewer:	okay yeah,
Ivy:	yeah.
Chris:	difficult.
Interviewer:	yeah, how was it difficult?
Chris:	because you know I'm from A2, she's from B1, sh- he from C1, more high? (points at two different spots around the table) and the teacher give we question? then he know. (points at previously indicated C1 spot) I don't understand. Then maybe she know a little. (points at previously indicated B1 spot) then
Todd:	they are talking.
Chris:	talking. but uh
Todd:	i don't know.
Chris:	but uh me I don't know what's happening.

As previously described, the CCA sessions were developed with an aim of helping students to practise communicating in multi-proficiency-level contexts through participation in tasks. However, in the interviews, learners reported that these very differences in linguistic proficiency level impacted participation in the tasks by different group members. Furthermore, the interviewees described particular types of participation by group members of different proficiency levels relative to each other. Tammy explained that as a higher-level student, she would ask questions to lower-level students in the hopes of eliciting responses that were not forthcoming, while Chris described ongoing discussion between the highest-level and middle-level group members, with A2-level group members excluded.

Corden's (2001) research on small-group interaction supports the observations from student participants in the CCAs. Corden points out that though potential benefits of group discussion are widely touted in educational literature, "organizing pupils into groups … does not mean they will automatically discuss issues collaboratively" (Corden, 2001, p. 347). Bloome (2015), citing Corden, takes this argument further, positing that a variety of issues can develop during group work when students are not supported in developing competence for goal-oriented group work, including emergence of strong asymmetries in participation. The asymmetries in participation reported in the interviews helped to inform analysis of the recorded CCA session data. Additionally, I conducted early analysis of video and audio recordings of the CCA sessions that led to identification of structural phenomena in the talk that shaped the analytical focus of the study.

1.5 Conversation Analysis and interactional competence

In the field of English language teaching and research, there has been a shift in focus toward the development of interactional competence in the classroom (Barraja-Rohan, 2011; Walsh, 2012; Watanabe, 2017). With this shift comes a view of learning as situated (Lave & Wenger, 1991) within interaction, where learning is evidenced by increased participation in various aspects of interaction (Evnitskaya & Berger, 2017; Hellermann, 2008; Markee, 2000; Mondada & Pekarek Doehler, 2004; Watanabe, 2016, 2017), and emphasis is placed on the accomplishment of actions rather than a deficit model (Firth & Wagner, 1997, 2007; Kasper, 2006; Lee & Hellermann, 2014; Wagner & Gardner, 2004). Interactional competence, which will be discussed in more detail in this section, is a key focus of Conversation Analysis (CA). CA is a crucial analytical tool for providing empirically based insights into peer–peer

interaction and the maintenance of intersubjectivity (Seedhouse, Walsh, & Jenks, 2010), or shared understandings (Schegloff, 1992), that can inform development of language teaching and learning practice in these areas (Richards, 2005).

CA is the primary approach used for both data collection and analysis of classroom interaction in this study. As described in Section 1.1, in order to describe the dynamics in diverse groups, I first needed to outline the types of actions participants were using to initiate collaboration. Then I needed to measure differences between group members in doing these actions. CA provides an array of tools developed from the rigorous study of conversation that enable identification of such features of conversation. These features would otherwise be difficult to identify precisely. As a result of the analysis, I was able to describe the mechanisms for interaction that people use in the CCA sessions; for example, they used different ways of beginning collaboration on an activity. The identification of these mechanisms was an essential step in comparing participation by different group members through empirical measurement. Thus CA facilitated breakthroughs in understanding the implications of differences in proficiency for participation and in answering the questions set out for this study.

CA originated in sociology at the University of California, Los Angeles, with the work of Harvey Sacks, Emanuel Schegloff, and Gail Jefferson. CA applies Garfinkel's focus on members' methods, or ethnomethods (Garfinkel, 1967; Heritage, 1984b), to the domain of conversation. It examines the way people accomplish actions in sequences of talk (Arminen, 2005) and maintain intersubjectivity through talk (Schegloff, 1992). This focus was influenced by Goffman, who called for attention to conversation as an object of study in its own right. He developed the notion of the "interaction order" (Goffman, 1983), or the assumption that human interaction has organising structures rather than being chaotic and random.

By examining naturally occurring talk, conversation analysts describe the interactional competence displayed by participants as they craft actions in sequence (Psathas, 1990). Interactional competence is distinct from Chomsky's (1965) definition of competence, wherein linguistic competence is seen solely as the knowledge possessed by an individual and sits in contrast to performance through communication. Instead, the focus of the CA project is on the aforementioned members' methods; that is, "how participants construct social actions not by reference to an abstract cognitive competence but by forming utterances in very local social contexts created through contiguous turns of talk and multimodal facets that affect the design

of those turns" (Maynard, 2013, p. 24). Using CA methodology, actions are analysed from two perspectives: position and composition (Schegloff, 1993). Position refers to the actions as situated and organised in sequence, or in context of the actions that come before and after (Enfield, 2013; Heritage, 1984b), while composition, also called turn design, is how participants construct and formulate actions using various interactional resources, such as language and embodied resources (Drew, 2013). These two features cannot be uncoupled, which means that, for example, actions cannot be defined solely in terms of the linguistic resources used to do them. The design of a turn must be considered in the context of ongoing talk (Goodwin, 2000). This study incorporates both position and composition in the description of actions done in task-based class sessions. The method and rationale for carrying out this analysis will be described in more detail in Section 2.7.

CA is a key methodology used by researchers focusing on interactional competence in the language classroom. It is based upon the previously described notion of intersubjectivity and involves establishing and maintaining shared understandings and distributed cognition with other participants in the social setting of the classroom (see Kramsch (1986) for an early proposal to shift emphasis from individual proficiency to interactional competence in applied linguistics). Hall (2018) identifies two main usages of the term interactional competence in Second Language Acquisition (SLA) research: that which combines Hymes' (1972) notion of communicative competence with the ethnomethodological perspective on interactional competence, and that which is grounded in ethnomethodology and CA (EMCA) approaches. According to Hall, both of these approaches are centred on empirical study of interactional competence through microanalysis of recorded interaction, and they have often been conflated. The former approach views interactional competence as an expression of an individual's abilities, which changes over time and in different contexts, while the latter approach frames interactional competence in terms of the universal structures of interaction that provide an infrastructure for human sociality, i.e. turn-taking, sequence organisation, and repair. This study is grounded in the latter conception of the term. As Pekarek Doehler (2018) points out, "when [speakers] move into an L2, they draw on interactional abilities they had developed since infancy to deal with generic features of social interaction, yet they also recalibrate these in the course of L2 development" (p. 6). The structures of talk as described by CA research underlie the study of participation in a classroom task by group members of different proficiencies in this project.

Kasper (2006) notes that there are myriad interactional competences rather than one overarching competence, in keeping with Heritage and Atkinson's (1984) earlier definition of "the competences that ordinary speakers use and rely on in participating in intelligible, socially organized interaction" (p. 1, cited in Kasper, 2006, p. 87). As Markee (2008) points out, these interactional resources are not discrete entities but are interwoven in talk; furthermore, they include, but are not exclusive to, the use of linguistic resources. Through these resources, participants "mutually coordinate … actions" (Hall & Pekarek Doehler, 2011, p. 2) to accomplish mutual goals. Thus Kasper (2006) includes participants' ability "to understand and produce social actions in their sequential contexts" (p. 86) in a list of key aspects of interactional competence. This is the aspect of interactional competence that the present study focuses upon: identifying the types of first-position moves and actions recurrently produced in this particular classroom setting and examining how the speakership of these moves relates to proficiency.

Producing first-position actions is one instantiation of participation in social interaction. The notion of participation is another key concept in CA, as developed by Goffman (1981). Goffman describes the array of roles that can be taken up by participants in collaborative tasks. These roles include various types of speaking and hearing, as well as actions performed by particular participants. These configurations of participants in groups are called participation frameworks, and they are one aspect of the context in which people interact; they also shift throughout the course of interaction. Furthermore, the collaborative tasks themselves are typically what drives interaction and the evolution of participation frameworks. As Goffman explains, "A presumed common interest in effectively pursuing the activity at hand, in accordance with some kind of overall plan for doing so, is the contextual matrix which renders many utterances, especially brief ones, meaningful" (1981, p. 143). One of Wittgenstein's (1953) language games illustrates this point. He gives an example of a builder and assistant who are able to collaboratively build a structure using only four words: block, pillar, slab, and beam. Within the context of the activity, the builder can initiate simple collaborative actions by calling out a word; the assistant then brings the object. The setting of the particular collaborative activity is crucial for the actions to be constructed and recognised. Another example comes from Goffman, who uses the example of car mechanics gathered around a car. If one listened to an audio recording of the mechanics' conversation while they fixed the car, it is likely that the talk would have little meaning. There would be long gaps between utterances, and these utterances would likely appear not to relate to each other. The embodied actions of the mechanics in relation to the car and the progress of the ongoing project undertaken by the

group are essential pieces to make sense of the talk in this setting. Furthermore, participants in this setting may perform different kinds of actions necessary to completing the task at hand. A mechanic working on the engine may request tools from an apprentice, who primarily does actions in response to requests and instructions. Using CA to examine participation in face-to-face activities thus involves considering the whole configuration of participants and their embodied actions (see e.g. Goodwin, 2007, 2013). It also involves examining who participates, and how, as participation frameworks emerge and shift.

Conducting a study using CA involves recording interaction in a naturally occurring setting, transcribing the recorded data to make patterns observable, and building a collection of recurrent phenomena based on microanalysis of the data. These methods and analytical tools will be described in more detail in Chapter 2. CA's project of analysing structures of talk makes it a highly flexible methodology that can be applied to a wide range of settings of naturally occurring interaction (Stivers & Sidnell, 2013). Though the field of CA originated in the study of everyday talk (e.g. Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974), it has since been used to examine various institutional settings of interaction and the way particular norms and expectations of these institutions are carried out by participants through talk (Heritage & Clayman, 2010). Furthermore, it has been used to study interaction between interlocutors speaking a variety of languages (e.g. Asmuß & Oshima, 2012; Bolden, 2011, 2014; Dingemanse & Floyd, 2014; Hayashi, 2003; Kasper, 2004; Sidnell, 2009; Stivers et al., 2009), including English as an additional language (e.g. Firth, 2009; Gardner, 2007; Sert & Jacknick, 2015; Wong, 2000a, 2000b). CA provides tools for analysing participants' use of interactional resources in real time in the English language classroom, enabling us to expand our understanding of how interactional competences are both put into practice and developed in the classroom setting. The application of tools used in this study for analysing interactional resources such as sequential organisation, turn-taking, and turn design will be described in more detail in Chapter 2, Section 2.7.3.

1.6 Collaborative group work and joint activities

Clark's (1996, 2006) framework of joint activities is also essential for data analysis in this project because it describes the way people achieve mutual goals through interaction. I used this framework together with CA because Clark focuses primarily on the specific context of participants working together on collaborative tasks. Therefore this framework provides a vital resource for describing the actions done by the group members in the data. Clark draws on

the concept of sequence organisation to describe the way actions tend to be organised in relation to each other in contexts of collaborative action. This enables a deeper understanding of how sequences cohere in the data I collected for this study and how participants make sense of each other's talk. As a result, initiating actions were easier to identify and describe, which made the analysis more rigorous and precise. This also led to the measurement of participation by different group members. The recent move toward the use of quantitative methods (e.g. Stivers et al., 2009) in the field of CA was foregrounded by research conducted by interactionally focused psychologists such as Clark. De Ruiter and Albert (2017) call for recognition of the synergies between CA and psychology that can result in innovative research for both fields. In sum, I believe Clark's framework is essential for describing the interactional projects carried out in the data, given the task-oriented setting and the way participants display their intentions through talk.

Clark's work has been critiqued in comparison to EMCA. His framework of joint action has been perceived as focusing on the inner intentions of participants and for viewing interaction solely as a means to achieve joint activities, rather than positioning joint activities as an emergent, co-constructed result of interaction (Kunitz, 2015). However, as will be discussed in Section 1.8, intentionality in this psycholinguistic literature does not necessarily refer to a participant's individual mental state; instead, participants are understood to display intentionality through orientation to particular projects and actions (Enfield, 2013; Schweikard, 2017). Furthermore, focusing on participants' orientation to joint activity does not preclude or deny the existence of other orientations that may be at work in the talk. While a single move can achieve multiple actions simultaneously, homing in on a particular action among many does not negate the existence of these other actions.

I will now explain the key concepts from Clark's framework of joint activities that were used in this study and their relation to conversation analytic structures of talk. According to Clark (1996), joint activities are carried out through joint projects; a joint project is defined as "a joint action projected by one of its participants and taken up by the others" (p. 191). Joint activity as a whole is done through these joint projects that achieve joint goals. Clark sees whole spates of interaction in joint activities as extended joint projects with overarching goals. These goals are carried out through multiple, smaller joint projects that are organised hierarchically by reference to the overall activity (Bangerter & Clark, 2003) and accomplished in phases of joint action. Each of these joint projects achieves a mutual goal (or multiple goals) of some kind that contributes in some way to the overarching goals. The mutual goals

participants attend to may have been explicitly discussed and outlined via an external source, such as instructions, or they may arise in and through interaction.

The joint actions done by participants are carried out through moves (Goffman, 1981). A move is a single communicative unit done through language, gesture, or other combination of semiotic resources that makes "some relevant social action recognizable" (Enfield, 2013, p. 64) to other participants. One way of accomplishing a joint project is with two moves done in sequence – a first move that initiates and projects the joint project, and a second that takes up the first move in some way (Clark, 2006). Collectively, Clark calls these two moves a projective pair; a projective pair is the minimal form of a joint project. Joint projects may also take the form of longer, more complex sequences with smaller joint projects therein.

Sequences of talk have been studied extensively in CA, where first and second paired moves done through verbal utterances are referred to as adjacency pairs. Schegloff and Sacks (1973) describe these base units for sequences as two adjacently placed, pair-related (Schegloff, 1968) spoken utterances done by two different speakers. Thus adjacency pairs are made up of a first pair part and second pair part. When a speaker puts forward an action that is a first pair part, a particular second action is made relevant for the recipient to produce. If it is not forthcoming, this is typically accountable. For example, greetings typically beget return greetings from recipients. Turns are another key area of study in CA. The term 'turn' refers to the linguistic aspects of moves; that is, turns are "moves in linguistic clothing" (Enfield, 2013, p. 67). The study of turn-taking and turn design in CA will be discussed in more detail in Section 2.7.1. Sequence structure focuses on the actions done through moves and how they are organised in relation to each other. At times in this thesis, 'action', 'move' and 'turn' may be used to discuss and analyse parts of projective pairs. 'Move' is the most general term that refers to any action done by a participant. 'Turn' is used interchangeably with move when the move is done via linguistic resources. 'Action' is used to refer to what is accomplished by a speaker via a move (or turn).

The difference between adjacency pairs and projective pairs is that adjacency pairs are done through moves that are spoken utterances, while the moves in projective pairs can be done through any semiotic resource. Furthermore, Goodwin and Heritage (1990) explain that the adjacency-pair structure is quite rigid, and that it "only organizes a relatively narrow range of conversational actions" (p. 288). However, the logic of first and second actions applies to a wide range of activities in interaction. Clark (2006) argues that participants exploit this

structure as an interactional resource for establishing joint commitment to action. Because the second speaker may take up the proposed joint project in a variety of ways, projective pairs done through this structure of first and second actions are a resource for both speakers to shape the emerging joint project.

Stevanovic's (2012) analysis of joint decision-making in dyads is helpful in understanding these kinds of sequences in more detail. Focusing on proposals done in first position, she shows the steps necessary to move from the initial proposal by one speaker through to a joint decision by two participants. She argues that recipients first display access to the proposed idea, then acceptance of it, and finally commitment to it. If any of these components are not present, then there is another kind of result; for example, if the recipient does not display access but moves directly to acceptance, this results in a unilateral decision rather than a joint decision. In Clark's terms, such a sequence would still be a joint project given that the second speaker has taken up the first action; however, the decision to pursue that joint project would be primarily with the speaker of the proposal.

The organisation of sequences of talk is a vital resource for multi-party groups to solve the problem of navigating and managing progression of hierarchies of joint activities through joint projects. Therefore participating in projective pairs through first- and second-position actions, as well as longer, more complex sequences for joint decision-making and ongoing joint activities, is an important interactional competence for participants in collaborative task-based group work.

1.7 Participating in projective pairs

In this section, I present prior work on first and second actions in projective pairs to provide an introduction to technical aspects of sequence organisation. This work is crucial for understanding interaction in the task-based language classroom because it shows how speakers claim access to information and knowledge, direct future action, and elicit participation from others through the design and construction of first- and second-position moves. Thus it provides insights into the way language is used as an interactional resource and the impact of this language use for participation by other group members. First, findings from the broader CA literature are presented. Then I discuss relevant findings from studies of interaction in the language classroom.

1.7.1 Initiating and responding through first- and second-position actions

Participants in joint activities do various types of actions in sequential first position to initiate joint projects, such as proposals of joint action (Stivers & Sidnell, 2016), idea proposals (Yasui, 2013), suggestions for future events (Stevanovic & Peräkylä, 2012), and requests for information (Bangerter & Clark, 2003; Heritage, 2012). I refer to all moves done in first position that orient to the initiation of joint projects as *joint-project-initiating moves*. This term excludes first-position moves that do not orient to joint activity with other participants, such as speak-alouds or rhetorical questions, and also excludes second-position moves.

Stivers and Rossano (2010) distinguish between two types of actions done in first position: canonical and non-canonical first-position actions. The first category includes actions that are canonical first pair parts in adjacency pairs. Such actions include requests, offers, greetings and invitations, and they make particular kinds of actions, called second pair parts, relevant in second position (e.g. returning a greeting or accepting an invitation). Schegloff (1968) argues that in the case of adjacency pairs, first pair parts and second pair parts are related because the first action sets up an expectation for an action that will follow in the second turn, a phenomenon he refers to as conditional relevance. Furthermore, if the second action is not forthcoming – if it is missing or some other action is done instead – this is typically noticed, or treated as accountable by participants (Goffman, 1981). Evidence of this is provided through the tendency of recipients to provide type-fitted responses and participants' orientation to a lack of type-fitted response as a failure (Stivers & Rossano, 2010). This is evidence of a social preference for certain kinds of actions in second position. The ability to construct recognisable actions in a variety of positions, such as first position and response, is a key component of interactional competence (Enfield & Sidnell, 2017).

However, not all actions done in first position are canonical first pair parts in adjacency pairs that establish strong conditional relevance. Non-canonical actions done in first position do not have such strong expectations for particular kinds of responses. Such actions include assessments or assertions of information. Though there are some responsive actions that are more preferred than others, such as agreeing with an assessment (Pomerantz, 1984), Stivers and Rossano (2010) argue that there is a wider range of possible actions done in second position. Furthermore, canonical first pair parts have an inherently first quality that non-canonical first-position actions do not share (Stivers & Rossano, 2010). For example, requests are typically treated as initiations of new sequences; if done after a prior request, they are not

treated as a response but rather as an initiation of a new adjacency pair. Assessments, by contrast, can be first- or second-position actions. These different kinds of initiating moves have important implications for participation because they set up different kinds of environments for response from other group members.

Stivers and Rossano argue that because of conditional relevance and the pressure upon recipients to respond with a fitted second pair part, canonical first pair parts make some kind of response more accountable than non-canonical first-position actions do. This means that at the action level, certain kinds of initiations of joint projects put more pressure upon other group members to respond, while others make response more voluntary. For example, if I ask a direct question to a colleague, such as "What time is it?", they would likely respond by either providing the information or by accounting for why they could not provide it. If I commented to a colleague, "It's five o'clock", it is easier to imagine a scenario where a lack of response would not be accountable. For this reason I call the former category of joint-project initiations done through canonical first pair parts *more-response-mobilising moves*, while the latter category of initiations done through non-canonical first-position actions are called *less-response-mobilising moves*. More-response-mobilising moves often resemble questions; however, the term "question" can be misleading as it is often conflated with the interrogative linguistic form (Stivers & Rossano, 2010). As Heritage (2012) explains, speakers can question in forms other than interrogatives, and interrogatives can be used to do actions other than questioning. Stivers and Rossano argue that response mobilisation is a more useful concept for categorising classes of action done in first position because it relates to the implications of the action itself, rather than depending on turn-design features for categorising actions.

Stivers and Rossano (2010) go on to describe turn-design resources used by speakers to mobilise response. In addition to the action itself and its sequence-initial position, there are turn-design resources that speakers use to make response even more strongly accountable. These turn-design features for response mobilisation include "interrogative lexico-morphosyntax, interrogative prosody, recipient-focused epistemicity, and speaker gaze" (p. 4). Speakers often draw upon multiple turn-design features when doing one move, and typically these features co-occur with more-response-mobilising moves. Furthermore, Stivers and Rossano find that these features are used in a variety of combinations, which means that no single feature appears to be essential to response mobilisation.

Interrogative lexico-morphosyntax and intonation are features that are commonly associated with the action of questioning, but are not exclusive to that action. Interrogative lexico-morphosyntax includes use of interrogative morphology, defined as "use of a question word or phoneme" (Stivers & Rossano, 2010, p. 8), and syntax, for example, "subject-verb inversion in English questions" (Stivers & Rossano, 2010, p. 8), while interrogative intonation refers to upward move-final intonation. It is important to note here that turn-final upward intonation can be associated with actions other than questioning, such as try-marking (Sacks & Schegloff, 1979). With try-marking, speakers make reference to someone who may or may not be known by the recipient, and the utterance of this reference is accompanied by upward intonation. In these instances the speaker is seeking confirmation of recognition from the recipient, and thus the feature remains a resource for response mobilisation.

Epistemic asymmetry occurs when one participant has, or is positioned as having, more or less access to knowledge or information (Heritage, 2012, 2013a). In initiating moves, speakers may position themselves as having access to information or knowledge. Alternatively, they may position the recipient as being the holder of knowledge. This distinction has roots in speech act theory (Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969) and the felicity conditions for asserting and asking. There has been a recent lively debate around the topic of epistemics, starting with a 2016 special issue of *Discourse Studies* with critiques of the so-called "Epistemic Program" (see e.g. Lynch & Macbeth, 2016; Lynch & Wong, 2016). This was followed by a 2018 special issue that began with a rebuttal from Heritage (see Heritage, 2018). Based on the evidence found through the analysis for this study, I maintain the importance of epistemics in interaction as a resource exploited by participants to formulate and recognise actions. This will be described in more detail in Section 6.2.1.

According to Heritage, epistemic status refers to the actual state of the speaker's and recipient's knowledge, while epistemic stance refers to the way the speaker positions his or her own access to information, and the recipient's access to information, through the move. Using Heritage's framework, when speakers position themselves as having greater epistemic access to knowledge or information, this is a speaker-tilted epistemic asymmetry, or "K+". When the recipient is positioned as having greater epistemic access, this is referred to as recipient-tilted epistemic asymmetry, or "K–". Heritage shows that K– first actions are more likely to be expanded than K+ first actions, which points to the response-mobilising nature of the K– feature. This epistemic asymmetry toward the speaker or recipient is argued by Heritage to be a defining feature for action ascription of first actions that share other features such as

morphosyntax and intonation. For example, declarative syntax can be used to do actions with either K+ or K– epistemic asymmetry. If a declarative is used to inform another person of something, this is an action with speaker-tilted epistemic asymmetry. However, declaratives can also be used to do so-called B-event statements (Labov & Fanshel, 1977), in which a speaker requests information by making a statement about something in the recipient's domain of knowledge. B-event statements have recipient-tilted epistemic asymmetry and invite confirmation or disconfirmation by the recipient in second position. According to Heritage, it is the domain of knowledge and where it lies that distinguishes these actions, not the use of declarative or interrogative syntax. When the speaker positions the recipient as having greater access to knowledge or information in the first action, regardless of other aspects of turn design, this makes response relevant from a recipient who is positioned as being able to provide this missing information. Based on Heritage's work in this area, it appears that epistemic asymmetry is a different type of feature of first-position actions to the others. Instead of being an additional aspect of turn design to the action, it instead seems to serve as a resource for speaker design, and recipient recognition, of certain kinds of actions.

Gaze at a recipient is the final turn-design feature of response mobilisation in Stivers and Rossano's (2010) framework. As shown by Rossano (2012), gaze at a recipient at the end of a move correlates with sequence expansion, whereas utterances unaccompanied by gaze at the recipient are less likely to be expanded. Gaze can be used to select a next speaker in face-to-face interaction (Goodwin, 1981; Kendon, 1967; Lerner, 2003); according to the turn-taking rules, if a next speaker is selected, they are the person who has next speaking rights. If they do not reply, another speaker may self-select. However, in order for another person to gain speaking rights, the speaker-selected recipient has to pass on the opportunity to respond, so there is a sense of accountability if that response is not produced in a timely manner. Both of these features point to gaze as a resource for making response relevant.

Stivers and Rossano (2010) argue for a scalar model of response mobilisation, where response is mobilised to a greater or lesser extent depending on the type of first action produced, combined with the number of response-mobilising resources used. Because they find that there is no essential feature for response mobilisation, the total number of turn-design features is counted rather than some being privileged above others. They argue that as features accrue, the accountability for lack of response becomes greater. When used with social actions that already mobilise response, these interactional resources are used to further emphasise the accountability for response.

However, if a less-response-mobilising move is done with no turn-design features for mobilising response, does that mean that a response is not conditionally relevant? In Couper-Kuhlen's (2010) response to Stivers and Rossano (2010), she states that if this were the case, this would call into question many findings regarding the structures of talk. She points out that the data samples providing examples of less-response-mobilising moves in Stivers and Rossano's paper are from settings where participants are not engaged in the focused encounters (Goffman, 1963) that formed the data corpora of early CA work. Instead, in these data excerpts the participants are engaged in non-focused encounters, meaning that they are doing other ongoing activities in addition to talk, such as preparing a meal or tidying up, that "do not require copresent parties to sustain a single common focus of attention" (Couper-Kuhlen, 2010, p. 35). Couper-Kuhlen suggests that response relevance may therefore be a resource for participants to orient to focused and non-focused encounters in such settings. This conjecture also implies that the ability to shift in orientation between focused and non-focused encounters is an interactional competence.

Couper-Kuhlen (2010) and Schegloff (2010) also question the equal weighting given to these four features of turn design for response mobilisation and their presumed lack of interdependency, as well as the privileging of these particular aspects of turn design above others. Drawing upon Heritage (2012) and Couper-Kuhlen (2010), I argue for a repositioning of epistemic access within the framework proposed by Stivers and Rossano. To do this, I present evidence from my analysis for the relationship between epistemicity and action formation and ascription. I also argue that selection of a single next speaker could be an additional turn-design feature in multi-party talk, and describe the interdependence of next-speaker selection with gaze.

1.7.2 Initiating joint projects in multi-level task-based group work

Many CA studies of language classroom interaction have focused primarily on interaction between teachers and students (Lee, 2008; Margutti, 2010; Margutti & Drew, 2014; McHoul, 1978; Mehan, 1979; Sert & Jacknick, 2015). Gardner (2013) describes a more recent focus that examines peer–peer interaction between learners engaged in classroom talk, and looks at the way these participants organise talk to achieve the aims of the tasks. Hellermann (2008) attributes this shift in focus in part to developments in technology for recording interactions. This focus on peer–peer interaction dovetails with the trend in language teaching toward more communicative and task-based pedagogies (Mori, 2002) and increased awareness of the

participation frameworks and activities that take place in these settings (Markee, 2005; Seedhouse, 2004).

In their research on peer–peer group interaction in tasks, Hellermann and Pekarek Doehler (2010) observe that students with classroom experience recognise and orient to this structure through their interaction. By doing so, they jointly interpret instructions and transform the task into a joint activity. Task accomplishment is thus "a contingent, co-constructed phenomenon" (p. 26), and achieving the task aims through interaction is an interactional competence made relevant in classrooms that use task-based approaches. Olsher's (2003) study of interaction during collaborative group work in the English as a foreign language classroom provides important insights into the way groups jointly accomplish tasks. He describes the rich interactional repertoires of novice English language learners, including turn construction, action recognition, sequence organisation, and repair. As Olsher argues, these findings provide evidence of the value of collaborative tasks for providing practice in interaction in a new language. Furthermore, Hellermann (2007) posits that, given the positioning of tasks as sites of language learning, interaction within the tasks needs to be examined to understand the opportunities for language use afforded by this context. This section discusses work from EMCA perspectives that examines how tasks are accomplished in peer–peer group work during tasks. Such studies examine the way participants use the range of interactional resources available to them – including language and embodied resources such as gaze, gesture, and shifts in posture – during these classroom tasks.

What does it take for groups to successfully complete a task? Mondada and Pekarek Doehler's (2004) study of talk in collaborative group work finds that task accomplishment involves joint orientation by group members to the task, which is done through group alignment with joint projects. In support of this argument, Hellermann and Pekarek Doehler's (2010) analysis of a triadic group discusses how competing agendas from different group members can result in abandonment of the task. They find that in a setting where collaboration is necessary to complete task aims, it is difficult for one person to pursue the task on their own when there is resistance from other group members. The ability to co-construct the task and work jointly through projective pairs is thus crucial for task accomplishment.

I would argue that initiating and responding in projective pairs is the most important instantiation of participation in the joint accomplishment of tasks, given that projective pairs provide opportunities for proposing joint action, building common ground, and displaying

alignment (or disalignment) with other group members. For example, through participation in projective pairs, group members display "willingness to participate" in tasks by positioning themselves relative to other group members as they construct actions (Evnitskaya & Berger, 2017). However, the type of joint projects and their organisation may vary considerably depending on the group, and this does not preclude successful task completion (Coughlan & Duff, 1994). Furthermore, differing interpretations can lead to different organising structures of talk during the phase of task completion (Pochon-Berger, 2009, 2011). Hellermann (2008) notes that language used during peer–peer group work in task interpretation, from opening through to task completion and then closing, is not typically explicitly taught but co-constructed by learners (Mondada & Pekarek Doehler, 2004). This is not a fault of task design; as Hellermann (2008) argues, drawing on Garfinkel and Sacks (1970), talk will always need to be interpreted due to the necessary incompleteness of communication. Instead, the process of interpretation within groups is another way that "classroom tasks provide space for students' creativity with the language" (Hellermann, 2008, p. 83). Furthermore, Hellermann and Pekarek Doehler (2010) find that even in environments of strong teacher support, students display this creativity; as they transition from instructions to task work, they draw on resources such as the teacher's instructions, handouts and other written materials to build common ground.

Accomplishing projective pairs presents a variety of interactional problems for participants to solve. An initial problem is claiming speakership through self-selection to initiate a joint project. To do this, participants need to precision-time the start of the move in the flow of ongoing talk (Carroll, 2000). If another participant is currently speaking, this involves projecting an appropriate place in the ongoing move to successfully take the floor (Sacks et al., 1974) as well as displaying one's intention to begin speaking (Evnitskaya & Berger, 2017). In everyday talk between highly competent speakers of English, there is a preference for no overlap between the current and next speaker (Sacks et al., 1974). Carroll (2000) finds that in novice–novice English speaker talk, there are more lengthy gaps between changes in speaker. However, the presence of no-gap speaker changes indicates that these participants are capable of accomplishing speaker change with minimal gaps. He argues that the "no overlap" rule may be relaxed in this setting, where there is a greater tendency for first speakers to have substantial pauses within their turn-beginnings. This prevents the risk of being seen to interrupt prior speakers or violating the preference for one person to speak at a time. Furthermore, in environments following a prior minimal turn, significant gaps can be used as a resource to elicit further talk from the previous speaker.

Once a speaker has claimed the floor, either by self-selecting or being selected by the prior speaker, they need to construct a recognisable action for potential take-up by other group members. Gardner (2007) examines turn-beginnings and the way novice speakers of English construct actions. He raises the further issue of time pressure in action construction; if one self-selects, they need to formulate the move before another speaker takes over the floor, and if a prior speaker selects them, the production of a timely response (or lack thereof) is accountable. Furthermore, the action itself needs to make sense within the preceding talk, and if it is a response to a prior move, it needs to display orientation to that prior move. This involves the use of grammatical resources, and Gardner argues that turn-beginnings are a site of the intersection between grammar and interaction. Halting turn-beginnings that contain restarts and substantial pauses, which he calls "bricolage turn starts", are used to keep the floor while the speaker formulates the action.

Participants in projective pairs construct a wide range of actions, drawing upon a variety of interactional resources. Hellermann (2007) examines participation in task openings in dyadic task-based classroom talk, focusing in particular on how tasks are opened. In task openings, learners begin to co-operatively formulate their understanding of the task (Coughlan & Duff, 1994), which sets the stage for achievement of task aims through goal-oriented talk. This constitutes a shift in their participation status as well, from "recipients of teacher-to-class instructions … to a new status as active interactants in a peer–peer dyadic language learning task" (Hellermann, 2007, p. 84). Hellermann argues that this is an important aspect of interactional competence that is both particular to the classroom community of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998) as well as a resource that can be used in other goal-oriented settings. He identifies three practices used by participants to do task-opening moves. The first is for participants to recycle and reformulate language use by the teacher, particularly questions and task prompts. Second, participants also recycle language use by their conversation partners in prior sessions. Third, they co-construct resources with their conversation partners, using recipient design to identify methods of making actions understood. An example of this is a set of cases where two conversation partners establish mutual reference points, such as text on the board, and incorporate these in their task-opening moves.

Hellermann's (2008) book presents a longitudinal study of task-oriented interaction. Participants in the study are working in dyads with interlocutors of roughly commensurate proficiency levels. Hellermann examines the actions done across all participants in the study

as well as comparing practices across the dyads. This results in findings of key practices and interactional resources for collaborative, task-based interaction as well as differences between participants of different proficiency levels. In particular, Hellermann focuses on the three main joint activities in classroom tasks: task openings, task completion, and task closings, looking first at what these involve generally, and then how participants of different levels tend to accomplish them. The following focuses on findings related to opening the task completion stage, given the analytical focus of the task stage in this project.

One way of opening the task is through a direct launch, where speakers move immediately into the task without much preliminary talk. This tends to be done by lower-proficiency dyads, while higher levels have more complex negotiations as they begin the task, including use of humour. Through this finding, Hellermann argues that developing the ability to build common ground to establish mutual understanding of the teacher's instructions is an emergent aspect of interactional competence that develops as learners progress in level. By contrast, however, Markee (2015) finds proficient learners also doing direct launches into tasks, which he argues further emphasises the local co-construction of tasks and linguistic proficiency level.

In Hellermann's (2008) study, other kinds of task openings, such as assigning roles to different participants through turn allocation and clarifying task instructions, are done by learners of both higher and lower levels. However, these methods of opening tasks are done differently by speakers of different proficiency levels. Lower-proficiency dyads accomplish this through embodied action and recycling teacher language, while higher-proficiency dyads engage in repair sequences and reformulations to negotiate task understanding. In terms of interactional resources used by speakers of different proficiency levels, lower-proficiency dyads tended to use more non-verbal resources and recycle teacher language more often. Similarly, Gan (2010) finds that higher-proficiency speakers in assessment contexts do a wider range of actions and show a stronger orientation to task accomplishment, while lower-proficiency speakers tend to focus on co-construction of the initiations themselves. That is, lower-proficiency participants tended to be more collaborative in turn construction, actively assisting each other in constructing moves.

Hellermann (2008) argues that these differences between dyads of different levels provide evidence for task openings as sites of language learning. However, he also acknowledges differences in the classroom context for participants of different levels that may play a role.

For example, teachers in classes with lower-proficiency participants tended to provide more scaffolding and support than they did for the higher-proficiency participants, and this difference in teaching approach may have impacted the use of interactional resources during task openings. For all levels, talk in dyads during the task completion stage was primarily task-focused, which may reflect the time pressure of the task. As dyads moved into this stage, the phenomenon of recycling teacher language shifted as they moved deeper into their own co-construction of the task. As they progressed through the interaction, collaborative activities that had not been explicitly taught by the teacher emerged. This meant that participants needed to draw upon their own creative use of interactional resources to accomplish these goals in order to progress the interaction and achieve task completion.

Hellermann (2008) contributes important findings to the body of literature on task-based interaction in the English language classroom. Through empirical evidence based on the longitudinal study of microanalysis of talk, he attempts to demonstrate how the task can be a site of learning, where learners develop the ability to participate more, and in more complex ways, over time. As Hellermann observes, "Within a particular classroom community of practice, newcomers or novices become more competent and more full participants through repeated task interaction" (p. 153). Thus he recommends that teachers provide plenty of time for task completion so that learners can develop and exploit a wide range of interactional practices. This enables them to make the most of the learning opportunities afforded by the task.

Galaczi (2014) also focuses on differences between participants of different linguistic proficiency levels in interaction. However, she looks at interaction between paired participants of different proficiency levels rather than comparing between pairs of participants with similar levels. By focusing on interaction between interlocutors of different levels in speaking assessments, Galaczi finds salient differences that enable contribution to new CEFR descriptors. Her study focuses both on initiations as well as responses in projective pairs. She finds three areas of interactional competence that are salient for linguistic proficiency level: topic development, listener support, and turn-taking management. While all speakers displayed these competences, the repertoire of resources varied across levels, with higher levels showing a wider range of more complex resources. Turn-taking management was discussed at the opening of this section; it involves claiming the floor and responding as a selected next speaker with no gap or overlap. Topic development includes a variety of competences, including the ability to expand sequences in second position through step-wise

topic transitions (Sacks, 1992) rather than doing minimal responses the majority of the time (see also Gan, 2010). Finally, listener support involves tracking responses to one's own initiation. This finding implies that there are further-reaching implications to initiation beyond the move itself. By doing an initiation, the speaker takes on responsibilities and duties for ongoing participation in the ensuing talk. He or she needs to track and understand following talk in order to respond appropriately or initiate repair if needed.

The literature discussed in this section highlights the notion that the accomplishment of joint projects in task-based classroom interaction is an interactional competence that itself involves a host of interactional competences, such as turn-taking, action formation, repair, and collaborative sense-making and interpretation of task instructions. Thus accomplishing joint projects through projective pairs is one of the interactional opportunities afforded by tasks, and in the context of English language learning, a potential site of development for learners. CA provides empirical measures for identifying and analysing the interactional resources used by group members to construct these initiating and responsive actions.

The description of pragmatic competence described in *The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, teaching, assessment* (Council of Europe, 2001) includes turn-taking, thematic development, and spoken fluency. Furthermore, the document presents scales with descriptors of speaker ability at different proficiency levels for aspects of interactional competence relevant to interaction in collaborative task accomplishment, such as "taking the floor (turn-taking)" (p. 86) and "goal-oriented co-operation" (p. 79); the updated companion document (Council of Europe, 2017) further expands these descriptors. However, the resources and methods of accomplishing these actions used by speakers of different levels of proficiency are not described in detail (Galaczi, 2014). Thus these documents provide a springboard for further research in this area (North, 2014). This study uses CA to investigate participants' design and accomplishment of these actions *in situ* and makes differences in participation by group members of different proficiencies visible through empirical measurement of structures of talk.

1.8 Asymmetries in joint project initiation

When participants in groups complete joint projects together through sequences of talk, they establish joint commitment to, or public consensus upon, the completion of particular actions (Clark, 1996, 2006). Enfield (2013, 2017a) argues that establishing joint commitment to action involves establishing shared intentionality between agents, which is when "two or more

people act as one insofar as they share the same reason for action, pursue a single goal together, or commit to being accountable together for what may be conceived of as a single course of behavior" (Enfield, 2013, p. 115). Thus intentionality is not only an individual mental state (Schweikard, 2017); in a situation of distributed agency, it can be displayed and established between agents through communication. Because establishing shared commitment through projective pairs involves two moves done in a particular order, it inherently and unavoidably involves unbalanced distribution, or asymmetry, of agency across participants engaged in joint activity. That is, one participant does the first action and the other does the second, and they each play different roles in the joint project.

Asymmetry in participation is therefore a fundamental feature of interaction that is built into the very fabric of the structures of talk. According to Enfield, the sequential organisation of talk results in asymmetry in participation as follows. As conversation analysts have long argued, overwhelmingly one person speaks at a time in conversation (Sacks et al., 1974). As a result, there is an imbalance at the local level in who is speaking at a particular time. At the level of whole sequences of interaction, some participants may speak more or less than others and thereby occupy a higher or lower percentage of the speaking time relative to other participants. This is due to the aperiodic nature of talk, which means that it is carried out through sequences of varying lengths initiated by self-selecting agents. Furthermore, particular agents also often tend to do different types of moves in sequences of interaction, thus taking different roles. For example, some speakers may typically ask more questions, or initiate repair more often than others. Enfield (2013) summarises the implications of this asymmetry as follows:

> First, when you are the one to say it, the other person is hereby not the one to say it, and through an agent unity heuristic the other is also at risk of being implied to be not committed to it either. Second, when you say it in the form of an assertion, this implies that you know it while the other does not. Third, when you say it first you say it independently, with the heightened agency of having spoken unprompted and having seen it as being an appropriate thing to say in the context, meaning that any direct agreement by the other is vulnerable to being taken as mere following. (p. 129)

Thus participants who self-select to do initiating turns, through successful completion of these actions, "shap[e] the trajectory of the talk's development" (Schegloff, 1996b, p. 10) and claim epistemic rights to the content of the move (Heritage, 2002). Likewise, Stivers and Sidnell

(2016) argue that a general feature of initiating moves is an overwhelming social preference toward responsive moves that align with the activity or project proposed by the first agent (Clayman, 2002; Heritage, 1984b; Pomerantz, 1984). Depending on the type of move put forward, speaking in first position in collaborative contexts can imply epistemic authority (Heritage, 2012), meaning that the first speaker has claimed access to the information conveyed in the first move, and/or deontic authority (Stevanovic & Peräkylä, 2012) – that is, the right to "determine another's future action" (Stivers & Sidnell, 2016). In the context of collaborative task-based classroom talk, this means directing the momentum and determining the direction of the task completion process. Put simply, agency matters in social interaction because of its far-reaching implications for roles in joint activity and enacting social relationships.

Enfield (2013, 2017b) conceptualises agency as follows. Drawing on Kockelman, he describes agency as consisting of flexibility and accountability. Flexibility involves the ability of the agent to do three things: control, or "determine that the behavior is done at a certain place and time"; compose, or "design the behavior as a means for a particular end"; and subprehend, or "anticipate how others could view and react to the behavior" (Enfield, 2017b, p. 4). Accountability is what comes as a result of doing an action; it involves the evaluation that may be done by others, and the rights and duties that may be afforded to the agent. Focusing on flexibility, access to semiotic systems and process is what underpins each of these elements. If there is asymmetry in this respect, meaning that participants have differing levels of mastery or ability to use certain semiotic resources, it follows that there may be an impact on their level of flexibility, which results in asymmetries in agency. It is important to note here speakers with linguistic limitations draw upon a variety of semiotic resources to make meaning and participate in ongoing activities (Goodwin, 2011), and how this is done is important to study as well.

As exemplified in the participants' observations in the interviews (Section 1.4), in the particular institutional context of this study, the constructs of linguistic proficiency level and associated streamed class membership are foregrounded features of participant identity. Thus participants' relative status as experts or novices in the language is emphasised by the practice of streaming participants into level-based classes. However, there are other factors in addition to proficiency that can contribute to asymmetries in talk during group work. For instance, in multi-party talk in groups of three or four participants, it is common for certain participants to talk more than others. Coe and Prendergast (1985), in their study of interaction in triads in

medical settings, argue that two participants often form coalitions, which is "an effort by two members of the triad to achieve a mutually desired goal despite the resistance of the third member" (p. 241). They found that these coalitions shifted across participants in triadic configurations throughout spates of interaction. Enfield (2013) describes this movement between individual and joint action as "fission–fusion agency", a term that captures the dynamism of individual and collaborative activities that we humans encounter in our daily activities. Pochon-Berger's (2011) study of group interaction during a task contains observations from one triadic group that supports the notion of imbalanced participation in triads; she describes how two participants negotiate a part of the task, while the third hangs back and joins the discussion after the others have resolved their disagreement. Another factor that can result in different kinds of participation is roles that are allocated to different group members during the task. Pochon-Berger (2011) also finds that once responsibilities have been allocated, "participants also orient to a distribution of rights and duties to speak at different points in the interaction" (p. 78). This results in allocation of speakership to particular participants as the task progresses. Such phenomena are layered with linguistic proficiency level in a complex web of contextual features that contribute to different kinds of asymmetries.

Furthermore, linguistic competence is only one aspect of speaker identity and it is not always made relevant by participants in interaction. Hosoda (2006), looking at L1–L2 conversations in Japanese, finds that participants largely do not orient to differences in linguistic proficiency. When they do orient to it, it is in environments of other-initiation of repair, when L2 speakers request vocabulary items from L1 interlocutors and when there is a threat to intersubjectivity. Kasper and Kim (2015), in their investigation of interaction between participants with differing linguistic and cultural knowledge, find that membership in certain linguistic or cultural communities is omnirelevant (Sacks, 1992), meaning that, as with other social categories, "participants can invoke their membership in these categories at any time" (Kasper & Kim, 2015, p. 392). Though social categories of various kinds may or may not be invoked by participants, they may be made explicitly relevant in interaction (see e.g. Kurhila, 2004) or they may manifest more implicitly. In Kasper and Kim's study, for example, participants used differing membership in cultural groups explicitly as a resource to initiate conversations. However, they also found that L1 speakers typically took on the role of managing conversations, which is a more implicit instantiation of the relationship between asymmetries in social categories and asymmetries in interaction. Furthermore, they found that when an L1 speaker was present, lower-proficiency participants tended to orient their conversation to

them, while when no L1 speaker was present, they resumed typical turn-taking patterns. Based on this work, it appears that asymmetries in linguistic proficiency may result in implicit asymmetries in participation, such as performance of different kinds of roles, rather than explicit references to relative expertise in a language.

Finally, though we know that asymmetry is a real and present phenomenon in interaction, it is not inherently negative (Enfield, 2013). In our day-to-day lives, we encounter situations with asymmetries regularly and use these asymmetries as a resource. When I enter a computer store in need of a new laptop, for example, I expect that the sales assistant will have more knowledge than I do about the best option to meet my needs. This asymmetry in knowledge is likely to result in different kinds of participation from each of us in the sales transaction, and this is expected and appreciated in this context.

While there have been ample studies of the nature of interaction in task-based group work and comparison across dyads of participants with different levels, there has not been much investigation of this particular setting of multi-party, multi-proficiency-level talk in a task-based context, where participants within have differing levels of control of a language. This means that the resultant asymmetries in participation (or lack thereof) in such contexts have not been sufficiently investigated. Analysis of the recorded data of group work in the CCA sessions sets out to investigate this further.

1.9 Presentation of the research questions

The aim of this study is to further our understanding of the relationship between linguistic proficiency level and participation in classroom tasks. Working in groups with participants of different linguistic proficiencies is an unavoidable reality of learning English in a classroom setting. Because the groups recorded in the CCA sessions were made up of group members of varying linguistic proficiency levels, the analysis focuses on participation in terms of relative proficiency level rather than absolute measures. That is, it looks at what higher- and lower-proficiency group members tend to do within groups, rather than attempting to describe participation typical of a particular proficiency level. CA is used to attend to structures of talk used by participants; this approach provides insights into the specific methods of interaction used by different group members through rigorous empirical analysis of interaction.

Differences in participation between higher- and lower-proficiency group members can impact students' experiences in the task in a variety of ways: they may work together to

complete the task by engaging the skills of each group member, or some group members may dominate interaction while others withdraw. Why and how these dynamics emerge is not yet well understood. In particular, it is not yet known exactly how differences in proficiency impact participation in projective pairs in this setting. In projective pairs, group members make different kinds of responses relevant, shape the unfolding of the group work, and align (or disalign) to proposed joint action. The interactional competence of accomplishing joint projects through projective pairs is the primary site of task completion through face-to-face interaction, and more research needs to be done to understand how participants of different proficiencies engage in these sequences of interaction. Understanding these phenomena requires making the participation structure (Levinson, 2006) of the recorded CCA sessions explicit. To do this, I use CA to define and identify different kinds of initiating and responsive moves in projective pairs and empirically measure participation by different group members, thus furthering our understanding of these issues.

To further our understanding of the relationship between participation in projective pairs by higher- and lower-proficiency group members, four research questions guide the study. By answering these questions, I engage with specific, measureable features of projective pairs in this research setting and examine how they manifest in the participation of different group members. Thus I contribute to the study of interaction in heterogeneous groups and learning opportunities made relevant in classroom tasks. The research questions I will now present address the same issues as those given in Section 1.1. In this rendition of the questions, I incorporate the technical terms introduced in this chapter. The research questions are:

> *1. How are joint projects initiated by student participants with different linguistic proficiencies in task-based language classroom interactions?*

Answering this question involves qualitative description of the recurrent actions done by participants across groups and in different kinds of tasks. I examine the actions done through more-response-mobilising moves and less-response-mobilising moves, as well as the use of Stivers and Rossano's (2010) turn-design features. This part of the study describes the actions accomplished by speakers in first position and the responses made relevant for recipients. I also look at the turn-design features in light of action in order to describe the relationship between the various resources for mobilising response.

> *2. Who, in terms of relative linguistic proficiency level, does joint-project-initiating moves, and how?*

This question compares participation by speakers of different linguistic proficiency levels relative to each other. This involves analysis of the frequency of the features addressed in the prior question: speakership of actions and use of turn-design features. Thus this question introduces a quantitative element to the study that is necessary in facilitating comparison across speakers of different levels in the groups. While such quantitative analysis has not been uncontroversial in CA research, the categories are based upon the data analysis undertaken to answer the first research question. This means that the categories are developed through microanalysis of data and derived from the talk itself rather than applying *a priori* categories (Stivers, 2015).

3. Who, in terms of relative linguistic proficiency level, is selected as next speaker?

Participation involves more than speakership, and this question examines next-speaker selection by the current speaker of the initiation. I investigate whether or not a single next speaker is selected and, if so, the recurrence of selection of speakers of different proficiency levels relative to each other.

4. What is done in next position to idea-generating moves, and by whom?

This question moves beyond the initiating move into the potential response space after the move. It examines whether or not there is a response done or whether the talk lapses into silence. If there is a response, it examines whether and how this talk orients to the initiating action. By examining these issues, this question focuses on conditional relevance and whether or not there are substantial differences in the use of canonical and non-canonical first-position actions for eliciting response from other group members. Finally, it looks quantitatively at how these practices are done by participants of different relative linguistic proficiency levels. This analysis focuses on the most recurrent joint-project-initiating moves in the data set.

In answering these questions, this study contributes to our understanding of the interactional competence of initiating joint projects in contexts of multi-party, multi-proficiency, collaborative action. It also contributes to the literature on interaction in mixed-ability contexts of multi-party talk by exploring participants' orientation to linguistic proficiency level through speakership of initiating and responsive moves. As the interaction is situated in a task designed to provide opportunities for language learning, the findings also broaden our knowledge of the way these opportunities manifest and are taken up by participants. Finally, it

examines the interplay between asymmetries in linguistic proficiency level and participation, and provides empirical evidence for the relationship between the two.

1.10 Organisation of the thesis

The thesis is organised into three segments. Chapters 1 and 2 describe the background of the study. Chapter 1 focuses on the area of focus based on description of the research setting and analysis of exemplary data from interviews and recorded CCA sessions. Chapter 2 presents the methodology and research design, including description of the data collection procedures, preparation of the data for analysis, the resulting data included in the data set, and the key frameworks for analysis and their application for data analysis. The second segment consists of three results chapters that present the findings from analysis of the collection of joint-project-initiating moves identified in the recorded data of CCA sessions. Chapter 3 begins by focusing on the whole collection of joint-project-initiating moves, then turns to the first category within the collection, more-response-mobilising moves. Chapter 4 presents the second category of joint-project-initiating moves, called less-response-mobilising moves. In each of these chapters, the actions done through these moves are described, as well as the use of turn-design features and selection of next speaker. The distribution of speakership and next-speaker selection across participants of different linguistic proficiency levels is also shown. Chapter 5 focuses on the most recurrent actions in each of the categories of joint-project-initiating moves: requests for ideas and proffers of ideas. These actions are discussed in more detail in order to provide further understanding of how participants use more- and less-response-mobilising moves and their implications for participation. Then the chapter focuses on what happens after these moves, examining types of responses and instances of lack of response. In Chapter 6, the final segment, the results are synthesised in light of the literature. Then implications for the study of interaction in multi-party collaborative settings are discussed, focusing on the language classroom. Finally, I make recommendations for further research based on the findings.

Chapter 2
Research concepts and methodology

In this chapter, I describe the methodological aspects of the study. First, I present the research scope, focus, and design, followed by data collection procedures, participants, and the data collected. Then the analytical framework and procedures are discussed and the resultant collections of cases are outlined. The chapter concludes with a discussion of limitations of the study and steps taken to mitigate these issues.

2.1 Research scope and focus

This study was informed by a smaller pilot study carried out in partial fulfilment of a Master's degree. With the pilot study, I took an initial step into investigating participation in naturally occurring interaction during group work by studying two groups in a single task-based CCA session. By comparing the interactions in the two groups in the brainstorming stage of the task, I found that speakers of different levels accomplished similar actions in first position using formulations of varying degrees of linguistic complexity. For example, the more complex move "`do you have any idea for invention?`" by a higher-proficiency participant accomplished the same action as the move "`another?`" by a lower-proficiency participant after the closing of discussion of a prior idea. Thus this study was a preliminary analysis of recurrent first-position actions in the data that were done by participants of different proficiency levels. Gathering the data for that study also provided insight into logistical constraints for collecting quality video and audio data with the resources available.

The initial focus of the current study was broad by design. The intent was to record a larger number of CCA sessions to investigate the way learning tasks unfold through peer–peer talk across different task types. Through an inductive approach, I moved from this broad focus to more specific areas of interest based on the findings in the data. This approach aligns with conversation analytic procedures that place an emphasis on participants' methods of accomplishing actions rather than applying *a priori* frameworks to the data. As Heritage (1984b) notes:

> [Conversation] analysis is strongly "data-driven" – developed from phenomena which are in various ways evidenced in the data of interaction. Correspondingly, there is a

> strong bias against *a priori* speculation about the orientations and motives of speakers and in favour of detailed examination of conversationalists' actual actions. (p. 243)

As the analysis of the data progressed, the focus on exploring the relationship between relative proficiency levels of speakers and participation during collaborative, task-focused group work emerged, as described in Chapter 1. Specifically, the study focuses on spoken moves that initiate new joint projects to be collaboratively achieved by the groups, and the role these moves play in asymmetries in participation by group members of different linguistic proficiency levels. These moves are an important starting place to describe interaction in the setting because of their necessity as a resource for doing collaborative action.

The study aims to answer the following research questions, as presented in Section 1.9:

1. How are joint projects initiated by student participants with different linguistic proficiencies in task-based language classroom interactions?
2. Who, in terms of relative linguistic proficiency level, does joint-project-initiating moves, and how?
3. Who, in terms of relative linguistic proficiency level, is selected as next speaker?
4. What is done in next position to idea-generating moves, and by whom?

This chapter focuses on the collection and analysis of data to develop and answer these questions.

This study focuses on a small cohort of participants involved in four different CCA sessions, and any claims in answer to the research questions relate to the collection of cases from this particular setting. Conversation analytic methods foster this kind of close, in-depth investigation of interactional practices. Whether the same practices and participation patterns would be found in other settings of task-based group work remains to be researched.

The research design that enabled answering of these research questions will now be described. This research design and procedures for data collection were approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee at the University of Sydney (Protocol number 2012/1760). Data from the pilot study is also included in the present study; the data was collected in accordance with the ethics approval obtained at the time of that study (Protocol number 2012/2785).

2.2 Research design and data types

Recordings of groups working together during CCA sessions formed the core data set for the study. These video and audio recordings enabled detailed transcription and microanalysis of interactions between participants in these sessions. However, in order to properly conduct the analysis of interactions in the CCA sessions, additional, supplementary data was needed to provide greater understanding of the institutional context (Maynard, 2003). For example, participants often refer to concepts learned in a prior session or to phrases on handouts used in the sessions, and both of these interactional resources are unseen in the recorded data itself. For this reason, the task materials, including teachers' notes, presentation slides, and class handouts supplemented the recorded data. The preparatory class sessions mentioned in Section 1.3 were also observed to provide context for the recorded CCA sessions. In the preparatory sessions with individual classes held prior to the CCA sessions, students were presented with contextual background to the tasks and useful lexicogrammar, and given preliminary practice with the task materials. These sessions were observed and notes were taken to garner understanding of some of the background information that had been presented to the students prior to the recorded CCA.

Additionally, interviews were held with groups of teacher and student participants in the study. The purpose of these interviews was to gain further insight into the context by discussing participants' perspectives on the purpose and utility (or lack thereof) of the CCA sessions. These were done in more homogenous groupings: teachers were interviewed in pairs, and groups of participants from single classes were interviewed together. As part of the data for contextual information, they did not undergo microanalysis, but instead were used to describe the participants' observations of the CCA sessions in Section 1.4 and the implications of the research discussed in Chapter 6.

2.3 Recruitment of participants

This section describes the recruitment of participants in the study and procedures for ensuring adherence to research ethics.

Participants in the project were teachers in the General English (GE) team and students enrolled in the GE course at the time of the study. With the approval of the executive management of the centre, all teachers and students who were involved with the GE program at the time of data collection were invited to voluntarily participate in the study.

Teachers on the GE team were invited during a weekly staff meeting to participate in the study. At this time I explained the aims and focus of the study, along with the options for participation. For teachers, these options included teaching a recorded CCA, participating in a paired interview, and being observed teaching a preparatory session. It was explained that teachers were only being invited to participate in sessions for which they were already scheduled for teaching duty, and that they were not being asked to teach outside of scheduled hours. Interviews would take place in a classroom at the centre for a maximum of one hour after class. Furthermore, I explained that teachers could participate in all, some, or no parts of the project. Teachers were then given a participant information statement (Appendix D) with full details of the project, and a consent form (Appendix F) with boxes to tick beside different participation options; these could be returned to the researcher at any time after the meeting. Finally, I requested to visit each of the teachers' classes the following week to invite their students to participate.

Students were invited to participate via a short presentation during regular class time. I briefly explained the aims and focus of the project, followed by the kinds of participation available to students. These included being recorded while participating in a CCA and participating in a group interview with fellow classmates. Students were given participant information statements (Appendix C) to keep, and participation consent forms (Appendix E) with boxes to tick beside different participation options. Students were given the option of participating in all, part, or none of the study. They were asked to return the consent forms to their teacher at any time in the following week if they wished to participate. Teachers then gave any submitted forms to me.

Following the recruitment procedures detailed above, six teachers and thirty-five students were recruited for the study. Of these, two student participants agreed only to participate in the recorded class sessions and one student participant agreed only to participate in the group interview. The remaining thirty-two student participants agreed to participate in all parts of the study. The six teacher participants also agreed to participate in all parts of the study, including teaching a recorded session, participating in an interview, and being observed teaching a preparatory session. Of those recruited, a group was then selected for participation in the recorded sessions, observations, and interviews. Due to logistical factors such as the number of recording devices and size of the rooms (described in more detail in Section 2.4), there were a maximum of 12 student participants and one teacher participant in each recorded session. Where there were more recruited student participants for a particular session, I

selected participants so that a relative balance of class levels, cultural backgrounds, and genders were represented to reflect the diversity of the whole student cohort. However, at the time of recording, the total number of participants in each session fluctuated due to attendance and attrition during the course of the study, and the groupings within the sessions varied based on activity types. While these changes presented challenges at the time of data collection, this variation in attendance reflects the nature of a program with rolling enrolment, and a curriculum focus on communication in different contexts and with a diverse range of interlocutors.

2.4 Data collection

In this section, procedures for collecting the data for the study will be described. First, the primary data set of recorded group interaction will be described, followed by observations of classes, interviews, and lesson materials.

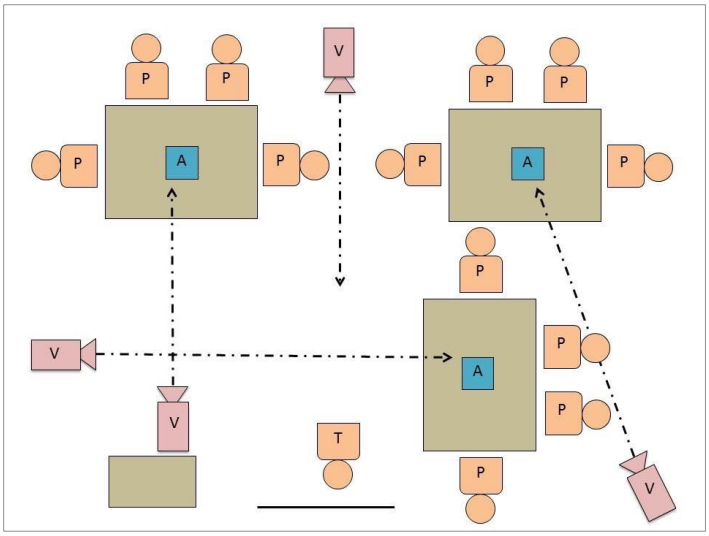
2.4.1 Recorded CCA sessions

At the time of the data collection for this study, there were sixty to eighty students in the course cohort who were taught together in one large class session for the CCA sessions. Recording these large, program-wide sessions presented an ethical risk, as people who had not volunteered to participate might be recorded in the background of group recordings. Furthermore, obtaining quality recordings of group work with the recording devices available for the project presented a logistical challenge. To mitigate these challenges, a separate recorded CCA session was held with the smaller class group of consenting student participants. In order to ensure that the sessions were as similar to the typical CCA sessions as possible, the recorded sessions were held in an adjacent classroom at the same time as the regular CCA session time, and the same teaching materials were used. The teachers of these recorded sessions planned and facilitated the activities as they normally would with the larger group. They were asked to consult with the researcher only on practical issues related to recording, such as location of tables and the amount of flexibility in moving classroom furniture. Therefore, aside from the concession to the study for class size and a smaller classroom space, the rest of the features of the session remained the same, making the recordings as naturally occurring as possible within the constraints of the study.

Six CCA sessions were recorded for the study in addition to the recorded CCA session in the pilot study. In the first three sessions, each teacher who volunteered to participate and was

scheduled on the centre's teaching roster during the session was asked to choose a session he or she would like to teach. This provided a variety of teachers, reflecting the usual rotating roster of teachers in the program-wide sessions. In the last three sessions, one larger ongoing activity was conducted across the three sessions. One teacher volunteered to teach the recorded group for all of the session, as per the design of this particular activity.

Student participants in the recorded class sessions typically worked in groups of three to four people per group, like students in the larger CCA session. Figure 2.1 shows the typical set-up of a recorded CCA session. In total, there were two to three groups of student participants in each of the sessions, with three to four student participants per group. They were seated around small tables in a semi-circle configuration. Video cameras were placed near each table to capture all of the group members at a table in the frame. Figure 2.2 shows an example of a group working on a task, as captured by one of these cameras. An additional video camera was placed at the back of the room to record the teacher's interactions with the whole class and presentation slides projected on the wall at the front of the room, as informed by approaches to video recording of data outlined in Zuengler, Ford, and Fassnacht (1998). Though Figure 2.1 shows the teacher at the front of the room, teachers were in this position only at particular times during recording, and moved about the room to work with groups as needed. Additionally, audio recorders were placed in the middle of each table to obtain a higher quality recording with reduced background noise. In total, three Olympus wireless audio recording devices were used with external microphones attached. A total of five different video cameras, including two Kodak Digicams, one JVC, and two Sony Handycams, were used to record the sessions. For most of the sessions, there were four cameras in total.



Key
P: student participants
T: teacher
V: video recording device
A: audio recording device

Figure 2.1. Typical configuration of recorded CCA sessions.

Figure 2.2. Still image from CCA session of one group, edited for anonymity.

Before each session, the teacher was shown the set-up and camera angles. Though an effort was made to reduce interference of cameras with the facilitation of the lesson, cameras could have potentially been blocked for long periods if the teachers interacted with a group from a certain direction; for this reason the teachers were asked to approach groups from particular angles where possible. Otherwise, they were asked to run their classes as they would normally.

2.4.2 Teaching materials

The teaching materials for all class sessions were accessed from the centre's shared server with the permission of the executive management of the centre. As described previously, these included class handouts, presentation slides, and lesson planning notes for the teacher.

2.4.3 Observed preparatory sessions

Observed sessions took place prior to the corresponding recorded sessions. In total, three preparatory sessions were observed; these took place prior to recorded task-based sessions 3, 5 and 6. The materials from the preparatory lessons supplemented the observations. The start time of the observations was negotiated with each of the teachers. Often, the teacher needed to finish activities or check homework from the day before, so the observations began approximately 30 minutes after class had begun and lasted for approximately 45 minutes. Throughout the session, the notes I took during the observation focused on the content and duration of lesson stages, and the materials used. This information provided context for the recorded CCA sessions, outlined in Section 2.5.1.

2.4.4 Interviews

Interviews with teacher and student participants were conducted for one hour outside of class time. The interviews were held in a classroom at the language centre and were recorded using a single video camera. Teachers were interviewed in pairs, while student participants were interviewed in groups from each level-based class. The groups for interviews were designed to be more homogenous in terms of participants' linguistic proficiency level so that I could adapt the phrasing of the questions as appropriate to the groups. Because the interviews focused on the participants' background and experience with the CCAs, the same content was included in all interviews, with small adaptations made for complexity of wording. The interview questions were based on pre-planned topics that could be adapted with follow-up questions based on participant responses (see Appendix G). By having a flexible interview schedule (Kvale, 1996), I was able to request more information on particular topics as needed. Group interviews with students were more interactive in nature to elicit more detailed responses. Participants were asked to write responses to some questions on the whiteboard, and then the whole group discussed these responses further.

In summary, the data collection included the CCA sessions themselves, which formed the core data set, task materials, preparatory sessions, and interviews with teachers and students. The data resulting from these procedures will now be described.

2.5 Data and participants

In this section, the data obtained by following the procedures outlined in the prior section will be described. First, the recordings of the CCA sessions will be presented, including the participants in each recording and the length of the recordings. Then data from observed lessons and interviews will be presented. Lesson materials will be presented together with recorded data from CCA and preparatory sessions.

2.5.1 Recorded CCA sessions

Across the seven CCA sessions recorded for the pilot and present studies, eighteen recordings were produced of different groups in the sessions, of approximately 1 to 1.5 hours per recording. Additionally, seven recordings were produced of the teacher facilitating the session. In total, there were approximately 30 hours of recorded data for the study.

As mentioned in the prior section, three of the recorded CCA sessions were of a slightly different nature. While the first three sessions collected in the present study and the session recorded for the pilot study each dealt with a different topic and had a rotating class group of participants, the last three sessions were oriented around one topic. Each of these sessions dealt with a particular stage in the process, culminating in a final product by the end of the three sessions. Groupings of students were more consistent in these sessions because of the nature of the task and expectations for ongoing group work. The structure of the lesson plans in the final two sessions was quite different to the structure of the previous four sessions because the content followed on from the prior week, rather than being introduced as new each time. The consistency in groups also meant that the groups were not working together for the first time, as was the case with the other four sessions. Ultimately, these recordings, henceforth called Sessions 5, 6, and 7, were not included in the data set for the current study due to these differences in the setting, which would have impeded the analysis. The presentation of the collected data will henceforth focus on the four recorded sessions that were included in the data set.

For each of the recorded CCA sessions included in the data set, the topic, materials used, and participants will be presented. Names of participants have been changed to preserve the anonymity of the participants, and each person has been given a pseudonym that is used throughout the project in transcriptions and other documents. These pseudonyms were selected to align with the cultural origin of the participants' names. Some participants used English names throughout their enrolment and this is reflected in the pseudonym choice for these participants. Demographic information about teachers and students is anonymised and comes from the consent forms and interviews.

The first recorded CCA, Session 1, focused on presenting new ideas through the topic of creating new inventions. In the preparatory session, the focus was on inventions that changed the world. Students were asked to first guess the chronological order of these inventions and then rank them from best to worst. They looked then at a specific type of invention called *chindogu*, which is a Japanese word for fun, creative inventions that solve everyday problems. *Chindogu* are created using everyday items that already exist. Students matched images of these inventions to descriptions and looked at language for hypothesising about what an invention can do. In the CCA session, participants worked in groups to create an invention of their own. They had been asked to bring everyday objects to this session, and were given tape and string to put these together into a new invention that would solve an everyday problem.

At the end of class, groups presented these inventions to the whole class. The lesson materials are presented in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1. Session 1 materials.

Session 1	
Focus competency	Presenting (new) ideas
Topic	Inventions
Preparatory session materials	Worksheet 1 – ranking best and worst inventions (all levels) Worksheet 2 – images of inventions Presentation slides
CCA session materials	Worksheet – invention criteria Presentation slides

The teacher in Session 1, Karen, is from Australia. She was part of the curriculum development team that was involved in designing the materials for the CCA sessions. The eleven student participants in Session 1 worked in three different small groups. Group 1 had three participants. Ivy and Sue are both Chinese and at the time of recording were in the A2 (pre-intermediate) class. Peymaneh is originally from Iran but migrated to Norway at an early age; she was in the C1 (advanced) class at the time of recording. Group 2 was made up of four students. Two of these students, Jamie and Todd, are from China and they were both in the A2 class at the time of recording. Tammy is also from China but she was in the B2 (upper-intermediate) class. The other student in this group, Monika, is from Colombia and was in the B1 class. Group 3 had two lower-level and two upper-level participants. Two of these students, Chris and Louie, are both from China and were in the A2 class. Ally is from Italy and she was in the B2 class; JayJay is from Indonesia and was in the C1 class. The participant information for Session 1 is shown in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2. Session 1 participants.

	Name	Gender	Nationality	Class level	Recording length
Teacher	Karen	female	Australian		01:35:00
Group 1	Ivy	female	Chinese	A2	01:36:04
	Sue	female	Chinese	A2	
	Peymaneh	female	Iranian/Norwegian	C1	
Group 2	Jamie	male	Chinese	A2	01:36:36
	Todd	male	Chinese	A2	
	Monika	female	Colombian	B1	
	Tammy	female	Chinese	B2	
Group 3	Chris	male	Chinese	A2	01:39:28
	Louie	male	Chinese	A2	
	Ally	female	Italian	B2	
	JayJay	male	Indonesian	C1	

Session 2 focused on presenting opinions through the topic of crime and punishment. This task had two sets of materials for the preparatory session. Levels A2 and B1 focused on the vocabulary for different crimes and punishments selected from the materials for the task-based session. They also practised expressions for giving opinions. Levels B2 and C1 reviewed vocabulary relating to the topic that they would already know and were introduced to higher-level vocabulary. They looked at useful language for presenting opinions and then practised discussing the implications of different crimes and punishments. In the CCA session, the teacher began by presenting a crime that had been recently committed and asking students to discuss what would happen in their own countries. Then each student was given a handout with a list of crimes and punishments; students were asked to work in groups to match the crimes to the appropriate punishment according to Australian law. Finally, groups were given a booklet with five crimes that had been committed by different individuals. Their task was to act as a jury to decide unanimously on an appropriate punishment for each crime. One spokesperson from each group presented the verdicts to the class. Table 2.3 shows the lesson materials used in support of the activities described in both sessions.

Table 2.3. Session 2 materials.

Session 2	
Focus competency	Expressing opinions on issues
Topic	Crime & punishment
Preparatory session materials	A2/B1 levels: • Worksheet 1 – handout of PowerPoint slides for students • Worksheet 2 – expressions for giving opinions • Worksheet 3 – vocabulary worksheet • PowerPoint presentation B2/C1 levels: • Worksheet 1 – Lead-in discussion activity • Worksheet 2 – crime vocabulary (cards) • Worksheet 3 – expressions for giving opinions • Worksheet 4 – prompts for discussing opinions (cards) • Worksheet 5 – extra practice of vocabulary Teacher's notes
CCA session materials	Worksheet 1 – matching crimes to punishments Worksheet 2 – crime cases for creating punishments for crimes PowerPoint presentation Teacher's notes

Session 2 was taught by Alice, a teacher from England. She had been teaching at the language centre for several months at the time of the recording. There were a total of nine student participants in this session who worked in three different small groups. Group 1 was made up of Sue, from the A2 class, and Mallory and JayJay, two C1 students. These participants came from China, Switzerland and Indonesia respectively. Mallory had come to the language centre for professional development for her work as a language teacher in Switzerland, so her participation in the General English class enabled her to observe teaching methodology. Thus her proficiency level was likely higher than C1, though she was in that class at the time of recording. Group 2 consisted of three participants from China. Chris and Louie were from the A2 class and Tammy was from the B2 class. Group 3 was made up of Jamie, Todd, and Peymaneh. Jamie and Todd are from China and were both in the A2 class. Peymaneh is from Norway; she was in the C1 class. The participant information for Session 2 is shown in Table 2.4.

Table 2.4. Session 2 participants.

	Name	Gender	Nationality	Class level	Recording length
Teacher	Alice	female	British		01:06:54
	Sue	female	Chinese	A2	01:00:07
Group 1	JayJay	male	Indonesian	C1	
	Mallory	female	Swiss	C1	
	Chris	male	Chinese	A2	01:36:36
Group 2	Louie	male	Chinese	A2	
	Tammy	female	Chinese	B2	
	Jamie	male	Chinese	A2	01:39:28
Group 3	Todd	male	Chinese	A2	
	Peymaneh	female	Iranian/Norwegian	C1	

The third CCA task, Session 3, used the topic of advertising to focus on persuading and reviewing. This session will be referred to as the "advertisement" task. In the first session of this CCA, the teacher showed a series of commercials and asks students to discuss the strengths and weaknesses of each one. Then the teacher showed two print advertisements for the same product. Students were asked to discuss which of these print advertisements was more effective. This activity led to a presentation of some strategies used in print advertisements. Groups of students then looked at magazines and tried to find examples of each strategy; their findings were presented to other members of the class. In the task-based session, each group was given a product to advertise (e.g. a chocolate bar or a car). They were then given a worksheet that listed different aspects to consider in brainstorming the details about the product and how to advertise it. Groups then created their advertisement as a poster and presented it to the class. The class voted on the best advertisement. The materials for this session are shown in Table 2.5.

Table 2.5. Session 3 materials.

Session 3	
Focus competency	Persuading and reviewing
Topic	Advertising
Preparatory session materials	Presentation slides Teacher's notes
CCA session materials	Worksheet – advertisement brainstorming sheet for groups Presentation slides

Session 3 was taught by Yasmine, who is from Australia. In this session, there were two groups of four; however, only Group 1 was recorded due to a camera malfunction. This group consisted of Louie, Sue, and Todd, who are from China and were in the A2 class. JayJay is from Indonesia; he was in the C1 class. The participant information for Session 3 is shown in Table 2.6.

Table 2.6. Session 3 participants.

	Name	**Gender**	**Nationality**	**Class level**	**Recording length**
Teacher	Yasmine	female	Australian		01:19:30
Group 1	Louie	male	Chinese	A2	01:19:10
	Sue	female	Chinese	A2	
	Todd	male	Chinese	A2	
	JayJay	male	Indonesian	C1	

Session 4 was recorded as part of the pilot study data in the year prior to the present study. There were three groups in the session, with four student participants in each group. Group 1 was included in this study because of the high quality of the recording. This session was an earlier version of the inventions task. Instead of creating an invention from everyday objects, groups were asked to create a completely imagined new invention. The materials used were earlier versions of those used in Session 1, and they were no longer accessible at the time of the current study. However, the majority of the content was the same and the presentation slides were available from the teacher-to-whole-class recording.

Participants in the recordings from this session are presented in Table 2.7. The teacher, Michelle, is from China. There were two students from the B2 class: Mohammed from Saudi Arabia and Hyun from Korea. From the B1 class, there was one student, Brian, from China. Yuri, from Japan, was in the A2 class.

Table 2.7. Session 4 participants.

	Name	Gender	Nationality	Class level	Recording length
Teacher	Michelle	female	Chinese		01:02:56
	Brian	male	Chinese	B1	01:09:21
Group 1	Mohammed	male	Saudi	B2	
	Hyun	male	Korean	B2	
	Yuri	female	Japanese	A2	

2.5.2 Observed preparatory sessions

The observed preparatory class sessions aided in understanding the context of the recorded CCA sessions. There were three observed sessions in total. The first observed session was the preparatory session for the B2 (upper-intermediate) class for Session 3. Karen, who was also the teacher in recorded Session 1, taught it. The second observed session was the preparatory session for the C1 (advanced) class for Session 5. The teacher of this session was Rose, who did not participate in any of the recorded sessions. The final observed session was the B1 (intermediate) class for Session 6. This session was taught by Melinda, who also taught Sessions 5 and 7. Ultimately these sessions were not included in the final data set. The data resulting from observed sessions consisted of notes made by the researcher throughout the session that are integrated in the description of lessons in Section 2.5.1.

2.5.3 Interviews

Interviews were held with teachers and students in the program at the time of the data collection. Two interviews were held with teachers, with two teacher participants in each interview. The first interview was with Alice, who taught in the second recorded CCA, and Alan, who did not teach in any of the recorded sessions. The second interview was with Yasmine, who taught in Session 3, and Karen, who taught in Session 1. Each interview recording was approximately one hour in length. The same topics were used for each of the

interviews (see Appendix G). The questions used in the session were adapted, or follow-up questions were added *in situ*, based on the participants' responses.

Two group interviews were held with student participants. The first was with Ally, who participated in Session 1, and Tammy, who participated in Sessions 1 and 2. Ally and Tammy were in the B2 class. The second student interview was with Jamie, who participated in Sessions 1 and 2; Chris, who was in Sessions 1 and 2; Ivy, who was in Session 1; and Todd, who participated in Sessions 1, 2, and 3. These students were in the A2 class. The topics addressed in the student interviews can be found in Appendix G. After each interview, I listened to the recordings and took notes on relevant information for the description of the setting and implications for the study.

This section has presented the data and participants for each of the four types of data in the study: the core data set of recorded interaction in the CCA sessions, and the supplementary data that provided contextual information, including preparatory session observations, interviews of teacher and student participants, and task materials. The following section discusses the procedures for analysis of the resulting data.

2.6 Preparation for data analysis

This section describes the treatment of recorded data to prepare for analysis. This involved working with raw video and audio files to enable analysis in specialised software, and assessing the relative proficiency level of participants in cases where this was ambiguous. Procedures for resolving each of these issues will be discussed.

2.6.1 Preparation of recorded data for analysis

The raw video and audio files from the recording devices required careful handling to protect participants' privacy. Immediately after each recorded CCA session was completed, the audio and video files were transferred to a computer hard drive and cleared from the devices. The software HandBrake was used to convert the raw video files to a more convenient format.

Next, recordings were edited to deal with quality issues. The video cameras were successful in capturing quality visual data. However, the sound quality was lacking due to background noise, with multiple groups talking at the same time. The audio recordings from the devices at each table were merged with the video recordings to produce a single video file with higher-

quality audio. Adobe Premiere Pro CS6 and Adobe Audition CS6 were used to sync the audio and video files. Transcription was completed in ELAN.

2.6.2 Assessing relative proficiency level in groups

As described in prior sections on the research setting, the aim of the CCA sessions was to provide students with practice in speaking with interlocutors from a range of linguistic proficiency levels. To achieve this aim, teachers in the sessions asked students to work in groups made up of participants from different classes in the program. Thus the teachers used the category of membership in a particular class as an indicator of students' linguistic proficiency level to create mixed-ability groups. This is one way that the measurement of a student's linguistic proficiency level through the placement test at enrolment became a social category in the institutional setting of the study. The class levels of the student thus became the primary resource for assessing the linguistic proficiency levels of participants in the study.

Each group had a diverse range of students from the four different CEFR levels (A2, B1, B2, C1) in the program at the time of data collection. A consistent method was needed to categorise speakers in each group according to their linguistic proficiency relative to others. This would ensure that speakership by participants of different levels in different groups would be comparable. The following procedure was followed. First, in each group, the participants were designated with the category of *high*, *medium*, or *low*, referring to their linguistic proficiency level based on class designation relative to other group members. For example, if a group had participants from B2, B1, and A2 class levels, these participants would be designated with the categories high, medium, and low, respectively. The same categorisation would apply to a group with participants from C1, B2, and B1 classes – these participants would be designated the categories of high, medium, and low, so that participation of speakers of differing levels could be compared across the groups. A B2-level student participant, for example, could be categorised as high, medium, or low in any group, depending on the other participants. In groups of four, there were four categories: *high*, *upper-medium*, *lower-medium*, and *low*. This categorisation allowed for comparability and also captured the use of class levels within the institutional setting, where participants were aware of who was in a "higher" or "lower" level than themselves, as indicated in the interviews.

Three of the eight groups in the study contained two student participants from the same class; in one further group there were three participants from the same class. This was an unavoidable reality of any CCA session, including those recorded for the study, given that

there were inevitably unequal numbers of student participants from the different classes. In these cases, an additional measure was needed to determine relative proficiency level in terms of speaking, and test scores from the courses could not be used due to privacy concerns. A tool was needed to assess the level of these speakers relative to each other in order to complete the categorisation of relative proficiency levels.

For the three of these four cases, public versions of Cambridge English Language Assessments (University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate [UCLES], 2017) speaking test assessment scales were used to determine relative proficiency levels. These frameworks for assessing spoken proficiency in English provide descriptions of a speaker's ability at a particular CEFR level to determine whether a speaker is a proficient speaker at that level. In two of the groups, two or three speakers were from the A2 class. In these cases, the public assessment scale for the KET (Cambridge English: Key) speaking test, Part 2, was used. In the third group, the two speakers were in the B2 class, so the assessment scale for the FCE (Cambridge English: First) speaking test, Part 2, was used. Part 2 of the speaking test was used because this component of the speaking test is interactive and most closely resembles task-based group work. These assessment scales allowed for speakers' relative proficiency to be determined holistically, incorporating pronunciation, lexicogrammatical resources, and interactional communication, based on the recorded CCA data.

Two external raters were selected to determine the relative proficiency levels for these cases. Both of these raters had expertise in spoken proficiency and language development. Each assessed the data independently. They used the frameworks to compare the two participants and decide who was higher and who was lower relative to each other. In each of these three cases, the assessors arrived at the same result for the speakers in question, and the categories designated by the raters were used in the study.

In the fourth group with two participants from the same class, there were two speakers from the C1 class. One of these participants, Mallory, was an English language teacher from Switzerland who was attending the class for purposes of professional development and developing awareness of teaching methods rather than for language learning itself. She was designated as the high-proficiency speaker in that group.

Tables 2.8 through 2.11 show the participants in each group and their relative linguistic proficiency levels as determined through class level and additional assessment where needed.

Table 2.8. Session 1 participants and relative proficiency levels.

	Name	Class level	Relative linguistic proficiency level
Group 1	Ivy	A2	low
	Sue	A2	medium
	Peymaneh	C1	high
Group 2	Jamie	A2	lower-medium
	Todd	A2	low
	Monika	B1	upper-medium
	Tammy	B2	high
Group 3	Chris	A2	low
	Louie	A2	lower-medium
	Ally	B2	upper-medium
	JayJay	C1	high

Table 2.9. Session 2 participants and relative proficiency levels.

	Name	Class level	Relative linguistic proficiency level
Group 1	Sue	A2	low
	JayJay	C1	medium
	Mallory	C1	high
Group 2	Chris	A2	low
	Louie	A2	medium
	Tammy	B2	high
Group 3	Jamie	A2	medium
	Todd	A2	low
	Peymaneh	C1	high

Table 2.10. Session 3 participants and relative proficiency levels.

	Name	Class level	Relative linguistic proficiency level
Group 1	Louie	A2	lower-medium
	Sue	A2	upper-medium
	Todd	A2	low
	JayJay	C1	high

Table 2.11. Session 4 participants and relative proficiency levels.

	Name	Class level	Relative linguistic proficiency level
Group 1	Brian	B1	lower-medium
	Mohammed	B2	high
	Hyun	B2	upper-medium
	Yuri	A2	low

The preparation of the recorded data for transcription and additional assessment of relative linguistic proficiency level enabled analysis of the data to be conducted. The procedures for this analysis will now be presented, along with the resultant collections.

2.7 Data analysis

Analysis of the recordings of CCA sessions was conducted in several stages. The overall purpose of these stages was to inductively narrow the focus of the investigation based on recurrent, salient features of the interactions between participants. At various points throughout the analysis, the data and findings were presented and discussed at data sessions with fellow conversation analysts. Such data sessions are an integral part of conducting conversation analytic studies, and they help with refining the focus and findings of the analysis through feedback (Antaki & Huma, 2017). The procedures for each stage will be presented in this section, including sampling of the data, development of the research questions, and steps taken to answer the research questions.

Throughout the stages of analysis, transcription was used as an analytical tool. The style and volume of transcription in different recordings varied based on the analytical purpose. For example, early stages of transcription focused on what was said, and then later stages used

conventions developed by Gail Jefferson (Hepburn & Bolden, 2017; Jefferson, 2004) to focus on how these utterances were said (ten Have, 2007). Transcripts of data excerpts throughout this thesis primarily depict the features of interaction of focus in the analysis: move-final intonation; turn construction and allocation, including overlaps; and gaze direction at the completion of joint-project-initiating moves. These features are included to enable the reader to engage with and assess the analysis of the features of focus. Incorporation of images and gaze direction in the transcripts follows Mondada's conventions for placing stills and notation of embodied conduct from the videos in the context of the flow of talk (see e.g. Mondada, 2014). Images and notation of embodied conduct are primarily used to show gaze direction with the joint-project-initiating moves of focus in each transcript. Gaze is notated for those cases where the speaker is gazing upon a recipient at the end of the move or in the TRP immediately afterward. All images in the transcript have been edited to preserve participants' anonymity. A glossary of the conventions and symbols used in the transcripts is included in Appendix A.

2.7.1 Single-case analysis

The first step in the data analysis was to undertake a detailed single-case analysis (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998) of an entire recording of one group in a recorded CCA session. The recording selected for single-case analysis was Session 2, Group 1. This recording was selected because there was a stark difference in level between one group member, who was in the A2 class, and the other two group members, who were in the C1 class. In the early stages of familiarising myself with the data, I was struck by the phenomenon of joint project initiation in this group's interaction and the differences in participation between speakers of different levels. Gardner (2004), drawing upon Sacks, proposes that this kind of early analysis is one entry point into the data that involves assessing what is done in the selected excerpt of interaction and how participants accomplish it. Single-case analysis is designed to develop description of a "candidate phenomenon", or "a potentially generalizable observation about how people co-construct talk and do certain practices in interaction" (Wagner & Gardner, 2004, p. 6). Identifying a candidate phenomenon enables the building of a collection of instances from across the data set in order to refine the way it operates in different contexts. The process of building a collection will be described in Section 2.7.2.

The initial analysis of a single case was the first stage of an inductive process which Schegloff (1996a) describes as "unmotivated examination", that is, "an examination not prompted by

pre-specified analytic goals" (p. 172). However, given the findings from the pilot study, interviews with the teachers and students, and personal membership in the community of practice (Wenger, 1998), there was an interest in proficiency-based asymmetries in the interaction between group members at this early stage. This interest was primarily rooted in prior work with related data. ten Have (2007) takes a professed moderate position to the concept of early interests in analysis, "recommending a tentative, open-minded approach to the data at one hand", while recognising that "the fundamental 'material' with which one is working is one's understanding of what the participants are *doing* in and through their talk-in-interaction" (p. 121, emphasis original). With this approach, the researcher does not deny membership in the community of practice nor disavow use of the additional ethnomethodological data (Maynard, 2003) but at the same time makes an effort to avoid making assumptions about the phenomena. Similarly, Gardner (2004) acknowledges that though completely unmotivated investigation of the data may be unachievable, training in conversation analytic methods aids the researcher in focusing on structures and organisation of talk rather than assumptions about social categories and motivations.

First, the group's talk in the session was transcribed with focus on the words themselves and turns of the speakers. The linguistic utterances of the entire session and a rough rendition of turn-taking (ten Have, 2007) were documented. At this stage, overlaps were only accounted for when it was impossible to do otherwise, for example when all of the speakers spoke simultaneously in a series of turns and including the overlaps made the transcript easier to follow. This transcript became a tool for the initial analysis. The analytical procedure for this initial analysis closely followed ten Have's (2007) method, which incorporates the approach described by Pomerantz and Fehr (1997). The first step is to select a sequence in the data that is of interest. This involves looking for "identifiable boundaries" (Pomerantz & Fehr, 1997, p. 71) to sequences, such as openings and closings which are marked by features such as proposals, greetings or, conversely, trailing-off or leave-taking. Once boundaries between sequences are identified, one sequence of interest is selected for more detailed analysis. To make this selection, the transcription of the words and rough turn-taking of the selected group were inspected for identifiable sequences that would provide a useful starting point and provide sufficient grounds to develop the analytical framework. In this data, sequences were typically organised around completion of task stages, so the chosen sequence comprised one task stage from opening to closing.

The chosen sequence begins at the transition from the teacher's instructions for the whole class to the beginning of group work. It ends when the group completes the first stage of the task and begins the transition to the second stage of the task. This sequence was selected because the group negotiates the opening of the task and begins to build common ground (Clark, 1996). Once this sequence was selected as the primary focus for preliminary analysis, the transcript for that sequence was updated to give a more accurate record of turns and overlaps and to mark the features of speech delivery, such as upward and downward movements in pitch, stressed syllables, speeding up and slowing down, and changes in volume. These transcription conventions are included in Appendix A.

Next, several features of interaction were analysed, each from the perspective of a different sub-category of organisation of talk (ten Have, 2007, p. 122). Sidnell (2010) describes this process as using the analytical tools of conversation analysis as "keys" (p. 54) for describing phenomena in the data. First, the data was analysed from the perspective of turn allocation and construction; this was followed by repair, sequence organisation, and overall structural organisation. Throughout this analytical process, notes were made on successive versions of the transcript. These notes were then collated to create descriptions of unfolding moments in the interaction that incorporated the range of analytical perspectives. They were recorded in memos on the video recording in Adobe Premiere, which allowed for more detailed notation of embodied action at each of these moments. Finally, a narrative account describing the talk was created, which included description of the analysis of salient moments in the selected sequences from the single case. Ultimately, turn-taking and sequence organisation were the analytical features that led to the formation of the focus of the study. Other features were taken up at later stages for particular purposes and will be described in later sections with the relevant analytical procedures.

Turn-taking concerns the basic element of talk between participants: the way speakers alternate utterances in conversation in an orderly way. As such, ten Have (2007) argues that it provides a foundation for the other types of analysis. Analysis of turn-taking involves investigating the way turns are constructed through linguistic resources and the way they are allocated between different speakers. Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson's (1974) seminal paper describes the turn-taking systems, based on analysis of a corpus of everyday telephone conversations. Sacks et al. argue that speakership rights can be viewed as an economy, and that the speaking floor can be sought or avoided by speakers. They also observe that, overwhelmingly, only one person speaks at a time in casual conversation, and their paper

describes the underlying organisation that explains this phenomenon. The base unit for turns is called a turn-constructional unit (TCU), which is a unit of talk that can stand alone as a coherent utterance. TCUs can be as short as a sound (e.g. the response token "mm") or lexical item (e.g. "yes" in response to a polar interrogative), or as long as a clause or group of clause complexes. Turns may be made up of a single TCU or multiple TCUs. The boundary between TCUs, where a turn may be recognisably complete, is called a transition relevance place (TRP).

Sacks et al. observed that speaker-change tends to occur at TRPs, which indicates that speakers attend and orient to them in the organisation of talk. Allocation of turns to different speakers can be done one of two ways: other-selection, when a current speaker nominates the next speaker in some way, or self-selection, when the next speaker nominates himself or herself. At each TRP, a series of rules for turn-taking is oriented to by speakers. The rules are summarised as follows. At a TRP:

- The current speaker may direct his or her turn to another speaker, thus designating this person as the next speaker and doing "other-selection".
- If no next speaker is selected by the current speaker, then at the TRP any other speaker can "self-select" by independently putting forward an utterance.
- If no other speaker self-selects, then the current speaker can self-select to continue speaking.
- At the next TRP, the same set of options recurs, in the same order.

Analysis of turn-allocation and construction involves answering the following questions: How do speakers gain and keep the floor? Who does other-selection and self-selection? Do speakers contribute single-unit or multi-unit turns? If the latter, how is the floor retained? Answering these questions helps in understanding the way particular asymmetries in speakership may emerge within the structural organisation of turn-taking.

Analysis of sequence organisation investigates how actions, often done through turns, cohere into groups, and how these actions are positioned in the context of prior and subsequent actions (Schegloff, 2007). While analysis of turns focuses on linguistic resources used to do actions, other interactional resources are used and combined to do actions in sequence as well. A more general term for an action done through any kind of semiotic resource is a move (Goffman, 1981). The base unit for sequence organisation is the adjacency pair (Sacks, 1992; Schegloff, 1968, 2007; Schegloff & Sacks, 1973), which is made up of two particular kinds of moves done one after the other. Examples of adjacency pairs include a greeting followed by a

return greeting, or an invitation followed by an acceptance (or refusal). The move in first position in the pair, such as an initial greeting or invitation, is called a first pair part; the move in second position, such as the return greeting or acceptance, is called a second pair part (Schegloff, 2007). However, sequences are not always organised around adjacency pairs. For example, sequences initiated through non-canonical first-position actions may be structured slightly differently because of different normative expectations for response, or sequences may be organised around longer multi-unit turns by one speaker, such as in storytelling (Schegloff, 2007).

Sequences can be expanded at any point with sub-sequences that are oriented to the base first- and second-position actions (Schegloff, 2007). For example, an invitation may have a pre-expansion if the issuer of the invitation first asks, "What are you doing tonight?" Expansions can also come after the base first pair part in an insert expansion. In the case of the invitation, an insert expansion could be done to gather more information about the proposal, for example, "What time were you thinking of going?" If the response is a time that suits the second speaker, then they would finally give the second base pair part of "yes". The second pair part can also be expanded upon in a post-expansion. In the case of the invitation, the original speaker might follow up by saying, "Great!" in third position, which orients to the favourable response to the invitation in the second pair part. All types of expansions can be sequences in and of themselves, complete with additional pre-, insert-, and post-expansions. Thus a sequence built around a single base adjacency pair can be as short as a first pair part followed by a single second pair part, or it can be a lengthy, complex sequence.

Analysing the talk in the selected task stage as it unfolded move by move enabled description of the ethnomethods of the participants in the single case. Ethnomethods are defined by Heritage (2008) as:

> the resources which the parties unavoidably must use and rely on to produce and recognize contributions to interaction which are mutually intelligible in specific ways, and which inform the participants' grasp of the context of their interaction in a continuously updated, step-by-step fashion. (p. 303)

In sum, the fine-grained analysis of the single case contributed to a rich description of the way the participants carried out the tasks through talk-in-interaction, and contributed to refining the analytical focus.

As a result of the single-case analysis, several key features of interaction in the institutional context emerged. What seemed to be relevant for participants in organising the talk in this context were the joint activities (Clark, 1996) that oriented to the joint goals set out by the task, as described in Chapter 1, and an overarching orientation to completion of joint projects in service of the task aims over the course of the wider interaction. I observed a recurrent practice of group members doing first-position actions that oriented to initiation of collaborative action, or joint projects (Bangerter & Clark, 2003; Clark, 1996, 2006, 2012; Clark & Krych, 2004), as discussed in Section 1.6. Recurrent types of joint projects projected by the action done in the initiating moves set up expectations for different kinds of participation by other group members, and these classes of action were analysed as well. Finally, analysis of turn allocation revealed that speakership of these moves and selection of next speaker was not evenly distributed across group members in the single case. These phenomena became the focus of the next stage of analysis, and at this stage the four research questions were formulated. To answer these research questions for the case study, there was a need to move from analysis of the single case to the wider data set, in order to build a collection of cases (Schegloff, 1993).

2.7.2 Building a collection

In CA methodology, building a collection involves identifying instances of the chosen phenomenon in the data. Each instance is referred to as a case. This allows for comparison between cases in order to understand the underlying patterns for use and design of identified practices (Sidnell, 2010). As discussed in Maynard's (2013) chapter on the historical and theoretical roots of CA, this aspect of CA methods was acknowledged by Sacks to be pioneered by Schegloff (e.g. Schegloff, 1968). For this study, the first step in building a collection of instances of joint-project-initiating moves required establishing a data set sampled from the eight recordings of groups in the CCA sessions. Sampling was required because the duration of group work varied widely depending on the task design; it therefore prevented over-representation from recordings with longer phases of group work. Furthermore, different task types had very different closing stages. However, the group work in all tasks began with some kind of brainstorming stage. Sampling at the beginning of that stage would allow for greater comparability across tasks. For these reasons, the sample started from the first initiation by a group member after the teacher's instructions to the whole class, and ended after 15 minutes. This amount of time, in the context of 60–90-minute class sessions, provided enough time for

groups to start the task and move through several early sub-stages of the task. The sampled excerpts from the longer recorded CCA sessions are shown in Table 2.12.

Table 2.12. Sampled excerpts from recorded CCA session data.

		Sample beginning	Sample end	Duration
Session 1	Group 1	00:09:09	00:24:09	15 min
	Group 2	00:09:45	00:24:45	15 min
	Group 3	00:26:15	00:41:15	15 min
Session 2	Group 1	00:23:00	00:38:00	15 min
	Group 2	00:23:26	00:38:26	15 min
	Group 3	00:24:28	00:39:28	15 min
Session 3	Group 1	00:19:48	00:34:48	15 min
Session 4	Group 1	00:20:30	00:35:30	15 min

Once the sampled data set was created, joint-project-initiating moves were identified across the recordings. Clark (1996, 2006, 2012) argues that sequence organisation is a resource for accomplishing joint projects; these joint projects are projected with an action in first position and taken up with an action in second position. Therefore sequence organisation, from the perspective of Clark's framework, was used to analyse the initiation and take-up of these activities through first- and second-position moves. First, joint-project-initiating moves were identified by looking for obvious junctures between larger sequences, typically indicated by closing moves followed by lapses in talk (Bangerter & Clark, 2003; Schegloff, 2007). The first moves in new sequences following lapses were candidate joint-project-initiating moves. If these moves were oriented to collaborative action with other group members, then they were categorised as an initiation of a joint project. Next, any expansion sequences within the main sequences were analysed as smaller joint projects, and moves that initiated these sequence expansions were added to the collection of joint-project-initiators. Finally, in cases where a joint-project-initiating move was followed by another joint-project-initiation that sequentially deleted the first, both of these moves were included in the collection. As joint-project-initiating moves were identified, they were transcribed with the surrounding talk in ELAN.

According to Clark, the base unit of a joint project is the adjacency pair. However, as discussed previously, first-position moves in sequences are not always canonical adjacency pair first pair

parts, and this was true for the interaction in the data set. For example, describing an idea in first position is not a canonical first pair part. However, by describing an idea and awaiting response from other group members, the speaker puts forward an idea for potential approval or rejection by the group. The take-up of the proposed idea is thus dependent on response by other group members – it cannot be progressed by the speaker alone. For this reason, all first-position moves oriented to initiating collaborative action were included in the collection, as were moves oriented to raising new aspects of a particular topic within extended sequences of talk that were not necessarily organised around adjacency pairs. The category of joint-project-initiating moves is broad and encompasses a wide variety of moves in first position. This analysis involved reviewing the data multiple times from the perspective of different kinds of initiating moves in order to ensure that all were included in the collection.

One challenge in identifying joint-project-initiating moves was determining the boundaries between initiating moves and subsequent moves by the same speaker. This was necessary both for identifying the actions themselves and analysing various aspects of turn design, to be discussed in Section 2.7.3. In these cases, the end of the initiation was where the speaker and recipients oriented to completion of the initial action, and where the first interactional project being pursued by the speaker was recognisably complete. Often this was indicated by silence or a shift in gaze. If the current speaker continued with a different action, this was considered to be a new joint project initiation by the same speaker. When the collection was completed, all cases were recorded in an Excel document to track speakership and other categories for analysis. This process will be described in more detail in the following section.

2.7.3 Analysing the collection

The analytical procedures for answering each of the research questions will be presented in this section.

Research question 1

> *How are joint projects initiated by student participants with different linguistic proficiencies in task-based language classroom interactions?*

To answer this question, analysis of the collection focused on actions done through initiating moves and the design of these moves. Identifying recurrent actions done through moves is something participants do as the talk progresses; they need to attend to the current speaker's talk in order to respond appropriately. The resources used by participants can also be used by

analysts undertaking analysis of actions done through conversational moves. Recipients do action ascription *in situ*, and the action ascribed to a move is "revealed by the response of the next speaker, which, if uncorrected in the following turn(s), becomes in some sense a joint 'good enough' understanding" (Levinson, 2013, p. 104). Responses to first-position actions are thus one resource for analysis. This has been called the "next-turn proof procedure" (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998) in CA.

Interactional resources for participants (and analysts) for analysing the action done through a particular move include grammatical formats (Couper-Kuhlen, 2014), sequential position, epistemics (Heritage, 2012, 2013a), deontics (Stevanovic & Peräkylä, 2012), benefactives (Clayman & Heritage, 2014; Couper-Kuhlen, 2014), and other broader aspects of the context such as the institutional setting and social roles. Sequential organisation is a key resource in this enterprise, given that sequences are defined as "course[s] of action implemented through talk" (Schegloff, 2007, p. 9; also cited in Levinson's (2013) chapter on action formation and ascription). As stated previously, in the data analysed for this study, sequences tended to be organised around joint projects that orient to the broader task aims (Clark, 1996). Thus the actions ascribed to the identified joint-project-initiating moves related to achievement of various aspects of the tasks, or the achievement of smaller sub-tasks in expansion sequences that contribute to the larger, ongoing task stage. First, the collection was analysed to identify candidate categories of recurrent action types, using the analytical resources listed above. These candidate categories were then refined through examination of their design, the projected second-position actions, and the responses done by recipients.

Two broad classes of actions emerged through this analysis of actions done through initiations of joint projects: joint-project-initiations done through canonical first pair parts, and non-canonical first-position actions. As described in Section 1.7.1, according to Stivers and Rossano (2010), canonical first pair parts put more pressure on other participants to respond, meaning that there is more accountability for response of some kind. Stivers and Rossano (2010) argue that, along with positioning of a move, the action type impacts response at a basic level. Thus on a fundamental level, the action done through a move shapes the extent to which a response is expected or mobilised. As with normative expectations for response type, Stivers and Rossano argue more broadly that certain first-position actions more strongly mobilise response via the "functional properties of actions" (p. 4). Within the collection, actions done in this context that were canonical first pair parts, and those that were non-canonical first-position actions, were thus grouped into two categories, called *more-response-mobilising*

moves and *less-response-mobilising moves*. These categories will be discussed in more detail in Chapters 3 and 4.

Next, I focused on turn design, which includes the way turns are constructed using interactional resources, such as language use, phonology, embodiment, silence, and practices of repair (e.g. Drew, 2013; Drew & Heritage, 1992; Heritage, 2008). Thus, as explained by Drew (2013), turn design refers to "how a speaker constructs a turn-at-talk – what is selected or what goes into 'building' a turn to do the action it is designed to do, in such a way as to be understood to be doing that action" (p. 132). As with action ascription, the analysis of turn design focused on response mobilisation. Stivers and Rossano identify four turn-design features that tend to mobilise response: interrogative lexico-morphosyntax, interrogative intonation, recipient-tilted epistemic asymmetry, and gaze on a recipient. The analysis of these features will now be described.

Interrogative lexico-morphosyntax was analysed by examining the construction of initiating moves. For those moves that used interrogative morphosyntax, the type of interrogative morphosyntax was tracked as well. These included polar interrogatives, wh- interrogatives, and alternative interrogatives.

Identifying use of interrogative intonation involved determining the ending of initiating moves and then assessing whether or not the intonation was upward, downward, or level at this point. With extended, multi-unit moves, this was done at the first point where the proposed joint project was recognisably complete, as oriented to by the speaker and recipients. If the speaker rushed through TRPs, then the ending of the turn was taken to be the next TRP where the speaker oriented to completion, for example by falling silent and/or gazing at other group members.

Determining whether the epistemic asymmetry of an initiating action was speaker-tilted or recipient-tilted was done by examining the sequential context of the move, coupled with the way participants displayed access to information through the interaction in on-the-record establishment of common ground (Heritage, 2013a, 2013b). Recipient-tilted epistemic asymmetry puts the recipient in the position of providing information or knowledge that the speaker does not claim access to and therefore puts more accountability on response from the recipient, while speaker-tilted epistemic asymmetry involves the speaker providing information themselves in first position. One of the findings of the study is a discussion of the

way this manifests in the design of the cases in the collection for the study; this is discussed in Chapters 3, 4, and 5.

As with interrogative intonation, analysing move-final gaze involved identifying the end of the first joint project done through a single move or series of moves. These features were both assessed at the same point, where participants oriented to the end of the joint project. Also, at times speakers looked at other group members during the move. Only the gaze direction at the end of the move was tracked, because of the relationship between gaze done at this sequential juncture and sequence expansion.

Research question 2

> *Who, in terms of relative linguistic proficiency level, does joint-project-initiating moves, and how?*

Who in this question refers to group members of differing relative linguistic proficiency levels. For each joint project initiation identified, speakership was tracked in terms of the categories of relative proficiency level: high, medium, and low for groups of three; and high, upper-medium, lower-medium, and low for groups of four. Along with the initiating move itself, all other turn design features were also tracked for speakership, so that use of turn design features by speakers of different levels could be seen as well.

Research question 3

> *Who, in terms of relative linguistic proficiency level, is selected as next speaker?*

The third research question looks at next-speaker selection in the joint-project-initiating moves. To analyse this, it was first determined whether or not the speaker of a joint-project-initiating move selected any particular next speaker. Selection of next speakers was done through explicit practices (Sidnell, 2010) such as gaze (Lerner, 2003) and addressing a recipient, as well as more "tacit and context-tied" (Sidnell, 2010, p. 69) selection methods that utilise the common ground established in the preceding talk (Enfield, 2013). Those that selected a single recipient or next speaker were categorised as selecting "one" other speaker, while those that did not select a particular next speaker were categorised as selecting "any" next speaker. In groups of four, if the speaker looked back and forth between two out of three other group members at the end of the move, both of these were considered to be recipients.

Then, in cases where one next speaker or recipient was identified, the relative linguistic proficiency level of the selected next speaker(s) was tracked.

Research question 4

What is done in next position to idea-generating moves, and by whom?

This final question focuses on the most common group of joint-project-initiating moves, "idea-generating moves", and analyses actions in next position. Again, it was critical to determine where the next-position space began and the initiating move concluded, particularly in cases of multi-unit initiating moves. In some of these cases it was difficult to determine the difference between a speaker doing multi-unit moves and the same speaker self-selecting to do a new action after others had not taken up next speakership in the response space. In these cases, the boundary between the first position and next position was the completion of that first joint project done by the speaker. The next-position space thus began at the onset of a new action or silence. The analysis of next-position moves focused on whether another speaker did the next move, whether the current speaker continued, or whether there was a lapse in talk after the first move. Speakership of second moves was tracked by relative linguistic proficiency level. Then the action of second moves and their relationship to the prior moves was examined in terms of relevance to the initiating action. These categories of analysis will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

2.8 Limitations of the study and concluding remarks

This study is not without its limitations. As a small study, its results have limited generalisability. Thus the findings related to frequency of speakership by participants of different levels are at this stage preliminary and are presented in terms of a correlating relationship. However, that does not detract from the validity of the claims themselves. Because the analysis is based on naturally occurring video-recorded data, there is evidence that the phenomenon occurred, and that it was relevant for these participants. Findings will be presented to take these factors into account.

As mentioned previously, it was not ideal that there were multiple group members from the same class in some groups. However, the reality of collecting data in naturally occurring, non-experimental settings, where participation is completely voluntary, means that groupings will not always be ideal. In fact, the groupings of participants in the study closely reflected the

realities of CCA sessions week to week. Furthermore, within classes in the program, students tend to be aware of differing proficiency levels within the class. There will always be asymmetries in level within classes (Bell, 2012), even though these may not be as divergent as asymmetries between classes. Therefore the method described in this chapter for assessing relative linguistic proficiency level in these groups was the most practical solution available.

This chapter has provided a description of the methodological foundations of the study, including the research setting, research design and rationale for approaches used, the data collection process, the analytical framework, and procedures for data analysis. It has shown the relationship between these elements by explaining how the research design was developed according to the needs of the language centre, and how the data collection and analysis were conducted to meet the aims of the research design and answer the research questions. The following chapters will describe the findings from analysis of spoken interaction in recorded sessions.

Chapter 3
Initiating collaboration through more-response-mobilising moves

This chapter is organised into two segments. In the first segment, Sections 3.1 and 3.2, I describe findings related to the whole data set. Here I describe the way participants orient to joint projects in their talk, then describe the collection of cases of joint-project-initiating moves as a whole. The second segment of the chapter, Sections 3.3 to 3.9, focuses on one kind of joint-project-initiating move found in the data set: more-response-mobilising moves. First, the findings related to these moves are presented. The chapter concludes with a discussion of these findings in light of the research questions.

3.1 Joint projects in CCA sessions

Through analysis of the data using CA methods, I found that the talk in CCA sessions is structurally organised by participants' orientation to joint activities (Clark, 1996), which is when two or more people, or participants, interact to accomplish mutual goals. These mutual goals typically oriented to the task objectives. For example, one of the task objectives was to create a new invention from everyday objects. For some groups this involved initial mutual goals such as identifying the purpose of the various objects that participants had brought to the session, brainstorming potential ideas from different group members, and finally creating the invention itself. These mutual goals were carried out through smaller joint activities, accomplished through joint projects. Each of these joint projects achieved sub-goals in service of the broader mutual goals and task objectives. Sequences of talk tended to be organised around utterances that raised, topicalised, or oriented to particular goals or sub-goals of the task and created opportunities for other participants to respond. The joint goals of the task were thus accomplished incrementally through joint projects done in projective pairs.

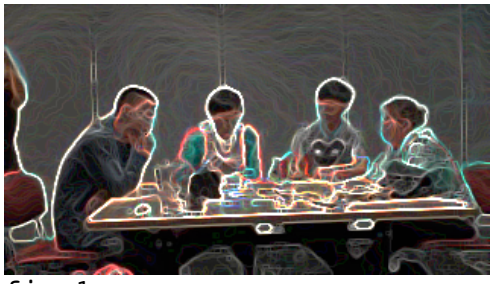
An example is presented in Extract 3.1 from one of the recorded CCA class sessions. Tammy, Monika, Jamie, and Todd are working on a task that involves using everyday objects to create a new invention. On the table are objects that the group members have brought to class: a can of milk drink, a business card holder, and an umbrella. There are also some additional objects provided by the teacher, including plastic cups, tape, and string. Their task is to combine

these objects together to create a new object with a new function. They will then make a short presentation to demonstrate the invention to the class. Just prior to the beginning of the extract, the teacher has asked all of the groups to discuss possible ideas for an invention. As the extract opens, there is a 1.8-second lapse in the talk (line 1). Some group members are gazing at the objects and others are looking at points in the room (fig 1). Tammy turns her gaze to Monika and asks "`um do you have some ideas?`" (line 2). With this utterance, she topicalises the task stage from the teacher's instruction to discuss ideas, and attempts to elicit ideas from other group members. When no immediate response is forthcoming, she continues with the increment "`about this,`" and gestures at the objects on the table. Monika says "`mm.`"; with this continuer after Tammy's utterance, Monika passes on the opportunity to contribute an idea in response to Tammy's question (Gardner, 2001). Todd then self-selects to proffer an idea. He is holding a cup and some string in his hands and says "`simple phone,`" (line 8), indicating that these objects could be combined to make a phone. Tammy and Monika both positively take up this idea. Tammy's move in line 2 initiates a joint project by projecting the joint action of discussing ideas for potential take-up by other participants. As a result, a potential idea is put forward for the group to discuss.

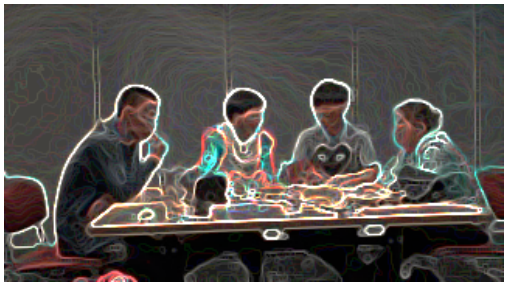
Extract 3.1. S1_G2 00:13:11

Participants from left to right: Todd (low), Tammy (high), Jamie (lower-medium), Monika (upper-medium)

```
01                  #(1.8)
      fig           #1
```



```
                    fig 1
02    H  Tam    →   um do |#you have some ideas?|
      gaze              |Tammy gazes at Monika|
      fig               #2
```



```
                    fig 2
03                  (1.0)
```

04 H Tam about #this,
fig #3

fig 3
05 (0.7)
06 M1 Mon mm.
07 (1.5)
08 L Tod simple phone,
09 (0.4)
10 ((one line of overlapping talk from other group omitted))
11 M1 Mon [ye:::ah
12 H Tam [a:::w yes
13 (0.2)
14 M1 Mon good idea.

Joint projects of different types are initiated through a variety of actions, done through what I call joint-project-initiating moves. An example of another kind of joint-project-initiating move is in Extract 3.2, which comes from another group's interaction in the "creating new inventions" task. This group is made up of three participants: Peymaneh, Ivy, and Sue. As the extract begins, there is a 3.3-second lapse in talk. Sue initiates a joint project in line 2 by proffering an idea, saying that two objects could be put together. As she says this, she points at the objects in Peymaneh's hands (fig 1). Peymaneh's response, "mm hm," (line 4), receipts Sue's idea description and opens the floor for further discussion of it. With this move in second position, Peymaneh makes continued development of Sue's idea relevant next.

Extract 3.2. S1_G1 00:12:34

Participants from left to right: Peymaneh (high), Ivy (low), Sue (medium)

01 (3.3)
02 M Sue → i think this (.) together.
03 (0.4) # (0.6)
fig #1

fig 1
04 H Pey mm hm,

Both examples show how participants involved in joint activities use sequences of talk as a resource for collaborative achievement of mutual goals and how joint projects can be initiated through different kinds of actions. Spoken moves that open new sequences of talk are important resources for collaboratively completing classroom tasks. Through these first-position moves, speakers put forward joint projects for potential take-up in second position (Clark, 1996). In order to accomplish the action of initiating a joint project, speakers need to be able to follow the progression of the prior talk in order to precision-time the moves in multi-party interaction, successfully use and combine interactional resources to design and formulate the move, and appropriately respond to recipients' responses in third position. Thus analysing initiating moves in peer-to-peer interaction in multi-proficiency-level group work provides insights into their function, the resources used to do them by participants, and the way group members orient to linguistic proficiency level through speakership of these moves. In the remainder of this chapter, and in Chapters 4 and 5, I present the results of analysis of different categories of moves that initiate new joint projects by opening sequences of talk.

3.2 Analysis of the collection of joint-project-initiating moves

Across the data set, 462 joint-project-initiating moves were identified through the methods of analysis described in Chapter 2. These cases form the collection that will be discussed in the three results chapters. Across the whole collection of cases, a relationship can be seen between a speaker's linguistic proficiency level and speakership of the moves: frequency of speakership by different group members tends to correlate with a speaker's relative proficiency level. High-proficiency speakers initiate joint projects most often, followed by medium-proficiency speakers, and then low-proficiency speakers. Figure 3.1 shows this distribution in groups of three and groups of four. This pattern is more striking in groups of three; in groups of four, the distribution levels off between lower-medium- and low-proficiency speakers.

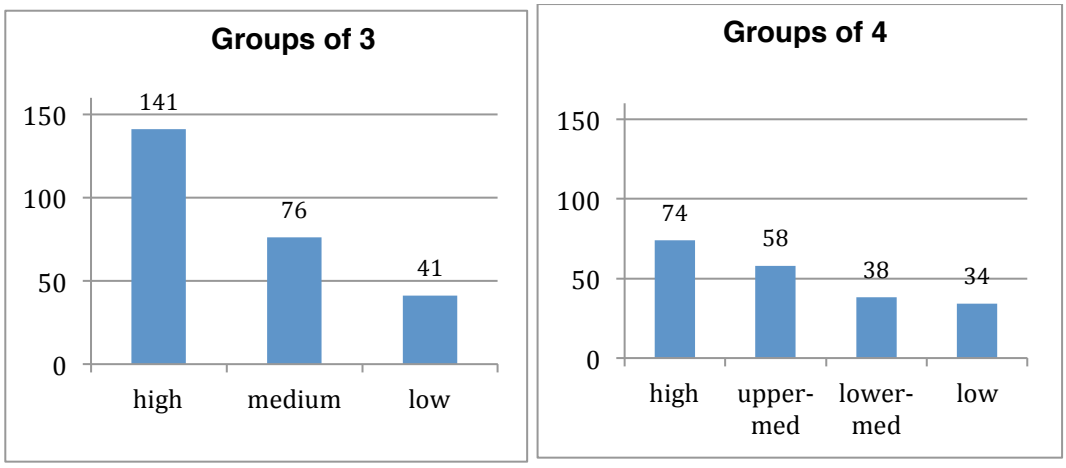


Figure 3.1. Distribution of speakership of joint-project-initiating moves by relative proficiency level.

Another feature of the moves in the collection is that some are done through canonically first-position actions while others are done through non-canonical first-position moves (Stivers & Rossano, 2010). Canonical first pair parts, like greetings, requests, and offers, are typical first pair parts of adjacency pairs that project specific kinds of actions in second position. Tammy's joint project initiation in Extract 3.1 is an example of this kind of move. As an idea request, it makes relevant the contribution of a particular kind of response – an idea – in second position by another speaker. Non-canonical first-position actions, such as informings and assessments, have a wider range of potential responses. Sue's joint project initiation in Extract 3.2 exemplifies this kind of move; there are multiple potential responses to this kind of action in first position.

Stivers and Rossano argue that, aside from the four turn-design features that mobilise response to first-position actions described in Chapter 1, response is mobilised to a greater or lesser degree by the nature of the first-position action itself. That is, canonical first pair parts are inherently more response-mobilising than non-canonical first-position moves. Of the 462 cases in the whole collection, 186 (40.3%) are done through canonical first pair parts, called more-response-seeking moves; 276 (59.7%) cases in the collection are first-position moves that make response from other participants less normatively accountable, called less-response-seeking moves. Sections 3.3–3.9 and Chapter 4 examine each of these collections in turn. Chapter 5 compares the way canonical and non-canonical first-position moves are used to accomplish the joint activity of generating ideas for tasks, and examines responses to these moves by other group members.

The present chapter proceeds by focusing on the more-response-seeking moves. It presents the actions used to do these moves and the speakership by participants of differing linguistic proficiency levels. The use of turn-design features for mobilising response is then presented, followed by selection practices done by speakers of the moves. Extracts of data from two of the video-recorded tasks will be used to illustrate the findings: creating an invention from everyday objects, and deciding upon appropriate punishments for crimes. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the significance of these results in relation to the research questions.

3.3 Introduction to more-response-mobilising moves

Canonical first pair parts that make response from recipients strongly relevant are important resources for accomplishing collaborative action. Through these moves, speakers elicit ideas and information from other group members, initiate repair, request and offer action, and request confirmation of ideas discussed previously by the group. All of these actions are important for achieving the aims of the task. Tammy's initiation in Extract 3.1 is a more-response-mobilising move. Through this move, Tammy solicits input from Monika by topicalising idea generation for the task. Tammy's move does not put forward an assertion for consideration by the group; instead, she positions Monika as a potential contributor of an idea through the use of the polar interrogative form with the subject "you" and by gazing at Monika to select her as next speaker.

Tammy's move as request for an idea in first position does an action that has a preferred response of an idea contribution from another speaker. As a kind of request, this move is a canonical first-position action in an adjacency pair. The action itself thus makes some kind of response relevant, and the absence thereof accountable. She also uses all of the turn-design resources for response mobilisation – sequence-initial position, social action, recipient-tilted epistemic asymmetry, interrogative lexico-morphosyntax and intonation, and gaze on a recipient (Stivers & Rossano, 2010). Furthermore, she selects a single group member as the next speaker. Through the action and its design, Tammy opens a new sequence through a move that is designed to elicit a particular kind of response from another group member. It is this characteristic that defines more-response-mobilising moves.

3.4 Actions done through more-response-mobilising moves

Participants used six more-response-mobilising actions recurrently in the data set. These are "requesting ideas", "requesting information", "other-initiation of repair", "requesting and offering action", "requesting confirmation of a prior idea", and "checking understanding or accuracy". There were two additional cases of moves that did other kinds of actions. One of these moves was a pre-request for advice and the other was a proposal of the next course of action.

The six most recurrent types of action are defined as follows:

- *Requesting ideas* (61 cases): Eliciting an idea or opinion related to task activities from (a) recipient(s);
- *Requesting information* (51 cases): Eliciting information within a recipient's epistemic territory (Heritage, 2012);
- *Other-initiation of repair* (38 cases): Orienting to the resolution of a trouble-source in another speaker's prior move (Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977);
- *Requesting and offering action* (16 cases): Asking (a) recipient(s) to complete a subsequent task-related action or volunteering to complete a task-related action (Clayman & Heritage, 2014; Curl, 2006; Thompson, Fox, & Couper-Kuhlen, 2015);
- *Requesting confirmation of a prior idea* (12 cases): Reformulating or repeating a previously expressed task-related idea for confirmation by (a) recipient(s);
- *Checking understanding or accuracy* (6 cases): Asking another group member about their understanding of the group's progress or task instructions, or checking the veracity of a prior claim made by a group member.

These actions will now be discussed in more detail and exemplified with extracts from the data.

3.4.1 Requesting ideas

Idea requests elicit ideas or opinions on aspects of the task from other group members, with the aim of generating discussion among group members before they reach consensus. These moves act as a resource for building common ground by amassing a range of ideas for the group to select or adapt as they complete the task aims, a joint activity referred to in the task materials as "brainstorming". Tammy's move in line 2 of Extract 3.1, "`um do you have`

`some ideas?`", is an example of a more-response-mobilising move that does this action. This move follows a lapse in talk of 1.8 seconds as group members disengage from a prior joint project. Tammy resumes the progression of the activity through the move by topicalising the idea generation and eliciting contribution of ideas for discussion from other group members. There were three kinds of idea requests in the data: new idea requests, requests for explanation or clarification of a prior idea, and requests for an additional group member to contribute to the discussion of a prior idea.

Tammy's move in Extract 3.1 exemplifies the first category of requesting ideas: new idea requests. These moves initiate transition from a prior stage of the task to brainstorming as a new joint project, or initiate a shift to a new topic within an ongoing brainstorming stage. Out of 61 cases in this category, 26 do this kind of move. Such moves typically follow an extended silence of 1.0 seconds or more wherein the group talk had lapsed after closing of the prior sequence.

Extract 3.3 provides another example of a new idea request. The participants are working on the same task, in the same class session as the group in Extract 3.1 – they are working together to create a new invention from everyday objects. In this extract, there are two requests for new ideas. As the extract opens, JayJay is closing the prior sequence with an explanation of what the group needs to achieve in the task. The group then lapses into silence. In line 5, JayJay does a new idea request that initiates a new task stage. The idea request is prefaced by *okay*, which can be used in contexts such as this to signal transition into a new joint project (Bangerter & Clark, 2003); JayJay then requests ideas from the group using the wh-interrogative "`what do you think`". As he does this move, he gazes into the mid-distance at the objects on the table (fig 1). In overlap with the final word, Ally does an additional request for an idea, saying "`do you have an idea?`" She gazes at Louie and points at him (fig 2), selecting him as next speaker to contribute an idea. Ally's new idea request sequentially deletes JayJay's prior move because it does not respond to his request. Furthermore, her move becomes a new first move in the sequence: Louie responds to her question, not to JayJay's. In this case, JayJay and Ally are both attempting to initiate a new joint project by requesting a new idea, one by opening the floor to the group with a wh- interrogative and one by selecting a single next speaker and using the polar interrogative form.

Extract 3.3. S1_G3 00:27:17

Participants from left to right: Louie (lower-medium), JayJay (high), Chris (low), Ally (upper-medium)

```
01    H Jay          if- we can make it for (0.4) something useful.
02                   (3.2)
03    H Jay          hh
04                   (9.0)
05    H Jay     →     okay what do #you [think.
      fig                             #1
```

fig 1

```
06    M1 Ally   →                    [|do you #have an idea?
      gaze                            |Ally gazes at Louie-->
      fig                                      #2
```

fig 2

```
07                   (0.2)
      gaze           >----->
08    M2 Lou         mm no.
      gaze           >----->
09                   (0.2)
      gaze           >----->
10    M1 Ally        no|[::?
      gaze           >-|
```

The cases in Extracts 3.1 and 3.3 show how requests for new ideas can be used to initiate a shift into a new task stage of brainstorming. Idea requests can also be used by speakers to request explanation or clarification of an idea described previously. These requests are done by a different speaker than the speaker of the original idea, and are directed to the prior speaker. This was done in 27 of the 61 cases. The following two extracts provide examples of this use of requests for ideas in two different tasks.

In Extract 3.4, JayJay, Mallory, and Sue are working on the crime and punishment task and are deciding upon a prison sentence. Sue puts forward "twenty:: five" (line 1) as a possible

number of years. There is a silence of 1.3 seconds, and Mallory reiterates Sue's idea, then asks "does that make sense?" She gazes at JayJay (fig 1), selecting him as recipient of this request for an idea. This is an idea request that does something other than requesting for the current speaker to provide explanation or clarification and will be addressed later in this section. By delaying response and asking this question instead of simply receipting or confirming Sue's idea, Mallory positions Sue's idea as one that cannot be uncomplicatedly accepted and taken forward, thus projecting a stance of her own through the question. After a 2.3-second silence, JayJay pursues Mallory's stance toward Sue's idea and asks for further clarification through a request for ideas (line 7). This request is followed by a candidate formulation of her stance used to request ideas, done while gazing at Mallory (fig 2): "what do you think (0.2) give less ( )?". Sue's next move, "you think (0.2) you think so," (lines 8–9), further pursues response and clarification from Mallory, who replies with possible term lengths that are indeed shorter than Sue's initial proposition of 25 years. Through this request for clarification of ideas in line 7, JayJay moves the stalling talk forward and elicits clarification of Mallory's stance.

Extract 3.4. S2_G1 00:25:27

Participants from left to right: JayJay (medium), Mallory (high), Sue (low)

```
01    L Sue           twenty:: five.
02                    (1.3)
03    H Mal           so for |[twen]ty fi-yeah does that make sense?#=
      gaze                 |JayJay gazes at Mallory---------------->
      fig                                                          #1
```

fig 1

```
04    L Sue                  [yeh ]
05    H Mal           =(.) well,
      gaze            >-------->
06                    (2.3)
      gaze            >---->
07    M Jay     →     what do you think (0.2) give less [(   )?]#
      gaze            >---------------------------------------->
      fig                                                      #2
```

fig 2

```
08    L Sue                                              [ you  ] think
      gaze                                               >----------->
09                    (0.2) you think [so,|
      gaze            >-----------------|
10    H Mal                           [maybe (0.5) yeah i
11                    don't know maybe twenty¿ (.) or no uh (.)
12                    fifteen¿ i dunno,
```

Another example of requests for ideas that pursue clarification or explanation of a prior idea is in Extract 3.5. The group is working on developing ideas for a new invention made from everyday objects. JayJay says "how bout this." (line 1) and begins putting objects together. He is holding a swimming cap and putting chopsticks inside of it. He has not yet explained the purpose or use of the proposed invention. Ally begins laughing. During the 2.7-second silence, JayJay continues to work on combining the objects (fig 1). Louie then says "for what." (line 7), first gazing at the objects in JayJay's hands (fig 1) and then turning his gaze to JayJay (fig 2).

Extract 3.5. S1_G3 00:31:46

Participants from left to right: Louie (lower-medium), JayJay (high), Chris (low), Ally (upper-medium)

```
01    H Jay           how bout this.
02                    (0.5)
03    H Jay           i don't know.
04                    (0.1)
05    M1 Ally         eh heh hah hah hah hah hah .h .hh
06                    (2.7)#
      fig                   #1
```

fig 1

07 M2 Lou → for |what.# (1.2) |
gaze |Louie gazes at |JayJay
fig #2

fig 2

In Extracts 3.4 and 3.5, participants used idea requests to request clarification or expansion of an idea previously put forward by another participant. These kinds of idea requests occur after an initial idea has been put forward. Instead of simply taking up that idea, these speakers do a new initiation that probes further to elicit development of the idea. They are useful resources for brainstorming because they contribute to progression of a given idea by the group. Typically, they result in some kind of expansion upon the original idea by the prior speaker.

The third and final type of idea requests does a similar action – requesting expansion upon a prior idea or question. However, in these cases, the move selects a different group member than the original speaker to respond or weigh in on the discussion. There were 8 cases of this kind of idea request. Mallory's move in line 3 of Extract 3.4 is an example of this kind of action. After Sue's contribution of an idea, Mallory turns to JayJay and requests his input. Through this action, she facilitates whole-group discussion of the idea rather than weighing in herself in response.

Extract 3.6 provides another example case from the crime and punishment task. The group has just finished reading a story about an assisted suicide by a man for his dying wife. In line 2, Tammy begins the new activity stage by requesting ideas from the group. She gazes at Louie as she does this move (fig 1); however, Chris responds by asserting that the person in the story is "no crimer". As he begins speaking, Tammy reorients her gaze from Louie toward Chris (fig 2). After Chris completes the move, Tammy then initiates repair and locates the meaning of *crimer* as the trouble-source. Chris completes repair by reformulating and repeating his stance toward the person in question as "no criminal." (line 10). With the trouble in understanding now resolved, Tammy proceeds to disagree, and gives reasons for her difference of opinion. Finally, she states that "he murd- (0.3) he murdered (0.7) her." (line 21), a stance that is in strong opposition to Chris's. There is a long silence, during

which Chris looks around the table, clicks his tongue (fig 3), and takes a deep in-breath. Up to this point, Louie has not contributed to the discussion with an opinion; his only contribution, "why." at line 8, requests expansion of Chris's idea. However, it comes in overlap with Tammy's initiation of repair and is sequentially deleted. Because Tammy and Chris are in direct opposition with their views on whether or not assisted suicide is a crime, this presents a fundamental problem with deciding on an appropriate punishment because they do not agree on whether it is in fact a crime that deserves punishment. As a third group member, Louie's opinion is needed to help them move forward and progress with the task. Chris gazes at Louie (fig 4) and summons him by name (line 27). Louie responds with a go-ahead and Chris asks him to weigh in on the prior discussion, asking "how bout you." (line 31). This request for ideas is a resource for recruiting Louie to weigh in on the matter that Tammy and Louie have been discussing.

Extract 3.6. S2_G2 00:28:00

Participants from left to right: Louie (medium), Tammy (high), Chris (low); teacher standing behind the group

```
01                  (1.6)
02    H Tam         do you have #some- have idea?
      fig                       #1
```

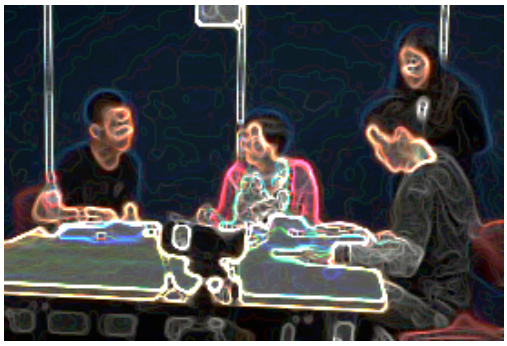


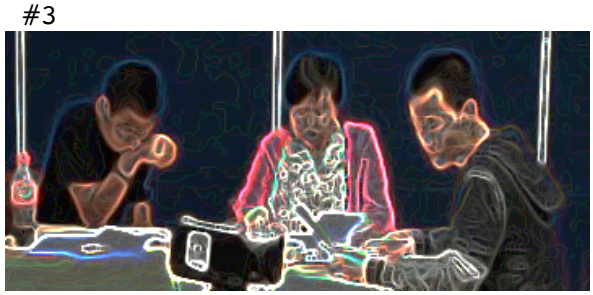
fig 1

```
03                  (0.3)
04    L Chr         (he) one p- #one person. (0.2) i think uh he:::,
      fig                       #2
```

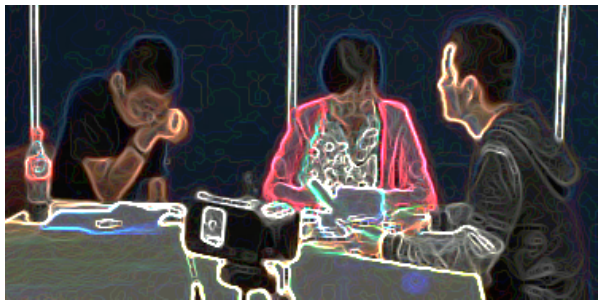
fig 2

```
05                  (1.7) he::::, (4.1) uh no crimer.
06                  (0.2)
07    H Tam         no [crimer=what is.
08    M Lou            [why.
09                  (0.3)
```

```
10   L Chr          no criminal.
11                  (0.2)
12   L Chr          he's a crimer.
13                  (0.1)
14   L Chr          not crime(r).
15                  (1.3)
16   H Tam          I::::: I- I'm:::: (0.1) disagree.
17                  (1.8)
18   H Tam          because (2.5) eh sh- (1.3) because (0.3) he wife
19                  (.) dead.
20                  (1.1)
21   H Tam          he murd- (0.3) he murdered (0.7) her.
22                  (2.2)
23   L Chr          .tdk#
     fig                 #3
```



```
                    fig 3
24                  (0.5)
25   L Chr          .hh
26                  (1.1) | (2.0)
     gaze                 |Chris gazes at Louie->
27   L Chr          uh# louie.
     gaze           >---------->
     fig              #4
```



```
                    fig 4
28                  (0.4)
     gaze           >---->
29   M Lou          mm?
     gaze           >-->
30                  (0.1)
     gaze           >---->
31   L Chr     →    how bout you.
     gaze           >---------->>
```

This section has presented more-response-seeking moves that request ideas. Three types of idea requests were presented: initiating a new task activity by requesting an idea, requesting explanation or clarification of a prior idea, and requesting expansion from another group

member. Next, more-response-seeking moves that do the action of requesting information will be presented.

3.4.2 Requesting information

More-response-mobilising moves that request information are similar to idea requests in that they elicit a contribution from another group member. However, the type of contribution differs. Instead of requesting an idea or opinion for completion of the task aims, these moves request information known to the recipient based on their life experience, cultural background, or expertise. Through the design of the move, the speaker frames the information as being in the recipient's territory of knowledge (Heritage, 2012). In total, there were 51 cases of information requests in the data set. There are two types of information requests found in the data: information requests about established facts, such as practices in a particular country or the spelling of a word, and requests for clarification of task instructions or materials.

Information requests about established facts are a resource for building common ground on information relevant to aspects of the task, such as the function of an object or sentencing lengths in particular countries. By requesting this information from other group members, the participants accumulate resources that they can use to contribute possible ideas for the task activities themselves. Thus these information-seeking sequences tend to precede sequences of idea generation. There were 32 cases of these moves in the collection.

The following two extracts provide examples of information requests about established facts. Extract 3.7 comes from the task on creating a new invention from everyday objects. The group is looking at the array of objects on the table and beginning to discuss the function of each object in everyday use. These objects were brought to class for the activity by the group members. Jamie points at one object, a can of drink (fig 1), and says "`this.`" while reaching across the table and picking it up (fig 2). This move is an example of a noticing, which will be described in more detail in Chapter 4. As he brings the object across the table (fig 3), Monika does the information request "`what is it.`" (line 3). With this move, she asks other group members about the contents of the drink can and displays that she does not know this information.

Extract 3.7. S1_G2 00:11:39

Participants from left to right: Todd (low), Tammy (high), Jamie (lower-medium), Monika (upper-medium)

```
01    M2 Jam        #this.#
```

```
      fig           #1     #2
```

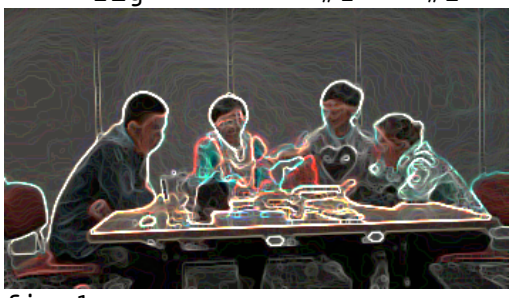


fig 1

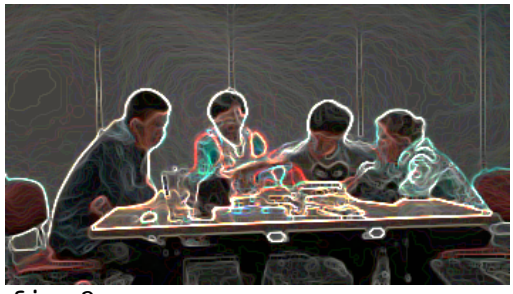


fig 2

```
02                  (1.0)
03    M1 Mon   →    what is it.#
      fig                      #3
```

fig 3

```
04                  (0.5)
05    M2 Jam        uh [(.) (car-)
06    H  Tam           [this is milk.
```

Extract 3.8 provides another example of how these moves are used in the tasks. The group is working on the crime and punishment task. They are beginning to discuss possible prison sentence lengths that are appropriate for a particular crime. Mallory is from Switzerland, and JayJay requests information about the sentencing there: "how=#how=how=how about in-in switzerland how many (.) years,". Mallory responds in line 3 with an account for not providing an answer to the requested information, and then says "but i think it's-it's a lot." JayJay then puts forward an idea for a possible sentence length of twenty years (line 6).

Extract 3.8. S2_G1 00:25:05

Participants from left to right: JayJay (medium), Mallory (high), Sue (low)

```
01    M Jay   →    |how=#how=how=how about in-in switzerland how many=
      gaze         |JayJay gazes at Mallory ----------------------->
      fig               #1
```

fig 1

```
02                  =(.) [years,
     gaze           >------------>
03   H Mal                [i don't even know (.) but i think it's-it's
     gaze                 >---------------------------------------->
04                  a lot.
     gaze           >----->
05                  (0.7)|
     gaze           >----|
06   M Jay          [okay we ch]oose twenty years.
```

The other type of information request is requests for clarification, or explanation of task instructions or materials. With these information requests, speakers ask other participants to provide information that will help them to understand how to proceed with the task. Like requests for established facts, requests for clarification or explanation of task instructions or materials are a resource for building common ground on the expectations of the task so that the group can proceed with the activity. There were 19 cases of these moves in the collection.

In Extract 3.9, JayJay first requests ideas from other group members using a polar interrogative form; he gazes and points (fig 1) at Louie as he does this request. Louie responds with "`no(h)o.`" (line 4) after a 0.7-second silence. After another silence, Chris requests information to clarify what the group needs to do for the task, asking "`make a new things? with this,`" (line 6). This request is done through a phrasal construction with upward turn-final intonation. He gazes at JayJay and gestures toward the objects on the table (fig 2). JayJay confirms Chris's formulation. By requesting this information about the task and receiving JayJay's confirmation, Chris is able to clarify his own understanding of the task in order to contribute to its aims.

Extract 3.9. S1_G3 00:26:51

Participants from left to right: Louie (lower-medium), JayJay (high), Chris (low), Ally (upper-medium)

```
01   H Jay          do you have #idea, (0.3) what we ( ) make (0.4) for
     fig                        #1
```

fig 1

```
02                  (1.7) this,
03                  (0.7)
04    M2 Lou        no(h)o.
05                  (0.8)
06    L Chr    →    make a #new thing|s? (0.3) with this,=
      gaze                            |Chris gazes at JayJay-->
      fig                       #2
```

fig 2

```
07    H Jay         =yeah,| (0.7) other thing.
      gaze        >-----|
```

This section has presented more-response-seeking moves that request information. Two types of these moves were presented: requesting established facts and requesting clarification of the task instructions or materials. Next, more-response-seeking moves that do other-initiation of repair will be presented.

3.4.3 Other-initiation of repair

The third type of more-response-mobilising move is other-initiation of repair. Repair has been defined as "overt efforts to deal with trouble-sources or repairables – marked off as distinct within the ongoing talk" (Schegloff, 2007, pp. 100–101). Trouble-sources are any issue made relevant by speakers with "speaking, hearing, or understanding, the talk" (Schegloff, 2007, p. 100). Importantly, these are not necessarily issues with use of some kind of standard grammar or pronunciation, but rather any problem with speaking, hearing, or understanding that is made relevant by the participants themselves. By doing repair, participants resolve issues that may impede the progression of the talk in some way (Schegloff, 2007). Additionally, in classroom settings, repair has been found to be a resource for teachers and

students to accomplish pedagogical aims by aiding in maintaining intersubjectivity (Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain, 2003; Olsher, 2003).

Repair has two distinct domains: the initiation of repair and the resolution of the trouble-source. Each of these can be done by either the current speaker ("self") or another participant ("other"), and these can be done in any combination. In cases of other-initiation of repair (OIR), where a participant other than the speaker has interrupted the ongoing course of action to address trouble in the prior move, it is common for the original speaker to then go on to resolve the trouble. As Schegloff (2007) puts it:

> [I]f a recipient of some talk has a problem in hearing or understanding it, they initiate repair with talk which undertakes to locate the trouble, but they leave it to the speaker of the trouble-source to accomplish the actual repair. (p. 101)

OIR is a kind of joint project that focuses on attending to trouble in talk that needs to be resolved before the task can progress. There are 38 cases of this type of repair initiation in the data set.

In Extract 3.10, which is part of the interaction from the crime and punishment task shown in Extract 3.6, Chris puts forward an opinion about a situation in response to Tammy's request for ideas in line 2. Tammy repeats "`no crimer`" and then asks "`what is.`" (line 7). By repeating part of Chris's prior move, she locates this phrase as the trouble-source and inquires about its meaning. This is one way of doing OIR. OIR can be done in a variety of ways, including open-class repair initiators (Drew, 1997) such as *huh?* or *what?,* category-specific q-words that locate the trouble more precisely such as *who?* or *where?*, *in situ* repeats with q-words such as *to where?*, repeats of the trouble source as in Extract 3.10, and formulating a candidate understanding of the trouble-source for confirmation by the original speaker. (See Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977, for further discussion of constructions used to do OIR). As in Extract 3.10, all of these types of OIR are done as first pair parts, typically in the space immediately following the move containing the trouble-source (Schegloff, 2007). They are resources for interrupting the ongoing activity or sequence to resolve trouble before progressing again. All of these types of OIR also provide an opportunity for the original speaker to do self-repair of the trouble.

Extract 3.10. S2_G2 00:28:00

Participants from left to right: Louie (medium), Tammy (high), Chris (low); teacher standing behind the group

01 (1.6)
02 H Tam do you have #some- have idea?
fig #1

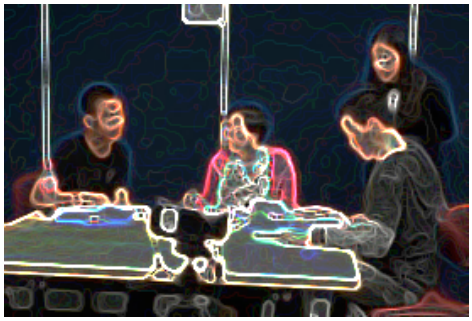


fig 1

03 (0.3)
04 L Chr (he) one p- #one person. (0.2) i think uh he:::,
fig #2

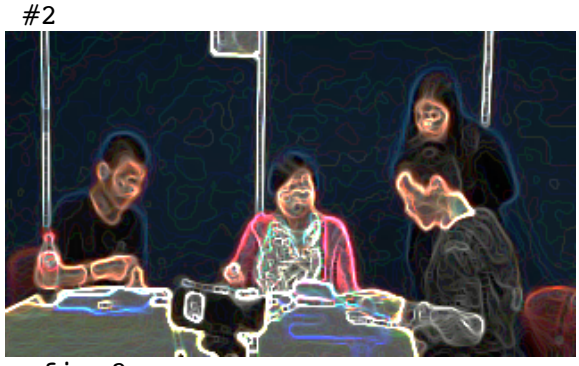


fig 2

05 (1.7) he::::, (4.1) uh no crimer.
06 (0.2)
07 H Tam → no [crimer=what is.#
fig #3

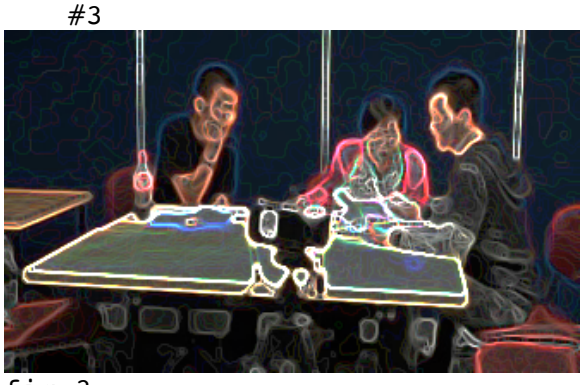


fig 3

08 M Lou [why.
09 (0.3)
10 L Chr no criminal.
11 (0.2)
12 L Chr he's a crimer.
13 (0.1)
14 L Chr not crime(r).
15 (1.3)
16 H Tam i::::: i- i'm:::: (0.1) disagree.

The type of repair initiation used by the speaker displays understanding of the original move to different extents (Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sacks, 1977). Open-class repair initiators display little to no understanding of the prior turn, while category-specific q-words and *in situ* repeats with q-words display a location of the trouble-source. Repeats locate the trouble-source and display hearing but not necessarily understanding, while candidate understandings display the speaker's understanding of what has been said and provide the opportunity for confirmation. Thus these five types of other-initiation of repair move from lesser to greater displays of understanding. These types are not claimed to denote whether or not the speaker has understood on a cognitive level, but rather the extent to which understanding is claimed or displayed through the move. In the data set, three types of OIR are used recurrently: open-class repair initiators, repeats, and candidate understandings. There is also one case of an *in situ* repeat with a q-word. These types of OIR in the data will now be discussed in more detail.

Extract 3.11 provides an example of OIR through an open-class repair initiation. In lines 1–2, Peymaneh (high) initiates a new sequence by proffering an idea for an invention from the everyday objects on the table (this type of joint-project-initiating move will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4). She proposes that "`one pen and one usb (.) should be together,`" (line 1). After 0.2 seconds of silence, Ivy (low) objects to this idea by saying "`no`". This comes in overlap with Peymaneh's next turn increment, wherein she begins to give a reason for her idea. She cuts off the move mid-TCU and there is a 1.5-second silence. Ivy then reiterates and expands her stance, saying "`i think no (.) because (0.6) red (0.9) no good,`" (line 6). *Red* refers to the colour of the pen that Peymaneh is holding and proposing to combine with the USB. Peymaneh then does other-initiation of repair with the open-class repair initiator "`huh?`" (line 8) while gazing at Ivy (fig 1). As Drew (1997) observes, unlike repeats such as Tammy's initiation of repair in Extract 3.10, open-class repair initiators do not locate a particular source of trouble within the prior move, but instead signal trouble with the move as a whole. In response, Ivy repeats the latter part of her turn. When she uttered it for the first time, there were lengthy silences between lexical items in the latter part of the move ("`because (0.6) red (0.9) no good,`"), and this is the portion she repeats, this time without the intervening silences. Her repeat without silences between the lexical items indeed successfully resolves the trouble, as Peymaneh moves on to request clarification of this opinion in line 11.

Extract 3.11. S1_G1 00:18:41

Participants from left to right: Peymaneh (high), Sue (medium), Ivy (low)

```
01    H Pey          one pen and one usb (.) should be together,
02                   (0.2)
03    H Pey          [because it can be (      ) maybe:: uh-
04    L Ivy          [no
05                   (1.5)
06    L Ivy          i think no (.) because (0.6) red |(0.9) no good,
      gaze                                           |Peymaneh gazes>
07                   (0.4)
      gaze           >at Ivy->
08    H Pey     →    huh?#
      gaze           >--->
      fig                 #1
```

```
                     fig 1
09                   (0.2)
      gaze           >--->
10    L Ivy          red| no good.
      gaze           >--|
11                   (0.3)
12    H Pey          why.
```

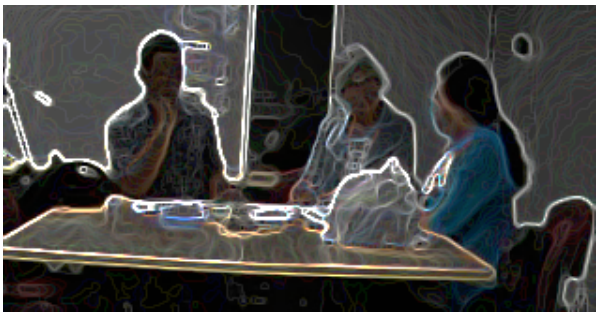
OIR done through *in situ* repeats with a question word targets the trouble-source more precisely than open-class initiations of repair. There is only one case of this kind of other-initiation of repair in the data set. Extract 3.12 comes from the crime and punishment activity. Sue begins the sequence by proffering information (a less-response-mobilising action to be discussed in Chapter 4) about prison sentence lengths for a particular crime in China, where she is from. At the end of line 2, she begins a word search, repeating "`in the`"; as she does this, she breaks gaze from the other group members (fig 1) and looks down at her handout (fig 2). Mallory says "`°in prison°`" quietly (line 4), and Sue brings her gaze back up to the group members (fig 3) and says "`prison`" (line 6). JayJay then initiates repair on Sue's prior move, targeting the length of the sentence in China by saying "`for how long?`" (line 7). There is a 0.4-second silence in which Sue does not respond, and JayJay re-initiates repair by repeating the length of time she previously stated: "`fourteen,`" (line 9). With the first initiation of repair, JayJay targets the length of time as the repairable, and with the second, he

displays hearing the length of time and repeats it for confirmation by Sue. Sue repeats this length of time and adds "or (0.1) ten (0.3) years." (line 11).

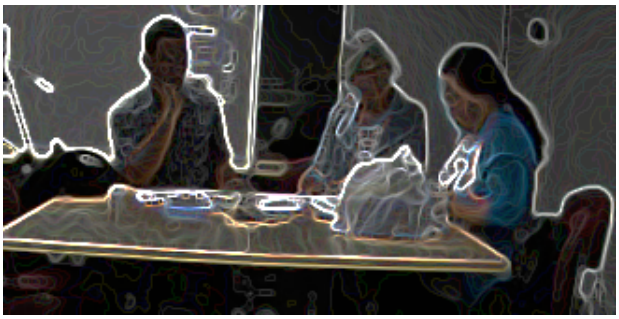
Extract 3.12. S2_G1 00:24:20

Participants from left to right: JayJay (medium), Mallory (high), Sue (low)

```
01    L Sue          in china maybe have uh (1.2) ten (0.2) or (0.2)
02                   uh (0.2) fourteen (.) years (.) old uh (.) #in=
      fig                                                      #1
```



```
                     fig 1
03                   =the (0.9) in #the:: um (2.0) in the[  (0.3)   ]=
      fig                        #2
```



```
                     fig 2
04    H Mal                                                  [°in prison°]=
05    M Jay                                                  [in-
06    L Sue          =#prison=
      fig             #3
```

```
                     fig 3
07    M Jay     →    =|for how long?
                     |Jay Jay gazes at Sue->
08                   (0.4)
      gaze           >---->
09    M Jay          fourteen,
      gaze           >-------->
10                   (0.4)
      gaze           >---->
11    L Sue          uh fourteen| or (0.1) ten (0.3) years.
```

```
      gaze          >----------|
```

Extract 3.13 is another example of repeating part of a move to do other-initiation of repair. This is an extension of Extract 3.7, wherein Monika asks for information about the contents of a can of drink. Tammy and Jamie both respond; Jamie drops out as Tammy provides an answer to the request for information: "`this is milk.`" (line 6). Monika orients to Tammy's answer; she targets the trouble-source as "`milk?`" by repeating only that lexical item, with upward intonation (line 8). As she does this move, she gazes at the can of drink (fig 4). This response to Tammy's answer could be analysed as a response cry in the vein of Monika's utterance of "`really?`" in line 11. However, Tammy treats it as an initiation of repair and attempts to resolve the trouble by expanding the description of the product to "`chinese milk.`" (line 10). By repeating the lexical item, Monika both demonstrates that she has heard the lexical item and targets this item as the trouble source.

Extract 3.13. S1_G2 00:11:39

Participants from left to right: Todd (low), Tammy (high), Jamie (lower-medium), Monika (upper-medium)

```
01    M2 Jam        #this.#
      fig           #1    #2
```

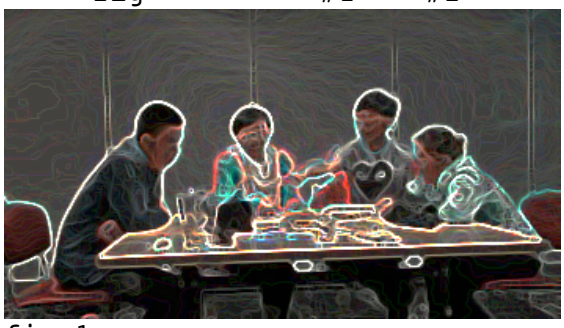


fig 1

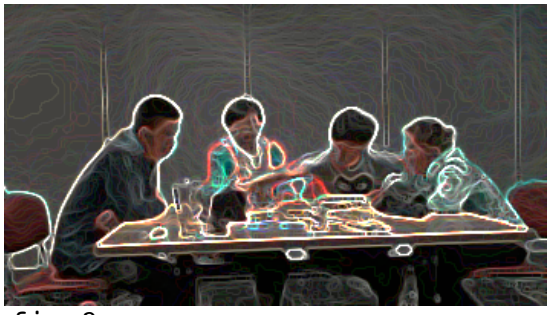


fig 2

```
02                  (1.0)
03    M1 Mon       what is it.#
      fig                     #3
```

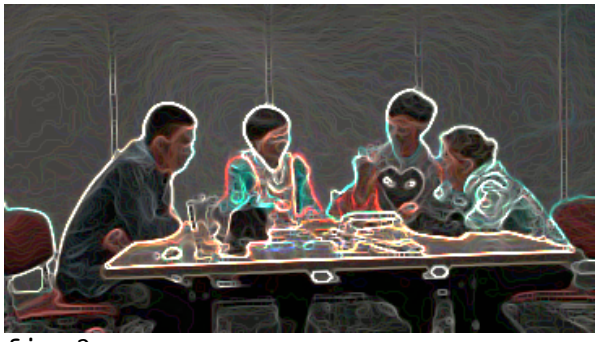
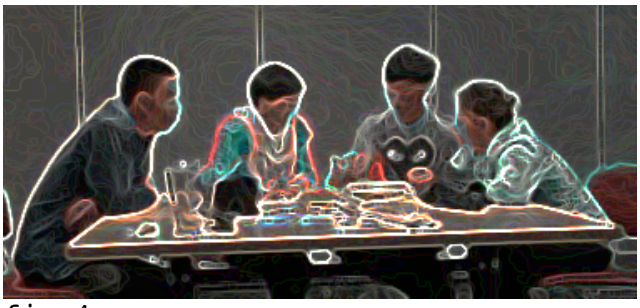


fig 3

```
04                  (0.5)
05    M2 Jam        uh [(.) (car-)
06    H  Tam           [this is milk.
07                  (0.5)
```

```
08    M1 Mon    →    milk?#
      fig                  #4
```



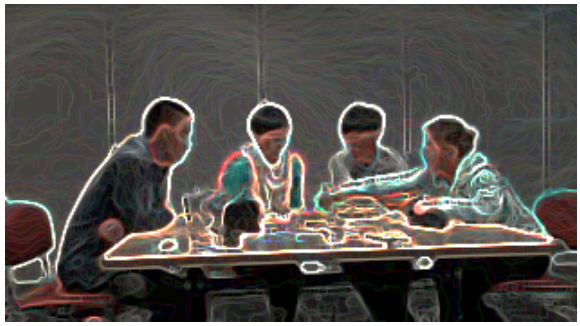
```
                   fig 4
09                 (1.4)
10    H Tam        [chinese milk.
11    M1 Mon       [really?
```

The final type of OIR used in the data set is candidate understandings. With a candidate understanding, the speaker initiates repair by providing their own formulation of what they understood the original speaker to be saying. The first speaker has the opportunity to confirm or disconfirm this formulation. In Extract 3.14, Monika (upper-medium) points at an object on the table near Tammy (fig 1) and requests information about it, asking "`what- what is it.`" (line 1). Tammy picks up an object by her right hand and holds it up (fig 2), saying "`this?`" (line 3). With this candidate understanding, Tammy displays her understanding of what Monika is referring to with the pronoun "`it`". When this is confirmed by Monika in line 4, Tammy receipts this with the change-of-state token "`oh-`" (line 5), displaying that she needed confirmation for whether this was the item in question. She then requests for Jamie to give her his telephone by holding out her hand and saying "`telephone,`". The telephone is used to demonstrate the purpose of the object in response to Monika's original information request.

Extract 3.14. S1_G2 00:10:58

Participants from left to right: Todd (low), Tammy (high), Jamie (lower-medium), Monika (upper-medium)

```
01                 (2.6)
02    M1 Mon       what- what is #it.
      fig                        #1
```



```
                   fig 1
```

03 (1.2)
04 H Tam → |this?#|
gaze |Tammy |gazes at Monika
fig #2

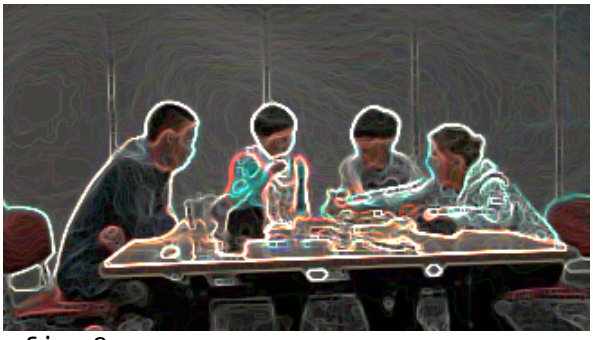


fig 2

05 M1 Mon (yeah)?
06 (0.2)
07 H Tam oh- (.) te#lephone,
fig #3

fig 3

In the data set, other-initiation of repair was done in 15 cases through repeats, making this the most frequent type. Open-class repair initiations were used 12 times and candidate understandings were used 9 times. *In situ* repeats + q-words were used twice, and class-specific q-words were not used. The frequency of use of different types of OIR is shown in Figure 3.2.

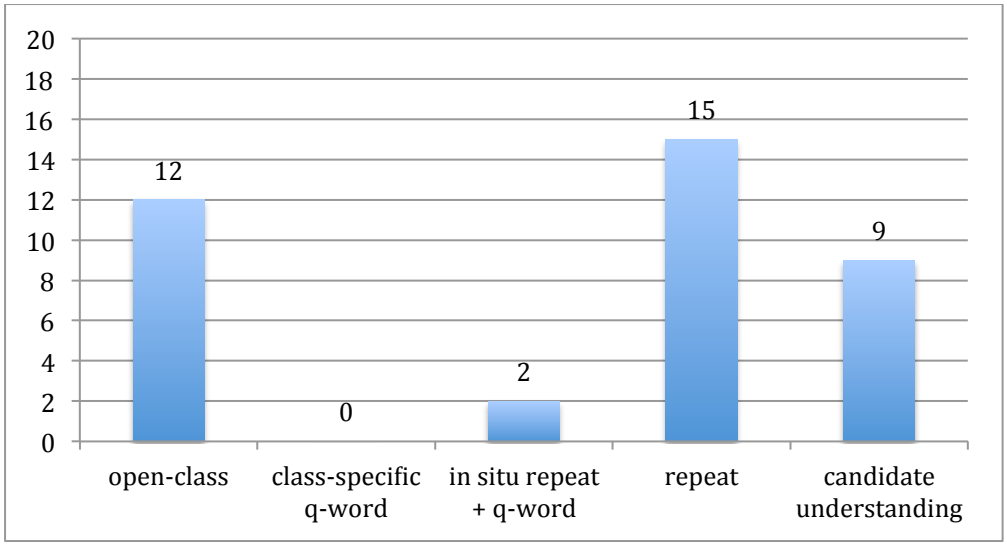


Figure 3.2. Types of other-initiation of repair used in the data set and frequency of use.

This section has presented more-response-seeking moves that do OIR. The four types of OIR used in the data set were presented: open-class repair initiation, class-specific q-words, *in situ* repeat + q-words, repeats, and candidate understandings. Next, more-response-seeking moves that request and offer action will be presented.

3.4.4 Requesting and offering action

Another way of initiating a joint project is to propose an action to be completed subsequently by either the current speaker ("self") or a recipient ("other") (Couper-Kuhlen, 2014). Such moves are called requests and offers for action. Requests for action have been described by Thompson et al. (2015) as "a broad class of turns … in which the speaker either asks a recipient to perform some action … or tells a recipient to do so" (p. 216). By "asking" or "telling", Thompson et al. mean the use of interrogative or imperative form to do the requests for action. With requests for action, the action is requested of someone other than the speaker, making that other person the agent. With offers for action, the current speaker completes the action (Curl, 2006). There was a relatively small number of offers compared to requests; for this reason the two actions were grouped together in one category that relates more broadly to proposing a subsequent action. In total, there are 16 cases of requests and offers for action in the data. Of the 16 cases of requests and offers for action, 13 were requests and 3 were offers.

Extract 3.15 provides examples of a request and an offer for action. In this extract, the group is working together to build an invention from two objects: a cake server and a pair of tongs. Peymaneh is holding the two objects (fig 1) and proposing an idea (line 1); the final word of

this move is not clear on the recording. Ivy takes up this idea in line 2, in overlap with the final word of Peymaneh's move. Peymaneh then requests an action by asking Sue for more string in line 4 through an imperative: "`okay just give me (more).`" Sue initiates repair with a candidate understanding, saying "`just uh this?`" (line 5) and holding up a piece of string (fig 3). Peymaneh confirms this and begins working with the string and the object. Ivy raises her hands slightly and touches the objects in Peymaneh's hands (fig 4), then says "`okay?`"; Peymaneh continues to manipulate the objects. In line 11 Ivy does an offer of action, saying "`i help you.`"; she then raises her hands higher on the objects (fig 5) and begins helping Peymaneh to put the objects together.

Extract 3.15. S1_G1 00:10:05

Participants from left to right: Peymaneh (high), Ivy (low), Sue (medium)

```
01    H Pey          so this side we can #use the [(      )?
      fig                                 #1
```

fig 1

```
02    L Ivy                                          [ye::ah yeah=yeah.
03                   (0.1)
04    H Pey    R→    okay just give me (more).#
      fig                                      #2
```

fig 2

```
05    M Sue          just uh #this?
      fi                     #3
```

fig 3

```
06                  (0.3)
07    H Pey         yeah yeah.
08                  (1.6)#
      fig                #4
```

fig 4

```
09    L Ivy         okay?
10                  (2.3)
11    L Ivy    O→   i help you.#
      fig                      #5
```

fig 5

```
12                  (0.1)
13    H Pey         yeah help me,
14                  (0.2)
15    L Ivy         yeah.
```

Offers of action are often done in everyday talk through a declarative with *I* as the subject and a modal verb, such as *I'll X* or *I can X* (Clayman & Heritage, 2014); however, in this data set, the modal verbs are often not included in the formulation by speakers, as seen in Extract 3.14. Furthermore, as Thompson et al. (2015) observe, "The action in the request-for-action category can concern: (1) the transfer or manipulation of a concrete object or thing … (2) the performance of a service … or (3) a change in some less tangible form of thought or behavior"

(p. 216). Peymaneh's action involves a request for the transfer of a concrete object while Ivy's move in line 11, by contrast, involves the performance of a service.

Requests and offers for action were done most often in the tasks involving the creation of an invention. They were typically done after the idea for the invention had been established and were used as a resource to carry out the execution of the idea, that is, to create and build the invention.

This section has presented more-response-seeking moves that request and offer action. Next, more-response-seeking moves that request confirmation of a prior idea will be presented.

3.4.5 Requesting confirmation of a prior idea

When a speaker does the more-response-mobilising move of requesting confirmation of a prior idea, the speaker repeats or formulates a candidate understanding of an idea that was either discussed previously by the group or put forward by one group member other than the speaker. As Heritage (2012) argues, such moves that request confirmation of a proposition have a shallower epistemic gradient than requests for information. As such, they invite confirmation and sequence closure rather than expansion. However, by eliciting confirmation from others before the activity progresses, they make affirming responses from other group members strongly relevant. For this reason, they remain in the more-response-mobilising category of actions. There are 12 cases of this kind of move in the data set.

Extract 3.16, drawn from the crime and punishment task, provides two examples of requests for confirmation of a prior idea. In both of these cases, the speaker uses these moves to facilitate the reaching of a group-wide agreement by confirming propositions with the rest of the group. This extract includes Extract 3.4, which is lines 1–12, and continues with further discussion of the ideas. In line 1, as discussed previously, Sue puts forward an idea for a prison sentence. Mallory queries this idea (line 3), and then JayJay and Sue request clarification of Mallory's opinion (lines 7 and 9). Mallory then suggests possible shorter sentences of fifteen or twenty years (lines 10–12). Sue repeats "`twenty=twenty`" (line 14), selecting this proposed alternative as a potential sentencing length. Mallory is gazing at Sue as she speaks (fig 1). Then she gazes at JayJay (fig 2) and repeats "`twenty?=`" (line 16) with upward turn-final intonation. With this move, she takes up Sue's selected sentencing length and requests confirmation from JayJay. Sue says "`=°okay°`" quietly, reaffirming the selected prison-term length, and JayJay confirms by repeating the term length with downward turn-final intonation.

In line 19, Mallory then again requests confirmation by formulating a candidate understanding of the group's progression toward agreeing on a length of prison term: "so we agree on twenty?". As she does this, she gazes back toward Sue (fig 3). Sue confirms again, and Mallory begins to write up the group's final decision on the handout (fig 4). By repeating Sue's proposed term length to JayJay in line 16 and reconfirming agreement of the group with Sue in line 19, Mallory uses requests for confirmation to do facilitation of the group work. In doing this, she ensures that all group members have agreed before the final decision is written down. Only once this is completed does she begin to move to the next activity of writing up the group's decision.

Extract 3.16. S2_G1 00:25:27

Participants from left to right: JayJay (medium), Mallory (high), Sue (low)

```
01    L Sue          twenty:: five.
02                   (1.3)
03    H Mal          so for [twen]ty fi-yeah does that make sense?#=
04    L Sue                 [yeh ]
05    H Mal          =(.) well,
06                   (2.3)
07    M Jay          what do you think (0.2) give less,
08                   (0.1)
09    L Sue          you think (0.2) you think [so,
10    H Mal                                    [maybe (0.5) yeah i
11                   don't know maybe twenty¿ (.) or no uh (.)
12                   fifteen¿ i dunno,
13                   (0.4)
14    L Sue          twenty=twenty.#
      fig                          #1
```

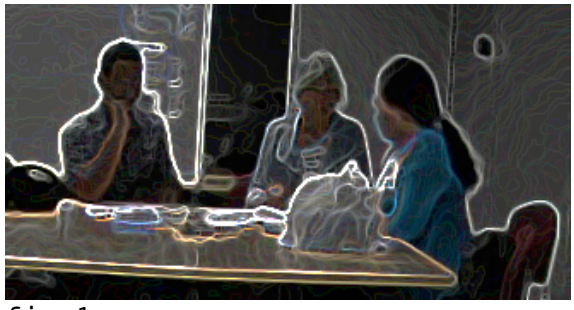


fig 1

```
15                   (0.5)
16    H Mal      →   |twenty?#|=
      gaze           |Mallory |gazes at JayJay
      fi                    #2
```

fig 2

```
17    L Sue          =°okay°
18    M Jay          twenty [years.]
19    H Mal     →           [so we ] agree on |[#twenty?|
      gaze                                   |Mallory  |gazes at Sue
      fig                                     #3
```

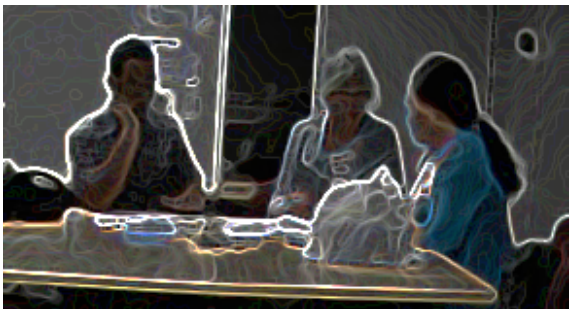


fig 3

```
20    L Sue                                  [twenty=okay,
21                   #(1.4)
      fig            #4
```

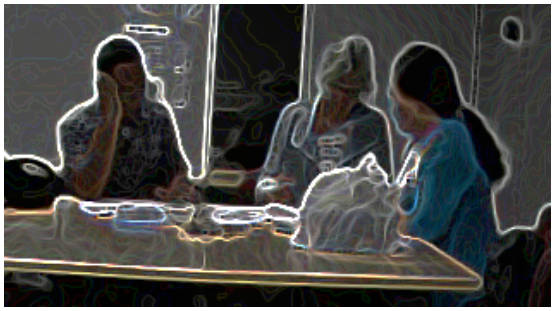


fig 4

The cases in this extract are typical in that they do not use interrogative lexico-morphosyntax. These moves typically take the form of single lexical items, phrases, or declaratives. Because of their structure, and their common use as initiations of sequential expansions, these moves can appear to be similar to other-initiations of repair through repeats or candidate understandings. What distinguishes requests for confirmation of prior ideas from other-initiation of repair is their use as a resource for confirming a prior idea rather than initiating repair on a trouble-source. In Extract 3.16, when Mallory repeats "twenty?=" at line 16, she does not gaze at Sue, the speaker of the prior move, but shifts her gaze to JayJay. In both of the cases of requests for confirmation of prior ideas in this extract, Mallory uses these moves as a resource to build common ground by establishing mutual understandings and facilitating the

display agreement on them. Alternatively, recipients could respond by disagreeing with the idea put forward for confirmation and initiate discussion of alternative ideas.

This section has described more-response-mobilising moves that request confirmation of a prior idea. These moves, done primarily by higher-proficiency group members, are used to facilitate agreement between group members before moving forward with the next task stage. The following section will present the final category of more-response-mobilising moves: checking understanding or accuracy.

3.4.6 Checking understanding or accuracy

Checking understanding or accuracy moves include two types of actions. The majority of these moves do the action of asking another group member if he or she understands some aspect of the task, such as the progress of the group, a prior move from another group member, the task materials, or the task instructions. They explicitly refer to understanding or comprehension and invite confirmation of the recipient's ability to comprehend some aspect of the task. These actions are rare examples of orientation to other group members' proficiency. There were 5 cases of this kind of move in the data set. The remaining move in this category does the action of questioning the veracity of another group member's prior contribution. Because of the small number of each of these types of moves, they were grouped together to form a category of action that orients to understanding by the self or other.

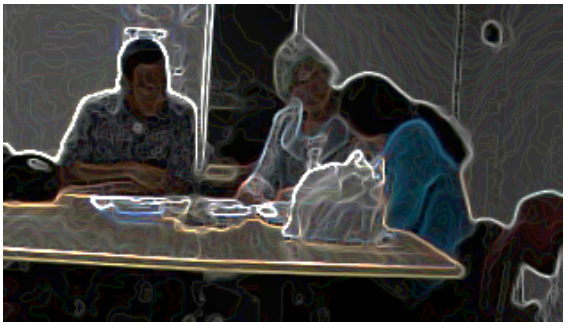
Extract 3.17 provides an example of a move that checks understanding. This example comes from the crime and punishment task. As the extract opens, JayJay is reading out the details of the crime story from the handout, including the type of crime and the name of the accused. Mallory and Sue are listening (fig 1). Midway through the reading, Mallory turns to Sue (fig 2) and says "`you understand?`" (line 8) in overlap with JayJay. Sue confirms with the multiple saying (Stivers, 2004) "`yeah=yeah=yeah=yeah=yeah.`" (line 11), delivered with a single intonation contour. According to Stivers, use of multiple sayings in response to another speaker signals a desire not just to answer the prior query, but to halt the prior course of action. Sue does not display understanding through her response; however, through the design of her response, she conveys a desire to move on with the crime story rather than dwelling on her understanding.

Extract 3.17. S2_G1 00:27:00

Participants from left to right: JayJay (medium), Mallory (high), Sue (low)

```
01    M Jay        crime?#
      fig                #1
```

```
                   fig 1
02                 (0.2)
03    M Jay        drunk driving,
04                 (0.9)
05    M Jay        manslaughter.
06                 (1.6)
07    M Jay        miss-[miss tipton
08    H Mal   →         [you under|stand?# (0.1) what [(is that)|
      gaze                        |Mallory gazes at Sue---------|
      fig                               #2
```



```
                   fig 2
09    L Sue              [yeah=yeah=yeah=yeah=yeah.
10                 (0.9)
11    M Jay        miss tipton is an alcoholic,
```

There is one case of a move that questioned the accuracy or veracity of a claim in a prior group member's move. This case was included in this category of action because it contains explicit reference to the content of prior talk. This move is shown in Extract 3.18. The extract comes from the same group as Extract 3.16. Sue proffers information (this kind of initiation will be discussed in Chapter 4) about the punishment for a crime if it were to be committed in China. Instead of responding by receipting this information, JayJay initiates a new joint project by checking the accuracy of her claim, asking "`o:::h oh are you sure?`" (line 3). In overlap, Mallory gasps (line 4), and then says "`oh dear.`" (line 6). Sue responds to JayJay by confirming her prior claim, saying "`yeah.`" (line 5). This is the only instance of this kind of move in the data set.

Extract 3.18. S2_G1 00:33:36

Participants from left to right: JayJay (medium), Mallory (high), Sue (low)

```
01    L Sue          in china this have uh two years.
02                   (0.3)
03    M Jay    →      o::[:h oh |are you sure?#
      gaze                     |Mallory gazes at Sue=
      fig                                    #1
```

fig 1

```
04    H Mal             [.huh?
05    L Sue          [yeah.
      gaze           =----->>
06    H Mal          [oh dear.
```

There were only 6 cases of understanding and accuracy checks and speakership was done by group members of a range of linguistic proficiency levels. Only low-proficiency group members did not do these moves.

In this section, I have presented six recurrent kinds of action done through more-response-mobilising moves: idea requests, information requests, other-initiation of repair, requests and offers for action, requests for confirmation of prior ideas, and understanding and accuracy checks. These moves have been defined and discussed through exemplary cases in the data set. Now, the chapter turns to turn-design features for response mobilisation and examines how these features are used with actions of different types.

3.5 Turn-design features for response mobilisation

This section focuses on turn-design features for response mobilisation used by participants when doing more-response-mobilising moves. It begins with a description of the way each feature is used in the data. Then it focuses on interrogative lexico-morphosyntax and discusses how different forms of usage are distributed among speakers of different levels. Finally, the focus turns to a small group of cases that use none of the features, and examines this phenomenon in more detail.

Of the 186 more-response-mobilising moves, 179 (96.2%) used one or more of the turn-design features for response mobilisation, and of these 167 (89.8%) used two or more of the features. The particular combinations of features varied considerably, which corroborates Stivers and Rossano's (2010) claim that there is no single essential feature for questioning. However, recipient-tilted epistemic asymmetry was by far the most recurrent feature used in this category: 169 of the moves (90.9%) had this feature, as shown in Figure 3.3. Extracts 3.1, 3.3 through 3.14, and 3.16 through 3.18 all provide example cases where speakers are using K– stance in the moves to mobilise response. This stance is powerful in eliciting response from other speakers because it makes relevant a need for information, such as an answer, from someone else, and not giving this kind of response is highly dispreferred (Stivers & Rossano, 2010). Thus recipient-tilted epistemic asymmetry is a recurrently used resource in more-response-mobilising moves.

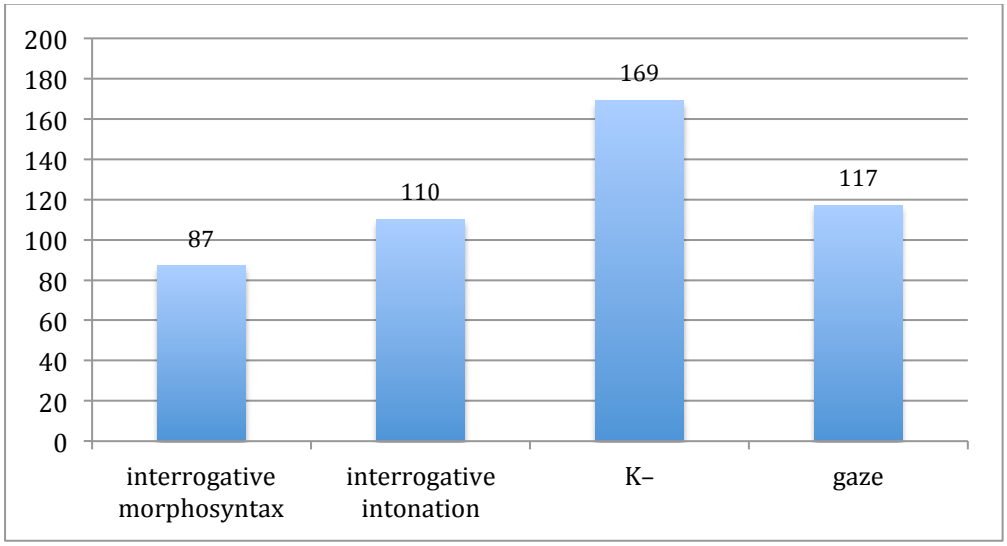


Figure 3.3. Frequency of use of turn-design features for response mobilisation.

Seven cases in the data set used none of the turn-design features for mobilising response. Six of these moves were requests and offers for action, and they were all done in a particular group. Extract 3.15 exemplifies the characteristics that these cases share. The group is working on building an invention from the objects on the table. In line 4, Peymaneh requests for Sue to give her string with the move "`okay just give me (more).`". She uses the imperative form to do the request for action, not a polar or wh- interrogative form. The turn-final intonation is downward, and she gazes at the string on the table, an object within mutual view of the participants, but not at Sue, the recipient (fig 2). With this type of action, the speaker does not claim epistemic territory, but claims the ability to shape what kind of action happens next through deontic stance (Stevanovic & Peräkylä, 2012). Doing such a move, which makes

the granting of a requested action relevant in next position by another participant (Clayman and Heritage, 2014), is highly response-mobilising. The remaining move is an idea request wherein the speaker asks the other group members to summarise the previously discussed ideas while she writes up. This case will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5, Sections 5.1.2 and 5.2.1 (Extract 5.6). In this case, the requested ideas have already been discussed and thus this knowledge is shared in the group. The purpose of requesting these ideas is to enable the speaker to complete the task by writing up the group decision. The findings suggest that the described actions, which focus on actions for task completion, are efficient at evoking response on their own and do not require the use of additional turn-design features for mobilising response. In further support of this claim, of the remaining 10 cases of requests and offers for action in which recipient-tilted epistemic asymmetry was not present, 9 of these only used one feature; this feature was typically gaze.

Moves with recipient-tilted epistemic asymmetry tended to take two forms. The first was to do a move that did not contain an assertion or opinion, but instead elicited an assertion or opinion from another group member. These moves were done through an interrogative or by trailing off before completing a declarative. Alternatively, the speaker put forward an assertion or opinion in the move, and the preferred response was some kind of confirmation of the assertion or opinion put forward. Often, but not always, the latter type was coupled with interrogative intonation. Moves displaying a recipient-tilted epistemic asymmetry sometimes included specific reference to features of their identity, such as professional expertise, country of origin, or linguistic proficiency level. However, most often there was no specific reference to such aspects of identity. Of the 17 cases that did not have a recipient-tilted epistemic asymmetry, 16 cases were requests and offers for action, and 1 case was the idea request described in the previous paragraph.

Gaze was the next most recurrent feature, used in 117 (62.9%) of the cases. In these cases, gaze was used to select a single next speaker or multiple next speakers. For example, in Extract 3.1, Tammy requests ideas through her move in line 2. She gazes at Monika as she does the move and selects her as next speaker, i.e. *you* in the move "`um do you have some ideas?`" It is not until Monika passes the opportunity to speak in line 7 that another group member puts forward an idea. If Tammy were not gazing at any group member in particular, then the floor would have been open for any other group member to self-select to speak next. Extract 3.16 also exemplifies the use of gaze to elicit response from particular next speakers. As Mallory requests confirmation of prior ideas, she alternates her gaze between different group members

while doing each move. Here, gaze is a resource for doing facilitation of group work, allowing different group members to be nominated to give their input and confirmation in turn. This enables the group to reach consensus in an orderly, efficient fashion.

Interrogative intonation was used in 110 (59.1%) of the cases. It was used with moves done through a variety of formats, such as non-lexical items, in the case of open-class repair initiators (Extract 3.10), and single lexical items, phrasal constructions, and declaratives used to do repeats and candidate understandings (Extracts 3.9, 3.12, and 3.13). Downward turn-final intonation was also used across the same range of grammatical formats. This feature was never used alone; it always co-occurred with other features. It was a predominant feature in cases where interrogative lexico-morphosyntax was not used, for example with idea and information requests, OIR, and requests for confirmation done through lexical, phrasal, and declarative constructions.

Interrogative lexico-morphosyntax was used in 87 (46.8%) of the cases. When used, it co-occurred with at least one other feature; in all but one case it was used with recipient-tilted epistemic asymmetry. The predominant co-occurrence of interrogative lexico-morphosyntax and recipient-tilted epistemic asymmetry is an interesting contextual feature because it provides some evidence that group members working together on the task did not use "known-answer questions" that are typical of classroom interaction between teachers and students (Schegloff, 2007, p. 223). In these cases, the person doing the initial move does a question, often with interrogative lexico-morphosyntax, where the answer is known to the speaker. This means that higher-proficiency students were not taking on this particular role typically done by the teachers in this institutional setting.

Idea requests were the most likely to incorporate interrogative lexico-morphosyntax, in 72% of cases. Information requests incorporated interrogative lexico-morphosyntax in 56.9% of cases. The remainder were B-event statements (Labov & Fanshel, 1977) used to request information in the recipient's domain of knowledge, done through lexical, phrasal, or declarative formats. The other categories rarely used interrogative morphosyntax. OIR was typically done through other means, such as open-class repair initiations, repeats, and candidate understanding. Requests for confirmation were always done through B-event statements. Requests and offers for action, interestingly, only used interrogative lexico-morphosyntax in 3 of 16 cases. Speakers tended to do requests via declaratives with the subject *you*, imperative structures, or offers with *I* as the subject.

Moves that used interrogative lexico-morphosyntax took two different forms in the data set: polar and wh- interrogatives. Alternative interrogatives that provided two options for the recipient to select from were also analysed but were not found in the more-response-mobilising group of moves. The frequency of use of these interrogative forms is shown in Figure 3.4. The majority of interrogatives found in the data were wh- interrogatives. This is likely because the vast majority of initiations that used interrogative lexico-morphosyntax were idea and information requests.

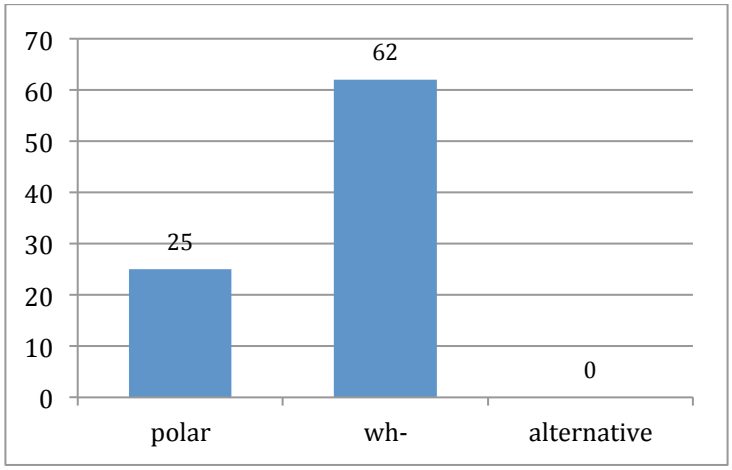


Figure 3.4. Use of interrogative lexico-morphosyntax types.

As described previously in this section, requests and offers for action had a different pattern of usage of turn-design features for response mobilisation than the overall pattern across the data set. Other action types also had unique characteristics in comparison to the aggregate total use of features. Requests for ideas used interrogative lexico-morphosyntax, interrogative intonation, and recipient-tilted epistemic asymmetry more often, while gaze was used in the same proportion of cases. This suggests that these moves were done with a combination of several or all features more of the time. Notably, all cases of requests for information, other-initiation of repair, and requests for confirmation had recipient-tilted epistemic asymmetry. However, interrogative lexico-morphosyntax was used less often for other-initiation of repair and not at all for requests for confirmation, while interrogative intonation was used more often in both of these categories. This is due to the predominant of use of repeats and candidate understandings to do both of these categories of action. Requests for confirmation also were done more often with gaze upon the recipient.

This section has presented findings related to the use of turn-design features for mobilisation of response used with canonically more-response-mobilising actions. The following section examines the distribution of speakership between group members of differing proficiencies.

3.6 Speakership and design of more-response-mobilising moves

In total, there were eight groups recorded for the study. Four of these groups had three participants per group; the other four had four participants per group. Throughout this section, the distribution of speakership among group members of different proficiencies is presented for groups of three and groups of four in turn. First I will discuss the distribution of speakership of all more-response-mobilising moves and then each action type. Then I will look at the grammatical format of moves and its relationship to proficiency.

The 186 more-response-mobilising moves found in the data set were roughly evenly split between groups of three and four: 98 (51.7%) of these cases were done in the four triadic groups and 88 (47.3%) were done in the four groups with four participants per group. In each type of group, there is a correlation between speakership of these moves and the speaker's linguistic proficiency level relative to the other group members, as shown in Figure 3.5. In groups of three, the high-proficiency participants did 56 more-response-mobilising moves, medium-proficiency group members did 29, and low-proficiency group members did 13. In groups of four, high-proficiency group members did 41 more-response-mobilising moves, upper-medium-proficiency group members did 24, lower-medium-proficiency group members did 12, and low-proficiency group members did 10. This distribution is similar to the distribution of the joint-project-initiating actions overall, shown in Figure 3.1, in that speakership levels off between lower-medium- and low-proficiency participants in groups of four.

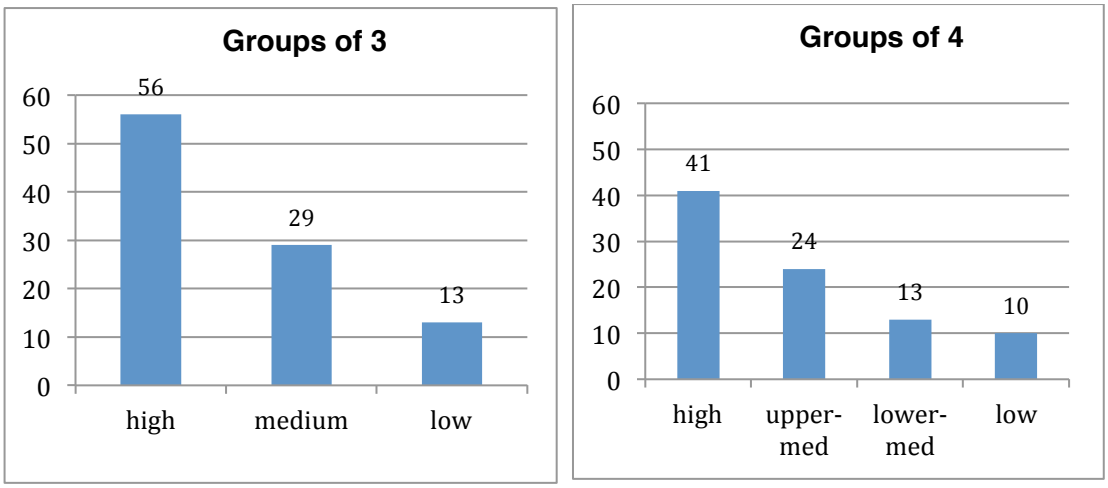


Figure 3.5. Distribution of speakership of more-response-mobilising moves by relative proficiency level.

Looking at the distribution of speakership for particular action types provides further insight into this correlation. For the remainder of this section, I will discuss the distribution for each action in more detail. I will focus on the most recurrent moves – idea requests, information requests, and OIR. In all of these categories there is a broad tendency for speakership to correspond with linguistic proficiency, with the exception of idea requests that request explanation or clarification by prior speaker.

Speakership of idea requests was found to correlate to linguistic proficiency level, as shown in Figure 3.6. Though low-proficiency group members in groups of four did more moves than lower-medium group members, what can be seen across groups of both type is that high-proficiency speakers did more than half of these kinds of moves, and the rest were split across medium- and low-proficiency speakers.

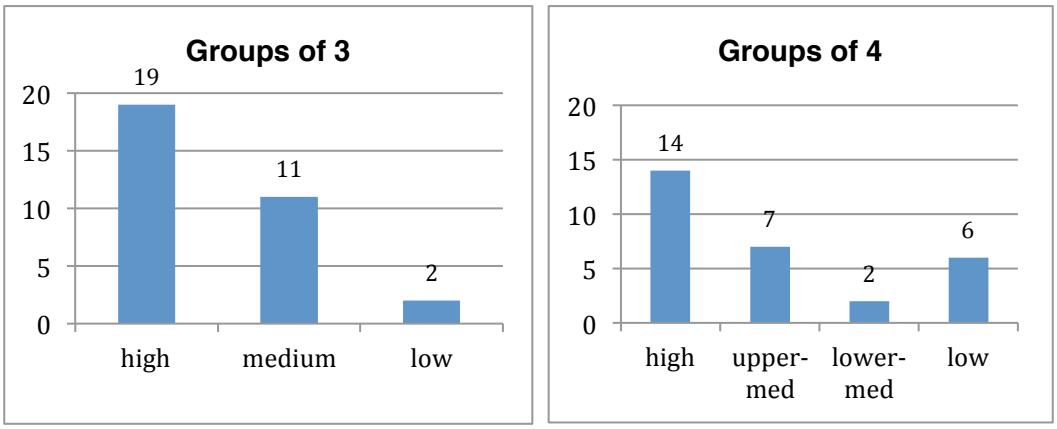


Figure 3.6. Distribution of speakership of idea requests by relative proficiency level.

Speakership of new idea requests also correlated to level. As seen in Figure 3.7, high-proficiency group members did the vast majority of these moves. However, requests for explanations and clarifications of prior ideas were distributed differently. Figure 3.8 shows that these moves were most often done by speakers not at the high-proficiency level. In groups of three, high-proficiency group members did 4 of the requests for explanation or clarification of a prior idea, while other group members did 9 of these moves. High-proficiency group members also did 4 of these moves in groups of four, while the other three group members did the remaining 10 moves. Requests for ideas that elicit contributions from other speakers were done far less frequently than the other two kinds of request for ideas moves; their distribution is therefore not shown.

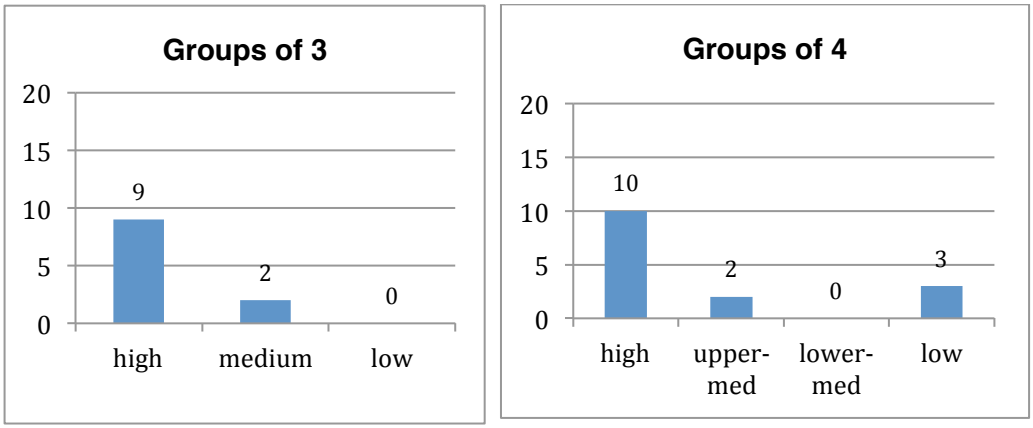


Figure 3.7. Distribution of speakership of new idea requests by relative proficiency level.

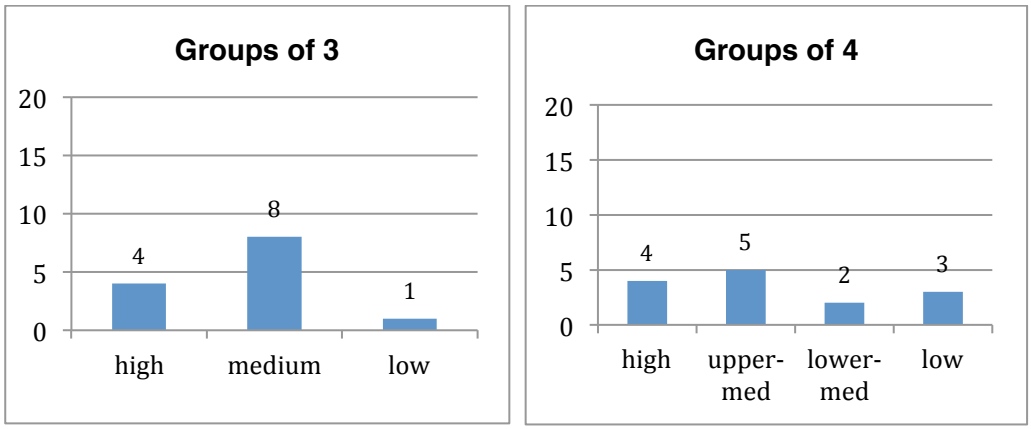


Figure 3.8. Distribution of speakership of idea requests that request explanation or clarification by prior speaker by relative proficiency level.

The relative frequency of speakership of information requests correlates to relative proficiency level. As shown in Figure 3.9, in groups of three, high-proficiency group members did 10 requests for information, while medium-proficiency group members did 4 and low-proficiency

group members did 5. In groups of four, high-proficiency group members did 13 requests for information, upper-medium-proficiency group members did 12, lower-medium-proficiency group members did 6, and low-proficiency group members did 1. In total for groups of four, high-proficiency and upper-medium-proficiency group members did 25 of the moves, while the lower-medium- and low-proficiency group members did 7.

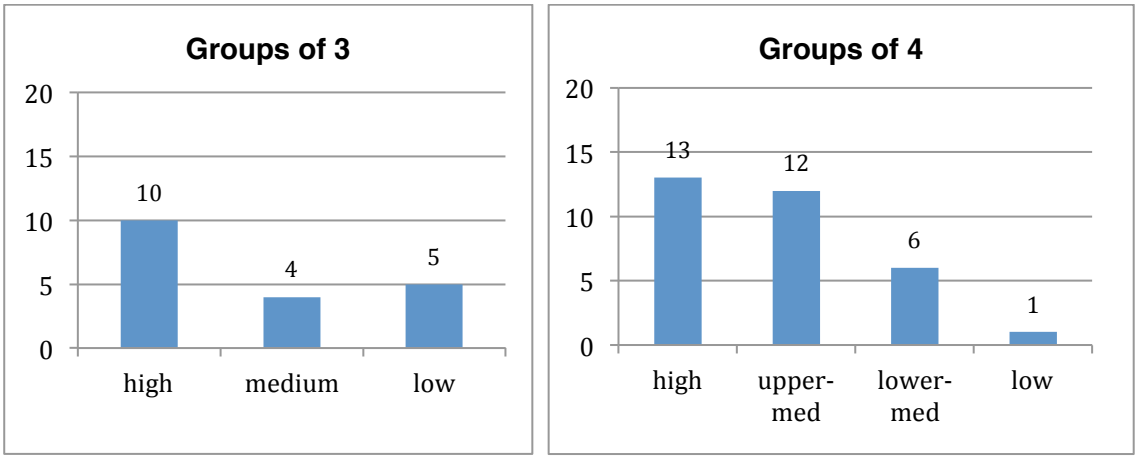


Figure 3.9. Distribution of speakership of requesting information by relative proficiency level.

Figure 3.10 shows that the broad distribution of information requests about established facts is similar to the distribution of requests for information overall, where higher-proficiency group members (high and upper-medium) do the majority of the actions. However, in groups of four, upper-medium-proficiency group members did these moves more often than high-proficiency group members. For information requests related to task materials and instructions (Figure 3.11), low-proficiency group members did more of the moves in groups of three, while in groups of four high-proficiency group members did the majority of these actions.

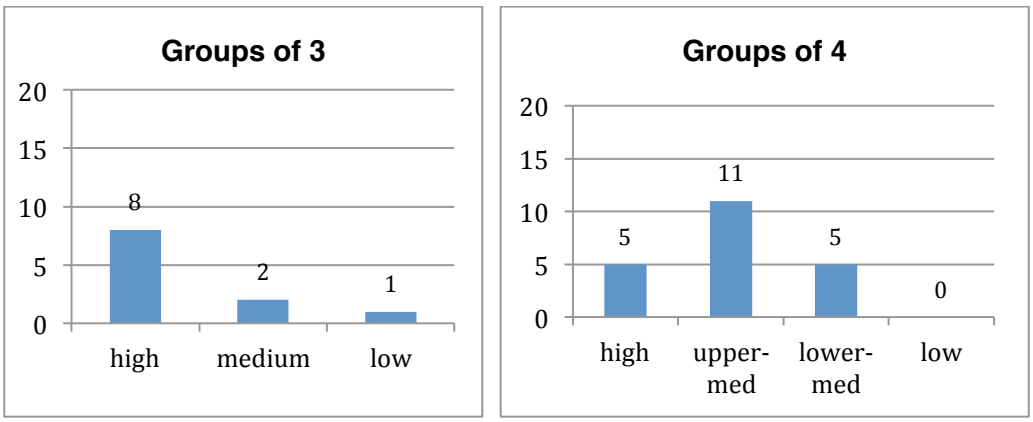


Figure 3.10. Distribution of speakership of information requests about established facts by relative proficiency level.

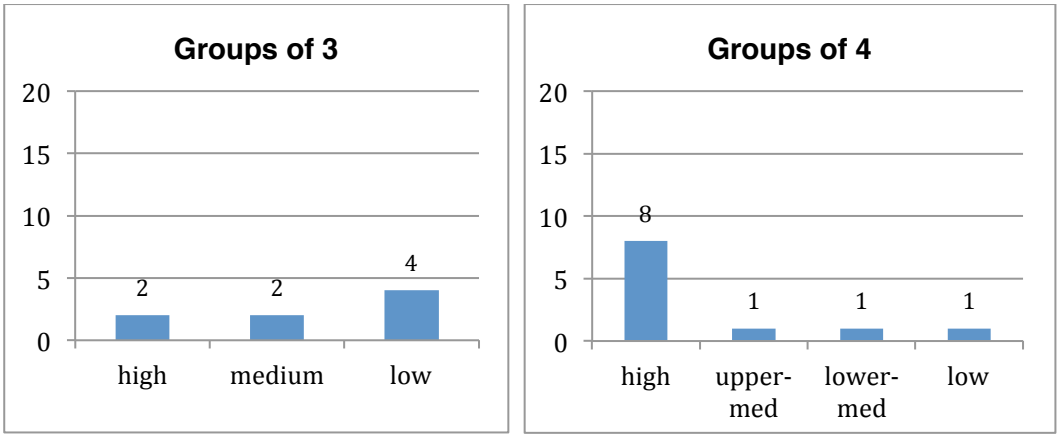


Figure 3.11. Distribution of speakership of information requests about task instructions and materials.

Speakership of OIR also shows a correlation to linguistic proficiency level, as seen in Figure 3.12. In groups of three and groups of four, high-proficiency group members did OIR most often, followed by medium-proficiency group members and then low-proficiency group members. In both types of groups, high-proficiency group members did more of the moves than the other group members combined. In groups of three, high-proficiency group members did 11 of the moves, while the other two group members did 9; in groups of four, high-proficiency group members did 9 of the moves, while the other three group members combined did 9.

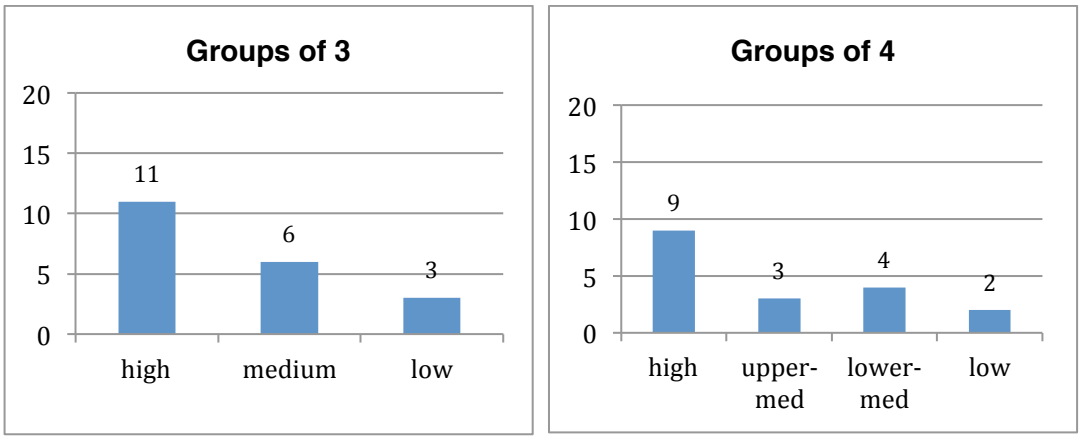


Figure 3.12. Distribution of speakership of other-initiation of repair by relative proficiency level.

A final aspect of initiating moves that correlates to relative proficiency is the speakers' range of grammatical constructions used with more-response-mobilising moves. In addition to being the most frequent agents of more-response-mobilising moves, higher-proficiency (high and medium) group members also used the largest range of interrogative forms across the data, and most frequently, as shown in Figure 3.13. Thus there is both a correlation for level in terms

of the frequency of doing more-response-mobilising actions overall as well as in the use of a variety of interrogative lexico-morphosyntax forms to mobilise response.

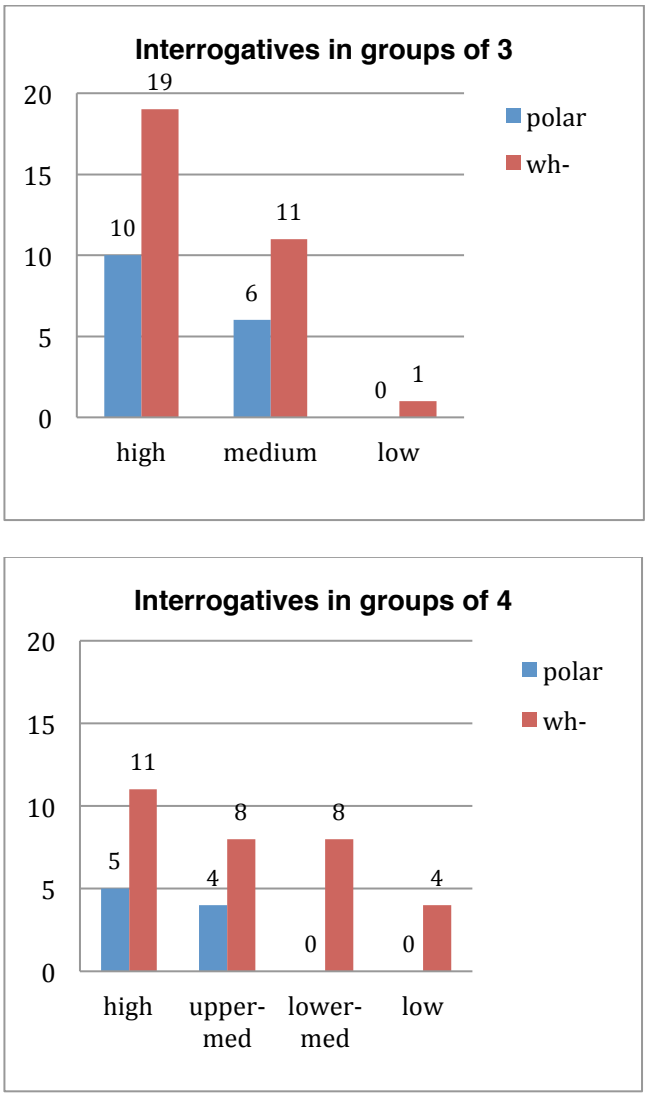


Figure 3.13. Distribution of range and frequency of interrogative forms by relative proficiency level.

In this section, I have presented speakership and grammatical format of more-response-mobilising moves in terms of proficiency. I now turn to selection done by speakers of these moves.

3.7 Selection done through more-response-mobilising moves

When doing an initiating move, speakers often select a particular next speaker. Various interactional resources can be used to do this. Speakers may select a next speaker through embodied resources such as gesture, gaze, or manipulating an object, or they may use enchronic resources to project the epistemicity of another participant (Enfield, 2013).

Sometimes they nominate a next speaker by name. In face-to-face interaction, gaze and gesture are most commonly used (Lerner, 1996). Names are typically used when some trouble with selection has occurred. For example, in Extract 3.6, Chris first gazes toward Louie and then summons him by name when Louie does not return his gaze.

In multi-party contexts with three or four participants, speakers may explicitly select one or two particular group members as next speaker. Alternatively, they may not select any particular next speaker, meaning that any other group member could self-select to respond (Sacks et al., 1974). In groups of three, speakers can select one particular group member or leave it open for either of the two other group members to self-select; in groups of four, speakers can select one or two particular group members, or any of the three other group members can self-select. However, even though the option for selecting two of the three other group members was present in groups of four, it was still most common for speakers in these groups to either select a single next speaker or to select any of the three other group members as next speaker. There was only one case of a group member selecting two other group members in a group of four.

As shown in Figure 3.14, 170 of the 186 moves selected either one other group member or any other group member. The remaining 16 moves selected either the teacher, when he/she was a ratified participant in the group, or two other group members in groups of four; 143 (76.7%) of these moves selected one particular participant in the group of three or four, while 27 (14.5%) selected any other group member as next speaker. Thus more-response-mobilising moves are predominately directed to a single recipient. This supports the argument that more-response-mobilising moves can be coercive in eliciting response (Stivers & Rossano, 2010); in a context of multi-party talk, selecting a single next speaker puts pressure only upon that one recipient to respond rather than making response voluntary from any other group member.

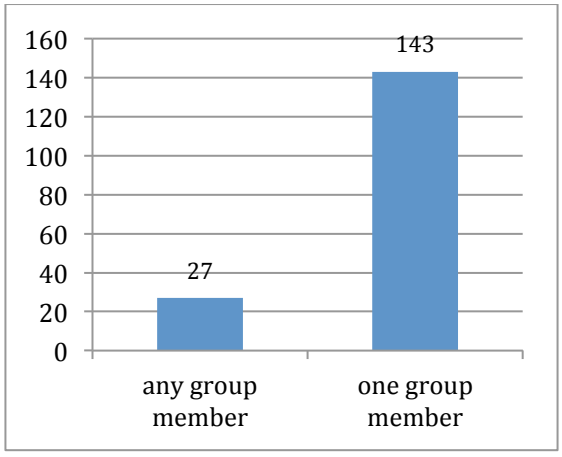


Figure 3.14. Selection of group members by speakers of more-response-mobilising moves.

Selection was also investigated for particular action types. Typically the distribution mirrored the overall distribution by level presented across the whole category of more-response-mobilising moves. One notable exception was other-initiation of repair. Speakers of these moves were even more likely to select a single next speaker than to select any next speaker. The few exceptions were cases where the whole group had been discussing something and multiple participants had spoken on a topic previously. In these rare cases, the selection of next speaker was ambiguous and any other group member could self-select to resolve the trouble.

Looking in more detail at cases of more-response-mobilising moves where no single next speaker was selected revealed methods for addressing the whole group with a more-response-mobilising move. In all of these cases, there was no evidence in the sequence of prior talk for selection of a prior speaker. That is, the speaker was not referring back to a prior utterance from a particular speaker or referring to a particular person in the group.

When addressing the whole group, speakers typically gazed at an object of focus while doing a move that requested some kind of engagement with that object. These objects of focus were task-related artifacts, such as everyday objects to be used in an invention or the handout containing crime stories. Through the move, the speakers drew the group's attention to this object rather than gazing at a particular person. Thus it was not assumed that a particular group member would be better equipped to respond. Extract 3.19 provides an example of this method of addressing the whole group (line 2). As Monika asks "`what- what is it.`", she points and gazes at an object on the table. The whole group then gazes at this object. In this environment, any group member may self-select to provide the requested information.

Extract 3.19. S1_G2 00:11:01

Participants from left to right: Todd (low), Tammy (high), Jamie (lower-medium), Monika (upper-medium)

```
01                  (2.6)
02   M1 Mon    →     what- what is #it.
fig                                #1
```

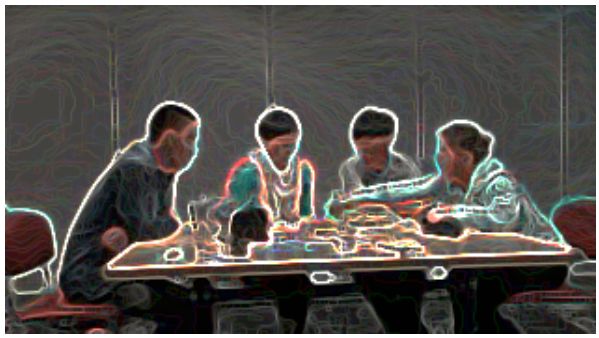


fig 1

```
03                  (1.2)
```

In the 2 deviant cases where the speaker was addressing the group and gazing at another speaker, the speaker turned their gaze to different group members as the move progressed. These 2 cases come from Session 4, where group members were working together to create an invention. In this task, the groups did not create the invention from everyday objects, but instead needed to imagine some kind of invention. In Extract 3.20, Mohammed requests ideas from the group (line 2) after a lapse. He shifts his gaze from one group member to another – first Brian, then Yuri – as the move unfolds. Gaze is used here to signal the selection of more than one group member. It is interesting that this method of addressing the whole group was not used more often. In this particular case, Mohammed is attempting to restart the talk after it has halted by eliciting ideas from other group members. He is not drawing upon any task objects as a resource for doing so; instead, by gazing at different group members, he attempts to mobilise response from anyone in the whole group rather than a particular person. These instances may be quite rare because this method of addressing the group by gazing at different group members is reserved for cases where no objects are immediately relevant to the move.

Extract 3.20. S4_G1 00:30:26

Participants from left to right: Mohammed (high), Brian (lower-medium), Hyun (upper-medium), Yuri (low)

```
01                (2.3)
02   H  Moh →    |so# what do you think? |#
     gaze         |Mohammed gazes at Brian| then Yuri
     fig            #1                    #2
```

fig 1

fig 2

In Figure 3.1, the distribution of speakership of more-response-mobilising moves was presented by level, and there is a clear correlation between relative linguistic proficiency level and distribution of speakership. Focusing on those cases where one next speaker was selected, there is also a broad correlation between selection of next speakers and relative proficiency level of the selected next speaker in groups of three and four. High-proficiency group members were selected most often, followed by the next level group member (medium or upper-medium). In groups of four, low group members were selected more often than lower-medium group members. In the single case where a speaker selected two recipients, both of the selected next speakers were counted in this total. The distribution of selection of group members is shown in Figure 3.15.

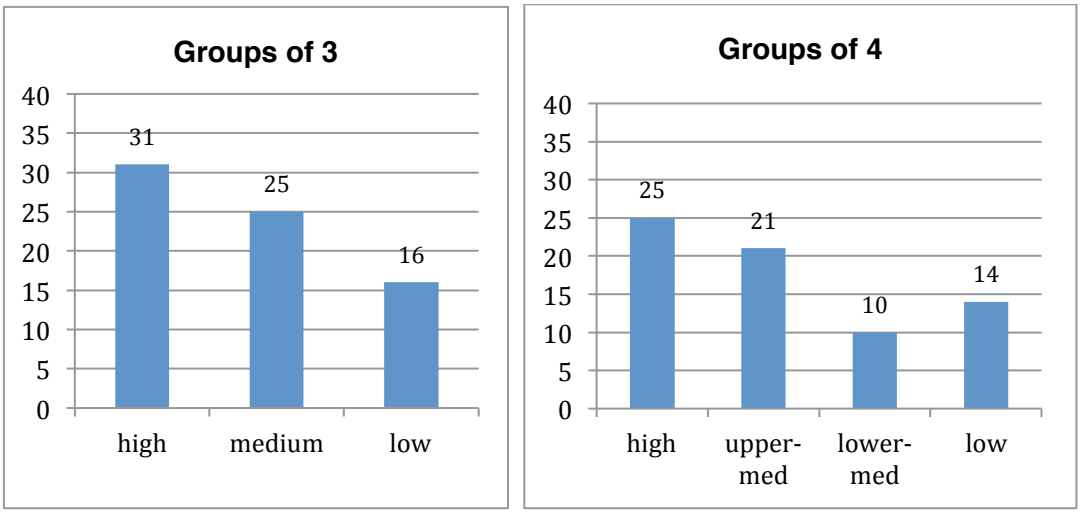


Figure 3.15. Selection of group members by level.

This section has presented next-speaker selection done by speakers of more-response-mobilising moves. This concludes the presentation of analysis of the collection of more-response-mobilising moves that initiate joint projects. The findings shall now be discussed as related to the research questions and the literature.

3.8 Discussion

As canonical first pair parts in adjacency pairs, more-response-mobilising initiating actions make response from another speaker relevant and an absence of response highly accountable. While it may be assumed that initiating a new joint project means that the speaker is taking the floor for him or herself, when a more-response-mobilising move is done, the speaker turns the floor over to someone else in the pursuit of information or completion of a task. This is particularly the case in requests for ideas and information, where typically the propositional content of the adjacency pair is not in the first pair part, but is instead in the second pair part and done by the second speaker.

The first research question for this project is: How are joint projects initiated by student participants with different linguistic proficiencies in task-based language classroom interactions? I found six different recurrent more-response-mobilising actions. Presented in order of most to least recurrent, these are: requests for ideas, requests for information, other-initiation of repair, requests and offers for action, requests for confirmation of prior ideas, and checks of understanding or accuracy.

In the majority of cases, speakers used a combination of two or more turn-design features for mobilising response when doing these moves. There was no single feature that was present in every case, nor one single combination of moves. However, some features were used more often than others. Recipient-tilted epistemic asymmetry was the most common, followed by gaze, interrogative intonation, and finally interrogative lexico-morphosyntax. When interrogative lexico-morphosyntax was used, wh- interrogatives were most common, followed by polar interrogatives.

In Stivers' (2010) study of questions in American English, she found a predominance of polar and content (q-word) questions; however, in her study polar questions were far more frequent than content (q-word) questions. Note that the term "questions" is used in Stivers' study because of her focus on action, while the analysis for this study focused on interrogative lexico-morphosyntax. However, both studies consider turn design and the kind of actions made relevant by the design, and the stark difference in findings is still notable. Stivers found that 70% of questions were polar questions and 27% were content (q-word) questions, while in this data 71% were wh- interrogatives and 29% were polar interrogatives. This difference could be due to the task-oriented nature of the institutional context of this data, and the way that, in this context, content questions are used to initiate particular types of joint projects that may

not recur as frequently in everyday talk. In this context where there is a preference for participation from other group members, wh- interrogatives, with their preferred, type-fitted response of requested information, are more likely to elicit a substantive response than polar questions.

In their analysis of requests for information in Italian and English, Stivers and Rossano (2010) did not find any cases where no turn-design features were used. However, there were 6 cases in this collection that did not use any turn-design features. As discussed previously, these were all requests and offers for action, which depend on the impetus for doing an action to mobilise response instead of recipient-tilted epistemic asymmetry. Furthermore, the lack of engagement with other group members with gaze or other turn-design features while doing these moves was often made accountable; for example, other group members would exchange glances and laughter after these moves were done.

The second research question concerns distribution of speakership: Who, in terms of relative linguistic proficiency level, does joint-project-initiating moves, and how? Across the whole data set, in groups of three and four, speakership of joint-project-initiating moves correlated to linguistic proficiency level. A similar correlation was found for the sub-collection of more-response-mobilising moves in the collection. This also held for the most recurrent action types (idea requests, information requests, and OIR), with the exception of requests for clarification of a prior idea. This means that higher-proficiency group members were the agents of these moves most often and did the widest variety of action types. These group members also used the widest range of grammatical forms to do the moves.

The third research question is: Who, in terms of relative linguistic proficiency level, is selected as next speaker? In cases of more-response-mobilising moves, it is more common for a single group member to be selected as next speaker rather than the floor being opened for any group member to self-select as next speaker. When one participant is selected as next speaker, this again corresponds to linguistic proficiency level. In groups of three, high-proficiency group members are selected most often, followed by medium-proficiency group members, and then low-proficiency group members. This is also true for groups of four, except that low-proficiency group members were selected more often than lower-medium-proficiency group members.

3.9 Concluding remarks

Putting together the pattern of speakership and next-speaker selection of the moves, the orientation toward higher-proficiency group members appears to be very strong for more-response-mobilising moves. Higher-proficiency group members do the most more-response-mobilising moves overall, and when they are not the ones doing the move itself, they are most often the ones selected. This has a strong impact on participation and results in asymmetry between group members in terms of their contributions to the talk.

Why is it the case that there is an orientation to higher-proficiency group members in more-response-mobilising moves? This phenomenon provides evidence to support the assumption that as people develop increased competence with doing a wider range of social actions using a wider range of formats, they will in turn participate more than lower-proficiency speakers (Bell, 2012; Mathews-Aydinli & Van Horne, 2006). However, thinking about the phenomenon of orientation to relative proficiency level in terms of preference, the picture becomes more complex. While it is always risky to put forward an ill-formed or non-intelligible first pair part that is not understood or taken up by other speakers, it is arguably particularly risky to do a more-response-mobilising move. This is because of that feature that distinguishes questions from other kinds of initiating moves: making a response relevant from another speaker.

If one does puts forward a move that intends to do – and recognisably does – mobilisation of response (through features such as the action itself, use of interrogative form or use of upward turn-final intonation) but the whole move is not understood, a situation arises where the move is either not taken up at all or not responded to in the way intended by the speaker. When this is done publicly, in front of other group members, the potential for loss of face by the speaker is high. On the other hand, if a speaker puts forward a well-formed canonical more-response-mobilising move that makes a certain type of response relevant by another speaker, the first speaker has created an opportunity, space, and defined context for the second speaker to contribute a well-timed move to the group interaction. Even if the responsive move is not long or in sentential form, its position after the more-response-mobilising move has contributed to the ability of other group members to make sense of the response in context of the wider sequence. Extract 3.1 exemplifies this. By asking a question that elicits an idea, Tammy makes relevant contributions of ideas by other group members. Todd's idea, done through the phrasal construction *simple phone* coupled with embodied

resources, may not have been so readily understood and taken up by Monika and Tammy if it were done in first position.

Based on the results presented in this chapter, it appears that higher-proficiency group members have more linguistic resources at their disposal to construct more-response-mobilising moves and track responses, as well as status (Enfield, 2013) based on linguistic proficiency level within the group that affords them the ability to take risks by doing more-response-mobilising moves in first position. This enables them to perform the role of facilitating group interaction and task progression through these moves. Furthermore, other group members may tend to select higher-proficiency group members as next speaker because they are seen to be more likely to respond with a fitted response to the move.

This chapter has presented the results of analysis of one category of joint-project-initiating moves: more-response-mobilising moves. The following chapter will focus on less-response-mobilising moves and examine the actions and speakership of moves in this category.

Chapter 4
Initiating collaboration through less-response-mobilising moves

This chapter presents the second category in the collection of joint-project-initiating moves: less-response-mobilising moves. First, I will define and describe this category of moves using an example from the data. Then the particular social actions used to do these less-response-mobilising moves will be presented, followed by the use of turn-design features for response mobilisation. I will then present the distribution of speakership of these moves across group members of differing linguistic abilities. Finally, selection practices done by speakers of the moves will be presented. The chapter concludes with a discussion of these results in light of the research questions.

4.1 Introduction to less-response-mobilising moves

Less-response-mobilising moves are joint-project-initiating moves done through non-canonical first position actions. These actions are non-canonical in the sense that they are not typical first pair parts of adjacency pairs, and as a result they have a wider range of potential appropriate second position actions. Non-canonical first position actions include announcements, noticings, and assessments (Stivers & Rossano, 2010). Stivers and Rossano argue that these moves do not elicit response as strongly as canonical first pair parts, nor do they make lack of response as accountable.

In the institutional context of this data set, joint projects are initiated in nearly 60% of cases with less-response-mobilising moves (representing 276 of the 462 joint-project-initiating moves). This category includes actions such as proffering ideas and information for group discussion, assessing task materials and content, and noticing task materials. These actions are important resources for task completion in groups.

Extract 4.1 provides an example of a less-response-mobilising move that initiates a new joint project. Tammy, Monika, Jamie, and Todd are working together to create a new invention from everyday objects that are assembled on the table. At this point in the lesson, they are working on brainstorming possible ideas for their invention. The teacher is standing by the table and helping them. At the beginning of the extract, the teacher leans over the table

toward Tammy (fig 1) and makes a suggestion for a possible type of idea: "what about (2.7) you could think about something to make smoking better," (lines 1–2). There is a 0.8-second silence, after which Tammy initiates repair by repeating "smoking?" with upward final intonation (line 4). The teacher responds by beginning to provide an example (line 6), directed to Todd as the recipient (fig 3).

Midway through this move, there is a silence of 0.7 seconds, and Tammy begins to put forward an idea through a less-response-mobilising move. First, she does a prefatory move that signals the intention to do an extended turn at talk: ".h oh i have an i-idea," (line 7). By prefacing this move with *oh*, Tammy registers the teacher's suggestion before doing a move that initiates a new joint project and signals a reorientation to the telling of an idea (Heritage, 1984a). As she does this move, she picks up a cup on the table (fig 4). When she begins to describe the idea, the teacher stands up (fig 5) and motions to Tammy to tell the idea to the group rather than speaking to the teacher (figs 6–8). Tammy proceeds to describe her idea to the group members, beginning with another less-response-mobilising move. As she does this, the teacher walks away from the table. Tammy's telling of the idea is done through a series of moves. She starts by describing the context in which the proposed invention would be used, in a place where a person wants to smoke but others do not like it (lines 11–13). She says "you can" (line 13), then blows into the cup she is holding (fig 11), and then quickly puts her hand over the top of the cup (fig 12). These gestures are part of the idea proffer move because they continue the description of the way the invention works.

Extract 4.1. S1_G2 00:19:16

Participants from left to right: Todd (low), Tammy (high), Jamie (lower-medium), Monika (upper-medium); teacher (T), standing

```
01    T            what about (2.7) you could think about something#
      fig                                                          #1
```

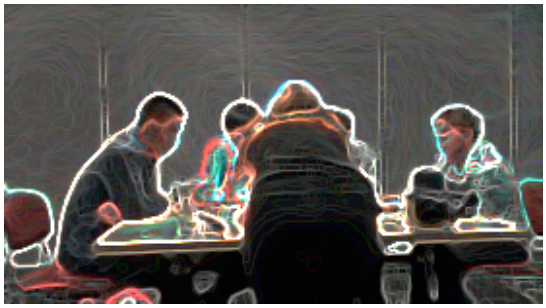


fig 1

```
02                 to make smoking better,
03                 (0.8)
```

04 H Tam smoking?#
fig #2

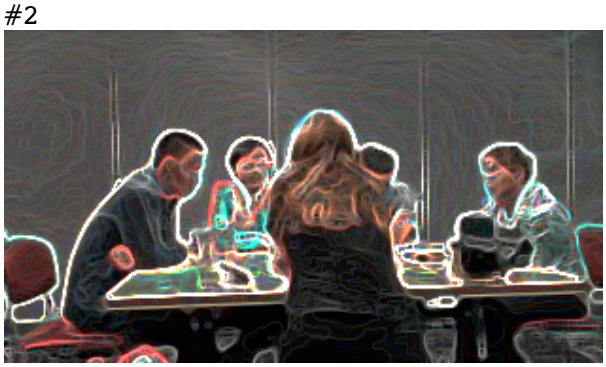


fig 2

05 (0.8)
06 T like (0.5) Todd?# (0.4) when you smoke, (0.7)
fig #3

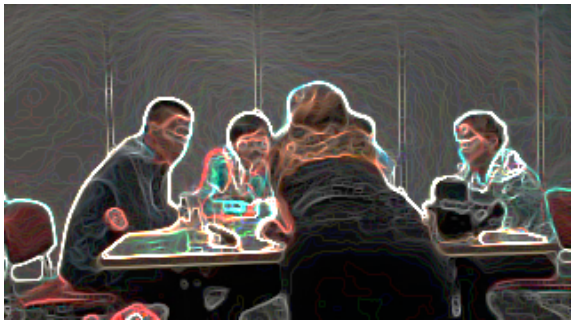


fig 3

07 H Tam → .h# oh i have an i-idea,
fig #4

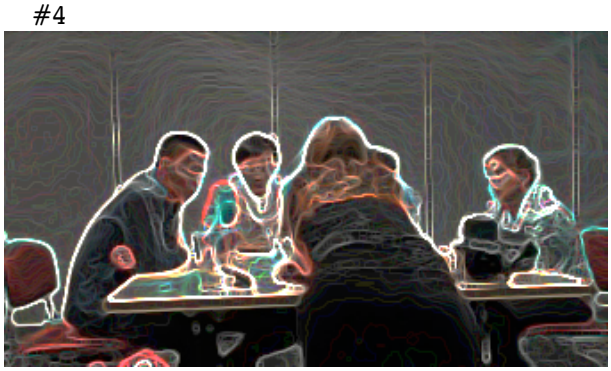


fig 4

08 (3.1)#
fig #5

fig 5

09 H Tam → maybe smoke# (0.1) #in here?#
fig #6 #7 #8

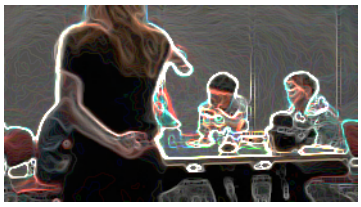
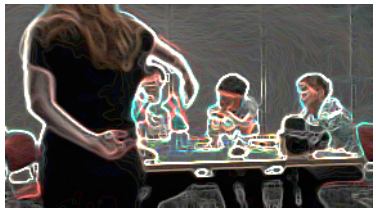




fig 6 fig 7 fig 8

10 #|(1.4)|
gaze |Tammy| gazes at Monika then Jamie
fig #9

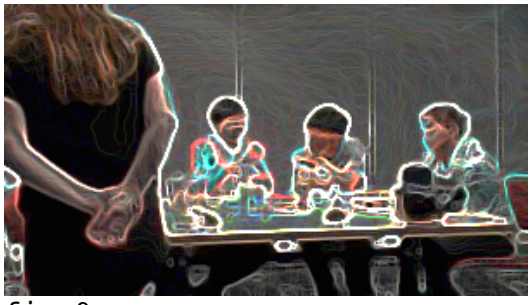


fig 9

11 H Tam |you know (0.2) you# um (0.2) in the room (0.1)
gaze |Tammy gazes at Todd-------------------------->
fig #10

fig 10

12 you smoking (0.3) and| th-the |other (0.4) people|
gaze >--------------------| |gazes to Monika---|
13 |don't like| (0.5) you can,
gaze |looks to T|odd
14 #(0.5)|(1.4)#
gaze |gazes at teacher->
fig #11 #12

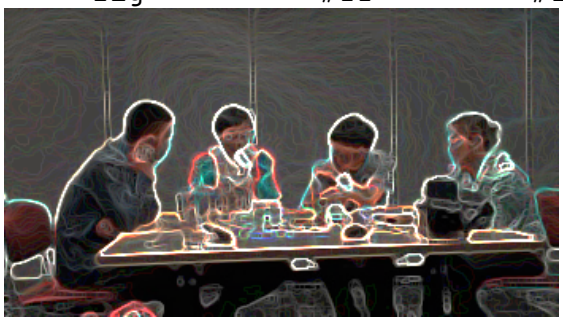
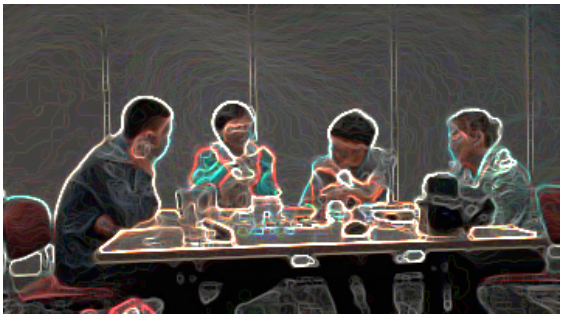



fig 11 fig 12

15 M2 Jam hm?|
gaze >--|
(0.5)
16 M1 Mon it's (0.2) a good idea.

Tammy's telling of her idea stands in contrast to her idea request move in Chapter 3, 3.1. In Extract 4.1, Tammy describes an idea herself in first position rather than asking another group member to contribute an idea in second position. Furthermore, an idea request has a clearly defined preferred second pair part: the contribution of an idea. There are myriad possible preferred responses to Tammy's idea description from other group members, such as evaluating the idea positively, expanding upon it with more detail, or simply approving of the idea by saying *yes*. Whether participants respond to this move at all is also less normatively accountable.

Extract 4.1 provides one example of a less-response-mobilising move done in the context of the classroom tasks; its purpose is to define this category of moves in contrast to more-response-mobilising moves. The analysis of this category of moves will now be described in more detail.

4.2 Actions done through less-response-mobilising moves

Participants used five types of less-response-mobilising actions recurrently in the data set. These are "proffering ideas", "proffering information", "assessing and noticing", "transitioning", and "announcing a procedure".

The five recurrent types of action are defined as follows:

- *Proffering ideas* (170 cases): Presenting an idea or opinion related to task activities for discussion by the group;
- *Proffering information* (34 cases): Providing information within a speaker's epistemic territory (Heritage, 2012);
- *Assessing and noticing* (35 cases): Evaluating (Pomerantz, 1984) or making relevant and topicalising (Schegloff, 2007) task materials or prior talk;
- *Transitioning* (26 cases): Initiating transition into a new task stage and/or joint project (Bangerter & Clark, 2003);
- *Announcing a procedure* (11 cases): Stating a future course of action to be taken (Stevanovic & Peräkylä, 2012).

These actions shall now be discussed in more detail through analysis of example cases.

4.2.1 Proffering ideas

The most recurrent less-response-mobilising actions in the data set are idea proffers. These moves comprise 170 of the 276 cases (61.6%) of less-response-mobilising moves, and are the single most recurrent action type done through joint-project-initiating moves. Idea proffers put forward a concept or opinion for potential acceptance or discussion by the group. Tammy's less-response-mobilising move in Extract 4.1 is an example of an idea proffer. In contrast to more-response-mobilising moves that request ideas and thus make the contribution of an idea relevant in second position, with idea proffers the speakers put forward an idea themselves in first position. A defining characteristic of moves in this category is that they could be second pair parts to typical idea requests such as *Do you have an idea, What's your idea,* or *What do you think*. Like idea requests, idea proffers are a resource for doing brainstorming as groups accumulate potential ideas through talk.

The topical content of idea proffers is quite distinct in different task types. In the creating an invention task, idea proffers suggest possible uses for particular objects in potential inventions, while in the crime and punishment task, idea proffers are typically opinions about the nature of the case, or suggestions of potential punishments and reasons. Examples will be provided from each of these tasks.

There are two types of idea proffers in the collection of joint-project-initiating moves: those that proffer a new idea or opinion for the first time and those that proffer ideas or opinions that build on or repeat a previously discussed idea. This distinction mirrors the two broad types of idea requests described in Chapter 3, which are new idea requests from other speakers and requests for further explanation of a prior idea either by the speaker of that idea or by a new speaker. New idea proffers kick off sequences related to ideas that were not being discussed in the prior sequence; they either take place after closing of a prior topic or they interrupt an ongoing sequence to topicalise a new idea. Idea proffers that build on or repeat a previously discussed idea expand an ongoing sequence on the same topic or revisit the topic of a prior sequence.

Extracts 4.2 and 4.3 provide examples of new idea proffers. Extract 4.2 comes from the task on creating a new invention from everyday objects. At the beginning of the extract is a 3.3-second lapse in the group's talk. Peymaneh is manipulating some objects in her hands and Sue is holding two objects in one hand. Sue initiates a new sequence with the new idea proffer "`i think this (.) together.`" (line 2) and points to the objects in Peymaneh's

hands (fig 1). As she points at the objects in Peymaneh's hands after the verbal part of the move is complete, she gazes up at Peymaneh and then back down at the objects. The sustained pointing at the objects is considered to be part of this initiating move. Peymaneh continues to manipulate the objects and responds with "mm hm," (line 4). It appears that Peymaneh understands Sue to be affirming what she is already doing. After a silence, Sue pursues explanation of her new idea. She first says "no.", negating Peymaneh's displayed understanding. Then she repeats her initial idea, replacing "this" with "these three" to say "i think these #three together." (line 6). As she says this, she takes one of the objects – a pair of scissors – from Peymaneh's hands and joins them together with the objects in her own hand (figs 2–4). As she says "here." (line 7), she opens and closes the scissors in their position with the other two objects (fig 5). She then rotates the whole configuration of objects in one direction and then back again while saying "yeah?" (line 13), inviting confirmation from Peymaneh. Peymaneh confirms the idea with "yeah." (line 14). Because Sue rejects Peymaneh's displayed understanding that Sue's idea related to what she was already doing with the objects, it is apparent that her idea proffer in this extract is a new idea, rather than building upon a prior idea.

Extract 4.2. S1_G1 00:12:34

Participants from left to right: Peymaneh (high), Ivy (low), Sue (medium)

```
01                  (3.3)
02    M Sue     →   i think this (.) together.
03                  (0.4) # |(0.3)| (0.3)
      gaze                  |Sue g|azes at Peymaneh
      fig               #1
```

```
                        fig 1
04    H Pey         mm hm,
05                  (1.0)
06    M Sue         no. (0.5) i think these #three together.#=
      fig                                   #2              #3
```

fig 2

fig 3

```
07                  =(0.2) # (1.8) #here.
      fig                  #4       #5
```

fig 4

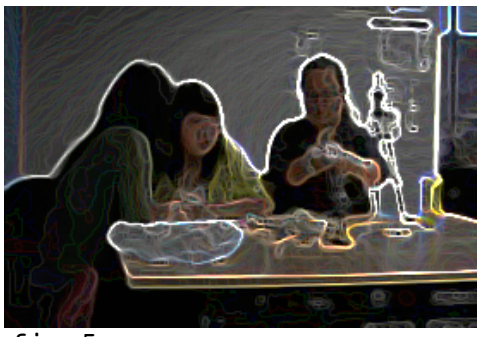


fig 5

```
08                  (0.7)
09                  ((overlapping talk from teacher to whole class
10                  omitted))
11    H Pey         do you think,=yeah,
12                  (0.3)
13    M Sue         #yeah?#=
      fig           #6    #7
```

fig 6

fig 7

```
14    H Pey         =yeah.
```

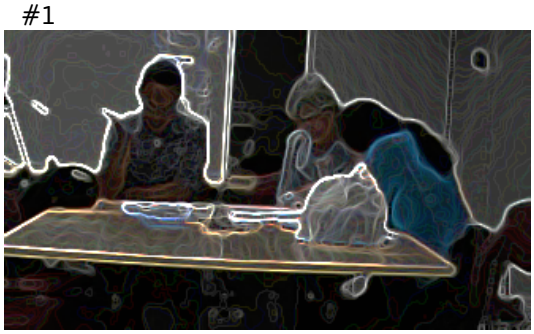
Extract 4.3 provides another example of a new idea proffer. This extract is from the crime and punishment task. As the extract opens, JayJay is reading out one of the crime stories from the handout. In this story, a man has stolen some bicycles from a shop. At the end of the story, the man says that he stole the bicycles because they were a present for his children for Christmas (read out by JayJay in lines 1–2). As JayJay finishes reading the story, the whole group is looking down at the handouts on the table (fig 1). There is a silence of 1.3 seconds, and then JayJay looks up at the other group members (fig 2) and proffers an opinion about the man's stated reason for the crime. He says "`oh you know (0.8) crime is crime,`" (line 4)

and then continues with the increment "`with any reason.`" (line 7). Through this move, he proffers a new idea about the crime story by giving an opinion on the man's reasoning for stealing the bicycles. This move initiates the group's discussion of the crime story. It is a new idea because it is the first opinion offered after the reading of the crime story is completed.

Extract 4.3. S2_G1 00:35:26

Participants from left to right: JayJay (medium), Mallory (high), Sue (low)

```
01    M Jay        mister smith said i want (0.7) i wanted to get
02                 (0.2) my kids something for (0.2) christmas.
03                 #(1.3)
      fig          #1
```



```
                   fig 1
04    M Jay    →   #|oh you know (0.8) crime is crime,=#
      gaze         |gazes at Mallory------------------->
      fig          #2                                  #3
```

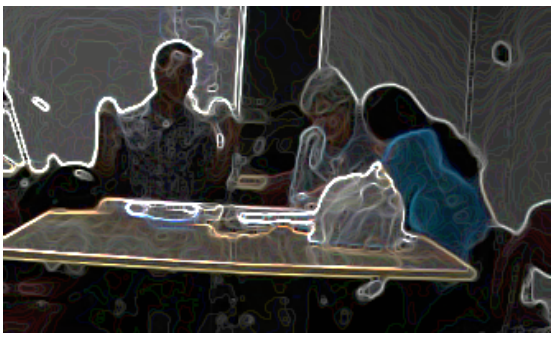


fig 2

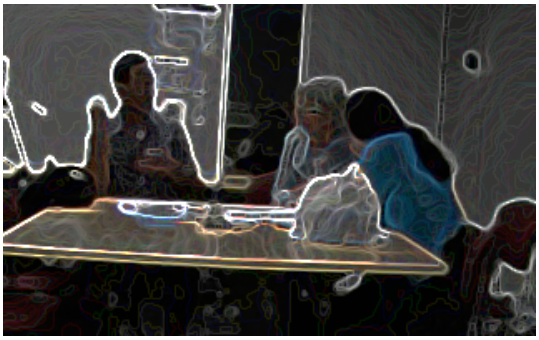


fig 3

```
05    L Sue        =(right)
      gaze         >------>
06                 (0.4)
      gaze         >---->
07    M Jay        with any reason.
      gaze         >--------------->
08                 (0.8)
      gaze         >---->
09    H Mal        yeah| but still yeah (.) (nup).
      gaze         >---|
```

By contrast, Tammy's initiation in Extract 4.1 is an example of the second type of idea proffer, wherein a speaker proffers an idea that builds upon or repeats a previous idea. The teacher makes a general suggestion for the group to develop an idea related to smoking and afterward Tammy proffers a specific idea on this topic. When she describes the idea in more detail, she

recycles the lexical item *smoke* from the teacher's original suggestion, signalling that the idea was "touched off" (Heritage, 1998; Jefferson, 1978) by the teacher's suggestion. Another example of this kind of move is presented in Extract 4.4, from the crime and punishment task. As the extract opens, Mallory and JayJay begin to speak simultaneously. Mallory drops out and JayJay completes his move, which is a proffer of a new idea. He presents a potential punishment for the crime that they are currently discussing: "`okay we choose twenty years.`" (line 2). This is the first possible punishment that a group member has suggested. As he says this, he is gazing at Mallory; Mallory and Sue are both gazing at him (fig 1). In response, Mallory, who is writing up the punishments and reasons for the group, repeats "`twenty years?`" (line 4) with upward turn-final intonation. She looks down at the handout with her hand poised to write (fig 2). Before she begins writing, Sue does another idea proffer that counters JayJay's initial idea, saying "`ten years.`" (line 7). As Sue does this move, she gazes down at the handout where Mallory is writing. Mallory gazes at Sue (fig 4) and repeats her idea with mid-rising final intonation (line 10); simultaneously, JayJay begins to object to Sue's idea (line 9). In this extract, JayJay initiates discussion of potential punishments with his proffer of a new idea. In his move, the length of time is prefaced by "`okay we choose`", which establishes a shift to the new joint project of discussing term lengths. It is within this sequential context that Sue puts forward an alternate punishment. Because of the position of Sue's move after JayJay's proffer, she is able to simply state a length of time; this is understood to be an alternative punishment to JayJay's for consideration by the group. Therefore this move builds upon JayJay's initial idea.

Extract 4.4. S2_G1 00:25:08

Participants from left to right: JayJay (medium), Mallory (high), Sue (low)

```
01    H Mal        [i think it's also-
02    M Jay        [okay we choose twenty years.#
      fig                                       #1
```

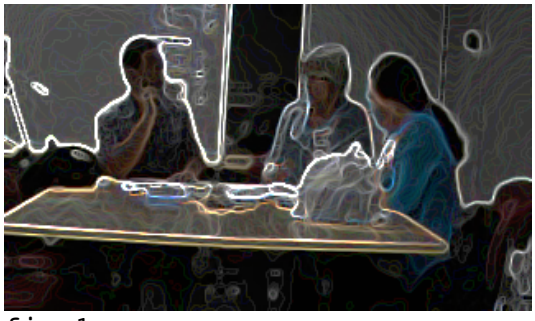


fig 1

```
03                 (0.3)
04    H Mal        [twenty ] years?#
      fig                          #2
```

fig 2

05 L Sue [twenty-]
06 (0.2)
07 L Sue → ten years.#
fig #3

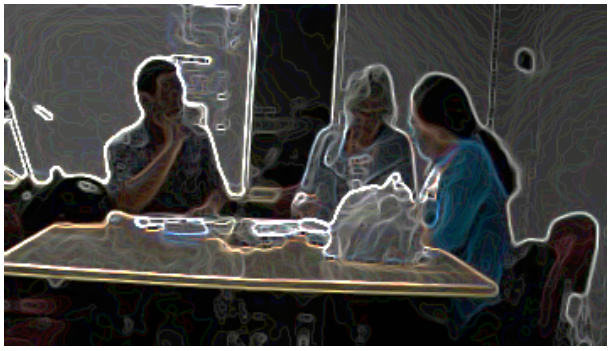


fig 3

08 (0.2)
09 M Jay [no-]
10 H Mal [ten] years¿#
fig #4

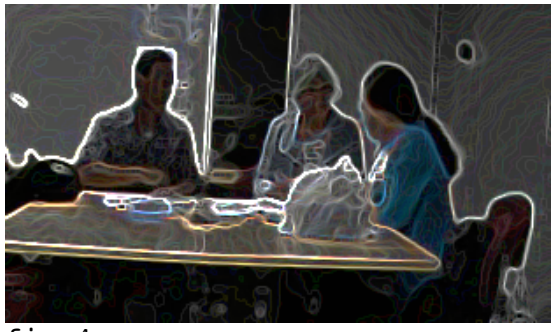


fig 4

Extracts 4.1 and 4.4 show how the two different types of idea proffers sit within sequences of action for doing the joint activity of discussing potential ideas. In the development of the ideas phase of a task, proffering a new idea may launch a longer sequence that contains subsequent proffers of ideas that either build upon the initial idea or raise new ideas themselves. The subsequent proffers that build upon the initial move often recycle parts of the initial move, such as Tammy's re-use of the term *smoking* in Extract 4.1, or only make sense in context of the prior idea, as in the case of Sue's utterance of a length of time. This will be explored in more detail in Chapter 5.

In some cases, it was difficult to distinguish between a speaker proffering a new idea or building on a prior idea if the speaker was referring to an object or aspect of the task materials already being discussed. Extract 4.2 exemplifies this: the object Sue uses in her idea proffer is already being manipulated by Peymaneh for a different invention, so her move could be seen as building upon a prior idea by contributing a different use for this object. However, throughout the task the same objects are recruited in the inventions for different purposes. In these cases, the speaker suggesting a new use of a particular object was considered to be proffering a new idea, while moves that added more information about a previously suggested use of the object were considered to build upon the prior idea. Likewise, in the crime and punishment task and in the advertising task, new ideas and opinions were those that explored new aspects of the task, such as JayJay's initiation of discussion of potential punishments in Extract 4.4. Moves that did further development, agreement, or disagreement with a previously raised aspect of the task were idea proffers that built upon prior ideas, as in the case of Sue's proffer later in the same extract.

This section has presented the most recurrent type of less-response-mobilising move found in the data set: moves that proffer ideas. These moves put forward ideas and opinions for group discussion. Like requests for ideas, they contribute to the accumulation of potential ideas before the group decides on a final idea or opinion to meet the task aims. The following section examines moves that proffer information.

4.2.2 Proffering information

With an information proffer, a speaker presents information to the group based on his or her prior knowledge, life experience, educational background, or expertise. Therefore this information is within the speaker's epistemic territory (Heritage, 2012). While information requests position recipients to provide the requested information, speakers of information proffers provide information themselves, in first position. There were 34 cases of information proffers in the data set.

The relationship between information requests and information proffers is similar to the relationship between idea requests and idea proffers. Because information proffers do not establish a normative expectation for a recipient to provide an idea or information, they are less response-seeking than information requests. Again, this relationship is used as the criterion to identify information proffer moves. These moves could be second pair parts to typical requests for information such as moves beginning with *Do you know, What is, How*

much is, or *How do you spell*. In all types of tasks in the data set, these moves address similar topics. Through information proffers, speakers identify and describe objects, spell or define words, explain customs in their country, and clarify task instructions and materials. These moves are a resource for speakers to contribute relevant information that can be used in completing task objectives.

Information proffers fall into two broad categories: information proffers about established facts, such as object identification or the spelling of a word, and those that proffer information about task instructions or materials. By providing information about established facts that relates to the task objectives, speakers put this information on the record and contribute to the building of common ground or to shared information in the group. This information can then be drawn upon in continuing the discussion of an idea or in formulating the group's own ideas. Speakers topicalise particular aspects of the task through information proffers about task instructions or materials in order to clarify the task objectives or nominate an aspect of the task for further discussion. These two types will now be discussed in more detail through examples from the recorded data.

An example of an information proffer about established facts is provided in Extract 4.5, from the crime and punishment task. The first 11 lines of this extract were also used in Chapter 3 (Extract 3.12) to provide an example of other-initiation of repair in line 7. The group is discussing a story about a case in which a man assists his wife's suicide when she is dying from a terminal illness. At the opening of the extract, Sue tells the group about the potential punishment for this act in China. As is the case in many information proffers, Sue begins by saying "`in china`", which frames the information as being within her domain of knowledge as a person from that country. This aspect of her identity is a resource for displaying speaker-tilted epistemic asymmetry. Then she provides information in the move that would be verifiable through fact-checking means external to the task, such as an Internet search. This information is given in an extended move broken up by long periods of silence, including checking the handout for the lexical item *prison* (lines 3–4, fig 2). After JayJay initiates repair and Sue resolves the trouble through a repeat of the length of time (line 11), Mallory responds by evaluating the given length of time. By saying "`only.`" (line 13), she displays understanding of the term length in China and a stance of surprise toward the short length of the punishment. This raises an important point regarding proffers of information. Describing this first category of moves as providing "established facts" does not mean that the information is factually accurate. The description of the category instead refers to the epistemic stance

(Heritage, 2012) taken by the speakers. Whether or not that information is found to be correct is immaterial; instead, the focus is on what the speaker is doing in the move itself and how the information is presented.

Extract 4.5. S2_G1 00:24:20

Participants from left to right: JayJay (medium), Mallory (high), Sue (low)

```
01    L Sue     →    in china maybe have uh (1.2) ten (0.2) or (0.2)
02                   uh (0.2) fourteen (.) years (.) old uh (.) #in=
fig                                                             #1
```

fig 1

```
03                   =the (0.9) in #the:: um (2.0) in the[   (0.3)    ]=
fig                               #2
```

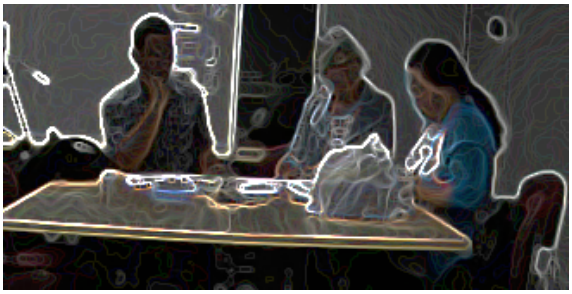


fig 2

```
04    H Mal                                                  [°in
05                   prison°]=
06    M Jay                                                  [in-
07    L Sue          =#|prison.=
                       |Sue gazes at JayJay->
fig                    #3
```

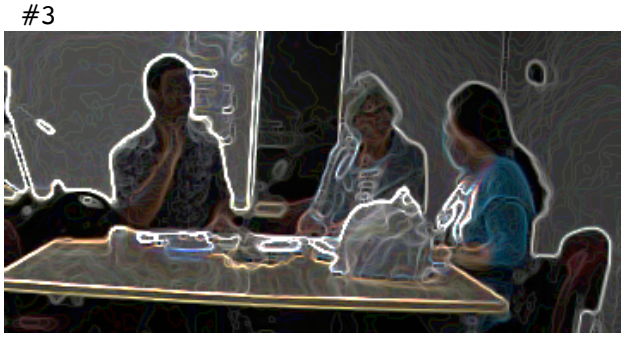


fig 3

```
08    M Jay          =for how long?
      gaze           >------------->
09                   (0.4)
      gaze           >---->
10    M Jay          fourteen,
      gaze           >-------->
11                   (0.4)
```

```
     gaze          >---->
12   L Sue         uh fourteen| or (0.1) ten (0.3) years.
     gaze          >----------|
13                 (0.5)
14   H Mal         only.
```

Whereas information proffers about established facts put forward information external to the task that could be verified by an outside source, information proffers about task materials or instructions explain, clarify, or bring to the group's attention some aspect of the task itself. Extract 4.6 provides an example of this kind of move from later in the same group interaction as Extract 4.5. As the extract opens, Mallory and Jay are closing a discussion about the severity of the crime story they have just read together. The story is a case of a woman who was driving while intoxicated and had a collision that resulted in the death of a young child. Mallory states that the case is very severe and compares it with a prior case (lines 1–2). JayJay agrees, saying "`exactly.`" (line 3). This is followed by a lapse in the talk (line 4). JayJay looks down at the table and Mallory is gazing at him (fig 1). Sue then initiates a new sequence by drawing the group's attention to a part of the crime story. As she says "`um there (.) have some- some money.`" (line 5), she points to the story on the handout; both JayJay and Mallory gaze at the place where she is pointing (fig 2). What she is pointing out is that the driver has offered to pay damages to the family of the child. This point was discussed by JayJay and Mallory previously; Sue was present for the discussion but did not participate in their discussion. Mallory responds to Sue's information proffer by reiterating the point that this does not help the parents whose child was a victim. In contrast to Sue's information proffer in Extract 4.5, her information proffer in Extract 4.6 proffers information that is internal to the task. This information could be verified by rereading the materials or checking with the teacher, rather than consulting a source external to the task. Her embodied action of pointing at the handout supports the task orientation of the information given in the move.

Extract 4.6. S2_G1 00:28:25

Participants from left to right: JayJay (medium), Mallory (high), Sue (low)

```
01   H Mal       yeah no i think it's (0.2) also very s- very
02               severe. (0.3) comes close to this one.
03   M Jay       exactly.
04               (1.4)#
     fig              #1
```

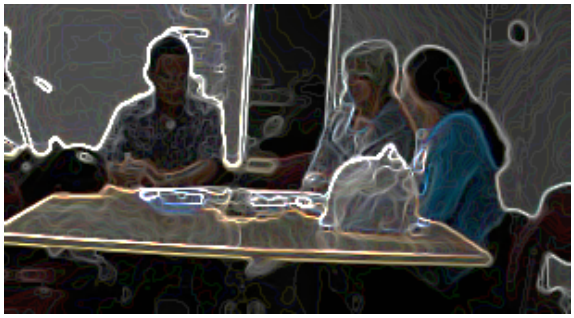


fig 1

05 L Sue → um there (.) #have some- some money.
fig #2

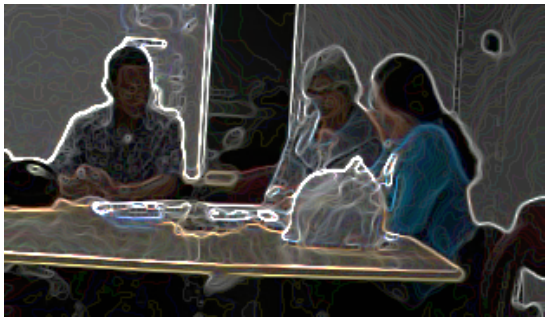


fig 2

06 (0.9)
07 L Sue money.
08 (0.2)
09 H Mal yeah but that# [(0.3)] does it help the (0.2)=
10 L Sue [yeah.]
fig #3

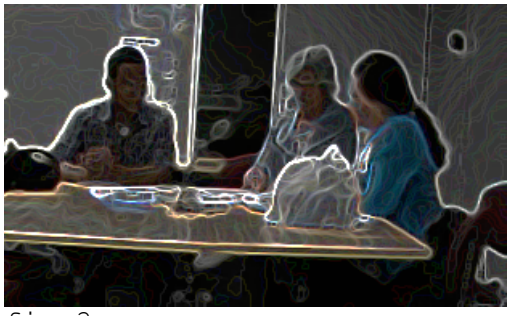


fig 3

11 H Mal =parhents? (0.3) the parents?
12 (0.2)
13 H Mal i don't think that helps. (0.3) a lot.

This section has presented the second type of less-response-mobilising moves: information proffers. With these moves, speakers do the action of presenting information relevant to task completion. This information may be drawn from the speaker's knowledge and expertise external to the task, or it may be an explanation or clarification of information internal to the task, such as task materials or instructions. The following section presents less-response-mobilising moves that do assessing and noticing.

4.2.3 Assessing and noticing

Less-response-mobilising moves that do assessing and noticing draw mutual attention to some aspect of the task, typically through evaluation. With assessments, speakers qualitatively evaluate (Pomerantz, 1984) objects, potential answers to task items, and task materials. Noticings simply make an object or some part of the task content relevant (Schegloff, 2007), thus drawing the attention of the other group members to that object or task component without doing evaluation. Of the 35 cases in this category, 32 were assessments, while the remaining 3 cases were noticings. First, uses of assessments will be described through analysis of example cases, followed by noticing moves.

Assessments can be used as a resource for taking positive or negative stances on a prior idea, which can have the effect of taking up that idea or rejecting it. In this way they are an additional resource for contributing to further discussion of an idea or closing the discussion of an idea. Extract 4.7 provides an example of an assessment that positively evaluates a prior idea. As the extract opens, Chris and Ally are putting together part of their invention. Chris is holding a black swimming cap in his hands; Ally has attached a cup on one side with sticky tape and is attaching a second cup on the other side (figs 1 and 2). They are building a hat with two cups sticking up like ears or antenna on either side, but the group has not yet finalised discussion of the purpose of the invention. After the cups are attached, Chris puts his hand in one of the cups and gazes at the contraption (fig 3) while saying "`i think this is a::: good invention.`" (line 6). This is a positive assessment of the invention he and Ally are in the process of building. He gazes at Ally (fig 4) and continues to gaze at her while repeating this evaluation, saying "`very good`" (line 8). Ally responds with laughter. In overlap, Chris begins to describe why it is a good idea: because it would enable the wearer to "`remember (0.1) everything`". In this case, Chris's positive assessment and further description of the reason for making that assessment are resources for transition from building the invention to discussing its purpose and use, thus taking the invention idea forward to the next stage in the task.

Extract 4.7. S1_G3 00:34:38

Participants from left to right: Louie (lower-medium), JayJay (high), Chris (low), Ally (upper-medium)

```
01                (10.0) # (0.9) #
      fig                 #1      #2
```

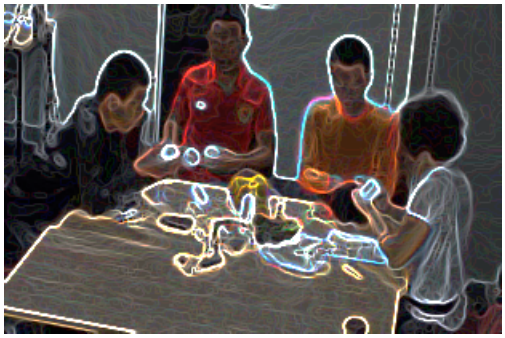


fig 1

fig 2

```
02    L  Chr       wow
03               (0.2)
04    M1 All     .h huh huh huh huh huh .h
05               (4.1)
06    L Chr   →   mm #i think this is a::: good invention.
      fig              #3
```

fig 3

```
07               #(0.3) |(0.7)
      gaze              |Chris gazes at Ally->
      fig        #4
```

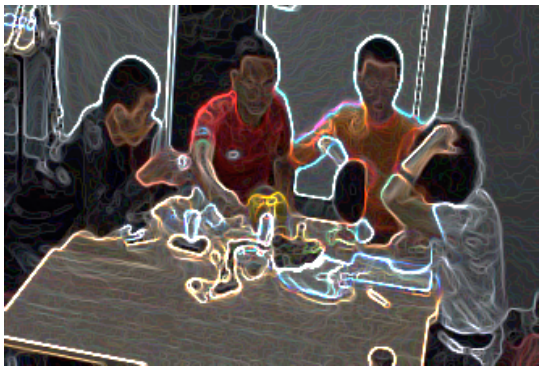


fig 4

```
08    L Chr   →   very| good-eh
      gaze        >---|
09               (0.1)
10    M1 All     heh hah [hah hah
11    L Chr              [you can remember (0.1) every|thing=
      gaze                                           |Chris gazes->
12    M1 All      =heh heh heh|
      gaze        >at Ally----|
      L Chr       just u::h (0.4) just (     ) uh (0.2) five
13                |minutes.
      gaze        |Chris gazes at Ally->>
```

While positive assessments can take an idea forward to the next stage of task completion, a negative assessment can have the opposite effect. Negative assessments are typically used to reject a prior idea and discuss alternative options.

In Extract 4.8, the group is working on deciding upon a punishment for a case in which one person has killed another. Prior to the extract, Peymaneh has said that the punishment should be ten years in prison. Jamie has stated several times that this is not a case of murder, but rather a case of "manslaught", or manslaughter. For this reason he is arguing for a lighter punishment. At this point in the discussion, they have not yet reached mutual understanding as to what Jamie means by "manslaught"; after this extract, Jamie successfully explains what he means to Peymaneh. As Extract 4.8 begins, Jamie is responding to Peymaneh's assertion that the punishment should be ten years in prison by saying that the case is "(here) manslaught." (line 1). Peymaneh partially repeats the lexical item, and Jamie repeats it again. She receipts this with "yeah," (line 6) and after a silence begins to give a candidate understanding of Jamie's opinion (line 8). Jamie begins speaking in overlap with her, initiating a joint project of his own; with this move, he assesses Peymaneh's prior proposed punishment of ten years by saying "I think is an– a long time." (line 9). As he says "is", he gazes toward her handout and points at it (fig 1), then gazes at Peymaneh (fig 2). Peymaneh drops out as Jamie's move continues, and then she receipts his assessment with "mm" (line 11). After Jamie repeats "manslaught" again, Peymaneh agrees with his assessment, saying "yeah it's long time," (line 15). She then initiates a new joint project by requesting a new idea from Jamie, saying "so okay what, (0.2) how many years." (line 17). In this example, Jamie's negative assessment is a resource for closing the discussion of the prior idea and reopening the discussion of the possible punishment. After Peymaneh agrees, she asks him to proffer his own idea, and Jamie is able to put forward what he believes is a more suitable punishment.

Extract 4.8. S2_G3 00:30:44

Participants from left to right: Jamie (medium), Peymaneh (high), Todd (low)

```
01   M Jam        (here) manslaught.
02                (0.5)
03   H Pey        laught,
04                (0.2)
05   M Jam        mansla[ught,
06   H Pey             [yeah?
07                (0.4)
08   H Pey        (you [think) in the prison?
09   M Jam   →         [i think is# an- |a long time.#
```

```
      gaze                                  |Jamie gazes at Peymaneh->
      fig                          #1                    #2
```

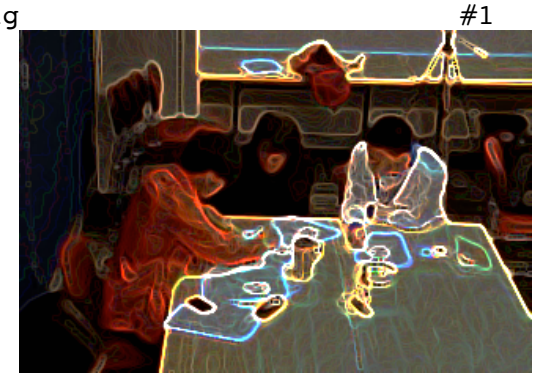


fig 1

fig 2

```
10                 (0.1)
      gaze         >---->
11    H Pey        mm
      gaze         >-->
12                 (0.3)
      gaze         >---->
13    M Jam        manslaught.
      gaze         >---------->
14                 (0.2)
      gaze         >---->
15    H Pey        yeah it's long| time,
      gaze         >-------------|
16                 (0.6)
17    H Pey        so okay what, (0.2) how many years.
```

With the two kinds of assessments presented so far, a speaker evaluates a prior idea presented by a group member. A third type of assessment evaluates some part of the task materials. Such moves take preliminary stances on the task that contribute to the ultimate formulation of an idea. In Extract 4.9, the group is discussing one of the crime stories in the crime and punishment task. They are in the early stages of discussing the case prior to deciding upon a punishment. At the end of the story, the criminal promises to never commit such a crime again. As the extract opens, JayJay is expressing the opinion that this kind of promise makes "`no difference.`" (line 2). Mallory agrees with this opinion. Then she goes on to assess the crime as "`also very s- very severe`" (lines 6–7) and points to the corresponding text on the handout (fig 1). She holds this gesture through the transition relevance place, thereby holding the floor, and then completes the move by comparing the current case to the prior crime story, saying "`comes close to this one.`" (line 7). As she completes the move, she gazes up at JayJay (fig 2). JayJay agrees with this assessment and comparison of the crimes (line 8). Thus the prior case is used as a point of comparison for evaluating the severity of the case; as a result, Mallory takes a stance on the current case that serves as a resource for deciding on the punishment. While agreeing upon this stance does not directly complete a portion of the task, it facilitates progression toward formulating a punishment. Thus this kind

of assessment of task materials helps in reaching common understandings that can be drawn upon in later task stages.

Extract 4.9. S2_G1 00:28:22

Participants from left to right: JayJay (medium), Mallory (high), Sue (low)

```
01    M Jay       and he promise (0.3) i think he promise or not
02                promise (.) no difference.
03    H Mal       yeah [it doesn't help.]
04    M Jay            [that-   (0.4)   ] that doesn't help.
05                (0.1)
06    H Mal    →   yeah no i think it's (0.2) also very s- very
07                sev#ere (0.3) comes close to |this one.#
      gaze                                     |Mal gazes at JayJay->
      fig            #1                                  #2
```

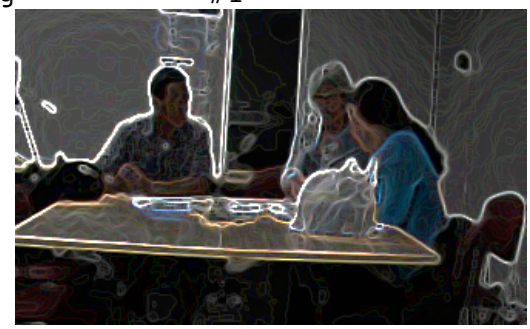


fig 1

fig 2

```
08    M Jay       exactly.
      gaze        >------>>
```

The different kinds of assessments that have been presented incorporate some kind of evaluation of task-related ideas and materials. Noticing moves also draw attention to some facet of the task; however, they simply draw mutual attention and topicalise without doing evaluation. These moves were far less common than assessing moves. There were 3 of them in the data set, as compared to 32 assessing moves.

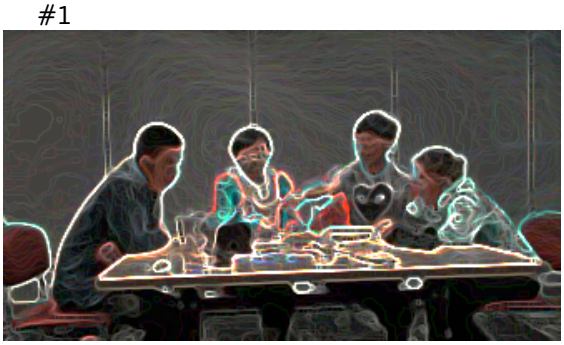
Extract 4.10 provides an example of a noticing move. Part of this transcript was used in Extract 3.7 to provide an example of an information request about established facts (line 4). In this extract, the group is working on the inventions task. They are looking at the everyday objects on the table, and identifying what they are and for what purpose they are used. This kind of interaction recurs in the early stages of the inventions task. By identifying the objects and discussing their purpose, the groups begin to build common ground and mutual understandings about the objects they could use for the task. This feeds into later ideas of new inventions that use these objects. Requests and proffers of information are common in these sequences. After a lapse in the talk, Jamie points at one object across the table from him (fig 1) and then says "`this.`" (line 2). The other group members gaze at the object as he points and

then picks it up (fig 2). As he brings the object – a can of drink – toward him (figs 3 and 4), Monika does a request for information, asking "what is it." (line 4). Jamie begins to answer and then Tammy answers in overlap as Jamie drops out. She points at the can and says "this is milk." (line 7). By doing the noticing move in line 2, Jamie initiates discussion of the everyday use of the nominated object.

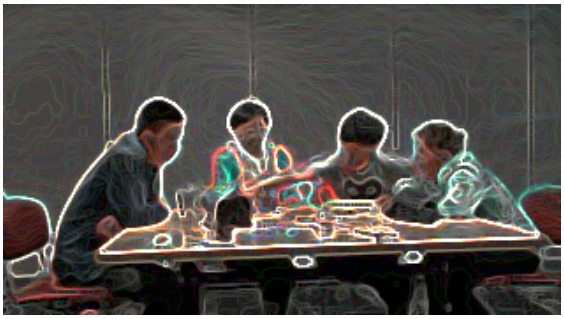
Extract 4.10. S1_G2 00:11:35

Participants from left to right: Todd (low), Tammy (high), Jamie (lower-medium), Monika (upper-medium)

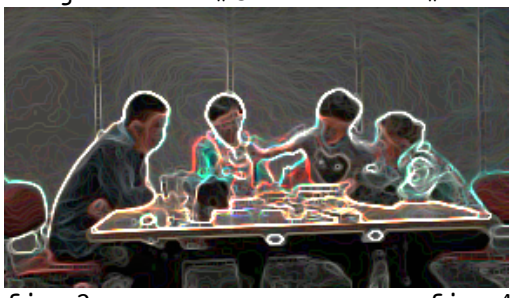
```
01                  (4.4) # (0.3)
      fig                   #1
```



```
                    fig 1
02    M2 Jam   →    this.#
      fig                 #2
```



```
                    fig 2
03                  (1.0)
04    M1 Mon        #what is it.#
      fig           #3          #4
```



```
    fig 3                       fig 4
05                  (0.5)
06    M2 Jam        uh [ (0.3) ][car-
```

```
07    H  Tam          [this is][#milk.
      fig                       #5
```

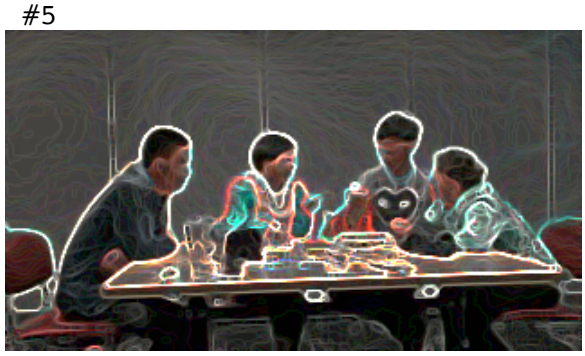


fig 5

This section has described less-response-seeking moves that do assessing and noticing. This group of moves is used to draw attention to some feature of the task. Assessing moves contain some kind of evaluation of that feature, while noticing moves simply draw mutual attention to task materials or topics. These moves contribute indirectly to achievement of task aims by acting as resources for reaching agreement on preliminary stances and accomplishing mutual understanding of task materials. The following section will discuss less-response-seeking moves that do transitioning between task stages.

4.2.4 Transitioning

Transitions are less-response-seeking moves that initiate movement between task stages and joint projects. Speakers can enter new task stages without moves dedicated to transition; for example, after a lapse, a speaker may proffer an idea and thereby initiate a transition into the brainstorming stage of the task. The groups of moves in the category of transitions do opening and closing of joint projects as their primary action. In total, there are 26 of these moves in the data set.

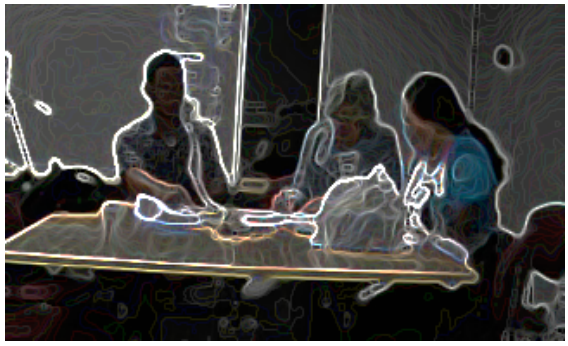
Transitions into new task stages are often prefaced with *okay* (Beach, 1993) or *so*. As Bangerter and Clark (2003) argue, these lexical items can be used in isolation or as prefaces as project markers to denote transition between joint projects. Extract 4.11 demonstrates how *okay* is used as a project marker to initiate progression into the next part of the task. The group is working on the crime and punishment task. As the extract opens, they are concluding discussion of one of the crime stories. They have already decided upon the punishment and rationale and Mallory is writing up their answer. As she is writing, she and other group members reformulate what they previously discussed and she writes it down. At the opening of the extract, JayJay and Sue are reformulating the rationale for the punishment given. Their punishment is quite severe because the victim was a "young child." who is "innocent."

(lines 1–4). Mallory responds with "yep," (line 6) and she writes down what they are saying onto the handout in the answer spaces below the crime story (fig 1). As she finishes writing, Sue assesses the write-up as "good." (line 8). Mallory stops writing and sits up straighter (see fig 2 for the change in posture). As she says "okay." (line 10), she turns the page in the handout book to the next crime story. With this transition, signalled both in her shift in embodied orientation and use of *okay*, she displays a movement between task stages from the punishment for the prior story to reading the next story. JayJay then completes the transition with another transition move. He begins reading out the next story for the group and prefaces the beginning of this reading with "okay" (line 14). Mallory and Sue both begin to gaze at their handout, following along as JayJay reads aloud (fig 3). Mallory's transition has initiated closing of the write-up stage of the prior crime story and JayJay's transition has opened the reading of the next crime story. As shown in this example, spoken and embodied reorientations are often used to do transitions, for example turning the page of the handout and orienting to the next stage of the task.

Extract 4.11. S2_G1 00:30:38

Participants from left to right: JayJay (medium), Mallory (high), Sue (low)

```
01    M Jay       yeah a young [child.
02    L Sue                    [young child.
03                (0.3)
04    M Jay       because he's innocent.
05                (0.3)
06    H Mal       yep,#
      fig               #1
```



```
                  fig 1
07                (2.3)
08    L Sue       good.
09                (0.7)
10    H Mal    →   okay.#
      fig                #2
```

fig 2

```
11                (0.6)
12    L Sue       hm hm hm
13                (0.7)
14    M Jay    →  okay #(0.6) george (0.3) raveling.
      fig                 #3
```

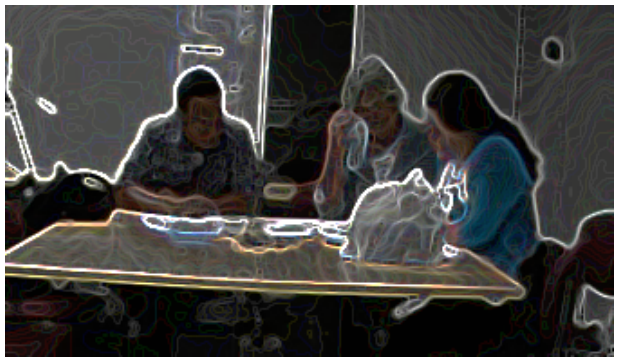


fig 3

Not all transitioning moves are prefaced with project markers. When there is no prefacing project marker, the move contains a reference to the part of the task to which the speaker is initiating transition, as well as embodied reorientation. An example of this is shown in Extract 4.12. This group is also working on the crime and punishment task, and they are completing the write-up of the punishment and rationale for one of the crime stories. In this group, each person is writing down the punishments and reasons on their individual handouts instead of one person writing on behalf of the group. Peymaneh has finished writing on her handout and tells the group "`I have to go soon`" (line 1). Jamie is still writing his punishment and rationale for the crime story. Peymaneh turns the page of the handout to the next story (fig 2). As Jamie says "`and uh`" (line 4), he is formulating what he will write on the handout for the prior story; meanwhile, Peymaneh has finished turning the page and is looking at the next story (fig 3). She then does the transitioning move, saying "`this one.`" (line 6) and leaning toward the handout (fig 4) to begin reading it to herself. Throughout this extract, Peymaneh has individually completed transition from the prior story to the next one; the other group members have not turned the page to the next story. Whereas in Extract 4.11 the whole group ends the extract with all group members having reoriented to the next page of the handout, in this Extract 4.12 Peymaneh's display of reorientation does not result in

other group members doing the same. There appears to be a lack of alignment in this group in terms of pacing of the task; Jamie and Todd are still looking down at the handout and writing up the prior punishment when Peymaneh makes this transition. However, in both cases, there is an utterance that primarily does transition and an embodied shift in orientation to the next story.

Extract 4.12. S2_G3 00:32:22

Participants from left to right: Jamie (medium), Peymaneh (high), Todd (low)

```
01    H Pey       I have to go soon,#
      fig                           #1
```

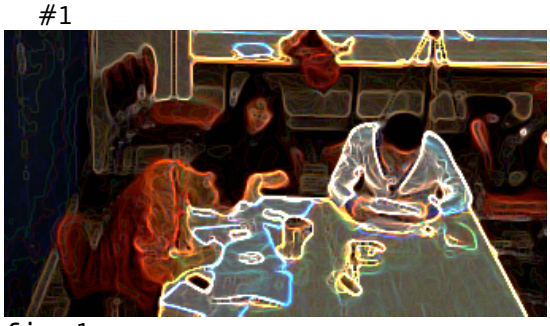


fig 1

```
02    M Jam       hmm
03                (1.2)#
      fig              #2
```

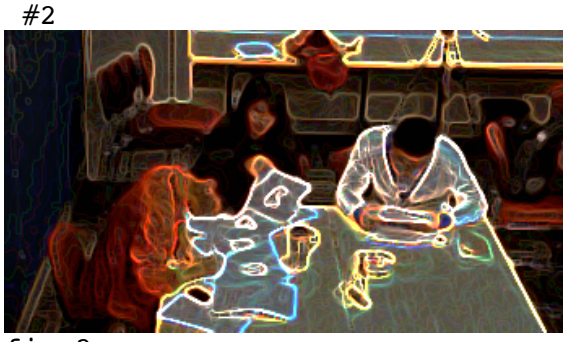


fig 2

```
04    M Jam       and uh#
      fig              #3
```

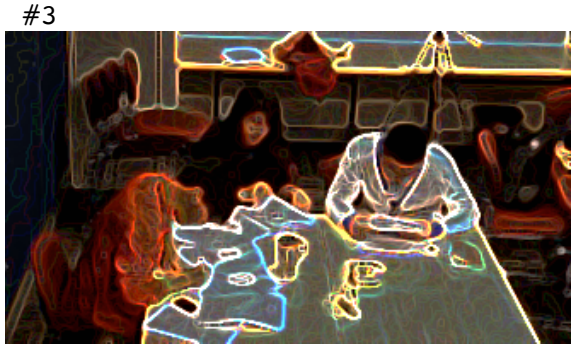


fig 3

```
05                (0.8)
06    H Pey    →   this # one.
      fig             #4
```


fig 4

This section has presented less-response-mobilising moves whose primary action is initiating transition to a new task stage. These moves are often prefaced with project markers for doing transition such as *okay* and *so*. In cases where such a preface is not used, the speaker refers explicitly to the forthcoming task stage. The following section will discuss the final type of less-response-seeking move found in the data: announcing a procedure for forthcoming task stages.

4.2.5 Announcing a procedure

The final type of less-response-seeking moves is procedure announcements. With these moves, speakers state a future course of action to be taken. The stated course of action typically involves a series of steps to be completed by two or more other group members, who may or may not include the speaker. These moves are resources for facilitating the whole group's participation in completing the task together (Stevanovic & Peräkylä, 2012). There are 11 cases of procedure announcements in the data set.

Extract 4.13 provides an example of a procedure announcement in the crime and punishment task. As the extract opens, the group has discussed potential punishments for a crime story and they are beginning to transition into a new task stage. Tammy initiates this transition through an announcement of a procedure for the coming stage: "`okay (0.3) uh i–i will write.`" (line 3). The move is prefaced with *okay*; as described in the previous section, *okay* can be used with a range of actions at the juncture of joint projects to initiate transition. As Tammy says this, she gazes at Chris (fig 1), who was speaking in overlap with her but has dropped out. He takes up this proposed procedure, saying "`.tdk okay.`" (line 6). Tammy continues with another increment that gives further description of the procedure she is suggesting, saying "`you all the opinion- pinion.`" (line 8). As she says this, she drops her gaze to the handout and holds her hands out to either side of her, with one in the direction of each of the other two group members (fig 2). She then brings her hands inward while continuing to gaze downward (fig 3), making a gesture of bringing the opinions from the

other two group members toward herself. Chris then begins to describe the sentencing for the crime (lines 10–12). With the procedure announcement, Tammy has stated how she intends to proceed with the task and has allocated roles for herself and the other group members.

Extract 4.13. S2_G2 00:34:33

Participants from left to right: Louie (medium), Tammy (high), Chris (low)

```
01    H Tam        .tdk (.) [.h (0.1) okay.
02    L Chr                 [this is u:::h
03    H Tam    →    okay [(0.3)] uh i-i will write.#
04    L Chr              [he:::]
      fig                                        #1
```

fig 1

```
05                 (0.4)
06    L Chr        .tdk okay.
07                 (0.3)
08    H Tam    →    you all# the# opinion- pinion.
      fig                    #2    #3
```

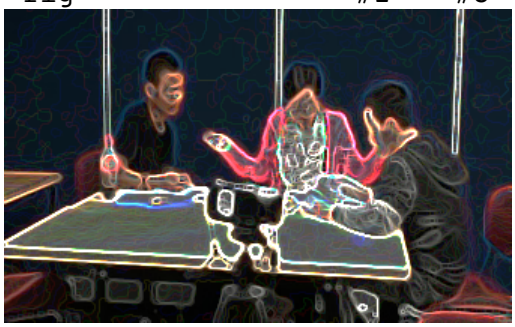


fig 2

fig 3

```
10    L Chr        he::::- (0.9) i sentence (0.2) i sentence uh he
11                 (0.5) eh he::: committing (0.3) he committing
12                 murder.
```

This section has described moves that announce a procedure for an upcoming task stage. With these moves, speakers can set up courses of action to be completed by two or more group members in the following sequence of action. Through these moves, speakers can act as facilitators to direct the way group work is completed. Though there were relatively few instances of these moves, it is interesting to note that speakership was not concentrated within any particular linguistic proficiency level.

Thus far, the five types of actions done through less-response-seeking moves have been presented: idea proffers, information proffers, assessments and noticings, transitions, and procedure announcements. The following section examines turn-design features for response mobilisation in less-response-seeking moves, and discusses how these features are used by speakers to do these five kinds of actions.

4.3 Turn-design features for response mobilisation

This section presents the use of turn-design features for response mobilisation by participants when doing less-response-mobilising moves. First, cases where the features are used are presented; these will be followed by cases that use none of the features. Then the focus turns to their usage with different kinds of less-response-mobilising actions.

Of the 276 less-response-mobilising moves, 38.0% (105 of 276 moves) used no turn-design features for response mobilisation, while 52.2% of less-response-mobilising moves (144 of 276 moves) used one feature and 9.8% (27 of 276 moves) used two features. There were no cases where more than two features were used. The recurrence of each feature is shown in Figure 4.1.

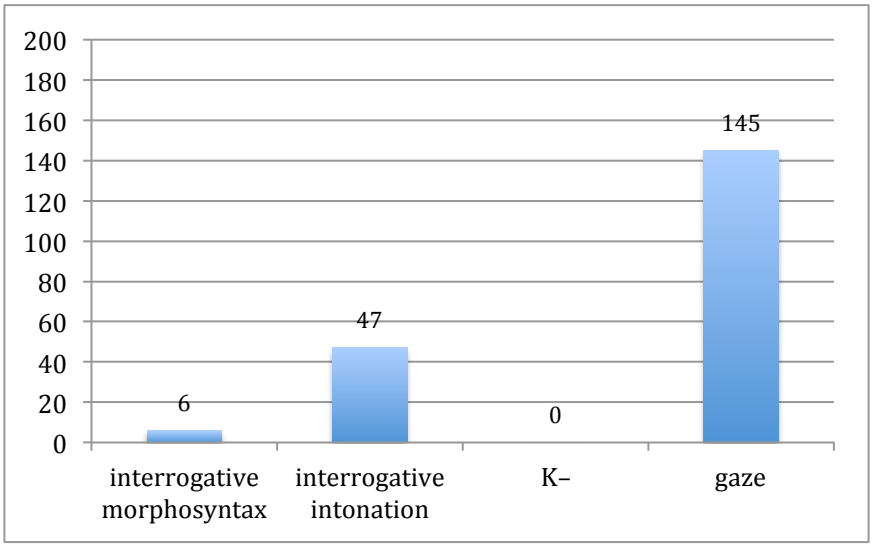


Figure 4.1. Frequency of use of turn-design features for response mobilisation in 276 more-response-mobilising moves.

None of the less-response-mobilising moves in the data set had recipient-tilted epistemic asymmetry. For less-response-mobilising actions such as idea and information proffers and assessments, there was typically a steep speaker-tilted epistemic asymmetry, as speakers were

telling other group members about either their own ideas or information within their epistemic territory (Heritage, 2012). Procedure announcements and transitioning moves did not have such a strongly speaker-tilted epistemic asymmetry; in these cases, like requests and offers for action, speakers were instead exercising the ability to direct future courses of action through deontic stance (Stevanovic & Peräkylä, 2012). This stance was again speaker-tilted.

Gaze was used with 145 of the cases (52.5%), making it the most recurrent feature in this category of joint-project-initiating moves. The cases shown in Extracts 4.1, 4.2, 4.3, 4.5, 4.7, 4.8, and 4.9 are all examples of less-response-mobilising moves with the speaker gazing at another group member at the end of the move or in the silence shortly after the TRP. In Extracts 4.7, 4.8, and 4.9, gaze is used to select a single next speaker as the recipient of the move. However, in Extracts 4.1 and 4.5, the speaker gazes at different group members as the move progresses, and the move appears to be directed to the whole group instead of a single next speaker. By contrast, in Extracts 4.4, 4.6, 4.10, 4.11, 4.12, and 4.13, the speaker does not gaze at another group member while finishing the move, instead gazing at an object, a handout or the table, or gazing into mid-distance. Like Extracts 4.1 and 4.5, no single next speaker is selected in these cases. However, gazing at the other group members may put more pressure on another group member to respond than in the instances where the speaker does not gaze at another group member.

Interrogative intonation was used much less frequently than gaze, in only 47 of the cases of less-response-mobilising moves (17.0%). In these cases, interrogative intonation was used to emphasise that the propositional content of the move was unfinished in some way and required development or ratification from other group members in order to progress. For example, with these moves speakers put forward initial formulations of an idea that needed further development from other group members to be viable, and formulated previously discussed ideas that required take-up before being written down. Ally's idea proffer in Extract 4.14, done through a series of turn-constructional units (TCUs) (lines 1–5), is an example of an idea being put forward as an initial proposition that requires development from other group members to proceed. She is describing a possible way of constructing an invention by fixing objects together with sticky tape. The final TCU ends with interrogative intonation (line 5), where she proposes that the invention could be worn on someone's head. This is followed by a silence; she pursues response from the other group members with the tag question "no?" (line 9).

Extract 4.14. S1_G3 00:33:23

Participants from left to right: Louie (lower-medium), JayJay (high), Chris (low), Ally (upper-medium)

```
01    M1 All    →   |we can (0.2) make (0.5) this with uh sticky#
fig                                                          #1
```

fig 1

```
02              →   tape, (0.8) and (0.9) one of (.) you? (0.3) |huh
      gaze                                                      |Ally>
03                  huh huh [.hh
      gaze          >gazes at JayJay->
                    ------------->
04    H Jay                 [use this=
      gaze                   >------->
05    M1 All    →   =put yeah,|# (.) in the:: in |the head?|
                    >-------- |                  |Ally gaze|s at Louie
      fig                     #2
```

fig 2

```
06                  (0.8)
07    M1 All        u:::::h
08                  (1.2)
09    M1 All        no?#
      fig             #3
```

fig 3

In all but 2 of the 27 moves that used two turn-design features for mobilising response, one of these features was interrogative intonation. It appears that this feature was a resource for further emphasising the "unfinished-ness" of a particular proposed idea or action.

Interrogative lexico-morphosyntax was used in only 6 of the cases of less-response-mobilising moves (2.2%); all of these cases were idea-proffering moves. This design feature served a variety of functions. In one case from the crime and punishment task, the speaker poses a rhetorical question to the group to proffer an opinion about the egregiousness of a case of assisted suicide by a man for his wife, saying *who is he that he can decide on his wife's life*. In two cases, speakers begin moves with *How* about and *What about* to proffer ideas as suggestions for the group to consider. Finally, in 3 of the cases, the group is completing a part of the advertising task where they need to write questions for the reader to be used as taglines in the advertisement. Thus the ideas proffered by group members were done with interrogative lexico-morphosyntax due to the task prompt of "questions for the reader".

There were 104 cases (37.7%) that did not use any of the turn-design features for mobilising response. Extracts 4.4, 4.6, 4.10, 4.11, 4.12, and 4.13 provide examples of less-response-mobilising moves done with none of the features for mobilising response. In all of these cases, the moves used forms other than interrogative lexico-morphosyntax, ended with non-interrogative turn-final intonation (falling or flat), had a speaker-tilted epistemic asymmetry, and had the speaker gazing somewhere other than at another group member when completing the move. A distinct feature of less-response-mobilising actions is the prevalence of moves that are "featureless" (in terms of response mobilisation). Furthermore, featureless moves were present in all five categories of less-response-mobilising actions. This phenomenon supports the argument that less-response-mobilising moves make response from other group members more voluntary.

Looking at each action, there are some distinctive patterns that emerge in speakers' use of the turn-design features for mobilising response. All 6 of the moves that used interrogative lexico-morphosyntax were idea proffers, while moves that proffered information were less likely than others to have interrogative intonation. Gaze was the most commonly used feature but it was not equally distributed across categories of action. Gaze was typically the only response-mobilising feature with information-proffering moves. By contrast, gaze was used far less often with transitioning moves than with other actions. This is because speakers of these

moves did not typically select a next speaker, but instead did the primary action of displaying and initiating a shift from one phase or part of the task to another.

This section has presented the use of turn-design features for mobilising response, first discussing results across all less-response-mobilising actions and then focusing on distinct features of different kinds of actions. The following section will examine speakership of less-response-mobilising moves by group members of different proficiencies.

4.4 Speakership of less-response-mobilising moves

I will start by presenting the distribution of speakership of all less-response-mobilising moves, then focus on the most recurrent actions: idea proffers, information proffers, assessments and noticings, and transitions.

Of the 276 less-response-mobilising moves in the data set, 160 (58.0%) were done in groups of three and 116 (42.0%) were done in groups of four. As shown in Figure 4.2, there is a strong correlation between speakership and relative proficiency level of group members in groups of three, while in groups of four the speakership of less-response-seeking moves is much more evenly distributed across the members of the group. In groups of three, high-proficiency group members did 85 less-response-seeking moves, medium-proficiency group members did 47, and low-proficiency group members did 28. In groups of four, the difference between speakers of different levels was far less stark. High- and upper-medium-proficiency group members did 33 and 34 of the moves, respectively; meanwhile, lower-medium-proficiency group members did 25 and low-proficiency group members did 24. The distribution in groups of four stands in contrast to the distribution of joint-project-initiating moves across the data set, showing a weaker correlation to proficiency.

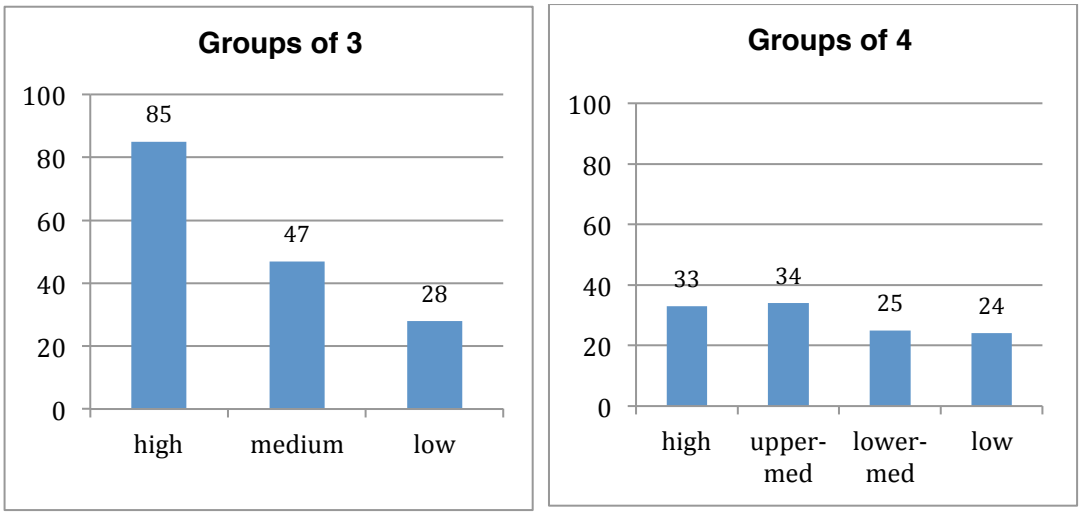


Figure 4.2. Distribution of speakership of less-response-mobilising moves by relative proficiency level.

Of these five action types, only transitions showed a correlation between speakership and linguistic proficiency level in both types of groups. Proffering information and announcing a procedure both showed no correlation in both types of groups. For idea proffers, and assessments and noticings, there was a correlation in groups of three but not in groups of four.

In groups of three there were 93 cases of idea proffers, while in groups of four there were 77 cases, totalling 170 cases across the data set. The distribution of speakership of these moves shows a similar pattern to the overall distribution of less-response-seeking moves across speakers of differing linguistic proficiency levels. As shown in Figure 4.3, in groups of three, high-proficiency group members did these moves nearly 50% of the time (46 of the 93 cases), followed by medium-proficiency group members (29 cases) and low-proficiency group members (18 cases). In groups of four, high- and upper-medium-proficiency group members did the moves only slightly more often than lower-medium- and low-proficiency group members. High-proficiency group members did 22 of the moves and upper-medium-proficiency group members did 21, while lower-medium-proficiency group members and low-proficiency group members each did 17 of the moves.

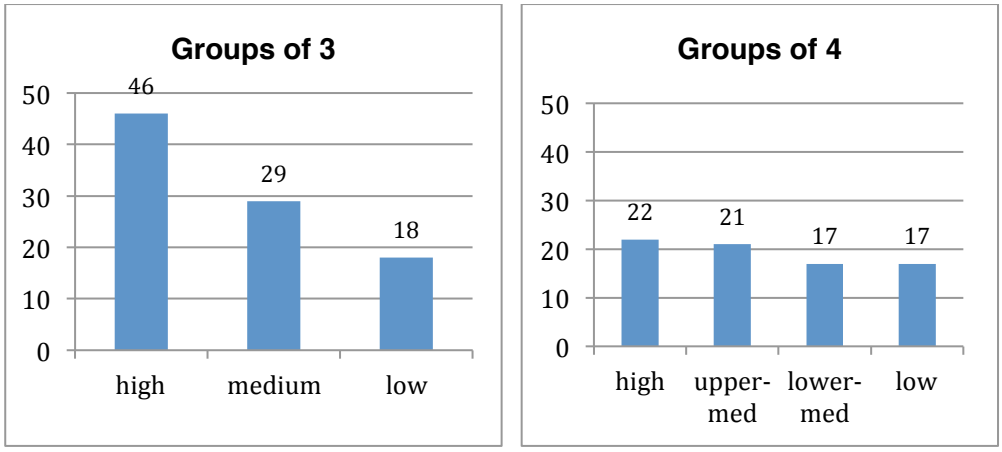


Figure 4.3. Distribution of speakership of idea proffers by relative proficiency level.

A similar pattern of speakership holds for moves that proffer new ideas and those that build on prior ideas. As shown in Figures 4.4 and 4.5, a correlation between speakership and linguistic proficiency level is seen in groups of three but not in groups of four.

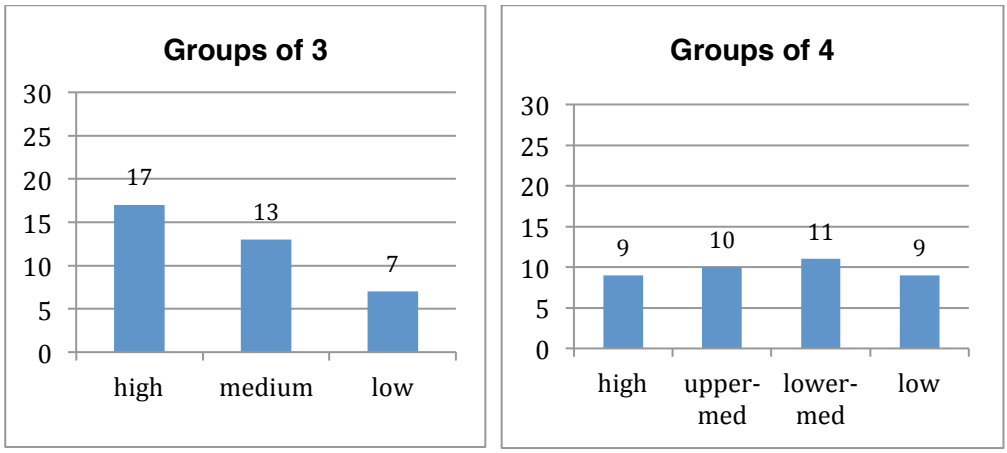


Figure 4.4. Distribution of speakership of new idea proffers by relative proficiency level.

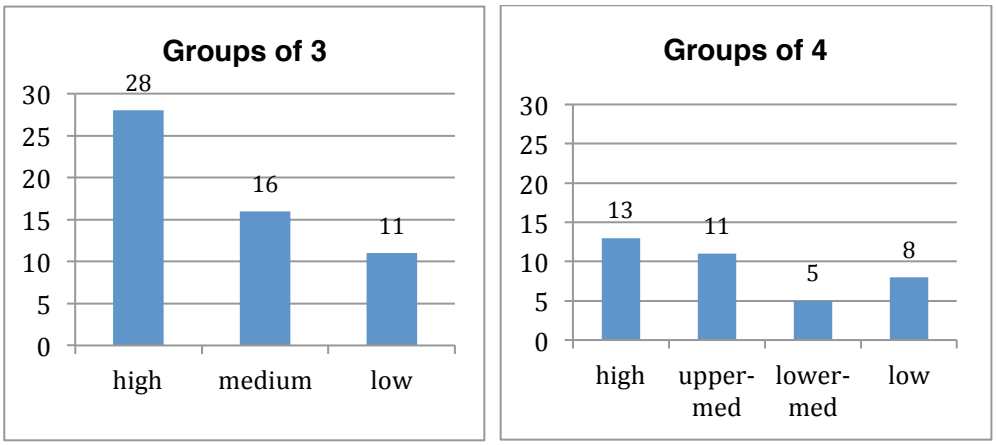


Figure 4.5. Distribution of speakership of idea proffers that build on prior ideas by relative proficiency level.

In total, there were 34 cases of information proffers in the data set. In these cases, as shown in Figure 4.6, speakership is distributed relatively equally across group members of different levels. This was the case in both groups of three and groups of four. Across both types of groups, medium-proficiency group members (including upper-medium- and lower-medium-proficiency group members in groups of four) do these moves most often.

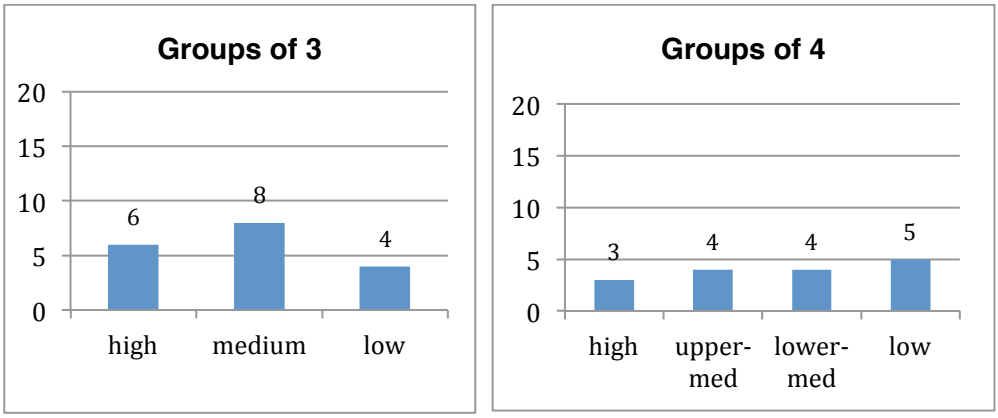


Figure 4.6. Distribution of speakership of information proffers by relative proficiency level.

As shown in Figure 4.7, in groups of three, assessments and noticings are done predominantly by high-proficiency speakers, who do 16 of the 26 moves in these groups. Low-proficiency group members did 6 of the moves in groups of three and medium-proficiency speakers did 4. In groups of four, there were only 9 instances of assessing and noticing moves. Upper-medium-proficiency group members did 5 of these moves, and the remaining were spread between high-, upper-medium-, and low-proficiency group members. Like less-response-seeking moves overall, a correlation between speakership and level is seen in groups of three but not in groups of four.

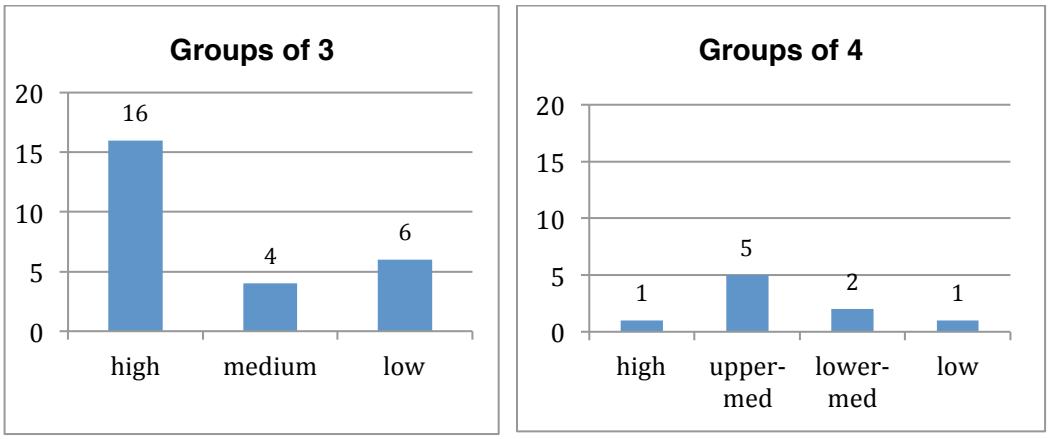


Figure 4.7. Distribution of speakership of assessments and noticings by relative proficiency level.

Transitions show a different pattern of speakership than the other less-response-mobilising action types, as shown in Figure 4.8. In the 26 cases in the data set, there is a correlation between linguistic proficiency level and speakership with these moves. The majority of these moves were done in groups of three, and high-proficiency group members did most of them. In groups of four, there were only 9 cases and high-proficiency group members did just over half of them. In both group types, low-proficiency group members did no transitioning moves.

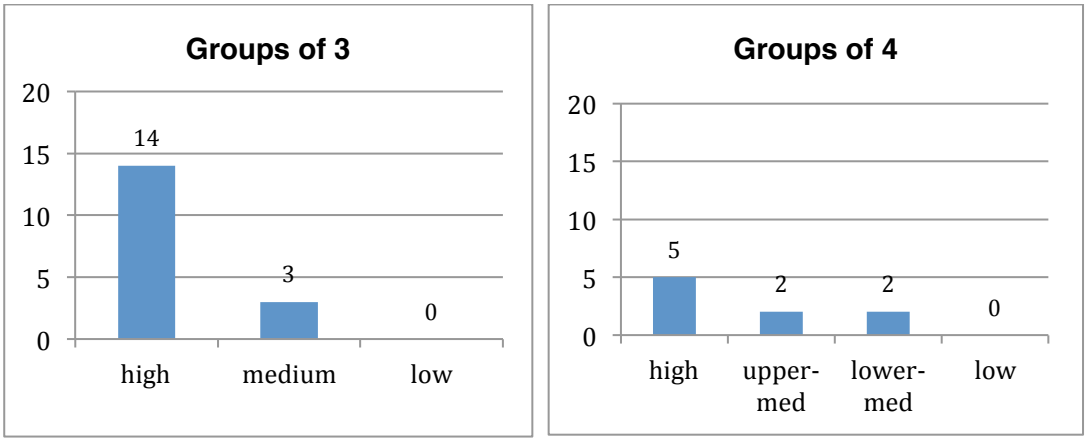


Figure 4.8. Distribution of speakership of transitions by relative proficiency level.

In this section, I have presented the distribution of speakership for less-response-mobilising moves overall and the most recurrent actions. The results of analysis of selection for these moves now follows.

4.5 Selection done through less-response-mobilising moves

As described in Section 3.7, selection in face-to-face, multi-party interaction can be done through gaze or other embodied resources, sequential context, or person reference. As with more-response-mobilising moves, a variety of these practices were used by speakers of less-response-mobilising moves to do selection; embodied resources, particularly gaze, and sequential context were the most frequently used. As discussed in Section 4.3, gaze was used in different instances to select one particular next speaker, or to open the floor for any other group member to respond next.

Out of the 276 less-response-mobilising moves done by group members found in the data, 257 selected any other group member or a single other group member as next speaker. The remaining 19 moves selected the teacher as next speaker. With less-response-mobilising moves, it was more common for speakers to open the floor for any other group member to

self-select to speak next. As shown in Figure 4.9, this was the case in 147 (53.2%) of all less-response-mobilising moves, while in 110 of the moves (39.8%) a single next speaker was selected. In these cases, speakers were typically initiating expansion sequences that built upon a previous topic or referring back to a previous topic earlier in the talk. Thus they selected the prior speaker as the recipient of the move.

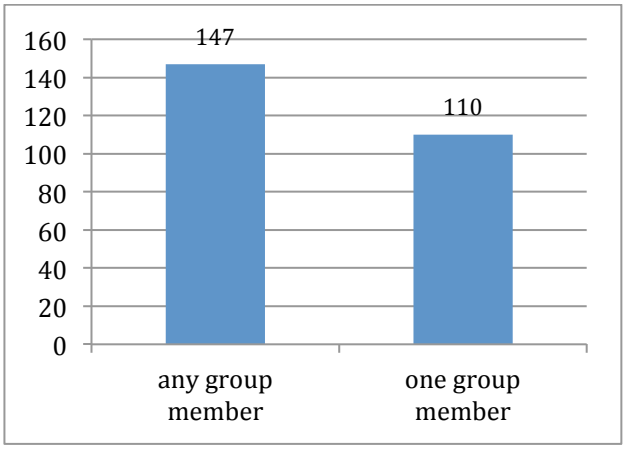


Figure 4.9. Selection of group members by speakers of less-response-mobilising moves.

For the 110 cases where a single group member was selected as next speaker, the linguistic proficiency level of the selected recipient was also analysed. The distribution of recipiency of group members by linguistic proficiency level is shown in Figure 4.10. The frequency of selection of different group members resembles the overall distribution of speakership of less-response-seeking moves. In groups of three, there is a correlation between linguistic proficiency level and who is selected as next speaker, whereas in groups of four this relationship is not as strong. The highest two levels in groups of four (high and upper-medium) were selected in 30 cases; the lowest two levels (lower-medium and low) were selected 9 times. A tendency remains for speakers to select higher-proficiency group members in both types of groups. This is similar to the findings for selection done with more-response-mobilising moves. Therefore, the defining difference between more- and less-response-mobilising moves, in terms of selection, is that speakers of less-response-mobilising moves tend to open the floor for any other group member to self-select as next speaker, while speakers of more-response-mobilising moves tend to select one particular next speaker in the group.

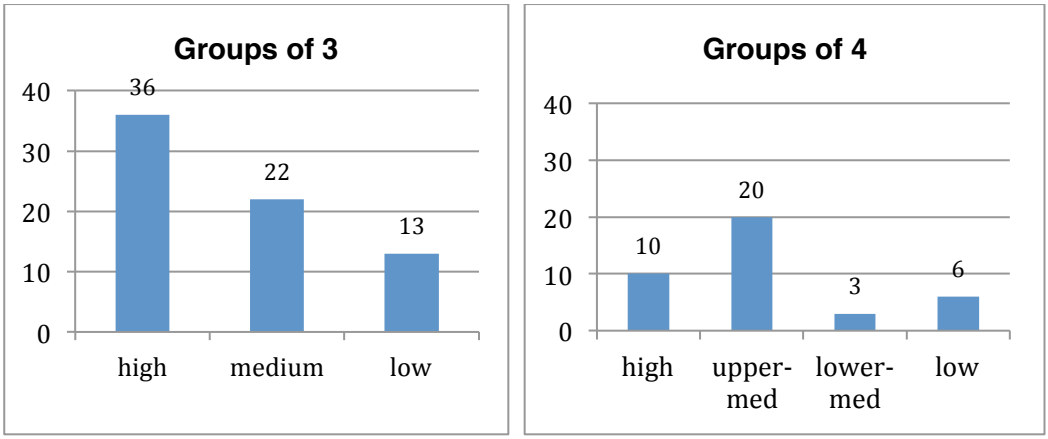


Figure 4.10. Selection of group members by level.

There were some differences in selection practices for different action types. Participants doing transitions were even more likely to open the floor for any group member to self-select as next speaker, doing so in 88% of cases. Idea and information proffers were split roughly evenly between moves that selected one next speaker and those that opened the floor for any group member to self-select. By contrast, speakers of assessments and noticings selected one next speaker more often than not. With these moves, one next speaker was selected in 74% of the cases. This was the only group of less-response-mobilising moves displaying this trend. For those actions with larger numbers of cases, the distribution of selection between group members of differing proficiency levels was similar to the distribution of the whole collection.

This section has presented the findings of analysis of next-speaker selection by speakers of less-response-mobilising moves. This is the final section that presents the results of the analysis of this collection of moves. The chapter now turns to discussion of these results in terms of the research questions and the literature.

4.6 Discussion

This chapter has presented less-response-mobilising moves used to initiate joint projects in the context of multi-proficiency group completion of an English language classroom task. With these moves, speakers proffer ideas, information, and assessments; initiate transitions; topicalise task-related items; and announce procedures for task completion. These actions are considered to be non-canonical first-position actions, which means they do not make response as strongly relevant by virtue of the action being done. This group of moves makes up the majority (59.7%) of the joint-project-initiating actions in the data set.

The first research question for this project asks how joint projects are initiated by participants of different linguistic proficiencies. Five recurrent categories of less-response-mobilising moves were found in the data. These are: idea proffers, information proffers, assessments and noticings, transitions, and procedure announcements. It was most common for these moves to use one of the turn-design features; this was done in 52.2% of the cases. There was also a substantial group of cases (38.0%) that used none of the turn-design features. Gaze was by far the most common feature used, while recipient-tilted epistemic asymmetry was not used at all. Overall, each of the turn-design-features was used less often with less-response-mobilising moves than with more-response-mobilising moves. This aligns with Stivers and Rossano's (2010) argument that turn-design features for mobilising response are used more often, and typically in multiples, with canonical actions that make response highly relevant. They found that in cases of no response to non-canonical actions with no use of turn-design features for mobilising response, a lack of response was not problematic. This supports the argument that this collection of actions is indeed less-response-mobilising.

The second research question asks who, in terms of speakership, does joint-project-initiating moves, and how. Speakership of the moves in this category corresponded less strongly overall to linguistic proficiency level than the overall distribution of joint project initiations. In groups of three, there tended to be a correlation between linguistic proficiency level and speakership; however, in groups of four, speakership was distributed more evenly. This was the case for idea proffers, information proffers, and assessments and noticings. For transitions, there was a correlation between speakership and proficiency in both types of groups.

The third research question asks who is selected as next speaker. In the cases where a single next speaker was selected, a correlation was again found between selection of next speaker and linguistic proficiency level in groups of three, but not in groups of four. However, for less-response-mobilising moves, it was more common for speakers to not select a particular next speaker as the recipient or responder. It appears that whether or not a next speaker is selected may be yet another resource for mobilising response, as pressure is put upon one person to speak next. When no single person is selected, all other group members have the opportunity to self-select, which places less accountability upon a single recipient of the initiating move.

4.7 Concluding remarks

In an institutional context where participation by all group members is encouraged, why would speakers initiate joint projects with moves that make response less relevant?

Furthermore, why would these kinds of moves be more common than more-response-mobilising moves? Given the context where an ongoing collaborative task maintains the mutual focus of participants (Goffman, 1963), the task itself thus may be an additional resource for mobilising response that is embedded in the institutional context. This aligns with the pedagogical aims of tasks as motivators of group talk. Conversely, these moves may not be designed to elicit response at all. Chapter 5 will examine responses to more- and less-response-mobilising moves to address these questions in more detail.

At the sequence level, Stivers and Rossano (2010) argue that, in general:

> maximally response-mobilising turn designs are … quite coercive and constraining of recipient response. Although at times, for better or for worse, response may be desired, in many situations a "volunteered" response may be more welcome and meaningful than one provided under pressure. (p. 23)

In the context of the task stage of brainstorming ideas, and in the broader context of tasks with the stated objective of practising expressing ideas and opinions, sequences are often centred around generating ideas and building common ground on opinions. If a speaker proffers an idea for potential uptake by the group, it would be preferable and more meaningful for that uptake to be done by a recipient who self-selects, or "volunteers", to do so. Furthermore, ideas and information can also be proffered in response to requests, but there are limited opportunities for speakers to put forward ideas and information in second position, and ideas do not always come to mind with precision timing to requests for them. Stivers and Rossano continue their argument by stating that "with actions that are potentially face threatening or where who we are to each other may be at issue, there are clear advantages to a less coercive action design" (2010, p. 24). In a context of joint task completion, where peer–peer collaboration is part of the expectation for completing the task, it would be preferable to avoid being seen as coercing the group to go along with a particular idea, or coercing them to participate at all.

On the other hand, repeated use of less-response-mobilising moves by a single group member, particularly one of a higher linguistic proficiency level, can result in a strong asymmetry of participation by this speaker. This tendency is particularly strong if speakers do not use any of the turn-design features for response mobilisation aside from sequential position. Extract 4.12 shows an example of one group member doing transition to the next part of the task before other group members are finished with the prior part of the task. The transition is initiated

with the speaker's gaze toward the handout and via a phrasal construction with downward intonation. This kind of initiation recurs in this particular group's interaction and results in the high-proficiency speaker working individually to decide upon answers for each task item while the other group members struggle to keep the pace. Group interaction with this kind of pattern shows that when less-response-mobilising moves are used far more frequently than more-response-mobilising moves to initiate joint projects, they may contribute to more extreme asymmetry in participation by different group members.

This chapter has presented the results of analysis of less-response-mobilising moves to initiate joint projects. The following chapter focuses on two types of joint-project-initiating moves: requests for ideas and idea proffers. It examines each of these actions in more detail, examining their design and implications for response and uptake (or lack thereof) from other group members. It also examines group interaction in terms of predominance of more- or less-response-mobilising moves and discusses the implications for participation by the group as a whole.

Chapter 5
Idea-generating moves and response

This chapter focuses on two types of joint-project-initiating moves presented in Chapters 3 and 4: idea requests and idea proffers. These are the most recurrent action types in their respective categories of more- and less-response-mobilising moves. Together, they account for half of the joint-project-initiating moves in the whole data set. The prevalence of these moves in the data reflects the institutional context of the interaction, particularly the early stages of task completion wherein groups are brainstorming ideas. Idea requests and proffers will be referred to collectively hereafter as *idea-generating moves*, a term that denotes their orientation to eliciting and accumulating potential ideas for task completion. In this chapter, I outline the results of more detailed analysis of idea-generating moves, including speakership, turn design, subsequent actions, and implications for speaker and recipient participation in the group interaction. First, the chapter focuses on turn-design features, selection practices, and implications for participation of different group members. Then it turns to the interactional space following idea-generating moves and examines the actions that are done in next position, how these actions are done, and by whom. Finally, these findings are discussed in light of the research questions and the implications for our understanding of interaction in this context.

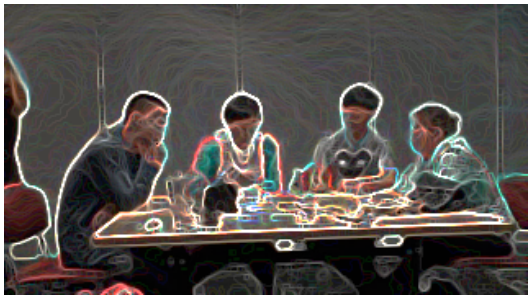
5.1 Idea-generating moves

Idea generation is accomplished through idea requests and proffers by different means. With an idea request, a speaker often opens the floor for a recipient to proffer an idea that he or she has thought of. If the recipient responds by proffering an idea in second position, uptake of that idea is done in third position. Extract 5.1 (earlier presented in Chapter 3, Extract 3.1) is taken from the new invention task. Here, Tammy requests ideas for a potential new invention in line 2 through the polar interrogative "`um do you have some ideas?`" This kind of idea request does not contain an assertion by the speaker, but instead invites another group member to proffer an idea in response.

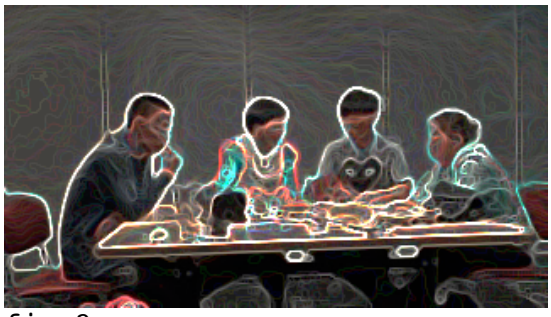
Extract 5.1. S1_G2 00:13:11

Participants from left to right: Todd (low), Tammy (high), Jamie (lower-medium), Monika (upper-medium)

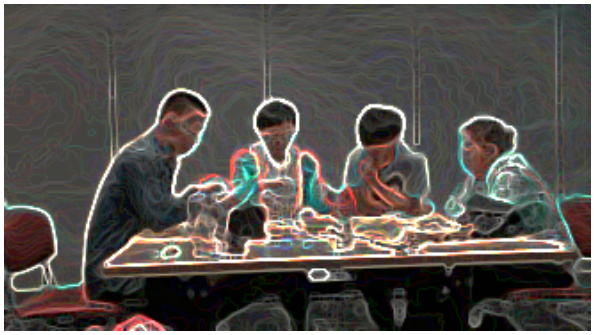
```
01                  #(1.8)
     fig            #1
```



```
                    fig 1
02   H  Tam    →     um do |#you have some ideas?|
     gaze               |Tammy gazes at Monika|
     fig                 #2
```



```
                    fig 2
03                  (1.0)
04   H  Tam         about #this,
     fig                 #3
```



```
                    fig 3
05                  (0.7)
06   M1 Mon         mm.
07                  (1.5)
08   L  Tod         simple phone,
09                  (0.4)
10 ((one line of overlapping talk from other group omitted))
11   M1 Mon         [ye:::ah
12   H  Tam         [a:::w yes
13                  (0.2)
14   M1 Mon         good idea.
```

Alternatively, speakers request ideas through candidate understandings, whereby the speaker formulates his or her understanding of a prior idea for potential confirmation or clarification

by other group members. Like the prior kind of idea request, candidate understandings have recipient-tilted epistemic asymmetry; however, the speaker puts forward an assertion in the first-position move. Extract 5.2 comes from Extract 3.4 in Chapter 3. The group is working on the crime and punishment task. Sue has proffered a potential punishment of "`twenty five`" (years in prison). There is a silence of 1.3 seconds, after which Mallory asks "`so for twenty fi-yeah does that make sense?`" JayJay then requests ideas from Mallory by asking for clarification of her question. His request begins with the wh- interrogative "`what do you think`", followed by a candidate understanding of her stance, "`give less ( )?`" Mallory is positioned to accept or reject this candidate understanding.

Extract 5.2. S2_G1 00:25:27

Participants from left to right: JayJay (medium), Mallory (high), Sue (low)

```
01    L Sue          twenty:: five.
02                   (1.3)
03    H Mal          so for |[twen]ty fi-yeah does that make sense?#=
      gaze                 |JayJay gazes at Mallory---------------->
      fig                                                          #1
```

fig 1

```
04    L Sue                 [yeh ]
05    H Mal          =(.) well,
      gaze           >-------->
06                   (2.3)
      gaze           >---->
07    M Jay    →     what do you think (0.2) give less [(   )?]#
      gaze           >----------------------------------------->
      fig                                                     #2
```

fig 2

```
08    L Sue                                          [ you  ] think
      gaze                                          >---------->
09                   (0.2) you think [so,|
```

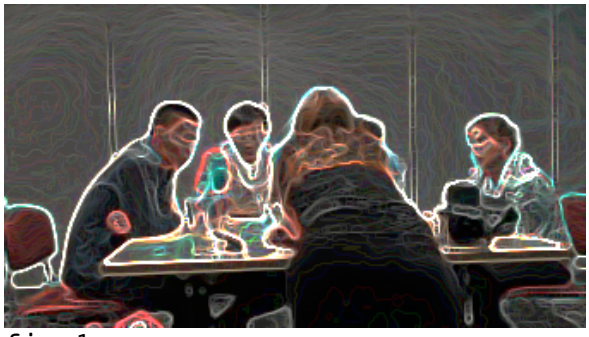
```
     gaze          >-------------------|
10   H Mal                          [maybe (0.5) yeah i
11                 don't know maybe twenty¿ (.) or no uh (.)
12                 fifteen¿ i dunno,
```

With idea proffers, the idea or opinion is conceived by the speaker and put forward in first position with a speaker-tilted epistemic asymmetry. Take-up of the idea, typically in the form of acceptance or rejection of the idea, is done in second position. Extract 5.3 comes from Extract 4.1 in Chapter 4. Tammy describes a possible invention that can be made by with the objects on the table. She completes the description by demonstrating how the object would be used (figs 8–9). At the completion of her description, group members have the opportunity to accept or reject the described idea.

Extract 5.3. S1_G2 00:19:26

Participants from left to right: Todd (low), Tammy (high), Jamie (lower-medium), Monika (upper-medium); teacher standing in front of table

```
01   H  Tam   →   .h# oh i have an i-idea,
     fig             #1
```



```
                 fig 1
02               (3.1)#
     fig              #2
```

```
                 fig 2
03   H  Tam   →   maybe smoke# (0.1) #in here?#
     fig                  #3      #4       #5
```

fig 3

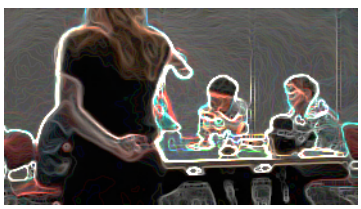


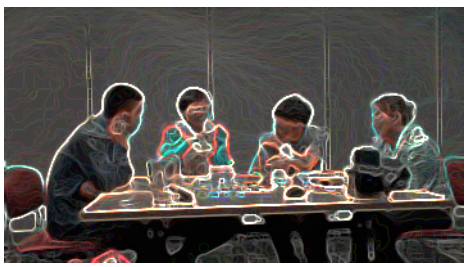
fig 4

fig 5

```
04                  #|(1.4)|
      gaze            |Tammy| gazes at Monika then Jamie
      fig           #6
```

```
                    fig 6
05    H  Tam        |you know (0.2) you# um (0.2) in the room (0.1)
      gaze          |Tammy gazes at Todd------------------------->
      fig                               #7
```

```
                                      fig 7
06                  you smoking (0.3) and| th-the |other (0.4) people|
      gaze          >--------------------|        |gazes at Monika---|
07                  |don't like| (0.5) you can,
      gaze          |looks to T|odd
08                  #(0.5)|(1.4)#
      gaze                |gazes at teacher->
      fig           #8          #9
```



```
      fig 8                       fig 9
09    M2 Jam        hm?|
      gaze          >--|
                    (0.5)
10    M1 Mon        it's (0.2) a good idea.
```

Chapters 3 and 4 focused on the design and use of more- and less-response-mobilising initiating actions by group members. Within the collection analysed for Chapters 3 and 4, there were 231 cases of idea-generating moves. These account for 50.0% of the 462 cases of joint-project-initiating moves in the whole data set. Of these 231 cases, 170 are idea proffers and 61 are requests for ideas. Because of the sequential implications of doing idea generation through more- and less-response-mobilising actions and the ubiquity of idea-generating

moves in both categories, it is important to examine these particular actions in further detail to understand how different resources for initiating joint projects impact the unfolding interaction in this context. Furthermore, more detailed analysis of these recurrent types of more- and less-response-seeking moves can contribute to understanding the use of moves for initiating joint projects. There is a tendency for participants to use less-response-mobilising moves to initiate joint projects more often than more-response-mobilising moves and this chapter aims to examine the reasons for this in more detail.

In Chapters 3 and 4, idea requests and proffers were described in terms of types of action and speakership. Three types of idea requests were presented in Chapter 3: new idea requests, requests for explanation or clarification of a prior idea, and requests for an additional group member to contribute to the discussion of an idea. Two types of idea proffers were found in the data, as presented in Chapter 4: new idea or opinion proffers, and idea proffers that build upon or repeat a previous idea. For idea requests, a correlation was found between speakership and relative linguistic proficiency, as shown in Figure 3.6. The highest proficiency group members did more than half of the idea requests in the collection. For idea proffers, speakership correlated less strongly to linguistic proficiency level, as shown in Figure 4.3. There was a strong correlation observed in groups of three, but in groups of four, speakership was more evenly distributed across group members of different levels.

Whether an idea-generating sequence is initiated with an idea request or idea proffer has important implications for participation because they make different kinds of actions relevant in second position by recipients. This section examines how different kinds of responses are made relevant through the design of the moves. It concludes with a discussion of some implications for participation in peer–peer group work.

5.1.1 Use of turn-design features for mobilising response in idea-generating moves

Like more-response-mobilising moves as compared to less-response-mobilising moves, idea requests incorporated more of the turn-design features for mobilising response, and incorporated them more often, than did proffers of ideas. Extracts 5.1 and 5.2 both provide examples of idea requests that incorporate all four of the turn-design features for response mobilisation (Stivers & Rossano, 2010): interrogative lexico-morphosyntax, interrogative intonation, recipient-tilted epistemic asymmetry, and gazing at a recipient. In Extract 5.3, the idea proffer incorporates only gaze; Tammy is gazing at the teacher as she completes the description of the idea. These examples illustrate a key difference between idea requests and

proffers, which is also the case for more- and less-response-mobilising moves more generally. Idea requests tend to use multiple turn-design features simultaneously, with the vast majority of idea requests using two or more features. By contrast, the majority of idea proffers use zero or one feature, and that one feature is most often gaze.

Figure 5.1 shows the usage of individual turn-design features with idea requests and idea proffers both in raw figures and in percentages of the collection of each type of move. The most striking differences between the two types of idea-generating moves are in recipient-tilted epistemic asymmetry (K–), interrogative lexico-morphosyntax, and interrogative intonation. None of the idea proffers had recipient-tilted epistemic asymmetry, while all but one of the idea requests had this feature. This case is described in more detail in terms of its grammatical construction in Section 5.1.2, in line 3 of Extract 5.6. The context of this move is what informs the analysis of the direction of the epistemic asymmetry. Prior to this extract, the group has discussed a variety of opinions for possible punishments and Tammy has written their punishment decision on the handout. Now she is ready to write the reasons for this decision, which will be based on the opinions they discussed. She says "`okay (0.2) uh give me reason.`", and she gestures toward the handout in front of her. She is asking for the other group members to formulate the reasons for her to write up. Because the ideas have already been discussed, all group members have access to this information. Thus Tammy is asking for a formulation rather than a new idea. When no response is forthcoming, she then prompts them with the beginning of the formulation. This further points to the analysis that Tammy has equal access to this information and is simply requesting that they formulate the mutually known ideas while she writes. In a different sequential context, for example prior to the discussion of ideas, this move would be analysed as having a recipient-tilted epistemic asymmetry. However, it also does not have speaker-tilted epistemic asymmetry, as is typical for idea proffers. It is a case of more symmetrical distribution of epistemic access. Instead, the asymmetry here lies in Tammy's expression of deontic rights, as she takes on the task of writing and allocates the task of formulating the reason to the other group members.

Interrogative lexico-morphosyntax used for 72% of idea requests, while only 4% of idea proffers had this feature. These exceptional cases in idea proffers are discussed in Section 4.3; in half of these cases, the idea proffer was put forward in response to a task item where the instructions asked the groups to write particular kinds of questions. Thus the interrogative form was used in accordance with the task instructions.

Interrogative intonation was used in 51% of idea requests and 19% of idea proffers. Most of the idea requests that did not use interrogative intonation were done through an interrogative lexico-morphosyntactic form. Many of these cases were moves that initiated some kind of transition in task stages through the idea request, and nearly half were prefaced with project markers that indicate transition, such as *so* or *okay*. It is possible that the sequential position of these moves at the beginning of longer sequences, coupled with the use of interrogative lexico-morphosyntax, was sufficient to mobilise response in these cases. Given the low frequency of interrogative lexico-morphosyntax with idea proffers, interrogative intonation with idea proffers were typically phrasal or declarative constructions. Extract 5.3 provides an example of the use of interrogative intonation with an idea proffer. The beginning of Tammy's idea proffer in line 3, "`maybe smoke (0.1) in here?`", is delivered with upward move-final intonation. There is no response, and she then continues to describe the idea. With this feature, her idea is framed as a suggestion for further consideration and development by the group rather than being a fully formed idea.

Unlike the other three features, gaze was used nearly equally as often with both types of moves: 69% of idea requests and 59% of idea proffers had this feature. It was often, though not always, used to do selection of next speaker.

Table 5.1. Frequency of use of turn-design features for mobilising response in idea requests and proffers.

	Interrogative lexico-morphosyntax	**Interrogative intonation**	**K–**	**Gaze**
Idea requests	44	31	60	42
61 moves in total	**72.1%**	**50.8%**	**98.4%**	**68.9%**
Idea proffers	6	33	0	101
170 moves in total	**3.5%**	**19.4%**	**0.0%**	**59.4%**

This section has described the use of turn-design features used with idea-generating moves. The following section examines the grammatical construction of idea-generating moves in more detail.

5.1.2 Grammatical formats for idea-generating moves

As noted in the previous section, interrogative lexico-morphosyntax is the most common format used to do idea requests. Of the 44 idea request moves that use interrogative lexico-morphosyntax, 30 are wh- interrogatives and 14 are polar interrogatives. Extract 5.4 provides examples of the two kinds of interrogatives used to do idea requests. Louie, JayJay, Chris, and Ally are working on the new invention task. After a lapse in the talk, shown in line 4, JayJay opens a new joint project through a request for ideas move done through a wh- interrogative, prefaced by *okay* (line 5). He does not gaze at any particular recipient of this move (fig 1). In terminal overlap (Jefferson, 1983), Ally begins another joint project initiation through a request for an idea. Her move is done through a polar interrogative, and she gazes at Louie, selecting him as the recipient.

The design of these moves makes different kinds of responses relevant. JayJay's wh- interrogative makes relevant the proffering of an idea or opinion by another group member in second position, while a fitted response to Tammy's polar interrogative is a *yes* or *no* answer that indicates whether or not the recipient has an idea to contribute. An implication of the difference in fitted response types is that the wh- interrogative idea request assumes that there is an idea or opinion to be proffered in response; the polar interrogative idea request does not make this assumption, and instead provides an opportunity for the recipient to indicate if they do not have an idea to contribute at this time. While it appears that *no* is a dispreferred response to Ally's idea request, as indicated by Louie's hesitation prior to his response (lines 7–8) and Ally's repeat of "no::?", the fact remains that this is a fitted response to the polar question. Responding this way to JayJay's wh- interrogative idea request would need to be done through some kind of account for not providing a fitted response.

Extract 5.4. S1_G3 00:27:17

Participants from left to right: Louie (lower-medium), JayJay (high), Chris (low), Ally (upper-medium)

```
01   H Jay          if- we can make it for (0.4) something useful.
02                  (3.2)
03   H Jay          hh
04                  (9.0)
05   H Jay      →    okay what do #you [think.
     fig                           #1
```

fig 1

```
06    M1 Ally     →                [|do you #have an idea?
      gaze                          |Ally gazes at Louie->
      fig                                  #2
```

fig 2

```
07                    (0.2)
      gaze            >----->
08    M2 Lou          mm no.
      gaze            >----->
09                    (0.2)
      gaze            >----->
10    M1 Ally         no|[::?
      gaze            >-|
```

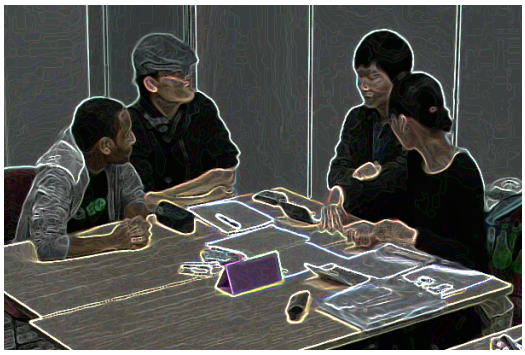
Idea requests done through declarative or phrasal formats also had variation in the kinds of responses made relevant through the construction of the move. Like polar interrogatives, declaratively formatted candidate understandings of prior ideas make relevant confirmation or disconfirmation through a response of *yes* or *no* (Stivers, 2010). As Stivers points out, these moves may or may not have upward turn-final intonation. What makes them idea requests is that they are "B-event statements" (Labov & Fanshel, 1977), meaning that the knowledge as to their veracity lies with the recipient. In other words, there is a recipient-tilted epistemic asymmetry (Heritage, 2012; Stivers & Rossano, 2010). An example can be found in Extract 5.5, in which participants are working on the new invention task. As this extract opens, Hyun is finishing his description of an idea for a suit that treats injuries sustained by soldiers in combat. Brian receipts his idea by claiming understanding (line 3). In line 9, Yuri utters the change-of-state token "oh.", which displays a change from not-knowing to knowing (Heritage, 1984a); in this context, she appears to be displaying understanding of the idea Hyun has put forward. Then she requests more information about the idea by putting forward a candidate

understanding, first with the single lexical item "change?" done with upward turn-final intonation. There is no response to this move; she redoes the action with the expanded phrase "uh change a wear," with continuing turn-final intonation. Mohammed responds with a *no*-prefaced clarification of the idea. Such requests for ideas are similar to polar interrogatives in that they make relevant an answer of *yes* or *no* to confirm or disconfirm the candidate understanding put forward by the speaker. As a result, some aspect of the prior idea is clarified. There were 7 cases of requests for clarification of an idea that made relevant confirmation or disconfirmation.

Extract 5.5. S4_G1 00:22:32

Participants from left to right: Mohammed (high), Brian (lower-medium), Hyun (upper-medium), Yuri (low)

```
01    M1 Hyu          treat (0.7) treat injury solder.
02                    (1.1)
03    M2 Bri          ah yeah=yeah=yeah=yeah=yeah.
04                    (1.1)
05    M1 Hyu          (soldier) (0.7) (cut) (1.3) the suit (0.3) treat.
06                    (1.4)
07    M2 Bri          a::h
08                    (0.6)
09    L  Yur          oh.
10                    (0.8)
11    L  Yur    →     |cha#nge?
      gaze            |Yuri gazes at Hyun->
      fig                 #1
```



```
                      fig 1
12                    (1.0)||(0.7)
      gaze            >----||Yuri gazes at Mohammed->
13    L  Yur    →      uh change a wear,#
      gaze            >------------------>
fig                                    #2
```

fig 2

```
12                  (1.1)
      gaze          >----->
13    H  Moh        no not change (0.5) stop,| (0.6)
      gaze          >------------------------|
14    M1 Hyu        stop bleeding,
```

Non-interrogative formats such as declaratives can also be used to do requests for ideas that make an idea proffer relevant in second position. Extract 5.6 provides an example. The group is working on the crime and punishment task. Tammy is writing the group's answers onto the handout. As the extract begins, she is finishing the write-up of the punishment, which involves probation. Then she does a request for ideas through an *okay*-prefaced imperative, saying "`okay (0.2) uh give me reason.`" (line 3). As she does this move, she gazes at Chris and then down at the handout (figs 1–2). Then she positions herself to write on the handout (fig 3). After a 1.5-second silence, she prompts the other group members by saying "`first,`" with continuing intonation (line 5). After another silence, Chris responds. He begins by recycling *first* followed the pronoun for the criminal, *he* (line 8). After further hesitation, he then continues by speaking to Tammy in Mandarin. It appears that the delay in his response is due to difficulty in formulating the idea proffer in English. Tammy's request for ideas has made this formulation relevant in second position. There were 6 cases of requests for ideas done with non-interrogative grammatical formats that made relevant the proffering of an idea.

Extract 5.6. S2_G2 00:37:16

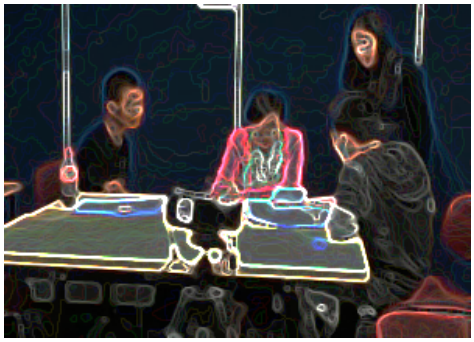
Participants from left to right: Louie (medium), Tammy (high), Chris (low); teacher standing behind group

```
01    H Tam         prob a tion=probation.
02                  (1.1)
03    H Tam    →     okay (0.2) uh give# me rea#son.
fig                                    #1      #2
```

fig 1

fig 2

```
04                  #(1.5)
fig                 #3
```



```
                    fig 3
05    H Tam         first,
06                  (2.1)
07    H Tam         [u::::h
08    L Chr         [first uh (0.6) he::: (0.3) uh ((continues in
09                  Mandarin))
```

Though there are no cases of alternative interrogatives, there are 3 cases of non-interrogative formats that provide two options for the recipient to select from in response. An example can be seen in Extract 5.7, which comes from the same group interaction as Extract 5.6. Tammy requests an idea from Louie by first saying "`tell me (0.6) your opinion`". She goes on to provide two alternative responses for him to choose from: "`this is (1.8) crime (0.5) or no crime`".

Extract 5.7. S2_G2 00:29:30

Participants from left to right: Louie (medium), Tammy (high), Chris (low)

```
01    H Tam    →  |tell me (0.6) your opinion (0.5) you do think
      gaze         |Tammy alternates gaze between Louie and his paper->
02                 (0.3) this is (1.8)||crime (0.5) or no
      gaze         >------------------||gazes at Louie-->
03                 crime,#
      gaze         >------>
fig                      #1
```

```
                    fig 1
04                  (0.3)|
      gaze          >----|
05    M Lou         mm:::
```

Across interrogative and non-interrogative formats for requests for ideas, idea-proffering responses are made relevant more often than yes/no or alternative response options. In total, there are 36 requests for ideas that made an idea proffer relevant, 22 cases of requests for ideas that made a response of yes or no relevant, and 3 cases of requests for ideas that provided alternative options for response. This distribution is shown in Figure 5.1.

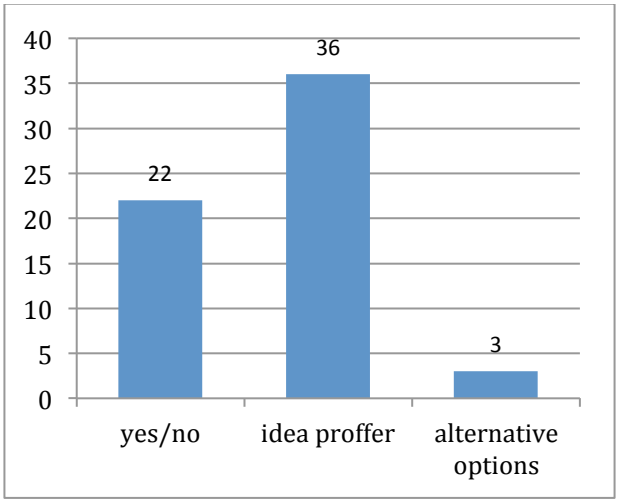


Figure 5.1. Types of response made relevant by requests for ideas.

In contrast, the vast majority of idea proffers use some kind of non-interrogative format, comprising 164 of the 170 idea proffers in the collection. Extract 5.3 is an example of a typical idea proffer that is an extended telling of an idea, through declarative form. Proffering an idea in this way makes relevant a range of responses, for example approval of the idea with *yeah* or *okay*, rejection of the idea, or expansion upon the initial idea proffer by adding more detail or addressing a different aspect of the idea. These initiations can be also done through shorter phrasal or lexical constructions, as shown in Extract 5.8 from the crime and punishment task. This extract comes from Extract 4.4 in Chapter 4. First, JayJay does an idea proffer for a possible prison-term length through a declarative, saying "`okay we choose twenty`

years.". Later, Sue offers a counter-proffer through the phrase "ten years." Like JayJay's full declarative construction, Sue's move makes relevant either approval or rejection. As described in Chapter 4, because of this move's position after JayJay's initial idea proffer in line 2, it is taken as an alternative idea proffer to JayJay's. Mallory responds similarly to each of these idea proffers by repeating the proposed prison term with upward turn-final intonation, thus attempting to elicit agreement or disagreement with the idea from the other group members.

Extract 5.8. S2_G1 00:25:40

Participants from left to right: JayJay (medium), Mallory (high), Sue (low)

```
01    H Mal          [i think it's also-
02    M Jay          [okay we choose twenty years.#
      fig                                        #1
```

fig 1

```
03                   (0.3)
04    H Mal          [twenty ] years?#
      fig                            #2
```

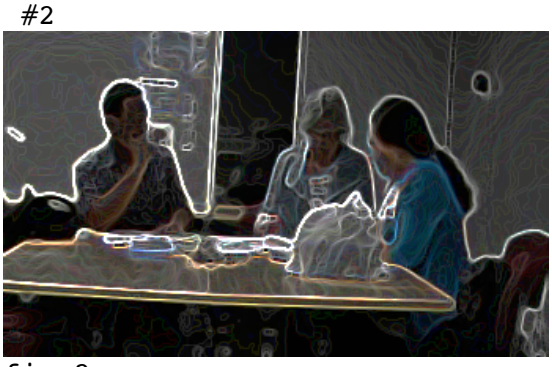


fig 2

```
05    L Sue          [twenty-]
06                   (0.2)
07    L Sue     →    ten years.#
fig                              #3
```

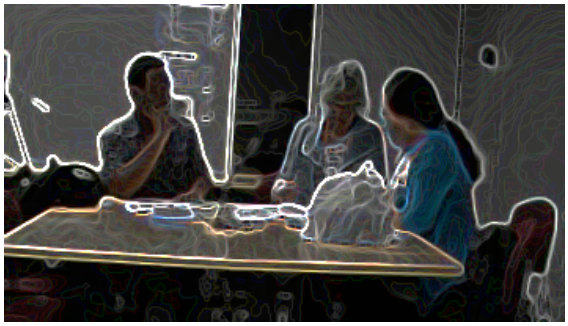


fig 3

```
08                  (0.2)
09    M Jay         [no-]
10    H Mal         [ten] years¿#
      fig                       #4
```

fig 4

There are 6 cases of idea proffers that use interrogative lexico-morphosyntax. These are described in detail in Section 4.3 of Chapter 4. Half of these cases were idea proffers done in response to a task prompt that required the group to formulate a question, so the interrogative format was driven by the task prompt rather than response mobilisation. There was one case of a rhetorical question and two cases of idea proffers that were formatted more like suggestions, beginning with *how about* or *what about*. In all of these cases, because an idea is being proffered, use of interrogative lexico-morphosyntax does not make a different kind of response relevant.

In summary, requests for ideas moves made relevant an idea proffer, yes/no, or selection of an option given by the speaker in the initial move. Idea proffers made approval, rejection, or some kind of expansion of the idea relevant. The following section will describe selection practices with idea-generating moves.

5.1.3 Selection of next speaker and idea-generating moves

In the two examples of idea proffers provided in this chapter so far (Extracts 5.3 and 5.8), no individual group member was selected as next speaker. This means that any other group member could self-select to do the next action. By contrast, in most of the examples of idea

requests provided, the speaker selects a single group member as next speaker. This is done through a combination of resources, such as gaze, gesture, and sequential position of the move. An exception is the first request for ideas in Extract 5.4; JayJay does not gaze at a single next speaker, and because the move is the first after a lapse in talk, there is no sequential case to be made for selection of a subsequent speaker. The frequency of selection of a single next speaker or opening the floor to any next speaker showed a similar pattern across the entire data set of idea-generating moves: idea requests were more likely to select a single next speaker, while proffers of ideas were roughly evenly split between selecting a single next speaker and opening the floor for any other group member to self-select. This is shown in Figure 5.2. The use of selection for more- and less-response-mobilising moves also remains consistent for idea requests and proffers; this is discussed in more detail in Sections 3.6 and 4.4.

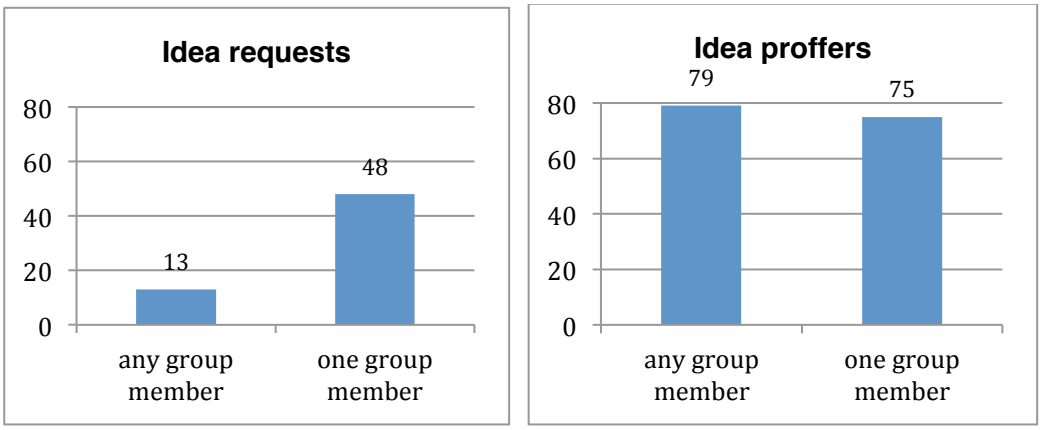


Figure 5.2. Selection of group members by the speaker of the idea-generating move.

When a single next speaker was selected, high- and upper-medium-proficiency group members tended to be selected most often, as shown in Figures 5.3 and 5.4.

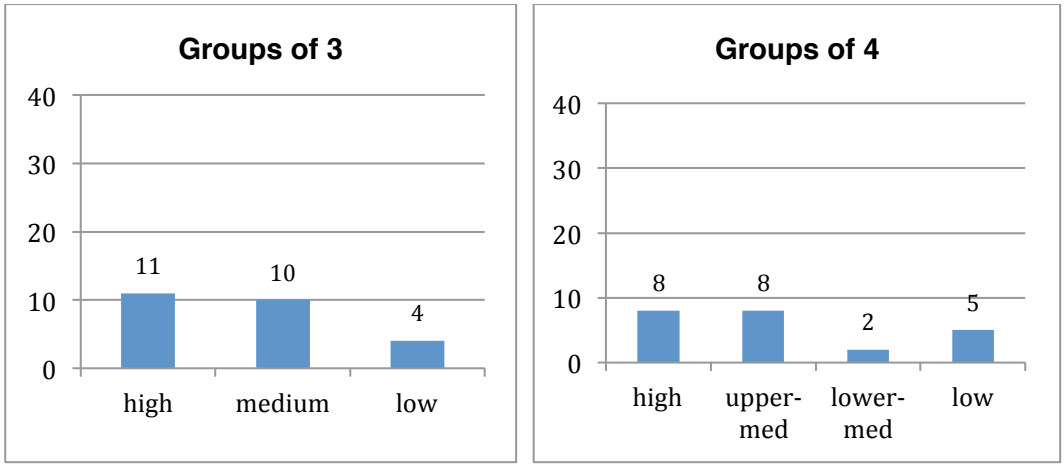


Figure 5.3. Idea requests: selection of group members by proficiency level.

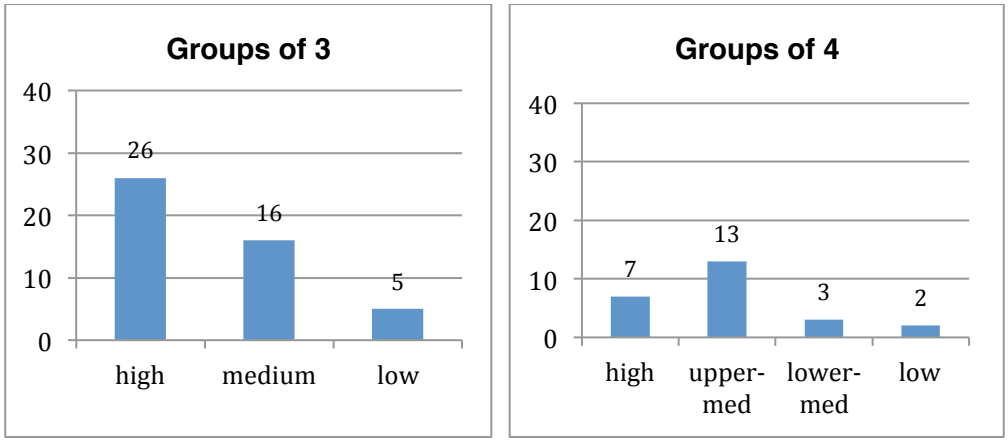


Figure 5.4. Idea proffers: selection of group members by proficiency level.

5.1.4 Idea-generating moves and implications for speaker/recipient participation

As stated in the introduction to this chapter, within the category of idea-generating moves, idea proffers are done far more often than requests for ideas: 61 of the cases in the collection are idea requests and 170 are idea proffers. Thus it appears that idea proffers are the preferred method for initiating idea-generating sequences in this context. These moves are also more evenly distributed across speakers of different levels, while speakership of idea requests strongly correlates to relative linguistic proficiency level. This is a surprising result given that many idea requests are relatively simple to construct and use formulations that could be used across different tasks, such as *What do you think?* In Section 4.7, I presented several possible reasons for the predominance of less-response-mobilising joint project initiations in the data. The analysis of turn-design features described in the present chapter can help in understanding structural explanations for the more frequent use of idea proffers. To explain

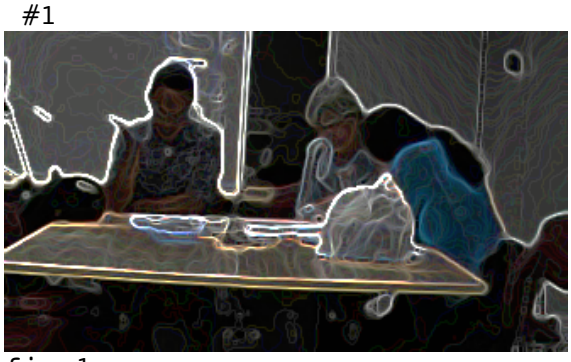
these, I will focus on new idea requests and proffers of new ideas, which bring this phenomenon into sharper relief.

New idea requests and proffers tend to be done in similar sequential environments: they are both typically done following stalled talk or the closing of a prior longer sequence. In these environments, they both typically achieve the action of restarting the talk and/or shifting to a new task stage. However, they achieve this by different means. As less-response-mobilising moves that typically have a speaker-tilted epistemic asymmetry, new idea proffers contain an idea within the initiating move. Extract 5.9 (Extract 4.3 in Chapter 4) provides an example of a proffer of new ideas that initiates the shift to the idea generation stage after a lapse in talk. In this extract from the crime and punishment task, JayJay initiates the shift from reading out the crime story to idea generation. This is done, after a lapse in talk, with a new idea proffer (line 4) that gives an opinion about the nature of crime. Mallory's response in line 9 does not display full agreement; however, she engages with his opinion and the discussion continues with an array of opinions by different group members.

Extract 5.9. S2_G1 00:35:26

Participants from left to right: JayJay (medium), Mallory (high), Sue (low)

```
01    M Jay        mister smith said i want (0.7) i wanted to get
02                 (0.2) my kids something for (0.2) christmas.
03                 #(1.3)
      fig          #1
```



```
                   fig 1
04    M Jay    →   #|oh you know (0.8) crime is crime,=#
      gaze         |gazes at Mallory------------------->
      fig          #2                                  #3
```

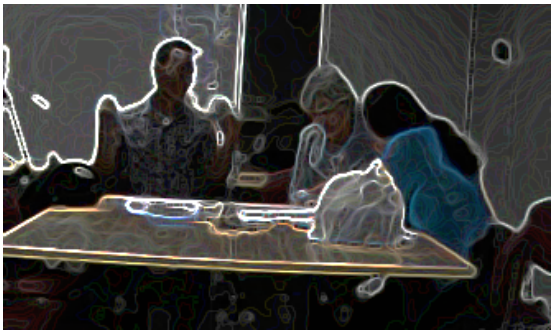


fig 2

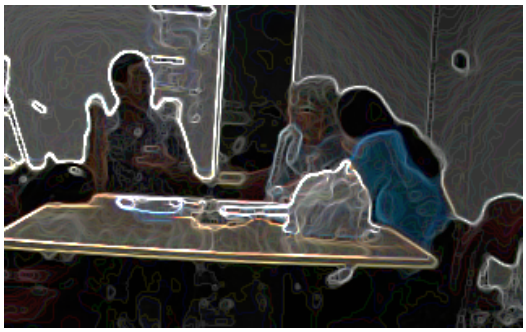


fig 3

```
05    L Sue         =(right)
      gaze          >------>
06                  (0.4)
      gaze          >---->
07    M Jay         with any reason.
      gaze          >--------------->
08                  (0.8)
      gaze          >---->
09    H Mal         yeah| but still yeah (.) (nup).
      gaze          >---|
```

By contrast, as described previously for typical idea requests, new idea requests do not contain an idea but instead elicit ideas from group members other than the speaker with recipient-tilted epistemic asymmetry. Thus these moves orient to facilitation of the idea-generation stage on behalf of the group rather than direct contribution to the development of ideas. As described in the previous section, new idea requests typically select one next speaker as the recipient, thus putting more pressure upon a respondent, in addition to the use of the more-response-mobilising action and use of turn-design features for mobilising response. For example, in Extract 5.1, Tammy's new idea request follows a lapse in talk; she initiates a shift into the stage of idea generation by asking other group members whether they have an idea to contribute. Other new idea requests attempt to resume discussion after a lapse in the talk by attempting to elicit ideas from someone who has not yet contributed to the idea-generating stage. For example, in line 31 of Extract 5.10 (Extract 3.6 in Chapter 3), Chris does a request for a contribution from another group member to elicit ideas from Louie, who has not yet added an idea to the discussion. This new idea request follows a stall in Chris and Tammy's discussion due to a difference of opinion.

Extract 5.10. S2_G2 00:28:00

Participants from left to right: Louie (medium), Tammy (high), Chris (low); teacher standing behind group

```
01                  (1.6)
02    H Tam         do you have #some- have idea?
      fig                       #1
```

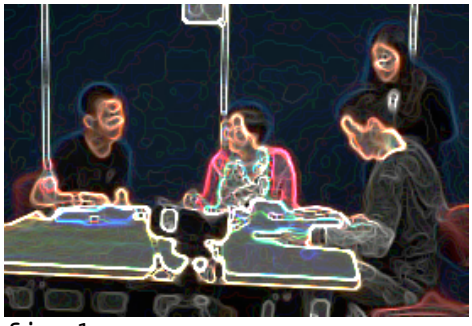


fig 1

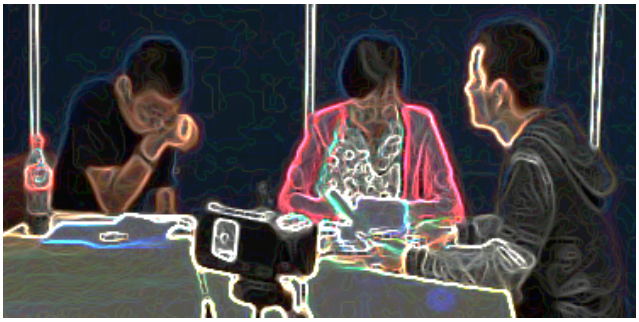
```
03                  (0.3)
04   L Chr          (he) one p- #one person. (0.2) i think uh he:::,
     fig                      #2
```

fig 2

```
05                  (1.7) he::::, (4.1) uh no crimer.
06                  (0.2)
07   H Tam          no [crimer=what is.
08   M Lou             [why.
09                  (0.3)
10   L Chr          no criminal.
11                  (0.2)
12   L Chr          he's a crimer.
13                  (0.1)
14   L Chr          not crime(r).
15                  (1.3)
16   H Tam          i::::: i- i'm:::: (0.1) disagree.
17                  (1.8)
18   H Tam          because (2.5) eh sh- (1.3) because (0.3) he wife
19                  (.) dead.
20                  (1.1)
21   H Tam          he murd- (0.3) he murdered (0.7) her.
22                  (2.2)
23   L Chr          .tdk#
     fig                #3
```

fig 3

```
24                  (0.5)
25   L Chr          .hh
26                  (0.9)|(2.3)
     gaze                |Chris gazes at Louie->
```

27	L Chr		uh# louie.
	gaze		>--------->
	fig		#4
			
			fig 4
28			(0.4)
	gaze		>---->
29	M Lou		mm?
	gaze		>--->
30			(0.1)
	gaze		>--->
31	L Chr	→	how bout you.
	gaze		>----------->>

Cumulatively, these features may explain why idea-generating sequences are initiated with idea proffers more often than requests for ideas. In this context of peer–peer interaction, it may be preferable to avoid doing, or appearing to do, facilitation of the group work unless it is made necessary due to issues with progressivity. Additionally, though these moves may be linguistically simple to construct, facilitation brings with it an obligation to track idea proffers done in second position and to time uptake, rejection, or expansion appropriately. This may explain why such moves are done less often, and why higher-proficiency speakers do speakership of these moves more often. Furthermore, the institutional context of the task itself, with its accompanying objectives and expectations, may be an additional resource for mobilising response. In such an environment idea proffers may be equally successful in garnering a response in part because task completion provides an additional impetus for progressivity.

These issues will be examined in more detail in the second half of the chapter, where the analysis of moves done in next position to idea-generating moves is presented.

5.2 Actions following idea-generating moves

This section presents the analysis of actions done in next position to idea-generating moves. These next position actions typically occur at or around a transition relevance place (TRP) (Sacks et al., 1974) in the initiating move, which is a boundary between turn constructional units (TCUs) and where a move may potentially be recognisably complete. The purpose of this

analysis is to understand who does the next action after initiating action, and what kind of action is done. That next action may be a response to the first, a new initiating action, a response token, or some kind of reaction like laughter. Alternatively, there may be a lapse in talk or a selected speaker may pass the floor with a continuer. Next-position actions may be done by the current speaker or by a different speaker.

A range of scenarios arose in the data that tested the boundaries of the definition of the next-position action given above. In many cases, joint-project-initiating moves were made up of two or more TCUs that furthered the same interactional project. Sometimes there was a silence following the completion of a multi-unit move, followed by a pursuit of response. In cases such as this, all actions and moves done by the current speaker following the initiating action were included with the first action, so long as they were done in pursuit of the same interactional project. For example, in Extract 5.1, Tammy first asks if Monika has any ideas, and then after a silence Tammy adds a turn increment that pursues response to the initial query. Monika's next move is analysed as the next-position action because it is pursuing a different project than Tammy's – passing the floor on response, rather than requesting ideas. However, if the speaker of the first action provided their own response or initiated a different joint project, then they themselves were the speaker of the next action. Conversely, there were cases where another speaker did a response token or continuer at a TRP in a multi-unit move before the move was recognisably complete, thereby orienting to recipiency of the longer move. In these cases, the current speaker continued on to complete the move. Thus the action done after completion of the whole multi-unit move was analysed as the next-position move. Finally, if the speaker trailed off mid-TCU before completing a move, this point was considered the completion of the move, and the next action was the next-position move.

Analysis of next-position moves identified using the outlined criteria included investigation of speakership, response types, and turn design. This section will discuss present the results of this analysis with examples from the data set.

5.2.1 Speakership of next-position moves and lapse in talk

After an idea-generating move is completed, a subsequent action may be done by another speaker or by the current speaker if no one else self-selects to continue (Sacks et al., 1974). All of the extracts provided so far are examples of another speaker doing the next action, except for Extract 5.6. In this example, as described previously, there is no verbal response by another speaker to the request for ideas moves. Instead, the speaker of the initial idea request

continues by prompting the other group members with the first word of the potential idea proffer.

Because of the configuration of participants in groups of three or four, there may be more than one subsequent action to an initiating move. For example, there may be two or three next-position actions done by different speakers that are all responses to the initiating move. In such cases, both or all of these moves were included in the analysis of next-position moves. Extracts 5.1, 5.2, 5.3, and 5.8 are all examples of two different speakers responding to the initiating idea-generating move.

Finally, initial moves may not be taken up at all. Extract 5.11 (also analysed in Chapter 3, Extract 3.5) provides an example of this. JayJay proffers an idea by saying "how bout this" (line 1) and putting together objects. There is no response, and as he continues to work on building his idea, he says "i don't know." (line 3). Ally reacts with laughter. After a 3.2-second silence, Louie does a request for ideas that inquires after the purpose of the invention JayJay is building, saying "for what" and gazing at JayJay (fig 1). A 6.7-second silence follows this move; JayJay does not return Louie's gaze nor does he respond to the request for ideas.

Extract 5.11. S1_G3 00:31:46

Participants from left to right: Louie (medium), Tammy (high), Chris (low)

```
01    H  Jay        how bout this.
02                  (0.5)
03    H  Jay        i don't know.
04                  (0.1)
05    M1 All        eh heh ha=ha=ha=ha=ha .hh
06                  (3.2)
07    M2 Lou    →    |for what,#
      gaze           |Louie gazes at JayJay->
fig                          #1
```

fig 1

```
08                  (1.2)|(5.5)
      gaze          >----|
```

In total, there were 231 idea-generating moves. The action (or lack thereof) done in next position was examined for each of these moves. In the majority of these cases, there was a next-position action done by a different speaker. This was the case in 85.2% of cases of idea requests and 84.7% of idea proffers. It was slightly more common for current speakers of idea proffers to continue as next speaker following completion of the initial move than it was for speakers of idea requests. This happened in 12.3% of idea proffers and 6.5% of idea requests. Idea proffers were more often multi-part extended turns, as seen in Extract 5.3, and this finding reflects this tendency. Finally, lapses were less common following idea proffers than requests for ideas. All of the cases of idea requests followed by lapses were follow-up questions requesting expansion or clarification of a prior idea from another group member.

The preference for response to both idea requests and proffers supports Stivers' (2015) observation that "[m]ost first position actions receive response – sequential position is a powerful response mobilising force in and of itself" (p. 16). The analysis therefore focuses hereafter not on whether the occurrence of response is more likely, but whether there is a difference in the kinds of responses to idea requests and proffers, and whether speakership of these responses is asymmetrical within groups.

Analysis of speakership of next-position actions show a slightly different kind of relationship to proficiency than for initiations. The results of this analysis are shown in Figures 5.5 and 5.6. For idea requests in groups of three and idea proffers in groups of four, it is (upper-) medium-proficiency group members who respond most often, while high-proficiency group members respond most often to idea proffers in groups of three. It appears that there is a secondary asymmetry toward high- and (upper-)medium-proficiency speakers in the response space.

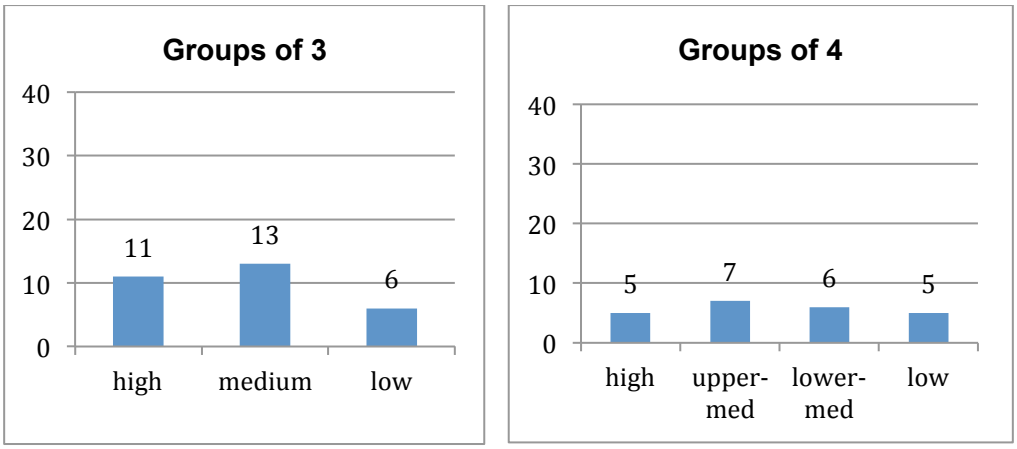


Figure 5.5. Idea requests: next-position speakers by proficiency level.

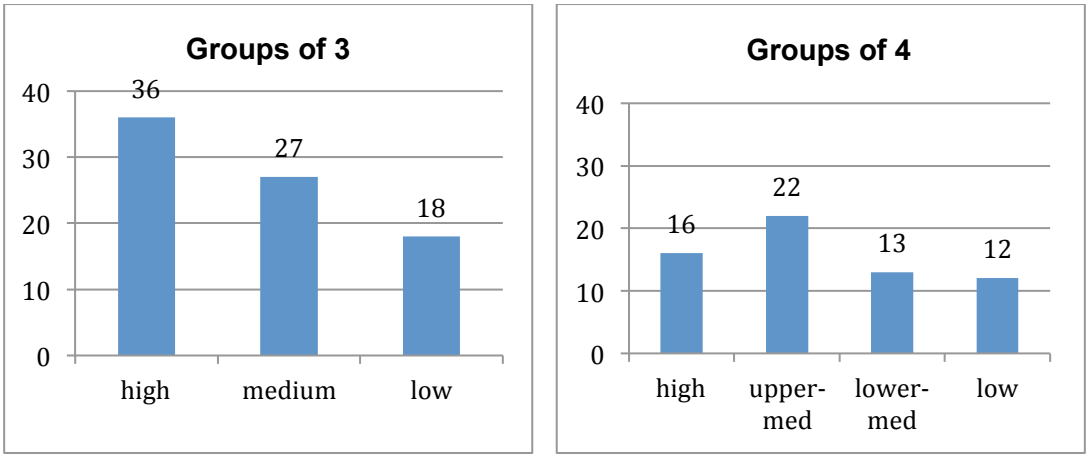


Figure 5.6. Idea proffers: next-position speakers by proficiency level.

This section has presented the results of analysis of occurrence of next-position actions and speakership of these actions when they occur. The following section focuses on different kinds of actions done in next position by other speakers.

5.2.2 Responses to joint-project-initiating moves

When another speaker does an action in next position to an initiating action, the second speaker may or may not take up the project initiated by the first speaker in the prior move. Thompson et al. (2015) use the term "response" to refer to a next-position action that takes up the action done in the initiating move. Such take-up moves relate specifically to the project initiated by the first speaker. This take-up can be positive, thereby moving the project forward, or negative, thereby stalling the initial project or bringing it to a halt. According to this definition, responses to first-position moves are also typed (Schegloff, 2007), meaning that they are "specific to a particular type of initiating action that they are understood to address" (Thompson et al., 2015, p. 3). This relatively narrow definition of response does not include other kinds of next-position actions such as counter-questions, continuers, other-initiation of repair, passing the floor, or reacting through laughter as responses to the first action because such next-position actions do not take up the project initiated in the first move. A broader conception of response is offered by Enfield (2011), who includes any kind of action that "follows and is occasioned by, and relevant to" the prior action (p. 286). This definition would consider other-initiation of repair as a response to a first action because of its relevance and sequential position relative to the prior move, even though it pursues a different project than responding to the action put forward by the initial speaker.

This project uses a definition of response that integrates these two definitions of the term. One aim of analysing next-position actions is to understand whether there is a difference between the two types of idea-generating moves in terms of their effectiveness in eliciting a next-position action that takes up the first speaker's interactional project in some way. This aspect of next-position actions – take-up of the first action – is therefore the primary distinction used in this analysis. This enables a comparison to be made between those subsequent actions that orient closely to the project initiated by the speaker of the idea-generating move and those that pursue some other interactional project done by the recipient. However, less importance is placed upon on whether or not the next action is type-fitted; instead, the focus is exclusively on the relevance of the next-position action to the joint project initiated in first position. This allows for a broader range of actions to be considered relevant as responses, in the vein of Enfield's (2011) definition.

Examining the collection of next-position moves done by another speaker, two categories were found: take-up responses and non-take-up responses. Take-up responses include any next-position action that is directly relevant to the initiated joint project, while non-take-up responses either pursue a different kind of project or do not specifically orient to the original initiated project. The take-up and non-take-up responses done by participants in next position to idea proffers and requests will now be described. In this section, given the focus on the design of verbal responses, images and gaze direction are not included in the transcripts.

Take-up responses to idea proffers

Take-up responses to idea proffers were done through a variety of actions. These actions often, but not always, expressed positive reactions to the initial idea. In order of frequency, the actions done by group members were: approving of an idea or agreeing with an opinion, expanding upon the original idea, confirming or receipting the idea, displaying a "change of state" (Heritage, 1984a) as a result of hearing the original idea, rejecting the idea, posing a counter-question, assessing the idea, and proffering information relevant to the idea. Each of these actions will be described in more detail.

The most common way of responding to an idea proffer was to express approval of an idea or agreement with an opinion. This was done in a variety of ways, for example with isolated response tokens (e.g. *yeah, okay, mmhm*) or two-TCU moves beginning with a response token (e.g. *yeah I think so*), both done with downward turn-final intonation. There were 40 cases of this kind of response. The majority of these moves were done with isolated response tokens,

particularly *yeah*. Stivers (2005) refers to such responses as "bland agreements", where "the speaker makes no claim to have previously held a position on the topic or to have either independent or primary rights over the claim" (p. 133). The cases of this type in the data corroborated this claim; with these moves, speakers primarily did agreement or approval of a proposed idea or course of action.

Extracts 5.12 and 5.13 provide examples of these kinds of take-up response moves. Both of these extracts come from the same group, which is working on the task to create an invention from everyday objects. In Extract 5.12, Sue proffers an idea of combining two objects to make a new invention (line 2). Peymaneh expresses approval of this idea with an isolated "`yeah.`" (line 4). In Extract 5.13, Peymaneh's idea proffer in lines 1–2 is presented as a proposed way of putting objects together for the invention. By taking up this idea with "`mm okay.`" (line 4), Sue expresses approval of Peymaneh's proposed idea for a course of action.

Extract 5.12. S1_G1 00:15:14

Participants from left to right: Peymaneh (high), Ivy (low), Sue (medium)

```
01                  (3.5)
02   L Sue          yeah just this? (0.4) together.
03                  (0.3)
04   H Pey     →     yeah.
```

Extract 5.13. S1_G1 00:11:58

Participants from left to right: Peymaneh (high), Ivy (low), Sue (medium)

```
01   H Pey          put the sugar with one? (0.2) and one (this
02                  is) tea.
03                  (0.4)
04   L Sue     →     mm okay.
```

Another common kind of take-up response to an idea proffer is the recipient doing another idea proffer that expands upon the original idea. This was the second most recurrent kind of take-up response, with 21 cases in the data set. Such moves may be prefaced by tokens such as *yeah* or *no*, but the speaker then goes on to describe his or her own original idea in more detail. With these moves, the recipient further develops the original idea through contribution of their own opinions or ideas.

An example of this kind of take-up response is seen in Extract 5.14, from the crime and punishment task. The group is discussing a case of drink driving; a woman has hit a young child, resulting in a fatality. She has promised never to drink again. As the extract opens, Mallory is proffering an opinion that despite the woman's promise, it will not work because of

her past history with drinking. JayJay does a take-up response, saying "you know they do again." (line 6). He then goes on to describe this in more detail. His response is considered to be a take-up response because it relates to Mallory's claim that "this is not going to work" (line 1), which is based upon her observation regarding the woman's repeated behaviour. In his response, JayJay gives his own opinion that expands on the tendency for such behaviour to be repeated.

Extract 5.14. S2_G1 00:27:59

Participants from left to right: JayJay (medium), Mallory (high), Sue (low)

```
01   H Mal        yeah this is not going to work because she has
02                been to hospital before (0.2) and (0.3) still she-
03                she keeps on drinking.
04                (0.7)
05   H Mal        [so
06   M Jay   →    [you know they do again.
07                (0.4)
08   M Jay   →    serious crimes they do (1.2) alcoholic and (0.2)
09                drunk drive many times? (0.6) you see?
10                (0.1)
11   H Mal        yeah.
```

Take-up of idea proffers may also be done through a repeat of all or part of the idea-proffering move with downward turn-final intonation. These moves primarily register receipt of the proffered idea (Schegloff, 1997). There were 11 cases of this kind of take-up response. These moves were typically done when groups were finalising their ideas and the speaker was formulating previous ideas for task completion. In this setting, they signal co-completion of the task rather than simple agreement. Extract 5.15 is from the same group interaction as Extract 5.14. After discussing potential prison-sentence lengths, Mallory proffers an idea for the final decision: "so it's twenty five years." (line 2). JayJay repeats the term length with a move that is latched to Mallory's idea proffer. With this move, he receipts her idea. In overlap, Sue also does a take-up response that expresses approval of the idea, saying "yeah." With the proffer being done by Mallory and take-up responses of approval done by both other group members, the group has reached a final decision on the prison-term length.

Extract 5.15. S2_G1 00:29:56

Participants from left to right: JayJay (medium), Mallory (high), Sue (Sue)

```
01   H Mal        so it's twenty five years.=
02   M Jay   →    =twenty [five years.
03   L Sue                [yeah.
```

Another kind of take-up response to idea proffers displays a change of state borne through description of the idea in the initiating move through *oh* or *ah* (Heritage, 1984a). In line 3 of Extract 5.5, Brian responds to Hyun's idea proffer by saying "a::h", thus displaying that he has followed and understands what Hyun has said. Further, he displays that Hyun's description of the idea in the prior turn has resulted in a change in state from not comprehending this aspect of Hyun's idea to understanding it in more detail. There were 8 cases of this kind of take-up response to idea proffers.

In contrast to take-up responses that express approval of the initial idea, a response of an isolated *no* rejects the proffered idea or opinion. There were 7 cases of this kind of take-up response to idea proffers. Extract 5.16 comes from the inventions task. Peymaneh proposes putting two objects together, saying "these two thing." (line 4). In response, Ivy says "n[o" (line 6) and Peymaneh also says "[no." in overlap. They are in agreement on the rejection of Peymaneh's proffered idea.

Extract 5.16. S1_G1 00:11:49

Participants from left to right: Peymaneh (high), Ivy (low), Sue (medium)

```
01    H Pey          and the::n, (0.5)
02    (M Sue)        mmm
03                   (0.3)
04    H Pey          these two thing.
05                   (0.6)
06    L Ivy    →      n[o.
07    H Pey            [no.
```

Recipients also took up idea proffers by posing a question either to the original speaker or to other group members. These moves were done as the groups progressed past the initial brainstorming stage and toward agreement and completion of the task item. In Extracts 5.2 and 5.8, Mallory responds to idea proffers by repeating or reformulating the idea proffer as a question to the third group member. By doing this, she takes up the idea and extends the opportunity to the group to approve or reject it, or to discuss it further. This facilitates further consideration of the idea, which may in turn result in approval or rejection. Though Mallory does this through a repeat, it is done with upward turn-final intonation and does not simply do receipt of the prior idea. There were 5 cases of this kind of response.

Positive or negative assessment, which implicitly does acceptance or rejection of the idea, is another type of take-up response to initiating moves. An example of an assessment in response to an idea proffer can be seen in Extract 5.3, where Monika positively assesses

Tammy's idea in line 11. By saying "it's (0.2) a good idea.", Monika expresses an evaluation of Tammy's contribution, and in doing this takes up the idea. This particular take-up response in the form of a positive assessment expresses approval for the idea. There were 4 cases of this kind of take-up response to an idea proffer.

Finally, idea proffers were sometimes followed by information proffers as take-up responses. Prior to Extract 5.17, the teacher has momentarily stopped the group work to give additional clarification of instructions for the task. As the instructions are ending, Chris proffers the idea of the group moving ahead with an idea discussed prior to the teacher's interruption, saying "we can (do this)?" (line 1). Ally's take-up response is delayed; she prefaces the move with "yeah", but then goes on to say "yeah but (0.1) it's (0.7) already invented" (line 3). In this case, proffering this information about the idea acts as a rejection, because the task instructions are to come up with a new invention that does not already exist. The delay in response supports the analysis of this information proffer as a dispreferred response that does rejection. There were 3 cases of information proffers as take-up responses to idea proffers.

Extract 5.17. S1_G3 00:30:47

Participants from left to right: Louie (lower-medium), JayJay (high), Chris (low), Ally (upper-medium)

```
01    L  Chr        (we can do this)?
02                  (0.5)
03    M1 All    →   yeah but (0.1) it's (0.7) already invented.
```

Take-up responses to idea requests

Idea requests had a narrower range of take-up response types than idea proffers. These take-up responses typically corresponded to the design of the move. Thus though the definition of take-up response did not include the criterion of type-fittedness (Thompson et al., 2015), participants tended to do take-up responses to requests for ideas that were indeed type-fitted to the initial action. The most common types of requests for ideas and typical responses will now be described.

Idea requests done through wh- interrogatives and other kinds of moves designed to elicit a similar kind of next action are followed by only one type of take-up response: an idea proffer by the second speaker. There are 17 cases of this kind of take-up response to a wh- interrogative request for ideas. Extracts 5.18 and 5.19 provide two different examples of idea proffers done in response to requests for ideas done through wh- interrogatives. In

Extract 5.18, which comes from the inventions task, the request for ideas asks for an idea for the cost of the item to the consumer (line 1). The idea proffer in response takes the form of a possible price, done through a phrasal construction (line 4). By contrast, in Extract 5.19, taken from the crime and punishment task, the request for ideas asks for "your idea." (line 1), or the recipient's opinion on the crime story at hand. The take-up response is an extended idea proffer done across several moves (lines 3–8).

Extract 5.18. S1_G3 00:39:49

Participants from left to right: Louie (lower-medium), JayJay (high), Chris (low), Ally (upper-medium)

```
01    M1 All        so (.) what yo[u::: want to pay for this?
02    L  Chr                      [every-
03                  (2.7)
04    L  Chr    →    five dollar.
```

Extract 5.19. S2_G1 00:32:42

Participants from left to right: Louie (lower-medium), JayJay (high), Chris (low), Ally (upper-medium)

```
01    M Jay         okay so what are your- are your idea.
02                  (1.2)
03    H Mal    →     maybe a little (punish- uh) (0.2) prison
04                  (0.2) but maybe three months (1.0) i think he
05                  should go to jail i mean that's a bad thing
06                  to do here. (0.1) i mean shoplifting is
07                  maybe bad=if it was just shop- shoplifting
08                  if it was not the last sentence.
09                  (1.4)
10    H Mal         they caught him (0.3) and then they (      )
11                  and then said well okay.
12                  (1.8)
13    H Mal         but since he said (0.5) i didn't know i had
14                  to [pay   for   candy ] that makes it worse.
15    L Sue            [yeah=yeah (.) yeah]
```

Idea requests done through polar interrogatives typically had a type-fitted take-up response of *yes* or *no*. However, these kinds of idea requests are not usually followed by a response of an isolated *yes* or *yeah* response. If a recipient had an idea, they most often simply proffered an idea in response; the *yes* was elided. This indicates an orientation to the broader action of requests for ideas, which is to generate ideas. An example of this can be seen in Extract 5.1, where Todd describes an idea without the preface of *yes* in response to Tammy's polar interrogative request for ideas. However, because requests for ideas using polar interrogative format provide an opportunity say *yes* or *no* as a fitted response, there are cases where recipients take the opportunity to decline to proffer an idea by responding with *no*. As described previously, in Extract 5.4, Ally asks Louie "do you have an idea?", to which he responds "mm no.". While this is not a preferred response to the question, as it does not

contribute to the broader activity of generating ideas, it is a kind of take-up response because it orients to the action of enquiring as to whether or not the recipient has an idea to contribute. There were 5 cases of requests for ideas done as polar interrogatives that had a take-up response; 3 of these responses were idea proffers and 2 of these were isolated *no*.

Requests for ideas done through candidate understandings of prior ideas either had a take-up response of *yes* or a repeat to confirm the content of the request, or a *no*-prefaced clarification of the idea. Extract 5.20 is an example of a candidate understanding from the new invention task. Hyun has been describing an idea of a suit for soldiers that maintains a consistent temperature; it keeps the wearer warm in winter and cool in the summer. Yuri formulates an understanding of the idea, asking if the suit keeps an "average" temperature (lines 1–2). She does several restarts in the move. Hyun registers understanding by prefacing his response with "ah", then confirms her candidate understanding with "yeah." (line 3). When she repeats her candidate understanding (line 4), Brian also confirms with "yeah." (line 5). By contrast, in Extract 5.21, Yuri gives a candidate understanding of a different invention, saying "change a wear," (line 3). In response, Mohammed disconfirms this understanding and then replaces *change* with "stop." (line 5). Hyun continues, saying "stop bleeding." (line 7). With this response, Mohammed begins to provide additional information and clarification of the prior idea in response to Yuri's candidate understanding.

Extract 5.20. S4_G1 00:25:42

Participants from left to right: Mohammed (high), Brian (lower-medium), Hyun (upper-medium), Yuri (low)

```
01   L  Yur       uh this (0.2) uh this wear (0.1) uh (0.5) average,
02                (0.2) uh keep aver[age?
03   M1 Hyu   →                     [ah yeah [yeah.
04   L  Yur                                 [keep aver[age?
05   M2 Bri                                           [yeah.
06   L  Yur       ah okay.
```

Extract 5.21. S4_G1 00:22:43

Participants from left to right: Mohammed (high), Brian (lower-medium), Hyun (upper-medium), Yuri (low)

```
01   L  Yur       oh (0.8) change?
02                (1.6)
03   L  Yur       change a wear,
04                (1.1)
05   H  Moh   →    no not change. (0.5) stop.
06                (0.6)
07   M1 Hyu       stop bleeding.
```

Thus far, take-up responses to idea proffers and requests for ideas have been described. These actions closely orient to the joint project initiated in the prior move. By contrast, non-take-up

responses to idea proffers and requests for ideas do not take up the action of the initiating move. Such actions in next position take similar forms for both idea proffers and requests for ideas. These kinds of actions shall now be described in more detail.

Non-take-up responses to idea proffers and requests

Other-initiation of repair (OIR) done in next position to a joint-project-initiating move is considered to be a non-take-up response because the speaker suspends progression of the original action and initiates a new joint project that requires completion before the uptake of initial action can proceed (Schegloff et al., 1977). For this reason, OIR is a type of joint project initiation instead of a take-up response type. For example, in Extract 5.3, Jamie's utterance of "hm?" in line 9 that follows Tammy's idea proffer is an open-class repair initiator (Drew, 1997) orienting to eliciting a repeat of the idea rather than taking up Tammy's idea in some way. This makes it a non-take-up response to the move, while Monika's subsequent assessment does take-up of Tammy's idea-proffering move.

Similarly, any kind of new first-position action done following an initiating move that results in deletion of the original move is considered to be a non-take-up response. In Extract 5.4, Ally's polar interrogative request for ideas immediately follows JayJay's wh- interrogative request for ideas. She selects Louie as the recipient of the move, and he responds to her request for ideas. There is no response that takes up JayJay's request for ideas; it has been sequentially deleted by Ally's next-position new request for ideas. This kind of next-position move therefore does not take up the prior move.

Continuers done in response to idea-generating moves are also considered to be non-take-up responses because they pass the floor instead of taking up the initiated project. In Extracts 5.1 and 5.7, recipients say some form of *mm* in response to requests for ideas rather than doing the requested next action. These continuers done as subsequent actions are non-take-up responses because they pass on the opportunity to speak (Gardner, 2001) instead of taking up the project.

Finally, laughter in response to an idea proffer is also categorised as a non-take-up response. Thompson et al. (2015) describe laughter as a reaction rather than a response. Done after an idea proffer, laughter does not explicitly approve or reject the idea put forward. In Extract 5.11, Ally laughs in response to JayJay's idea proffer. It is not clear from this response what the

laughter is doing in terms of generating ideas. While the laughter does display a reaction to JayJay's idea, it does not contribute to progression of his project.

In Chapters 3 and 4, the argument was made that idea requests are more-response-mobilising moves because they are done through canonical first pair parts, while idea proffers are less-response-mobilising actions because they are done through non-canonical first-position moves. This is because canonical first pair parts have a narrower range of response types, which means that there are multiple expectations with these kinds of moves. There is an expectation for some kind of response, and for this response to be doing a particular kind of action, and for the action to be constructed in a particular way. Indeed, as previously mentioned, idea requests were more often followed by type-fitted take-up responses. It may also be expected that idea requests are more likely to garner take-up responses than idea proffers. However, this is not the case. Of the 144 idea proffers that were followed by a response by another speaker, 105 (72.9%) were take-up responses and 39 (27.1%) were non-take-up responses. Meanwhile, of the 52 requests for ideas that are followed by response by another speaker, 35 (67.3%) were take-up responses and 17 (32.7%) were non-take-up responses. Idea proffers and requests are thus similarly successful in eliciting take-up responses from other group members.

5.2.3 Idea-proffering take-up responses

Thus far, there is not a strong distinction between requests for ideas and idea proffers in terms of their effectiveness in eliciting take-up responses in next position. Examining different kinds of take-up responses in more detail reveals a key distinction between these two types of idea-generating moves, to be described in this section.

Two types of take-up responses were found in the data. The first are take-up responses that orient only to the action of the prior, joint-project-initiating move. Such moves include response tokens to do approval or rejection, assessments of the proffered idea, repeats to do receipt or approval, and follow-up questions that clarify or elicit opinions from other group members. Extracts 5.3, 5.4, 5.8, 5.12, 5.13, 5.15, 5.16, and 5.20 provide examples of these kinds of responses done by recipients of idea-generating moves. With the second type of take-up response, recipients progress and extend the initial joint project by putting forward an idea of their own through an idea proffer in second position or a proffer of information that is relevant to the prior idea. Extracts 5.1, 5.2, 5.5, 5.14, 5.17, 5.18, 5.19, and 5.21 are examples of this kind of take-up response. These second-position idea and information proffers are typically

more extended responses than those that primarily do approval or evaluation of the original speaker's idea. However, they also may consist of a phrase or single word that makes sense as an idea proffer in context of the prior moves. In many cases, especially in response to idea proffers and requests for ideas done through candidate understandings, they are prefaced by *yeah* or *no*; the speaker then goes on to proffer the idea or information. What characterises these moves is neither their length nor the approval or rejection done through these moves, but rather that the recipient puts forward an idea or information of their own in second position. Both types of take-up response occur in response to requests for ideas and idea proffers.

Examining the frequency of each kind of response following idea-generating moves provides insight into a key difference between the kind of response made relevant by requests for ideas, and the response made relevant by idea proffers. There are 105 cases of idea proffers being followed by take-up responses: 81 of these take-up responses (77.1%) oriented primarily to the prior project by doing approval, rejection, receipt, or evaluation, while 24 of these take-up responses (22.9%) were idea or information proffers done by a recipient. For idea requests, there were 35 cases of take-up response in next position. Of these take-up responses, 9 (25.7%) oriented primarily to the prior move, while 26 (74.3%) were idea proffers.

In summary, idea proffers are more likely to be followed by a take-up response that orients primarily to the prior move, while requests for ideas are more likely to be followed by a take-up response doing an idea proffer. This means that while idea requests and proffers may be similarly successful in eliciting some kind of take-up response, the type of take-up response elicited is quite different. Heritage (2002) argues that a minimal response of the type typically elicited by idea proffers, in particular an isolated *yeah*, is at risk of being seen as "dependent or even a coerced action within a field of constraint that is established by the first" (p. 200). While idea proffers may make response of any kind more voluntary, it appears that they are not more successful in generating collaborative generation of ideas. Instead, they seem to be vulnerable to more one-sided, unilateral development of ideas and opinions.

Section 5.2 has presented the findings of analysis of actions done following idea-generating moves. These results will now be discussed in more detail relative to the research questions.

5.3 Discussion

The first research question for the project is: How are joint projects initiated by student participants with different linguistic proficiencies in task-based language classroom interactions? Based on the findings of Chapters 3 and 4, idea-generating moves are the most common way of initiating joint projects in this data set. With such moves, speakers proffer or request ideas or opinions that relate to completion of task items. With the former, speakers contribute an idea in first position; with the latter, speakers attempt to elicit ideas from other speakers. The recurrence of these moves in the data set reflects the broader institutional context of task completion in groups; furthermore, the sampling of the data from the early stages of the task means that groups were likely to be focusing on brainstorming ideas at the sampled portion of the recordings. Thus these moves are an important resource for doing brainstorming for task completion in groups.

Idea proffers are done far more often than requests for ideas, making them the predominant resource for generating ideas. Typically, these moves consist of an idea formulated either in declarative or phrasal format, making relevant approval or rejection of the idea in second position. The turn-design features for mobilising response are used less often with these moves; they typically do not use interrogative lexico-morphosyntax or intonation, and always have a speaker-tilted epistemic asymmetry. However, while doing these moves, speakers often gaze at a recipient. This is done nearly as often as with moves that request ideas. Requests for ideas typically make relevant an idea proffer in second position, or confirmation of a candidate understanding of another group member's idea. Rejection or approval of that idea proffer is therefore done in third position. These moves are more likely to involve use of multiple turn-design features for mobilising response. Interrogative lexico-morphosyntax is the most common format, particularly wh- interrogatives, and the vast majority have recipient-tilted epistemic asymmetry and interrogative intonation. A key difference between idea proffers and requests for ideas (particularly those orienting to new ideas) is that the latter do facilitation of the idea-generation stage instead of direct contribution to the discussion of ideas. This may be one reason why requests for ideas are used less often in this context of peer–peer interaction, and why they are done more often by speakers of higher levels, despite the fact that they are easier to construct linguistically.

As discussed in Chapter 3, the predominance of wh- interrogatives in the data as compared with polar interrogatives contrasts with Stivers' (2010) finding related to questions in

American English. She found that polar questions were far more common than q-word (content) questions. The opposite is the case in the context of this data; this finding can be explained by examining the use of requests for ideas as the most common more-response-mobilising action in the data. Because the task stage is oriented to brainstorming ideas, it is in the interest of groups to accumulate as many ideas and as much information as possible in order to build common ground. The generated ideas and information are drawn upon in later stages to make decisions and move ahead with the business of completing the task itself. Wh- interrogatives are a useful resource for speakers to elicit these ideas. Furthermore, even in the case of polar questions for generating ideas, recipients tended to proffer ideas in response. Again, this points to a contextual orientation to building common ground by generating task ideas.

The second research question asks who, in terms of relative linguistic proficiency level, does these joint-project-initiating moves. As shown in Chapters 3 and 4, for both idea proffers and requests for ideas, there is a correlation to linguistic proficiency level, meaning that higher-proficiency group members do these moves more often than lower-proficiency group members. An exception to this is idea proffers in groups of four, where speakership of these moves is more evenly distributed across group members.

The third research question asks who is selected as next speaker. There is a contrast between idea proffers and requests for ideas in whether or not a next speaker is selected at all, or if the floor is opened for any other group member to self-select. Idea proffers are approximately equally likely to select one next group member as they are to not select a next speaker at all, while requests for ideas are far more likely to select a single next speaker. When a single speaker is selected next, high- and upper-medium-proficiency are selected most often for both idea proffers and requests for ideas. As with the analysis of selection in more-response-mobilising actions more generally, this suggests further asymmetry beyond speakership of the first move. Not only are higher-proficiency speakers more likely to initiate, they are also more likely to be selected as next speaker.

The final research question relates to actions done in next position to joint-project-initiating actions, asking: What is done in next position to idea-generating moves, and by whom? For both requests for ideas and idea-proffering moves, next-position actions were typically done by other speakers, as opposed to the current speaker continuing or a lapse in talk. These next-position moves were done most often by high- and (upper-)medium-proficiency group

members. Two types of next-position moves were found: take-up responses, which orient to furthering the project initiated by the first action in some way, and non-take-up responses, which take up some other action. Idea requests and proffers both were more commonly followed by take-up responses than non-take-up responses, and idea proffers were slightly more successful in garnering take-up responses. For idea proffers, take-up responses included expressions of approval, idea proffers by the recipient, repeats, display of change-of-state (Heritage, 1984a), rejection of the idea, request for more information about the idea, assessment of the idea, and information proffers. By contrast, take-up responses to idea requests were less varied. These included idea proffers, declining to proffer an idea, and confirming or disconfirming a candidate understanding of a prior idea.

Take-up responses were then examined in more detail. Two types of take-up responses were found: those that oriented primarily to accepting, rejecting, assessing, or clarifying the prior idea, and those contributed an idea or information proffer. This revealed a core difference in next-position actions to idea proffers and requests for ideas. Idea proffers were typically followed by more minimal take-up responses of the prior move, while requests for ideas were more often followed by idea or information proffers. Thus recipients of idea requests tended to contribute ideas of their own while recipients of idea proffers tended to simply acquiesce to the original idea.

5.4 Concluding remarks

Given that requests for new ideas are linguistically simpler to construct than new idea proffers, why would speakership of these moves correlate more strongly to relative linguistic proficiency level? Asymmetries in linguistic proficiency across the group members may partially explain this phenomenon. Though the simpler formats for requesting ideas may be easier to construct, doing them appropriately requires understanding of subsequent talk and being accountable for any understandings claimed by the speaker through minimal responses. This kind of listener support has been associated with higher-proficiency speakers (Galaczi, 2014), and is perhaps one factor in the frequency of speakership by higher-proficiency group members. Additionally, however, the association of these moves with facilitation and deontic rights may contribute to another kind of asymmetry in the interaction. Eliciting ideas from other group members and expressing approval or rejection of ideas involves claiming rights to facilitate group work and to ratify (or disqualify) the ideas of others. Doing facilitation also brings responsibilities and duties (Enfield, 2013) – to perform this role, one must be capable of

performing all of the linguistic demands associated with it. This means that in this context, asymmetries in linguistic proficiency may result in a difference in roles performed by group members (Enfield, 2013, 2017a). In contrast, idea proffers as initiating moves are slightly more evenly distributed across group members, which suggests that doing the action of contributing ideas is not as strong a source of asymmetry in the groups.

Furthermore, it is interesting that idea requests are no more likely to garner a relevant response than idea proffers, given that requests for ideas make response (or lack thereof) more accountable. One possible explanation is that the collaborative task may provide sufficient motivation for recipients to respond to idea proffers, making these moves a resource for eliciting talk from other group members along with idea requests. However, as Stivers (2015) argues, the position of an action itself strongly mobilises response; it may be the simple feature of firstness that mobilises response to the majority of idea-generating moves.

Another reason for the ubiquity of idea proffers in comparison to idea requests may lie with the different kinds of responses elicited by idea requests and proffers. The most common type of take-up response to an idea request is an idea proffer, whereas idea proffers in first position are most commonly followed by some kind of response that orients to acceptance or evaluation of the prior idea. Therefore idea requests put a higher expectation upon recipients in terms of response. If the recipient does not have an idea readily at hand, or if they are not able to readily formulate an idea, it is very difficult to fulfil the request. By contrast, an expression of approval is one option for response to idea proffers; this means that expansion of the idea through an idea proffer of one's own is optional. The recipient has an "out" if they are not able to proffer an idea at that juncture. Thus the type of response made relevant by the initial move, and implications for the recipient's contribution of original ideas or information, may have an additional impact on the likelihood of eliciting a response. Resources for mobilising response such as the use of canonical actions, turn-design features, and selection of a single next speaker may be used more often with idea requests precisely for this reason – to solve the problem of the risk of non-response to joint-project-initiations that request recipients to contribute their own ideas.

However, though recipients may optionally contribute ideas and information of their own in response to idea proffers, the fact remains that they typically do not. This means that idea proffers are not as successful in eliciting further ideas from other group members, precisely because they do not put as much pressure upon recipients to with an idea of their own.

In summary, the findings of this chapter contribute to the project by providing a more detailed analysis of a particular group of joint-project-initiating moves: idea-generating moves. By examining the design of these moves in more detail and the actions done in next position to these moves, this chapter provides further empirical evidence for the layered asymmetries at play in the group work and their implications for participation in task completion.

Chapter 6
Discussion and conclusions

In this final chapter, I discuss the findings presented in Chapters 3, 4, and 5. First, the key findings are synthesised in light of the research questions. Next, I discuss the contributions of this work to relevant literatures, focusing on initiating actions, response mobilisation, the relationship between speakership and proficiency, asymmetries identified through the data analysis, implications of initiations for participation of others, and normative expectations of this institutional setting. The chapter concludes with recommendations for future research.

6.1 Overview of study findings

In this study, I asked how participants with differing proficiencies in English initiate collaboration during group work, in order to understand the relationship between proficiency and participation during group tasks. I found that participants used projective pairs (Clark, 1996, 2006) as a resource to complete the objectives given in the task instructions and materials. These projective pairs began with a move that put forward a joint project and opened the floor for a response from other group members. Through these sequences of action, group members interpreted the task objectives (Hellermann, 2008) into mutual goals and jointly negotiated sub-objectives (or sub-goals) that were not explicitly set out by the teacher. They also built common ground (Clark, 1996) through public display of information and ideas relevant to the task. Thus the task objectives shaped the mutual goals (Clark, 1996, 2006) of group members and the sequential organisation of talk in this context.

The first research question asked how group members initiated collaboration in the tasks. I found two broad categories of initiating actions: more-response-mobilising actions and less-response-mobilising actions. When people participate in projective pairs by initiating joint projects through both more- and less-response-mobilising moves and responding to these initiations, they display interactional competence that is relevant for participants in this context of task-based group work. This involves a range of pragmatic competences (Council of Europe, 2001, 2017), including precision-timing their move in the ongoing flow of talk in order to take the floor (Carroll, 2000; Sacks et al., 1974), successfully formulating a recognisable beginning to the move (Gardner, 2007), and accomplishing recognisable first-position actions (e.g. Bangerter & Clark, 2003; Clayman & Heritage, 2014; Curl, 2006; Heritage, 2012;

Stevanovic, 2012; Stevanovic & Peräkylä, 2012; Stivers & Sidnell, 2016; Yasui, 2013) and responsive actions in second position (Thompson et al., 2015). My findings provide more insight into the kinds of first- and second-position actions that are done in this context.

The first category of initiations, more-response-mobilising actions (Chapter 3), are canonical first pair parts. These are a useful resource for initiating new joint projects in this setting because they are canonically interpreted as first-position actions of new sequences. Therefore they make response from another speaker strongly relevant, and lack thereof accountable (Stivers & Rossano, 2010). Additionally, I found that these moves tended to use the turn-design features for mobilising response more often, particularly recipient-tilted epistemic asymmetry. The kinds of actions done through these moves are shown in Table 6.1. For more detailed analyses and descriptions of these actions, see Section 3.4.

Table 6.1. Summary: types of more-response-mobilising moves.

Class of action	Number of cases	Sub-classes of action
Idea requests	61	New idea request Requests for explanation or clarification of prior idea Request for contribution from another group member
Information requests	51	Information requests about established facts Requests for clarification of task instructions or materials
Other-initiation of repair	38	Open-class repair initiators *In situ* repeat + q-word Repeats Candidate understandings
Requests for and offers of action	16	Requests for action Offers of action
Requests for confirmation of a prior idea	12	N/A
Understanding and accuracy checks	6	N/A

By contrast, less-response-mobilising moves (Chapter 4), which are non-canonical first position actions, make response more voluntary and can be followed by a wider range of actions. These moves were prevalent in the data, which may indicate a preference for this kind of initiation in this setting. Recurrent actions done through less-response-mobilising moves are shown in Table 6.2. More detail can be found in Section 4.2.

Table 6.2. Summary: types of less-response-mobilising moves.

Class of action	Number of cases	Sub-classes of action
Idea proffers	170	New idea proffer Idea proffer building upon or repeating a prior idea
Assessments and noticings	35	Assessments Noticings
Information proffers	34	Information proffer regarding established facts Information proffer regarding task materials or instructions
Transitions	26	N/A
Procedure announcements	11	N/A

The second and third research questions asked who did initiating moves and who was selected as next speaker, in terms of proficiency relative to other group members. Overwhelmingly, higher-proficiency group members were the agents of initiating moves; these group members also accomplished a wider range of actions and used a wider variety of grammatical constructions. For less-response-mobilising moves, this correlation was weaker in groups of four than in groups of three. Higher-proficiency group members (high and upper-medium) were selected most often as next speaker when a single next speaker was selected.

Finally, in the fourth research question, I focused on idea-generating moves and responses to these moves. Idea proffers (less-response-mobilising) and idea requests (more-response-mobilising) were both used to generate ideas for task completion (Chapter 5). These kinds of actions were used most frequently to initiate joint projects. Speakership of responses to idea-generating moves again correlated with proficiency: high- and (upper-)medium-proficiency group members were most often the speakers of these moves. Take-up responses were the most common type of response to both idea proffers and requests. Two types of take-up responses were identified: idea proffers were typically followed by responses that oriented primarily to approval, assessment, or clarification of the prior idea; and idea requests tended to be followed by responses where the speaker contributed new or additional ideas or information in second position. This indicates that idea requests tend to put another kind of pressure upon recipients in addition to the pressure for some kind of response. The response they elicit tends to be more substantive, consisting of new contributions by the recipients. While idea proffers are less coercive and make relevant a wider range of responses, they are also less successful in eliciting ideas from other group members. Given that the most common

type of response to these moves is approval done through an isolated *yeah* or *okay*, it appears that these moves are vulnerable to unilateral decision-making by the first speaker, who is typically a higher-proficiency group member. See Section 5.2.3 for more detailed explanation of these findings.

Overall, this study shows that a participant's flexibility in a given language, or lack thereof, directly impacts their agency (Enfield, 2013, 2017b) in collaborative classroom tasks. Flexibility stems from control of semiotic resources; a speaker's greater or lesser access to these resources impacts their ability to construct turns. It would follow that their agency in interacting in that particular language would be impacted. However, linguistic proficiency (and associated access to linguistic resources) is not the only factor in asymmetry in joint project initiation. As speakers initiate joint projects repeatedly, they begin to perform particular roles, such as "initiator of task stages". In doing so, these agents claim and/or are granted entitlement (Enfield, 2017b) to performing these kinds of actions. In this way, asymmetries in task participation are an instantiation of the way relative proficiency is negotiated and co-created through talk, rather than being a static feature of an individual's identity.

These findings have important implications for research in teaching and learning in task-based, multi-proficiency-level classrooms. Like other studies of interaction during group tasks (e.g. Coughlan & Duff, 1994; Hellermann, 2008; Hellermann & Pekarek Doehler, 2010; Mondada & Pekarek Doehler, 2004), this study helps us to understand how participants construct and sequence actions to achieve task aims. The recurrent joint-project-initiating moves found in the data provide insights into the kinds of actions participants used to accomplish task objectives, particularly in the brainstorming stage. This furthers our understanding of the aspects of interactional competence that participants brought to bear in the tasks. Examining different kinds of participation in this aspect of tasks elucidates some of the ways asymmetries in linguistic proficiency manifest in interaction.

I will now discuss these findings in more detail in light of relevant previous research, along with contributions to the fields of interaction studies and language teaching. Finally, I discuss recommendations for future research.

6.2 Implications of the findings

The educational literature on teaching practice in the multi-proficiency classroom provides practical advice for practitioners in such teaching contexts (Bell, 2012; Harmer, 2015; Hess,

2001; Mathews-Aydinli & Van Horne, 2006). This literature tends to be based on teaching experience rather than microanalysis of participant talk in such settings. It is essential to investigate these settings from the student participants' perspectives by examining the tasks-as-activities (Breen, 1989; Seedhouse, 2004; Seedhouse & Almutairi, 2009) in order to understand how different pedagogical approaches impact interaction. This kind of work contributes to the field of interaction in English language classrooms as well as the broader field of interaction in settings of collaborative activities.

Each of the following sub-sections focuses on a particular aspect of the study findings. These sub-sections situate the findings within the relevant literatures and explain contributions of the present study to each respective area. They focus on the following topics:

- initiating actions and response mobilisation;
- the correlation between participation and proficiency;
- CEFR descriptors for "goal-oriented co-operation" and how the actions identified in the data set relate to these descriptors;
- asymmetries in this setting and how they manifest;
- implications of the use of different kinds of initiations for participation by other group members and the prevalence of less-response-mobilising actions;
- normative expectations of the multi-proficiency-level task-based language classroom.

6.2.1 Initiating actions and response mobilisation

In this section, I discuss the initiating actions found in the collection and use of turn-design features by reference to the related literature. Findings that corroborate the existing literature are discussed, followed by some proposals that extend this literature. First, I discuss the prevalence of initiating moves that orient to the task objectives. Given the prevalence of less-response-mobilising moves and the relevant responsive moves that tend to follow them, I argue that the task-focused setting impacts response mobilizisation. However, this phenomenon may simply highlight the importance of an action's position in eliciting a response from another speaker (Stivers, 2015). Next, I argue for a repositioning of epistemicity within the framework of response mobilisation proposed by Stivers and Rossano (2010) by suggesting that epistemicity is a fundamental part of action formation and recognition rather than a turn-design feature (Heritage, 2012, 2013a, 2013b; Couper-Kuhlen, 2010). Furthermore, I argue that deontics should be included in discussions of response mobilisation at the action level. Finally, I propose an additional turn-design feature for response mobilisation in multi-

party talk: selection of a single next speaker. In sum, through the findings of this study, I make and support the following arguments regarding response mobilisation:

- The task itself, and orientation to it, appears to mobilise response to first-position actions.
- First position may be the most powerful motivator of response.
- Instead of being a turn-design feature for response mobilisation, displayed asymmetries in epistemic status enable the recognition of particular kinds of more- and less-response-mobilising actions, for example, idea proffers vs idea requests.
- Like epistemic asymmetries, deontic asymmetries also make certain kinds of first-position actions recognisable.
- In multi-party talk, selection of a single next speaker may be considered an additional turn-design feature for response mobilisation.

As discussed in Section 6.1, recurrent initiating actions found in the data indicate an orientation to the task objectives. For example, the most common types of actions for both more- and less-response-mobilising moves were idea-generating moves, which do the primary action of contributing or eliciting potential ideas that contribute to completion of a range of task objectives and sub-objectives. Thus the talk reflected, and emerged from, the institutional context and had distinct features in comparison to everyday talk. This demonstrates an orientation to the task and shows one way that the task shapes the interaction therein. Hellermann and Pekarek Doehler (2010) argue that this is a typical feature of interaction in language-learning tasks between participants with substantial classroom experience. Furthermore, as Hellermann (2008) also finds, explicit clarifications of the task were rare in this data set.

Stivers and Rossano (2010) argue that the sequential position and type of action have an impact on response mobilisation. They distinguish between two kinds of actions – canonical first pair parts, which make specific second-position actions relevant (and their absence accountable), and non-canonical position actions in first position, which make relevant a wider range of second position actions. These were the categories used in my study to distinguish between more-response-mobilising moves, which resemble canonical first pair parts, and less-response-mobilising moves, which are non-canonical moves in first position. By analysing the moves subsequent to initial more- and less-response-mobilising moves, I too found that less-response-mobilising moves had a wider variety of potential take-up responses, while more-response-mobilising moves had a narrower range of take-up responses. This aligns

with the link between canonical adjacency pair first pair parts and the specific actions made relevant in second position.

Given the prevalence of less-response-mobilising moves and their tendency to elicit relevant next-position actions, I will now discuss how the task itself and position of an action mobilise response in this setting. The institutional context of the timed, in-class task is a unique feature of the setting that should also be considered in the discussion of response mobilisation. In Chapter 1, Wittgenstein's example of the builder and assistant and Goffman's example of car mechanics repairing a vehicle were provided as examples of the way talk and orientation to a collaborative task are intrinsically interrelated. I found that less-response-mobilising moves were prevalent in this setting, and they were typically successful in attracting a relevant response. There are several reasons for this. Stivers (2015) argues that there is a preference for any kind of first-position action to be followed by some kind of take-up. Indeed, I found that both categories of initiations were equally likely to attract a relevant response of some kind. Thus it appears that the position of an action is perhaps the most powerful resource in mobilising response, as argued by Stivers and Rossano (2010). Furthermore, there is a time limit on completion of the ongoing task and specific objectives to be completed within that time. After the time limit is reached, groups need to report on their outcomes, so they are publicly accountable for achievement of the task objectives. This aspect of the task may be an additional feature that mobilises response to any kind of joint-project-initiating move.

In addition to the position of the action and the type of action done, Stivers and Rossano (2010) put forward four turn-design features for mobilising response: recipient-tilted epistemic asymmetry, interrogative lexico-morphosyntax, interrogative intonation, and gaze upon a recipient. They show that these features tend to cluster with more-response-mobilising moves. The present study corroborated Stivers and Rossano's argument that the turn-design features for mobilising response were resources for response mobilisation. These features were used far more frequently with more-response-mobilising moves; when they were used with less-response-mobilising moves, they were an additional resource to mobilise response to that particular move. However, recipient-tilted epistemic asymmetry had slightly different characteristics to the other features. This feature was present in the vast majority of cases of more-response-mobilising actions and was absent in the cases of less-response-mobilising actions. Stivers and Rossano find that no single feature is essential to canonical first pair parts or non-canonical first-position actions. My findings regarding the other three turn-design features (interrogative lexico-morphosyntax, interrogative intonation, and gaze) corroborate

Stivers and Rossano's findings. However, in the case of recipient-tilted epistemic asymmetry, my findings lead me to argue that this feature is of a different order (Couper-Kuhlen, 2010) than the other three features.

Based on my findings related to recipient-tilted epistemic asymmetry, I argue that epistemic asymmetry is not a turn-design feature, but instead a fundamental feature of the actions themselves. Drew's (2013) chapter in *The handbook of Conversation Analysis* defines turn design as "how a speaker constructs a turn-at-talk" (p. 132) using the following linguistic and other resources: "lexis (or words), phonetic and prosodic resources, syntactic, morphological and other grammatical forms, timing … laughter and aspiration, gesture and other bodily movements and positions (including eye gaze)" (p. 132). In the same volume, Heritage (2013b) states that epistemics is "fundamentally involved in the production and recognition of an action" (p. 384). This argument comes from Heritage (2012), where Heritage posits that the relative epistemic status of speakers is a crucial component of action interpretation and ascription by participants. As Couper-Kuhlen (2010) argues in her response to Stivers and Rossano (2010), epistemicity is of a different order than the other three turn-design features for response mobilisation:

> [W]hile syntax, prosody, and gaze are formal in nature, clearly under the control of the speaker and overt features of turns-at-talk, epistemic asymmetry is none of these. It is implicit, negotiable, and belongs to the context of situation (Goodwin & Duranti, 1992; Malinowski, 1923). So though the four features may all be implicated in one way or another, they are not of the same order. (p. 33)

Goodwin (2013) refers to this particular aspect of the context as the "epistemic ecology" where talk occurs (p. 19); participants exploit this shared knowledge in constructing and recognising actions. For example, epistemic status is what makes a declarative statement recognisable as a request or proffer of information. If only the recipient knows the information, it is an information request; if it is in the speaker's domain of knowledge, it is an information proffer. Based on this literature and my findings, epistemicity appears to function at the action formation level. Thus rather than being a turn-design feature, I take forward Heritage's position that epistemicity is a resource for action formation and ascription for particular kinds of actions. The other three features are additional turn-design resources for mobilising response to any kind of action done in first position.

As stated previously, I found that recipient-tilted epistemic asymmetry was a predominant feature of more-response-mobilising moves. Less-response-mobilising moves, by contrast, had either a lack of asymmetry, which means that both speakers had access to the information provided in the move, or a speaker-tilted epistemic asymmetry. In this context, idea requests and proffers, and information requests and proffers were prevalent in the collection of cases. Epistemic asymmetry (speaker-tilted or recipient-tilted), or the absence of epistemic asymmetry, is a key part of what makes these kinds of actions recognisable, regardless of the lexico-grammatical construction. This may explain the frequency of recipient-tilted epistemic asymmetry in the more-response-mobilising group done through canonical first pair parts and the complete absence of this kind of asymmetry in the less-response-mobilising group done through non-canonical first-position actions. Like Stivers and Rossano (2010), I am not arguing that this feature is essential to the category of more-response-mobilising actions, but that it is a fundamental part of action formation and construction for the kinds of more-response-mobilising actions done in this setting (and, conversely, does not occur with this set of less-response-mobilising actions).

There was a group of more-response-mobilising moves that did not have recipient-tilted epistemic asymmetry: requests and offers for action. In these cases, deontic status (Stevanovic & Peräkylä, 2012), whereby a speaker directs future action, is more relevant than epistemic status. With recipient-tilted deontic asymmetry, speakers propose a joint action that is dependent on recipient uptake. In this way, response is mobilised via the dependence on recipient uptake for carrying out the action. Speaker-tilted deontic asymmetry (Stevanovic & Peräkylä, 2012), where a speaker directs collaborative action by announcing a self-performed action or soliciting a recipient to perform an action, appears to operate in a similar fashion as epistemicity (Heritage, 2013a). Those moves that make the performance of the action contingent on the recipient's response are more-response-mobilising, whereas announcements of future action are less-response-mobilising. On this basis, I propose that deontics be included in discussions of response mobilisation through initiating moves.

My final proposal in this section contributes to the study of response mobilisation in multi-party talk. I argue that selection of a single next speaker is another turn-design feature that mobilises response. This is because selecting a next speaker instead of opening the floor to the whole group for any next speaker to self-select puts public pressure upon a single participant to provide a timely response. This makes it more difficult for this speaker to opt out of speaking next. The frequency of an initiating speaker's selection of a single next speaker

correlated with more-response-mobilising moves, which indicates that it is done more often when speakers wish to elicit ideas or information from other group members. This phenomenon is incorporated in Stivers and Rossano's (2010) analysis of cases with multi-party talk. For example, in their analysis of a case of triadic interaction (Extract 12), next-speaker selection is done through gaze upon a single recipient. What I am arguing here is that in the context of groups of three and four working together, selection of a single next speaker done through any means, including gaze at an object in a person's hands or by making reference to a particular group member's epistemic access, may mobilise response in much the same way as gaze on a recipient does.

6.2.2 Correlation between speakership of initiating moves and proficiency

This section turns to the relationship between participation and proficiency. As discussed in Chapter 1, student participants in the interviews for this study observed asymmetries of agency and participation across group members of different levels in the CCA sessions. Interestingly, as Hosoda (2006) also finds, there was little evidence of on-the-record, explicit references to proficiency levels within the recorded data. Instead, asymmetries in proficiency level manifested more implicitly through differences in participation (Kasper & Kim, 2015). This is precisely the type of asymmetry that the interview participants identified. The tendency for unequal participation in multi-party talk has been demonstrated in research on coalitions between two participants in triads (Coe & Prendergast, 1985; Pochon-Berger, 2011) in settings of participants with roughly commensurate proficiencies. It is likely that this phenomenon is also at work in this multi-level setting, given the group configurations. However, because high- and (upper-)medium-proficiency speakers do the vast majority of initiating and responsive moves in projective pairs, it appears that the coalitions in this setting tend to be formed between the higher-proficiency members of the groups.

A participant's ability to compose and accomplish a range of actions to initiate shifts in task orientation and respond to these initiations appears to be related to proficiency. While less-response-mobilising moves are used 20% more often than more-response-mobilising moves, nonetheless the collection of more-response-mobilising moves is substantial. Both of these kinds of moves are important resources in carrying out the tasks. In this context, higher-proficiency group members are able to initiate and take up joint projects through a wider range of actions across both of these categories, displaying a higher level of flexibility in joint project initiation relative to lower-proficiency group members.

The recurrence of speakership of both initiating and responsive moves by higher-proficiency speakers potentially demonstrates a link between participation in projective pairs and a speaker's linguistic proficiency. As Hellermann (2008) and Gan (2010) also find, higher-proficiency speakers tended to do a wider range of action types in the data set. Though studies of turn-taking across cultures and languages (e.g. Stivers et al., 2009) suggest the universality of such structures of talk, Galaczi (2014) finds that key aspects of interactional competence involved in participation in projective pairs, such as turn-taking management and topic development, are salient differences when comparing interaction with speakers of lower and higher proficiencies. If these competences are universal, why would higher-proficiency speakers be more adept in these areas? One potential answer is that proficiency in English impacts their ability to construct TCUs, which requires control of linguistic resources (Schegloff, 1996c). However, such a claim is beyond the scope of this study. At this stage of research, I argue that the results show an orientation by participants to proficiency level and perceived expertise that results in higher-proficiency participants participating in joint projects more often than lower-proficiency participants. This claim is further supported by the tendency for speakers of first-position actions to select higher-proficiency participants as next speaker.

Additionally, the strong asymmetry in speakership of more-response-mobilising moves may be due in part to the duties and responsibilities brought to bear by eliciting response from another group member. Listener support, the third competence identified by Galaczi, provides an important insight into this phenomenon. Listener support involves attending to the recipient responses to one's initiating move. This competence is brought into play when a speaker does a more-response-mobilising move that elicits a response from another speaker. Doing such a move brings duties and responsibilities in attending to the response; attending to response is even more complex if the move does not select a single next speaker and opens the floor to anyone in the group. In the case of idea requests, responses tend to be contributions of original ideas. Agents of the idea request have the accompanying responsibility to track the idea proffers done in response and respond appropriately in third position. For these reasons, it is perhaps not coincidental that speakership of more-response-mobilizing moves displays a stronger correlation to linguistic proficiency level than less-response-mobilizing moves.

6.2.3 CEFR descriptors and initiating joint projects

The CEFR documents (Council of Europe, 2001, 2017) and the studies described in Section 6.2.2 compare differences between speakers who are at particular CEFR levels. By contrast, this study looks at asymmetry in terms of relative proficiency levels of group participants. Higher-proficiency group members could be B2 or C1 level, while medium-proficiency group members could be A2, B1, or B2 level. Thus the findings in this study are based on comparisons between lower- and higher-proficiency group members relative to each other rather than describing attributes of discrete CEFR levels. The findings of this study suggest an orientation to level within the groups and co-construction of proficiency through interaction.

The distribution of actions by linguistic proficiency level found in this study can be compared to the descriptors in the CEFR (Council of Europe, 2001, 2017) for "goal-oriented co-operation" (2017, p. 86). According to these descriptors, by B2 level, a speaker is able to "help along the progress of the work by inviting others to join in, say what they think etc.". This descriptor resembles idea requests, which are strongly correlated to proficiency in this study. C1 speakers are described as being able to "frame a discussion to decide a course of action with a partner or group, reporting on what others have said, summarising, elaborating and weighing up multiple points of view". This descriptor includes several different action types. What these actions have in common is that they do facilitation to a sophisticated level, and performance of this role appears to be linked to higher levels of proficiency. Facilitatory actions first emerge in this set of descriptors at the B1 level, where speakers can "invite others to give their views on how to proceed". By contrast, at A1 and A2 levels, the descriptors relate to more concrete, here-and-now tasks such as "using simple phrases to ask for and provide things". As I also found, speakers gain greater flexibility in the range of actions they are able to achieve in collaborative interaction as they progress in proficiency.

The CEFR descriptors for goal-oriented co-operation encapsulate interactional elements that can be refined through the findings of my study and measured in future studies. However, my study focuses on specific actions carried out in sequences of talk, which are only one aspect of this list (e.g. "inviting others to join in" or "explain why something is a problem"). The descriptors that focus on understanding (e.g. "understand detailed instructions reliably") would require evidence based on different measures across a spate of interaction, such as displays of understanding and initiations of repair. While there are parallels between these CEFR descriptors and the findings in this study, CA provides an analytical framework that

enables greater precision in describing these actions. Further analysis of interaction in goal-oriented collaborative activities would help to provide more detail of the salient action types for different levels.

6.2.4 Asymmetries in group interaction

Within the group interaction, several layers of asymmetry were found. The first layer is embedded in the very structure of projective pairs. As Enfield (2013) describes, the organisation of talk into sequences of paired actions means that there is an inherent asymmetry where one speaker does the first action and the recipient does the second. In a group of three or four, this additionally means that for each two-part projective pair, one or two people are not making verbal contributions to the joint project at all. Then, looking across whole spates of interaction, some group members are doing initiation and response more often than others. In addition, certain group members do actions of particular types in these first- and second-position slots more than others.

All of these asymmetries result in certain speakers performing different kinds of roles in interaction. These speakers also have greater influence upon the direction of the talk and achievement of the task (Schegloff, 1996b). In this setting, these asymmetries tilt toward higher-proficiency speakers. One reason for these emergent asymmetries is the higher-proficiency students' competence in English, which affords a greater degree of flexibility with language (Enfield, 2017b). In turn, this means they have greater agency because of their ability to compose a wider range of actions more quickly. As the talk progresses and they do a higher proportion of actions, this asymmetry in flexibility results in the performance of particular kinds of roles done by speakers of different levels.

The layers of asymmetry found in the data and described in this section have important implications for interaction in the task-based language classroom where there are differences in linguistic proficiency levels within the groups. The first implication for interaction, as shown throughout Chapters 3, 4, and 5, is speakership of joint project initiations. As outlined in Chapter 1, the normative organisation of talk into paired, sequential actions means that there is an inherent asymmetry built into the structures of talk (Enfield, 2013) for task completion. Speakership of initiating moves implies rights to direct and shape the momentum of group talk; because only one person speaks at a time, this agency therefore lies with one group member. In these multi-level groups, this tends to be the high-proficiency group

member, which means that these participants take on the role of shaping the talk through their speakership of initiating moves.

Selection of next speaker is another source of asymmetry in task participation. When a single next speaker is selected, higher-proficiency group members tend to be selected as next speaker more often than lower-proficiency participants. This means that for those moves where a single next speaker is selected, higher-proficiency participants are being given the first opportunity to speak in response. Thus there is asymmetry between speakers of different proficiency levels for both the initiating and take-up moves in the projective pair. Finally, there is asymmetry across responses to initiations of all types: high- and (upper-)medium-proficiency group members tend to respond most often. As these patterns of asymmetries in speakership accumulate across a group's interaction, roles begin to emerge within the groups due to the entitlement (Enfield, 2017a) gained by recurrent speakers. In this way, relative proficiency emerges in and through the talk.

6.2.5 Use of initiating actions: implications and preferences

This study also contributes to our understanding of the way less- and more-response-mobilising moves function at the local level and impact the participation of other group members. Less-response-mobilising moves tend to open the floor for any other speaker to self-select, while more-response-mobilising moves tend to select a single next speaker. As discussed previously, selection appears to be an additional resource for mobilising response. By selecting a single next speaker, this individual is made accountable for providing a response or not; only after this person has passed on the opportunity to respond may another speaker self-select (Sacks et al., 1974). For this reason, Stivers and Rossano (2010) refer to canonical first pair parts as being more coercive in eliciting response. Such a tactic may be preferable in particular environments, such as situations where task completion is stalled or when a speaker would like to begin the transition from listening to the teacher's instructions to beginning the task proper. By contrast, less-response-mobilising moves make response more voluntary. It is thus unsurprising that they are less likely to select a single next speaker. An advantage of using these moves to initiate collaboration is that take-up is voluntary, so the development of the initial move by the group is seen as collaborative rather than coerced by the initiating speaker. Likewise, agreement with opinions put forward in first position through less-response-mobilising moves is done more voluntarily, which may be particularly preferable in a collaborative setting.

Focusing on idea proffers and responses provides a more detailed picture of the implications of different joint-project-initiating moves for response. With idea proffers, participants can respond in a variety of ways. Take-up responses include minimal tokens of agreement as well as multi-part expansions of the proffered idea. The analysis shows that responses tend to orient to agreement, disagreement, or evaluation of the prior idea rather than being substantive contributions of new ideas. Thus preferred responses to idea proffers are both voluntary and relatively low-stakes.

However, idea proffers appear to bring a heightened risk of unilateral decision-making in a context where joint completion of the task is expected. As mentioned in Chapter 1, if a recipient of an idea proffer does not display access to the idea and moves directly to agreement, then the decision is more unilateral (Stevanovic, 2012). Given the prevalence of take-up response to idea proffers that orient primarily to the prior move, it may be the case that idea proffers tend to initiate decisions that are less collaborative. This phenomenon is heightened when a single speaker in a group recurrently does idea proffer moves. This creates a strong asymmetry in task completion where a single participant is effectively completing the task individually. This phenomenon was observed by the students in the interviews presented in Chapter 1: higher-proficiency group members felt that responses from other group members were insufficient, while lower-proficiency group members felt excluded from the task. While asymmetry in participation in groups of this size is inevitable, it appears that there may be a tipping point in asymmetry that may lead to certain participants opting out or becoming frustrated.

As canonical first pair parts, more-response-mobilising moves tend to constrain response types through stronger conditional relevance. Combining this with the tendency to select particular next speakers, they put two types of pressure upon recipients: the pressure for a response (of any kind), and the pressure for a particular kind of response. In this way, more-response-mobilising moves are an efficient resource for collaboratively building common ground and targeting specific kinds of participation from other group members as the need arises. More-response-mobilising moves are also a stronger source of asymmetry in first position than less-response-mobilising moves. In groups of three and four, there is a strong correlation between speakership of more-response-mobilising moves and proficiency level. Furthermore, high-proficiency speakers are selected more often, so there is a double asymmetry both in initiation and response.

One of the most striking findings of this study is that less-response-mobilising moves were done more often than more-response-mobilising moves. Why might this be the case? As discussed in Section 6.2.3, higher-proficiency participants typically do facilitatory actions. In the classes of action identified in this study, the following actions can be associated with facilitation: idea requests, requests and offers for action, requests for confirmation of a prior idea, transitioning, and procedure announcements. Speakers of these moves manage the progression of group talk by eliciting particular kinds of actions from recipients and initiating transition into new task stages. All of these categories have a strong correlation between speakership and proficiency level, and most of these actions are more-response-mobilising. When a speaker does a facilitatory action, they often elicit task contributions from other group members rather than putting forward their own contributions in first position. When a speaker successfully elicits a task contribution in second position from another participation, they then have the responsibility to track and respond appropriately to the second speaker's contribution. Similarly, when a speaker initiates transition to the next task stage, they have tracked the progression of talk, projected the closing of the stage, and potentially are able to initiate the upcoming task stage. I conjectured in Section 6.2.3 that the duties and responsibilities taken on by speakers of facilitatory moves is a potential reason for the strong asymmetry in speakership of these moves by group members of different proficiencies.

Relative to the other action types found in the CCA session data, actions that do facilitation are not as prevalent. This seems to indicate a preference for doing something other than facilitation in initiating joint projects, and perhaps only doing facilitation when it is deemed necessary, such as when talk has lapsed or when transition between stages is imperative. This may reflect the institutional context, where particular group members may have difficulty providing a ready response to a facilitating move. Instead, initiating actions that put forward a proposition for agreement or disagreement, and make second-position task contributions (e.g. idea proffers, information proffers, and assessments and noticings) more voluntary, are more frequent. All of these actions are less-response-mobilising. In this setting of peer–peer group work, explicitly directing the group work seems to be less preferred. Furthermore, speakership of these non-facilitatory moves is less strongly correlated to proficiency. In sum, the accessibility of less-response-mobilising moves and response to a wider range of participants may contribute to their higher frequency of use.

6.2.6 Normative expectations of task-based group work

Through the results of this study, I can begin to describe some broader normative expectations of group work in this setting. These insights contribute to our understanding of the implications of using task-based approaches in the language classroom.

Studying interaction in institutional settings facilitates greater understanding of the normative expectations (Garfinkel, 1967) particular to that setting and how these emerge through interaction (Heritage & Clayman, 2010). As Drew and Heritage (1992) observe, "participants organize their conduct by reference to general features of the tasks or functions of particular social institutions as they understand them" (p. 22). For example, research on interaction in teacher-fronted classrooms has recurrently found that there are asymmetries based on participant roles. Teachers are the primary speakers and typically have greater control over sequences and turn allocation (Gardner, 2013, p. 593). One aim of examining interaction in other kinds of classroom configurations, such as the peer–peer interaction in this study, is to understand how interactional practices, orientations, and asymmetries shift with the use of different kinds of methodologies and approaches (Seedhouse, 2004). In this section, I will look in more detail at the normative expectations in this setting that emerge in and through interaction.

An overarching normative expectation observed in the data for this study is the collaborative completion of the task objectives within a set timeframe. This can be broken down into two norms. The first is for participants to do the task collaboratively as a group, which is instantiated in the recurrent structure of adjacent actions in projective pairs done by two different speakers. Thus collaborative group work is reflected in the participants' use of the sequential organisation of talk to complete tasks. The second normative expectation is to complete the task within the given timeframe. Participants achieve this through orientation to the task objectives in the kinds of projects they initiate and take up. First-position actions orient to different aspects of the task and mutual goals. The majority of the time, these actions are successful in initiating sequences of task-oriented talk; that is, recipients typically respond with an utterance that takes up the proposed collaborative action. This supports the argument that underpins task-based approaches: that the incorporation of task objectives and time limits in task design can help in motivating talk (and may help to mobilise response, as described in Section 6.2.1). This study has outlined the mechanisms that underpin this phenomenon.

At times these normative expectations can be odds with each other, particularly in multi-proficiency-level groups. Collaboration can take more time when group members have differing abilities, which makes it difficult to complete the task within the time limit. Completion of the task within a set timeframe appears to be a "speeding-up" mechanism upon the talk, while collaboration across the group is a "slowing-down" mechanism. Balancing these norms to achieve collaborative completion of the task objectives in a timely manner is a problem that groups need to solve. If orientation to these norms is not in balance, this can affect the experience for group members. For example, time limits for task completion can backfire when there is not sufficient time to complete the task. In such a situation, the time limit puts pressure upon participants to complete the task in the most efficient manner possible, and group members may revert to unilateral decision-making in order to achieve the task objectives more quickly. On the other hand, when collaboration is prioritised over task completion, the group risks running out of time before they achieve the task objectives.

In both of these scenarios, imbalanced adherence to these norms may exaggerate existing asymmetries further, as higher-proficiency speakers may be called upon (or may take it upon themselves) to repeatedly initiate sequences of action. However, while strong asymmetries may be of concern to teachers and students, complete symmetry in multi-party interaction is not a realistic goal, given the tendency in this kind of participation framework for some participants to speak more, and in different ways, than others. This phenomenon of asymmetrical participation in collaborative interaction recurs across contexts, and with speakers of similar linguistic proficiency. It may also benefit lower-proficiency participants to listen to and practise responding to initiations from others and gradually develop the ability to participate more fully and with greater flexibility. There is a multitude of cases in the data for this study where lower-proficiency group members show engagement with the interaction between other group members through embodied resources, such as leaning forward, gazing at other speakers, and nodding as others speak. This kind of legitimate peripheral participation (Lave & Wenger, 1991) was part of the intention behind the sessions from the beginning – to facilitate a community of practice in which participants could gain confidence in collaborative activities with speakers of different proficiency levels. Future research would build upon the findings of this study to determine where and how this occurs.

6.3 Recommendations for future research

In task-based language learning classes, groups are unavoidably composed of members with different strengths and weaknesses in the language of focus. These differences in linguistic competence can contribute to positive or negative learning experiences for group members of different levels. The way these experiences unfold, and why, is not well understood. The questions answered in this study took a first step into understanding this problem. I have shown that initiation of joint projects and response to these initiations are essential resources for task completion and that this kind of participation is a potential source of asymmetry in groups. At this stage, however, a more holistic understanding of interaction and asymmetries unfolding across the tasks is needed in order to understand this problem more fully. This would help in understanding emerging dynamics in groups and the potential for language learning (or lack thereof) in such contexts. More research is needed before making recommendations for task design and teaching. This project suggests the following research directions.

One important research direction would be to re-examine the collection of projective pairs with a focus on the collaborative nature of the initiating move and response. Stevanovic's (2012) description of components for collaborative decision-making is useful for such an analysis. This analytical focus would involve examining the responses to all initiating moves to examine whether resultant group decisions and actions are collaborative or unilateral, and how collaborative and unilateral decision-making is done in this context. This kind of study would extend the findings of the current study that compare responses to idea proffers and requests. It would provide further insights into the way the normative expectation for collaboration in this setting is displayed, and whether or not unilateral decision-making is accountable. It would also enable a more precise description of what goal-oriented co-operation involves in this context, from an action perspective.

Along with the collaborative nature of initiating moves and responses, an analysis of the collection of projective pairs should analyse alignment and disalignment between group members as displayed through responses (or lack thereof). This would provide important insights into the way alignment and disalignment are displayed and made accountable, and the impact each of these phenomena has upon task completion and group cohesion (Hellermann & Pekarek Doehler, 2010; Mondada & Pekarek Doehler, 2004). Potentially, this analysis would reveal how successful (or unsuccessful) particular group members are at

initiating collaboration for completion of task objectives, and how this success (or lack thereof) is displayed in this setting.

The analyses described in this section are essential for understanding whether the asymmetries present in the interaction are evidence of a community of practice where lower-proficiency participants have the opportunity to develop the ability to initiate joint projects through legitimate peripheral participation (Lave & Wenger, 1991). If this were the case, these analyses would likely demonstrate collaborative decision-making and/or alignment of participants in the task completion stage. Alternatively, analysis may show that certain group members are excluded or withdraw from the group work, as Bloome (2015) fears; if so, the analysis may find recurrent unilateral decision-making and disalignment between group members, or recurrent emergence of coalitions between particular participants. Thus analysis of these phenomena would provide insights into the pedagogical implications of the task-based approach in this context that are beyond the scope of this study.

It would also be useful to compare the features of interaction in this context to other contexts of goal-oriented talk to see if the competences developed are transferable (Mori, 2002). As a point of comparison, other kinds of classroom settings should be examined where group work is incorporated for different reasons. For example, in classrooms focused on English for Academic Purposes (EAP) for university entry, group work is incorporated to provide practice of academic skills for students' upcoming university study. In these settings, participants have passed standardised tests to enter the university entry course. In such a setting, small-group interaction in the early stage of task completion could again be studied to understand if similar kinds of actions are recurrent. For example, are less-response-mobilising moves prevalent in other task-oriented settings, or was this a unique feature of the CCA activities? Asymmetries in speakership should again be analysed to understand what other features beyond linguistic proficiency level contribute to different kinds of participation by different group members.

6.4 Conclusions

In this study, I have examined interaction in multi-proficiency groups working on collaborative tasks in order to understand the relationship between proficiency and participation. This work was prompted by observations of differences in speakership between higher- and lower-proficiency group members, and a desire to understand how, and if, these differences would manifest in empirical analysis. I identified recurrent ways that speakers

initiated collaboration and showed how these actions were constructed. Looking at speakership of these actions, I found an overall tendency for higher-proficiency speakers to participate more often, and in a wider range of ways, than lower-proficiency group members. This was the case for initiating collaboration, addressing these initiations to other group members, and responding to these initiations.

This analysis revealed competing normative expectations for group members to balance: collaboration and efficient completion of task objectives. Balancing these norms is a problem that participants need to solve in order for all group members to be engaged with the language learning potentials of the tasks. When these are not in balance, the existing asymmetries may become exacerbated, potentially leading to the exclusion or withdrawal of group members.

References

Antaki, C., & Huma, B. (2017). Data sessions world-wide [Blog post]. Retrieved from https://rolsi.net/teaching-2/data-sessions

Arminen, I. (2005). *Institutional interaction: Studies of talk at work.* Aldershot, UK: Ashgate.

Asmuß, B., & Oshima, S. (2012). Negotiation of entitlement in proposal sequences. *Discourse Studies, 14*(1), 67–86.

Austin, J. L. (1962). *How to do things with words: The William James Lectures delivered at Harvard University in 1955*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bachman, L. F., & Palmer, A. S. (1982). The construct validation of some components of communicative proficiency. *TESOL Quarterly, 16*(4), 449–465.

Bangerter, A., & Clark, H. H. (2003). Navigating joint projects with dialogue. *Cognitive Science, 27*(2), 195–225.

Barraja-Rohan, A. -M. (2011). Using conversation analysis in the second language classroom to teach interactional competence. *Language Teaching Research, 15*(4), 479–507.

Beach, W. A. (1993). Transitional regularities for 'casual' "Okay" usages. *Journal of Pragmatics, 19*(4), 325–352.

Bell, J. (2012). Teaching mixed-level classes. In A. Burns & J. C. Richards (Eds.), *The Cambridge guide to pedagogy and practice in second language teaching* (pp. 86–94). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bloome, D. (2015). The role of talk in group-based activity in classrooms. In N. Markee (Ed.), *The handbook of classroom discourse and interaction* (pp. 128–141). Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Bolden, G. B. (2011). On the organization of repair in multiperson conversation: The case of "other"-selection in other-initiated repair sequences. *Research on Language and Social Interaction, 44*(3), 237–262.

Bolden, G. B. (2014). Negotiating understanding in "intercultural moments" in immigrant family interactions. *Communication Monographs, 81*(2), 208–238.

Breen, M. (1989). The evaluation cycle for language learning tasks. In R. K. Johnson (Ed.), *The second language curriculum* (pp. 187–206). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bygate, M., Skehan, P., & Swain, M. (2001). Introduction. In M. Bygate, P. Skehan, & M. Swain (Eds.), *Researching pedagogic tasks: Second language learning, teaching, and testing* (pp. 1–20). Harlow, UK: Pearson Education.

Canale, M., & Swain, M. (1980). Theoretical bases of communicative approaches to second language teaching and testing. *Applied Linguistics, 1*(1), 1–47.

Carroll, D. (2000). Precision timing in novice-to-novice L2 conversations. *Issues in Applied Linguistics, 11*(1), 67–110.

Celce-Murcia, M. (2007). Rethinking the role of communicative competence in language teaching. In E. A. Soler & M. P. Safont Jordà (Eds.), *Intercultural langauge use and language learning* (pp. 41–57). Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Springer.

Chomsky, N. (1965). *Aspects of the theory of syntax.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Clark, H. H. (1996). *Using language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Clark, H. H. (2006). Social actions, social commitments. In N. J. Enfield & S. C. Levinson (Eds.), *Roots of human sociality: Culture, cognition and interaction* (pp. 126–150). New York: Berg Publishers.

Clark, H. H. (2012). Spoken discourse and its emergence. In M. Spivey, M. Joanisse, & K. McRae (Eds.), *The Cambridge handbook of psycholinguistics* (pp. 541–557). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Clark, H. H., & Krych, M. A. (2004). Speaking while monitoring addressees for understanding. *Journal of Memory and Language, 50*(1), 62–81.

Clayman, S. E. (2002). Sequence and solidarity. In S. R. Thye & E. J. Lawler (Eds.), *Group cohesion, trust and solidarity* (pp. 229–253). Bingley, UK: Emerald Group.

Clayman, S. E., & Heritage, J. (2014). Benefactors and beneficiaries: Benefactive status and stance in the management of offers and requests. In P. Drew & E. Couper-Kuhlen (Eds.), *Requesting in social interaction* (pp. 55–86). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Coe, R. M., & Prendergast, C. G. (1985). The formation of coalitions: Interaction strategies in triads. *Sociology of Health & Illness, 7*(2), 236–247.

Corden, R. (2001). Group discussion and the importance of a shared perspective: Learning from collaborative research. *Qualitative Research, 1*(3), 347–367.

Coughlan, P., & Duff, P. A. (1994). Same task, different activities: Analysis of a SLA task from an Activity Theory perspective. In J. P. Lantolf & G. Appel (Eds.), *Vygotskian approaches to second language research* (pp. 173–193). Westport, CT: Ablex Publishing.

Council of Europe. (2001). *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, teaching, assessment.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Council of Europe. (2017). *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, teaching, assessment. Companion volume with new descriptors.* Strasbourg: Council of Europe.

Couper-Kuhlen, E. (2010). Commentary on Stivers and Rossano: "Mobilizing response". *Research on Language and Social Interaction, 43*(1), 32–37.

Couper-Kuhlen, E. (2014). What does grammar tell us about action? *Pragmatics, 24*(3), 623–647.

Curl, T. S. (2006). Offers of assistance: Constraints on syntactic design. *Journal of Pragmatics, 38*(8), 1257–1280.

De Ruiter, J., & Albert, S. (2017). An appeal for a methodological fusion of conversation analysis and experimental psychology. *Research on Language and Social Interaction, 50*(1), 90–107.

Dingemanse, M., & Floyd, S. (2014). Conversation across cultures. In N. J. Enfield, P. Kockelman, & J. Sidnell (Eds.), *The Cambridge handbook of linguistic anthropology* (pp. 447–480). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Drew, P. (1997). "Open" class repair initiators in response to sequential sources of troubles in conversation. *Journal of Pragmatics, 28*(1), 69–101.

Drew, P. (2013). Turn design. In J. Sidnell & T. Stivers (Eds.), *The handbook of Conversation Analysis* (pp. 131–149). Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Drew, P., & Heritage, J. (1992). Analyzing talk at work: An introduction. In P. Drew & J. Heritage (Eds.), *Talk at work: Interaction in institutional settings* (pp. 3–65). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ellis, R. (2003). *Task-based language learning and teaching*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ellis, R. (2006). The methodology of task-based teaching. *The Asian EFL Journal Quarterly, 8*(3), 19–45.

Enfield, N. J. (2011). Sources of asymmetry in human interaction: Enchrony, status, knowledge and agency. In T. Stivers, L. Mondada, & J. Steensig (Eds.), *The morality of knowledge in conversation* (pp. 285–312). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Enfield, N. J. (2013). *Relationship thinking: Agency, enchrony, and human sociality*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Enfield, N. J. (2017a). Distribution of agency. In N. J. Enfield & P. Kockelman (Eds.), *Distributed agency* (pp. 9–14). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Enfield, N. J. (2017b). Elements of agency. In N. J. Enfield & P. Kockelman (Eds.), *Distributed agency* (pp. 3–8). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Enfield, N. J., & Sidnell, J. (2017). *The concept of action*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Evnitskaya, N., & Berger, E. (2017). Learners' multimodal displays of willingness to participate in classroom interaction in the L2 and CLIL contexts. *Classroom Discourse, 8*(1), 71–94.

Firth, A. (2009). The *lingua franca* factor. *Intercultural Pragmatics, 6*(2), 147–170.

Firth, A., & Wagner, J. (1997). On discourse, communication, and (some) fundamental concepts in SLA research. *The Modern Language Journal, 81*(3), 285–300.

Firth, A., & Wagner, J. (2007). Second/foreign language learning as a social accomplishment: Elaborations on a reconceptualized SLA. *The Modern Language Journal, 91*(5), 800–819.

Galaczi, E. D. (2014). Interactional competence across proficiency levels: How do learners manage interaction in paired speaking tests? *Applied Linguistics, 35*(5), 553–574.

Gan, Z. (2010). Interaction in group oral assessment: A case study of higher- and lower-scoring students. *Language Testing, 27*(4), 585–602.

Gardner, R. (2001). *When listeners talk: Response tokens and listener stance*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Gardner, R. (2004). Conversation analysis. In A. Davies & C. Elder (Eds.), *Handbook of applied linguistics* (pp. 262–284). Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Gardner, R. (2007). "Broken" starts: Bricolage in turn starts in second language talk. In Z. Hua, P. Seedhouse, & V. Cook (Eds.), *Language learning and teaching as social inter-action* (pp. 58–71). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Gardner, R. (2013). Conversation Analysis in the classroom. In J. Sidnell & T. Stivers (Eds.), *The handbook of Conversation Analysis* (pp. 593–611). Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Garfinkel, H. (1967). *Studies in ethnomethodology*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Garfinkel, H., & Sacks, H. (1970). On formal structures of practical action. In J. C. McKinney & E. A. Tiryakian (Eds.), *Theoretical sociology: Perspectives and developments* (pp. 338–366). New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts.

Goffman, E. (1963). *Behavior in public places*. New York: The Free Press.

Goffman, E. (1981). *Forms of talk*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Goffman, E. (1983). The interaction order: American Sociological Association, 1982 presidential address. *American Sociological Review, 48*(1), 1–17.

Goodwin, C. (1981). *Conversational organization: Interaction between speakers and hearers*. New York: Academic Press.

Goodwin, C. (2000). Action and embodiment within situated human interaction. *Journal of Pragmatics, 32*(10), 1489–1522.

Goodwin, C. (2007). Participation, stance and affect in the organization of activities. *Discourse & Society, 18*(1), 53–73.

Goodwin, C. (2011). Contextures of action. In J. Streek, C. Goodwin, & C. D. LeBaron (Eds.), *Embodied interaction: Language and body in the material world* (pp. 182–193). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Goodwin, C. (2013). The co-operative, transformative organization of human action and knowledge. *Journal of Pragmatics, 46*(1), 8–23.

Goodwin, C., & Duranti, A. (1992). Rethinking context: An introduction. In A. Duranti & C. Goodwin (Eds.), *Rethinking context: Language as an interactive phenomenon* (pp. 1–42). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Goodwin, C., & Heritage, J. (1990). Conversation analysis. *Annual Review of Anthropology, 19*, 283–307.

Hall, J. K. (1995). "Aw, man, where you goin'?": Classroom interaction and the development of L2 interactional competence. *Issues in Applied Linguistics, 6*(2), 37–62.

Hall, J. K. (2018). From L2 interactional competence to L2 interactional repertoires: reconceptualising the objects of L2 learning. *Classroom Discourse 9*(1), 25-39.

Hall, J. K., & Pekarek Doehler, S. (2011). L2 interactional competence and development. In J. K. Hall, J. Hellerman, & S. Pekarek Doehler (Eds.), *L2 interactional competence and development* (pp. 1–18). Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Harmer, J. (2015). *The practice of English language teaching* (5th ed.). Harlow, UK: Pearson Education.

Hayashi, M. (2003). Language and the body as resources for collaborative action: A study of word searches in Japanese conversation. *Research on Language and Social Interaction, 36*(2), 109–141.

Hellermann, J. (2007). The development of practices for action in classroom dyadic interaction: Focus on task openings. *The Modern Language Journal, 91*(1), 83–96.

Hellermann, J. (2008). *Social actions for classroom language learning*. Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Hellermann, J., & Pekarek Doehler, S. (2010). On the contingent nature of language-learning tasks. *Classroom Discourse, 1*(1), 25–45.

Hepburn, A., & Bolden, G. B. (2017). *Transcribing for social research*. London: Sage.

Heritage, J. (1984a). A change-of-state token and aspects of its sequential placement. In J. M. Atkinson & J. Heritage (Eds.), *Structures of social action: Studies in conversation analysis* (pp. 299–345). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Heritage, J. (1984b). *Garfinkel and ethnomethodology*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Heritage, J. (1998). Oh-prefaced responses to inquiry. *Language in Society, 27*(3), 291–334.

Heritage, J. (2002). *Oh*-prefaced responses to assessments: A method of modifying agreement/disagreement. In C. E. Ford, B. A. Fox, & S. A. Thompson (Eds.), *The language of turn and sequence* (pp. 196–224). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Heritage, J. (2008). Conversation analysis as social theory. In B. S. Turner (Ed.), *The new Blackwell companion to social theory* (pp. 300–320). Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Heritage, J. (2012). Epistemics in action: Action formation and territories of knowledge. *Research on Language and Social Interaction, 45*(1), 1–29.

Heritage, J. (2013a). Action formation and its epistemic (and other) backgrounds. *Discourse Studies, 15*(5), 551–578.

Heritage, J. (2013b). Epistemics in conversation. In J. Sidnell & T. Stivers (Eds.), *The handbook of Conversation Analysis* (pp. 370–394). Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Heritage, J. (2014). *Transcription in word.* Retrieved from http://emcawiki.net/Transcription_in_word

Heritage, J. (2018). The ubiquity of epistemics: A rebuttal to the "epistemics of epistemics" group. *Discourse Studies*, *20*(1), 14–56.

Heritage, J., & Atkinson, J. M. (1984). Introduction. In J. M. Atkinson & J. Heritage (Eds.), *Structures of social action* (pp. 1–15). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Heritage, J., & Clayman, S. (2010). *Talk in action: Interactions, identities, and institutions*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Hess, N. (2001). *Teaching large multilevel classes*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hosoda, Y. (2006). Repair and relevance of differential language expertise in second language conversations. *Applied Linguistics, 27*(1), 25–50.

Hutchby, I., & Wooffitt, R. (1998). *Conversation analysis: Principles, practices, and applications*. Malden, MA: Polity Press.

Hymes, D. (1972). On communicative competence. In J. B. Pride & J. Holmes (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics: Selected readings* (pp. 269–293). Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin.

Jackson, D. O., & Burch, A. R. (2017). Complementary theoretical perspectives on task-based classroom realities. *TESOL Quarterly, 51*(3), 493–506.

Jefferson, G. (1978). Sequential aspects of storytelling in conversation. In J. Schenkein (Ed.), *Studies in the organization of conversational interaction* (pp. 219–248). New York: Academic Press.

Jefferson, G. (1983). Two explorations of the organization of overlapping talk in conversation. *Tilburg Papers in Language and Literature, 28*. Tilburg: Tilburg University.

Jefferson, G. (2004). Glossary of transcript symbols with an introduction. In G. H. Lerner (Ed.), *Conversation analysis: Studies from the first generation* (pp. 13–31). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Kasper, G. (2004). Participant orientations in German conversation-for-learning. *The Modern Language Journal, 88*(4), 551–567.

Kasper, G. (2006). Beyond repair: Conversation Analysis as an approach to SLA. *AILA Review, 19*(1), 83–83.

Kasper, G., & Kim, Y. (2015). Conversation-for-learning: Institutional talk beyond the classroom. In N. Markee (Ed.), *The handbook of classroom discourse and interaction* (pp. 390–408). Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Kendon, A. (1967). Some functions of gaze-direction in social interaction. *Acta Psychologica, 26*, 22–63.

Kramsch, C. (1986). From language proficiency to interactional competence. *The Modern Language Journal, 70*(4), 366–372.

Kunitz, S. (2015). Scriptlines as emergent artifacts in collaborative group planning. *Journal of Pragmatics, 76*, 135–149.

Kurhila, S. (2004). Clients or language learners – being a second language speaker in institutional interaction. In R. Gardner & J. Wagner (Eds.), *Second language conversations* (pp. 58–74). London/New York: Continuum.

Kvale, S. (1996). *Interviews: An introduction to qualitative research interviewing*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Labov, W., & Fanshel, D. (1977). *Therapeutic discourse: Psychotherapy as conversation*. New York: Academic Press.

Lave, J., & Wenger, E. (1991). *Situated learning: Legitimate peripheral participation*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Lee, Y. (2008). Yes–no questions in the third-turn position: Pedagogical discourse processes. *Discourse Processes, 45*(3), 237–262.

Lee, Y., & Hellermann, J. (2014). Tracing developmental changes through conversation analysis: Cross-sectional and longitudinal analysis. *TESOL Quarterly, 48*(4), 763–788.

Lerner, G. H. (1996). On the place of linguistic resources in the organization of talk-in-interaction: "Second person" reference in multi-party conversation. *Pragmatics, 6*(3), 281–294.

Lerner, G. H. (2003). Selecting next speaker: The context-sensitive operation of a context-free organization. *Language in Society, 32*(2), 177–201.

Levinson, S. C. (2006). On the human "interaction engine". In S. C. Levinson & N. J. Enfield (Eds.), *Roots of human sociality: Culture, cognition and interaction* (pp. 39–69). Oxford: Berg Publishers.

Levinson, S. C. (2013). Action formation and ascription. In J. Sidnell & T. Stivers (Eds.), *The handbook of Conversation Analysis* (pp. 101–130). Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Liebscher, G., & Dailey-O'Cain, J. (2003). Conversational repair as a role-defining mechanism in classroom interaction. *The Modern Language Journal, 87*(3), 375–390.

Long, M. (2015). *Second language acquisition and task-based language teaching*. Chichester, UK: John Wiley & Sons.

Lynch, M., & Macbeth, D. (2016). The epistemics of Epistemics: An introduction. *Discourse Studies, 18*(5), 493–499.

Lynch, M., & Wong, J. (2016). Reverting to a hidden interactional order: Epistemics, informationism, and conversation analysis. *Discourse Studies, 18*(5), 526-549.

Malinowski, B. (1923). The problem of meaning in primitive languages. In C. K. Ogden & I. A. Richards (Eds.), *The meaning of meaning* (pp. 296–336). New York: Harcourt, Brace and World.

Margutti, P. (2010). On designedly incomplete utterances: What counts as learning for teachers and students in primary classroom interaction. *Research on Language and Social Interaction, 43*(4), 315–345.

Margutti, P., & Drew, P. (2014). Positive evaluation of student answers in classroom instruction. *Language and Education, 28*(5), 436–458.

Markee, N. (2000). *Conversation analysis*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Markee, N. (2005). The organization of off-task talk in second language classrooms. In K. Richards & P. Seedhouse (Eds.), *Applying Conversation Analysis* (pp. 197–213). Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Markee, N. (2008). Toward a learning behavior tracking methodology for CA-for-SLA. *Applied Linguistics, 29*(3), 404–427.

Markee, N. (2015). Giving and following pedagogical instructions in task-based instruction: An ethnomethodological perspective. In C. J. Jenks & P. Seedhouse (Eds.), *International*

perspectives on ELT classroom interaction (pp. 110–128). Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Mathews-Aydinli, J., & Van Horne, R. (2006, April). Promoting the success of multilevel ESL classes: What teachers and administrators can do. *CAELA Brief, 2*, 1–5. Retrieved from www.cal.org/adultesl/pdfs/promoting-the-success-of-multilevel-esl-classes.pdf

Maynard, D. W. (2003). *Bad news, good news: Conversational order in everyday talk and clinical settings*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Maynard, D. W. (2013). Everyone and no one to turn to: Intellectual roots and contexts for Conversation Analysis. In J. Sidnell & T. Stivers (Eds.), *The handbook of Conversation Analysis* (pp. 11–31). Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

McHoul, A. (1978). The organization of turns at formal talk in the classroom. *Language in Society, 7*(2), 183–213.

Mehan, H. (1979). "What time is it, Denise?": Asking known information questions in classroom discourse. *Theory Into Practice, 18*(4), 285–294.

Mondada, L. (2014). The local constitution of multimodal resources for social interaction. *Journal of Pragmatics, 65*, 137–156.

Mondada, L., & Pekarek Doehler, S. (2004). Second language acquisition as situated practice: Task accomplishment in the French second language classroom. *The Modern Language Journal, 88*(4), 501–518.

Mori, J. (2002). Task design, plan, and development of talk-in-interaction: An analysis of a small group activity in a Japanese language classroom. *Applied Linguistics, 23*(3), 323–347.

North, B. (2014). Putting the Common European Framework of Reference to good use. *Language Teaching, 47*(2), 228–249.

Nunan, D. (2004). *Task-based language teaching*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Olsher, D. A. (2003). *Collaborative group work in second and foreign language classrooms: Talk, embodiment, and sequential organization* (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from ProQuest Dissertations Publishing (UMI 3112742).

Pekarek Doehler, S. (2018). Elaborations on L2 interactional competence: the development of L2 grammar-for-interaction. *Classroom Discourse, 9*(1), 3-24.

Pochon-Berger, E. (2009). "Doing" a task in the L2 classroom: From task instruction to talk-in-interaction. *ForumSprache, 2*, 27–41.

Pochon-Berger, E. (2011). A participant's perspective on tasks: From task instruction, through pre-task planning, to task accomplishment. *Novitas-Royal, 5*(1), 71–90.

Pomerantz, A. (1984). Agreeing and disagreeing with assessments. In J. M. Atkinson & J. Heritage (Eds.), *Structures of social action: Studies in conversation analysis* (pp. 57–101). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pomerantz, A., & Fehr, B. J. (1997). Conversation analysis: An approach to the study of social action as sense making practices. In T. A. Van Dijk (Ed.), *Discourse as social interaction* (pp. 64–91). London: Sage.

Prabhu, N. S. (1987). *Second language pedagogy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Psathas, G. (1990). *Interaction competence*. Washington, D.C.: University Press of America.

Richards, J. C., & Rodgers, T. S. (2014). *Approaches and methods in language teaching*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Richards, K. (2005). Introduction. In K. Richards & P. Seedhouse (Eds.), *Applying Conversation Analysis* (pp. 1–18). Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Rossano, F. (2012). *Gaze behavior in face-to-face interaction* (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from Radboud Repository (99151).

Sacks, H. (1992). *Lectures on conversation*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Sacks, H., & Schegloff, E. A. (1979). Two preferences in the organization of reference to persons in conversation and their interaction. In G. Psathas (Ed.), *Everyday language: Studies in ethnomethodology* (pp. 15–21). New York: Irvington Publishers.

Sacks, H., Schegloff, E. A., & Jefferson, G. (1974). A simplest systematics for the organization of turn-taking for conversation. *Language, 50*(4), 696–735.

Savignon, S. J. (1987). Communicative language teaching. *Theory Into Practice, 26*(4), 235–242.

Schegloff, E. A. (1968). Sequencing in conversational openings. *American Anthropologist, 70*(6), 1075–1095.

Schegloff, E. A. (1992). Repair after next turn: The last structurally provided defense of intersubjectivity in conversation. *American Journal of Sociology, 97*(5), 1295–1345.

Schegloff, E. A. (1993). Reflections on quantification in the study of conversation. *Research on Language and Social Interaction, 26*(1), 99–128.

Schegloff, E. A. (1996a). Confirming allusions: Toward an empirical account of action. *American Journal of Sociology, 102*(1), 161–216.

Schegloff, E. A. (1996b). Issues of relevance for discourse analysis: Contingency in action, interaction and co-participant context. In E. H. Hovy & D. R. Scott (Eds.), *Computational and conversational discourse: Burning issues – an interdisciplinary account* (pp. 3–25). Berlin/Heidelberg: Springer.

Schegloff, E. A. (1996c). Turn organization: One intersection of grammar and interaction. In E. Ochs, E. A. Schegloff, & S. A. Thompson (Eds.), *Interaction and grammar* (pp. 52–133). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schegloff, E. A. (1997). Practices and actions: Boundary cases of other-initiated repair. *Discourse Processes, 23*(3), 499–546.

Schegloff, E. A. (2007). *Sequence organization in interaction: A primer in conversation analysis* (Vol. 1). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schegloff, E. A. (2010). Commentary on Stivers and Rossano: "Mobilizing response". *Research on Language and Social Interaction, 43*(1), 38–48.

Schegloff, E. A., Jefferson, G., & Sacks, H. (1977). The preference for self-correction in the organization of repair in conversation. *Language, 53*(2), 361–382.

Schegloff, E. A., & Sacks, H. (1973). Opening up closings. *Semiotica, 8*(4), 289–327.

Schweikard, D. P. (2017). Cooperation and social obligations. In N. J. Enfield & P. Kockelman (Eds.), *Distributed agency* (pp. 233–242). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Searle, J. R. (1969). *Speech acts: An essay in the philosophy of language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Seedhouse, P. (2004). *The interactional architecture of the language classroom: A Conversation Analysis perspective*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Seedhouse, P., & Almutairi, S. (2009). A holistic approach to task-based interaction. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics, 19*(3), 311-338.

Seedhouse, P., Walsh, S., & Jenks, C. J. (Eds.). (2010). *Conceptualising "learning" in applied linguistics*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Seidlhofer, B. (2011). *Understanding English as a lingua franca*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sert, O., & Jacknick, C. M. (2015). Student smiles and the negotiation of epistemics in L2 classrooms. *Journal of Pragmatics, 77*, 97–112.

Sidnell, J. (Ed.) (2009). *Conversation analysis: Comparative perspectives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sidnell, J. (2010). *Conversation analysis: An introduction*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Stevanovic, M. (2012). Establishing joint decisions in a dyad. *Discourse Studies, 14*(6), 779–803.

Stevanovic, M., & Peräkylä, A. (2012). Deontic authority in interaction: The right to announce, propose, and decide. *Research on Language and Social Interaction, 45*(3), 297–321.

Stivers, T. (2004). "No no no" and other types of multiple sayings in social interaction. *Human Communication Research, 30*(2), 260–293.

Stivers, T. (2005). Modified repeats: One method for asserting primary rights from second position. *Research on Language and Social Interaction, 38*(2), 131–158.

Stivers, T. (2010). An overview of the question–response system in American English conversation. *Journal of Pragmatics, 42*(10), 2772–2781.

Stivers, T. (2015). Coding social interaction: A heretical approach in conversation analysis? *Research on Language and Social Interaction, 48*(1), 1–19.

Stivers, T., Enfield, N. J., Brown, P., Englert, C., Hayashi, M., Heinemann, T., … Levinson, S. C. (2009). Universals and cultural variation in turn-taking in conversation. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences, 106*(26), 10587–10592.

Stivers, T., & Rossano, F. (2010). Mobilising response. *Research on Language and Social Interaction, 43*(1), 3–31.

Stivers, T., & Sidnell, J. (2013). Introduction. In J. Sidnell & T. Stivers (Eds.), *The handbook of Conversation Analysis* (pp. 1–8). Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Stivers, T., & Sidnell, J. (2016). Proposals for activity collaboration. *Research on Language and Social Interaction, 49*(2), 148–166.

ten Have, P. (2007). *Doing conversation analysis* (2nd ed.). London: Sage.

Thompson, S. A., Fox, B. A., & Couper-Kuhlen, E. (2015). *Grammar in everyday talk: Building responsive actions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate [UCLES]. (2017). *Cambridge English Language Assessment*. Retrieved from www.cambridgeenglish.org

Van den Branden, K., Bygate, M., & Norris, J. (Eds.). (2009). *Task-based language teaching: A reader*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Vygotsky, L.S. (1978). *Mind in society: The development of higher psychological processes.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Wagner, J., & Gardner, R. (2004). Introduction. In R. Gardner & J. Wagner (Eds.), *Second language conversations*. London/New York: Continuum.

Walsh, S. (2011). *Exploring classroom discourse: Language in action*. Abingdon, UK: Routledge.

Walsh, S. (2012). Conceptualising classroom interactional competence. *Novitas-Royal, 6*(1), 1–14.

Watanabe, A. (2016). Engaging in an interactional routine in ELF classroom: The development of L2 interactional competence over time. *Novitas-Royal, 10*(1), 48–70.

Watanabe, A. (2017). Developing L2 interactional competence: Increasing participation through self-selection in post-expansion sequences. *Classroom Discourse, 8*(3), 271–293.

Wenger, E. (1998). *Communities of practice: Learning, meaning, and identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Willis, J. (1996). *A framework for task-based learning*. Harlow, UK: Longman.

Wittgenstein, L. (1953). *Philosophical investigations* (G. E. M. Anscombe, Trans.). Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Wong, J. (2000a). Delayed next turn repair initiation in native/non-native speaker English conversation. *Applied Linguistics, 21*(2), 244–267.

Wong, J. (2000b). Repetition in conversation: A look at "first and second sayings". *Research on Language and Social Interaction, 33*(4), 407–424.

Yasui, E. (2013). Collaborative idea construction: Repetition of gestures and talk in joint brainstorming. *Journal of Pragmatics, 46*(1), 157–172.

Zuengler, J., Ford, C. E., & Fassnacht, C. (1998). *The analyst's eyes: Data collection as theory*. (CELA Technical Report). Albany, NY: SUNY Center for English Learning and Achievement.

Appendixes

Appendix A
Transcription conventions

Drawn and adapted from Jefferson (2004) and Mondada (2014)

[	indicates the beginning of overlapping talk.
]	indicates the end of overlapping talk.
=	used in pairs with one at the end of a line and another at the beginning of a later line; indicates latching, which means that the utterances are delivered with no gap between them.
(0.0)	indicates a period of time in tenths of a second.
(.)	indicates a short gap of less than one-tenth of a second.
:	indicates the lengthening of the prior sound. More colons indicate further lengthening.
.	indicates falling final intonation.
,	indicates continuing final intonation.
¿	indicates mid-rising final intonation.
?	indicates rising final intonation.
°word°	indicates that utterance is delivered at a markedly quieter volume than the surrounding talk.
–	indicates that the prior lexical item or sound is cut off abruptly.
.hh	indicates an inbreath.
hh	indicates an outbreath.
.tdk	indicates the sound of clicking one's tongue against the upper palate.
( )	indicates talk that is unintelligible to the transcriber. The amount of space between the parentheses denotes the length of the utterance.
(word)	indicates that the talk within the parentheses is the transcriber's best guess at what was said.
((word))	indicates the transcriber's notes for the reader.
fig	indicates an image, which is a screenshot from the video data.
#	indicates the moment at which the screen shot was taken.
gaze	indicates a line where a speaker's gaze direction on a recipient is described.
|word|	indicates the interval of gaze direction.
---	indicates the continuation of gaze direction.
word->	indicates that gaze direction continues onto another line.
>-word	indicates that gaze direction has continued from the prior line.
word->>	indicates that gaze direction continues past the end of the extract.

Appendix B
University of Sydney Human Research Ethics Committee project approval letter

RESEARCH INTEGRITY
Human Research Ethics Committee
Web: http://sydney.edu.au/ethics/
Email: ro.humanethics@sydney.edu.au

Address for all correspondence:
Level 6, Jane Foss Russell Building - G02
The University of Sydney
NSW 2006 AUSTRALIA

Ref: [SA/KFG]]

27 September 2012

Dr Ahmar Mahboob
Department of Linguistics
Faculty of Arts & Social Sciences
The University of Sydney
Email: ahmar.mahboob@sydney.edu.au

Dear Dr Mahboob

Thank you for your correspondence dated 21 September 2012 addressing comments made to you by the Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC).

On 26 September 2012 the Chair of the HREC considered this information and approved your protocol entitled **"Communication across proficiency levels: A study of interactions and language proficiency".**

Details of the approval are as follows:

Protocol No.: **15209**

Approval Date: **26 September 2012**

First Annual Report Due: **30 September 2013**

Authorised Personnel: **Dr Ahmar Mahboob**
Dr Scott Barnes
Ms Lydia Dutcher

Documents Approved:

Document	Version Number	Date
Participant Information Statement for Students	Version 2	11 September 2012
Participant Information Statement for Teachers	Version 2	11 September 2012
Participant Consent Form for Students	Version 1	20 August 2012
Participant Consent Form for Teachers	Version 1	20 August 2012
Topics for semi-structured focus groups and interviews	Version 1	16 April 2012

HREC approval is valid for four (4) years from the approval date stated in this letter and is granted pending the following conditions being met:

Condition/s of Approval

- Continuing compliance with the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Research Involving Humans.

Manager Human Ethics
Dr Margaret Faedo
T: +61 2 8627 8176
E: margaret.faedo@sydney.edu.au

Human Ethics Secretariat:
Ms Karen Greer T: +61 2 8627 8171 E: karen.greer@sydney.edu.au
Ms Patricia Engelmann T: +61 2 8627 8172 E: patricia.engelmann@sydney.edu.au
Ms Kala Retnam T: +61 2 8627 8173 E: kala.retnam@sydney.edu.au

ABN 15 211 513 464
CRICOS 00026A

THE UNIVERSITY OF SYDNEY

- Provision of an annual report on this research to the Human Research Ethics Committee from the approval date and at the completion of the study. Failure to submit reports will result in withdrawal of ethics approval for the project.
- All serious and unexpected adverse events should be reported to the HREC within 72 hours.
- All unforeseen events that might affect continued ethical acceptability of the project should be reported to the HREC as soon as possible.
- Any changes to the protocol including changes to research personnel must be approved by the HREC by submitting a Modification Form before the research project can proceed.

Chief Investigator / Supervisor's responsibilities:

1. You must retain copies of all signed Consent Forms (if applicable) and provide these to the HREC on request.
2. It is your responsibility to provide a copy of this letter to any internal/external granting agencies if requested.

Please do not hesitate to contact Research Integrity (Human Ethics) should you require further information or clarification.

Yours sincerely

S. J. Assinder

Dr Stephen Assinder
Chair
Human Research Ethics Committee

cc: *Lydia Dutcher*
lydia.dutcher@sydney.edu.au

This HREC is constituted and operates in accordance with the National Health and Medical Research Council's (NHMRC) National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007), NHMRC and Universities Australia Australian Code for the Responsible Conduct of Research (2007) and the CPMP/ICH Note for Guidance on Good Clinical Practice.

Appendix C
Participant information statement (students)

THE UNIVERSITY OF SYDNEY

Department of Linguistics
School of Letters, Art, & Media
Faculty of Arts & Social Sciences

ABN 15 211 513 464

DR AHMAR MAHBOOB
Senior Lecturer

Room 245
Transient Building F12
The University of Sydney
NSW 2006 AUSTRALIA
Telephone: +61 2 9351 3548
Facsimile: +61 2 9351 4212
Email: ahmar.mahboob@sydney.edu.au
Web: http://www.sydney.edu.au/

Communication across proficiency levels: A study of interactions and language proficiency

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION STATEMENT FOR STUDENTS

(1) What is the study about?

You are invited to participate in a study of how people communicate in cross-class activity group conversations. This project will study how people from different cultures and/or countries who have different proficiency levels interact together in English language classes. It will aim to describe the setting of the classes as well, including the opinions of the people involved and the details of the interactions that take place in the classes.

(2) Who is carrying out the study?

The study is being conducted by Lydia Dutcher and will form the basis of a Higher Degree by Research at The University of Sydney under the supervision of Dr Ahmar Mahboob, Senior Lecturer, and Dr Scott Barnes, Research Fellow.

(3) What does the study involve?

You are being invited to participate in all or some of this the following parts of this project.

- If you agree to participate in a **focus group**, you and some other people in your class will be interviewed together about your experience in Cross-Class Activities at CET.
- If you agree to participate in a **recorded class session**, audio and video equipment will be used to record your group conversations during a series of Cross-Class Activity sessions and you will be invited to participate in a follow-up interview afterward. This session will take place during the normal class time. During the recorded class sessions, your class and group work will proceed normally. However, you will be recorded via audio and video equipment.
- If you agree to participate in a **follow-up interview**, you will be shown the video from the recorded sessions and asked to reflect on what is happening at certain moments in the sessions.

(4) How much time will the study take?

- The **focus group** will take one hour and will take place outside of class time in a classroom at CET. The focus group will be scheduled in the week of (*insert date here*).

- The **recorded class sessions** will happen at the same time as your normal Cross-Class Activity session times, so they will not require any extra time from you. These recorded sessions will take place in a classroom at CET on the following dates: (*insert dates here*).

- The **follow-up interview** will take one hour and will take place outside of class time in a classroom at CET. The follow-up interview will be scheduled in the week of (*insert date here*).

(5) Can I withdraw from the study?

Being in this study is completely voluntary - you are not under any obligation to consent and - if you do consent - you can withdraw at any time without affecting your relationship with The University of Sydney or The Centre for English Teaching.

If you agree to take part in a recorded session, you may stop your participation at any time if you do not wish to continue. However, because the research involves group activities, it will not be possible to leave out data involving you collected prior to that point.

(6) Will anyone else know the results?

All aspects of the study, including results, will be strictly confidential and only the researchers will have access to information about participants.

A report on the study may be submitted for publication and portions of the data may be used for teaching and presentation purposes, but personal identifying information about individual participants will not be used.

(7) Will the study benefit me?

There are no benefits to participation in the study.

(8) What if I require further information about the study or my involvement in it?

When you have read this information, Lydia Dutcher will discuss it with you further and answer any questions you may have. If you would like to know more at any stage, please feel free to contact Lydia Dutcher (lydia.dutcher@sydney.edu.au; +61 405 733 374) or Dr Ahmar Mahboob (ahmar.mahboob@sydney.edu.au; +61 2 9351 3548).

(9) What if I have a complaint or any concerns?

Any person with concerns or complaints about the conduct of a research study can contact The Manager, Human Ethics Administration, University of Sydney on +61 2 8627 8176 (Telephone); +61 2 8627 8177 (Facsimile) or ro.humanethics@sydney.edu.au (Email).

This information sheet is for you to keep

Appendix D
Participant information statement (teachers)

THE UNIVERSITY OF SYDNEY

Department of Linguistics
School of Letters, Art, & Media
Faculty of Arts & Social Sciences

ABN 15 211 513 464

DR AHMAR MAHBOOB
Senior Lecturer

Room 245
Transient Building F12
The University of Sydney
NSW 2006 AUSTRALIA
Telephone: +61 2 9351 3548
Facsimile: +61 2 9351 4212
Email: ahmar.mahboob@sydney.edu.au
Web: http://www.sydney.edu.au/

Communication across proficiency levels: A study of interactions and language proficiency

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION STATEMENT FOR TEACHERS

(1) What is the study about?

You are invited to participate in a study of how people communicate in cross-class activity group conversations. This project will investigate interactions between participants in a series of multicultural, multilingual, multi-proficiency-level adult English language classroom sessions. It will also aim to provide a rich description of these settings, including the surrounding context and the interactions that occur within the sessions.

(2) Who is carrying out the study?

The study is being conducted by Lydia Dutcher and will form the basis of a Higher Degree by Research at The University of Sydney under the supervision of Dr Ahmar Mahboob, Senior Lecturer, and Dr Scott Barnes, Research Fellow.

(3) What does the study involve?

You are being invited to participate in all or some of this the following parts of this project.

- If you agree to participate in an **exploratory interview**, you and another teacher in the General English program will be interviewed together about your experience with planning and delivering Cross-Class Activities at CET.
- If you agree to participate in an **observed session**, you will be observed teaching a preparatory session for the Cross-Class Activity (Session1). This session will *not* be recorded.
- If you agree to participate in a **recorded class session**, audio and video equipment will be used to record a Cross-Class Activity session that you will teach and you will be invited to participate in a follow-up interview afterward. During the recorded class sessions, your planning, teaching and management of the sessions will proceed normally.
- If you agree to participate in a **follow-up interview**, you will be shown the video from the recorded sessions and asked to reflect on what is happening at certain moments in the sessions.

THE UNIVERSITY OF SYDNEY

(4) How much time will the study take?

- The **exploratory interview** will take approximately 1 hour and will take place at CET in the afternoon after class time. These interviews will be scheduled in the week of (*insert date here*).
- The **observed and recorded class sessions** will happen during regularly-scheduled class time, so they will not require any extra time from you. The **observed class sessions** will take place at CET on (*insert dates here*) and the **recorded class sessions** will take place at CET on the following dates: (*insert dates here*).
- The **follow-up interview** will take approximately one hour and will take place at CET in the afternoon outside of class time. These interviews will be scheduled in the week of (*insert date here*) and you may select a time which is most convenient for you.

(5) Can I withdraw from the study?

Being in this study is completely voluntary - you are not under any obligation to consent and - if you do consent - you can withdraw at any time without affecting your relationship with The University of Sydney or The Centre for English Teaching.

If you teach in a recorded session and wish to withdraw, as this is a group activity it will not be possible to exclude individual data once the session has commenced.

(6) Will anyone else know the results?

All aspects of the study, including results, will be strictly confidential and only the researchers will have access to information on participants.

A report on the study may be submitted for publication and portions of the data may be used for teaching and presentation purposes, but personally identifying information about individual participants will not be used.

(7) Will the study benefit me?

There are no benefits to participating in the study.

(8) What if I require further information about the study or my involvement in it?

When you have read this information, Lydia Dutcher will discuss it with you further and answer any questions you may have. If you would like to know more at any stage, please feel free to contact Lydia Dutcher (lydia.dutcher@sydney.edu.au; +61 405 733 374) or Dr Ahmar Mahboob (ahmar.mahboob@sydney.edu.au; +61 2 9351 3548).

(9) What if I have a complaint or any concerns?

Any person with concerns or complaints about the conduct of a research study can contact The Manager, Human Ethics Administration, University of Sydney on +61 2 8627 8176 (Telephone); +61 2 8627 8177 (Facsimile) or ro.humanethics@sydney.edu.au (Email).

This information sheet is for you to keep

Appendix E
Consent form (students)

THE UNIVERSITY OF SYDNEY

Department of Linguistics
School of Letters, Art, & Media
Faculty of Arts & Social Sciences

ABN 15 211 513 464

DR AHMAR MAHBOOB
Senior Lecturer

Room 245
Transient Building F12
The University of Sydney
NSW 2006 AUSTRALIA
Telephone: +61 2 9351 3548
Facsimile: +61 2 9351 4212
Email: ahmar.mahboob@sydney.edu.au
Web: http://www.sydney.edu.au/

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM FOR STUDENTS

I, ...[PRINT NAME], give consent to my participation in the research project

TITLE: Communication across proficiency levels: a study of interactions and language proficiency

In giving my consent I acknowledge that:

1. What I need to do for this project and the time it will take have been explained to me and any questions I have about the project have been answer to my satisfaction.

2. I have read the Participant Information Statement and have been given the opportunity to discuss the information and my involvement in the project with the researcher/s.

3. I understand that being in this study is completely voluntary – I am not under any obligation to consent.

4. I understand that my involvement is strictly confidential. I understand that any research data gathered from the results of the study may be published or used for teaching or presentation purposes however personal identifying information about me will not be revealed.

5. I understand that I can withdraw from the study at any time, without affecting my relationship with the researcher(s) or the University of Sydney or The Centre for English Teaching now or in the future.

6. I understand that I can stop my participation in the recorded lesson at any time if I do not wish to continue. I also understand that, because the research involves group

activities, it will not be possible to exclude data involving me collected prior to that point.

7. I consent to participate in:

- A focus group YES ☐ NO ☐
- Recorded sessions YES ☐ NO ☐
- A follow-up interview YES ☐ NO ☐

8. I consent to:

- Video-recording YES ☐ NO ☐
- Audio-recording YES ☐ NO ☐
- Receiving Feedback YES ☐ NO ☐

If you answered YES to the "Receiving Feedback" question, please provide your details i.e. mailing address, email address.

Feedback Option

Address: _____

_____

Email: _____

....
Please PRINT name Signature

....
Class level

...../.....
Gender/Nationality

.....
Date

Appendix F
Consent form (teachers)

Department of Linguistics
School of Letters, Art, & Media
Faculty of Arts & Social Sciences

ABN 15 211 513 464

DR AHMAR MAHBOOB
Senior Lecturer

Room 245
Transient Building F12
The University of Sydney
NSW 2006 AUSTRALIA
Telephone: +61 2 9351 3548
Facsimile: +61 2 9351 4212
Email: ahmar.mahboob@sydney.edu.au
Web: http://www.sydney.edu.au/

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM FOR TEACHERS

I, ...[PRINT NAME], give consent to my participation in the research project

TITLE: Communication across proficiency levels: a study of interactions and language proficiency

In giving my consent I acknowledge that:

1. The procedures required for the project and the time involved have been explained to me, and any questions I have about the project have been answered to my satisfaction.

2. I have read the Participant Information Statement and have been given the opportunity to discuss the information and my involvement in the project with the researcher/s.

3. I understand that being in this study is completely voluntary – I am not under any obligation to consent.

4. I understand that my involvement is strictly confidential. I understand that any research data gathered from the results of the study may be published or used for teaching or presentation purposes however personal identifying information about me will not be revealed.

5. I understand that I can withdraw from the study at any time, without affecting my relationship with the researcher(s) or the University of Sydney or The Centre for English Teaching now or in the future.

6. I understand that I can stop my participation in the recorded lesson at any time if I do not wish to continue. I also understand that, because the research involves group activities, it will not be possible to exclude data involving me collected prior to that point.

7. I consent to participate in:

- An interview YES ☐ NO ☐
- A class observation YES ☐ NO ☐
- Recorded sessions YES ☐ NO ☐
- A follow-up interview YES ☐ NO ☐

8. I consent to:

- Video-recording YES ☐ NO ☐
- Audio-recording YES ☐ NO ☐
- Receiving Feedback YES ☐ NO ☐

If you answered YES to the "Receiving Feedback" question, please provide your details i.e. mailing address, email address.

Feedback Option

Address: _____

_____

Email: _____

....
Please PRINT name

.....
Signature

....
Class level (currently teaching)

.....
Date

Appendix G
Interview topics

ETHICS AND PRIVACY APPLICATION FORM FOR RESEARCH INVOLVING HUMANS

Project Title: Communication across proficiency levels: A study of interactions and language proficiency

Topics for semi-structured focus groups and interviews

Student focus groups

- educational background
- length of stay and courses taken at the language school
- personal reasons and goals for language learning
- description of current class
- purpose of cross-proficiency-level sessions
- personal experience in cross-proficiency-level sessions
- strengths and weaknesses of sessions

Teacher interviews

- length of time at the language school and with the General English program
- description of current class
- purpose of cross-proficiency-level sessions
- personal experience with planning and delivery of cross-proficiency-level sessions
- strengths and weaknesses of sessions