

A CONVERSATION ANALYTIC STUDY ON
PARTICIPATION PRACTICES IN THE AMERICAN GRADUATE CLASSROOM:
EAST ASIAN STUDENTS VS. L1 ENGLISH-SPEAKING STUDENTS

by

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ABSTRACT

A CONVERSATION ANALYTIC STUDY ON PARTICIPATION PRACTICES IN THE AMERICAN CLASSROOM: EAST ASIAN STUDENTS VS. L1 ENGLISH-SPEAKING STUDENTS

Junko Takahashi

In an increasingly global world, there has been a steep rise in the population of East Asian students (EASs) arriving in the United States to pursue post-secondary degrees. This has made EASs' reticent and passive behaviors in the American classroom—a problem that has been raised and discussed for years—more salient today than ever before. While there has been a sizable amount of previous research investigating EASs who did not participate in class, very little attention has been paid to EASs who *did* participate and how they participate. This study examines EASs' participation practices and how they differ from those of native-English-speaking students (NESSs). Using the conversation analysis (CA) method, I examined 38 hours of video-recorded and transcribed graduate classroom sessions from a university in the U.S., paying particular attention to both linguistic and non-linguistic features as well as various facets of embodiment, including gaze, gestures, and body movement.

The analysis shows that both EASs and NESSs undertook three distinct stages of self-selection: namely, *registering*, *gearing up*, and *launching*. While EASs tended to faithfully follow the three full stages, NESSs tended to economize their process to reach self-selection faster and more effortlessly. In addition, in responding to teacher questions, EASs typically utilized the *answering* style that pursues a narrow focus on answering the teacher question, while NESSs were found to engage in the *exploring* style without such a narrow focus. Finally, in making affiliative or disaffiliative contributions to class discussions without any teacher questions or prompts, EASs were found to display a *factual stance*, without much use of affective elements, while NESSs tended to express an *affective stance*. Findings of this study contribute to the literature on EASs' class participation as the first CA study on this topic and to that of classroom discourse in general. Pedagogically, these findings can constitute a useful basis for equipping instructors with better tools for working with EASs and training EASs to develop a more effective style of participation in the American graduate classroom.

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I - INTRODUCTION

“Whoever is nearest and quickest hits the ball, and if you step back, someone else will hit it. No one stops to give you a turn. You’re responsible for taking your own turn” (Sakamoto & Natsuoka, 1982, p. 82).

During my first month of graduate school, newly arrived in the United States, I found myself in the middle of a silent crisis. Utterly overwhelmed by the outspokenness of my American classmates, I was overcome with anxiety and frustration at not being able to be an active class participant, despite my strong desire and self-expectation to be one. I began to fear that the professors and my classmates would see me as an incompetent student. Quite contrarily, my true intention was to contribute to the whole-class discussions and to be a productive class member. Thus, one day I decided to attempt to self-select during a class—to call on myself to participate in the discussion. While I prepared to do this, I became more observant, and then aware of the way American students orally participated in class. I noticed that many of them raised their hands, while several others merely jumped in without doing so. Some began speaking as soon as, or even before, the prior speaker completed his or her sentence. There were scenes where a sort of floor competition unfolded before my eyes. I came to a dreadful realization: that it was impossible for me to pursue such a competition. Thus, I settled on the safest participation strategy: just raising my hand and waiting for the professor to nominate me. However, this often meant that the turn my professor allocated to me was very limited, since some students would still begin speaking up even before others raised their hands. Fast-forward to 10 years later, when I was standing at the front of a classroom, teaching a

Japanese course at a college. My class included some talkative native-English-speaking (NES) students and some international students, including silent ones from Asian countries. This time, from a teacher's perspective, I endeavored to have everyone equally contribute to the whole-class discussions. However, I found it extremely challenging to get the Asian students to speak up without directly calling on them. The faces of those Asian students sitting quietly in my class brought to mind the image of myself as a helpless, silent student in the past. Although I have become a better self-selector in class today, because I have learned over time not to just raise my hand, but also to jump in, sometimes by speaking as soon as the prior speaker completes his/her sentence or even by overlapping with him/her, I do still need to make a conscious effort to do so. Thus, I continue to wonder: why would Asian students need to go through such trouble just to "participate" in class in the United States in the first place? Why is it so difficult to understand the timing involved in jumping into a classroom discussion, and why do American students seem to grab the floor so easily and quickly, while it takes me so long to get ready to do so?

Educators may easily conclude that such reticent students are "shy," or simply that their "culture" dictates that they not speak up in class. However, it seems that there is much more underlying complexity—more than "shyness" and "culture"—to this phenomenon. Let us take Japan's English education, for instance. Despite the six years of mandatory English education throughout middle and high school, not to mention that the vast majority of college students take English as a foundation course, Japanese students' lack of participation skills in English-speaking classrooms remains a problem. Since this issue was first raised, it has been analyzed in several studies; some researchers have

suggested classroom solutions to it, such as teacher sensitivity training, assistance in helping students accommodate to the local classroom culture, and faculty support for students (Anderson, 1993; Miller, 1995; Harumi, 2011). However, the issue remains. I intuitively understand that it can never be resolved with a one-way paradigm, since I have developed some perspectives both as a non-native-English-speaking student and as a language teacher. As an East Asian student (EAS), I have experienced the rough reality of cultural transition, second language learning, and the process of adjusting to the American classroom culture. As a teacher, I equally struggled with how I could encourage active participation from the Asian students in my classroom. The current project is motivated first and foremost by these personal experiences that have been built up over the years towards a deeper, larger inquiry: what can we do to help Asian students become better participants in the American classroom?

Statement of the Problem

The issue of Asian students' lack of participation has become a more salient classroom phenomenon given the steep rise in the Asian student population. The Institute of International Education (2017) cites more than a doubling in the number of Asian international students in U.S. colleges in the 2014-2015 academic year, compared to 2000-2001. Approximately 60 percent of all international students come from Asian countries, the majority from China, South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore, and Japan. This explosion of the East Asian student (EAS) population in colleges in the U.S. has been affecting classroom dynamics in higher education. Indeed, EASs' reticence has grown

into a broader issue among educators in English-speaking classrooms, and EASs are frequently branded as passive learners. Of course, the lack of participation does not apply to all Asian students. Indeed, some have argued that the image of “silent Asian students” has been blown out of proportion and turned into a negative racial and cultural stereotype. Kumaravadivelu (2008) has pointed out that Asian students have been prototypically depicted as exhibiting “oppressed obedience to teachers; lack of critical thinking; and passive participation in class activities” (p. 54-58). Among teachers and professors, the notion of “Asianness” (Kobayashi, 2011) seems to have negative connotations. However, even after considering the element of stereotype, a large number of studies still claim that EASs in general tend to face difficulty participating in Western classrooms, regardless of the class type or academic level (Sato, 1990; Tsui, 1996; Liu, 2001; Nakane, 2007; Kim, 2006; Chang & Kanno, 2010; Yanagi & Baker, 2016). This includes doctoral students with a high level of English proficiency, many of whom have commented that the biggest challenges they faced in American classrooms were leading class discussions, participating in whole-class discussions, giving formal oral presentations (Kim, 2006; Chang & Kanno, 2010), or “breaking into a conversation to say related comments when somebody else is talking or has finished talking” (Yanagi and Baker, 2016, p. 629). The common conclusions from these studies illuminate the fact that East Asian participants exhibit similar verbal behaviors regardless of their English proficiency level or the location of the study. Both educators and students themselves have acknowledged this passive tendency, as scientifically supported by prior studies, both quantitative and qualitative.

Generally speaking, class participation is beneficial for both teachers and students (Fassinger, 1995). Thus, the relative scarcity of student self-selection presents a problem given the importance of participation in student learning (Handelsman, Briggs, Sullivan, & Towler, 2005; Mohr & Mohr, 2007; Paoletti & Fele, 2004; Weaver & Qi, 2005). It is through participation that students' perspectives, understanding, experience, and knowledge become visible and valued by professors and classmates. Thus, much research has been conducted with the goal of enhancing general student participation. Prior work on EASs' class participation, however, has been mostly devoted to identifying their learning styles (Hall, 1976; Oxford & Burry-Stock, 1995; Rao, 2001, 2002; Scollon, 1999; Williams, 2017) and the factors explaining their reticence in the classroom through ethnographic observations and interviews. These factors included strong sociocultural influence from Confucianism (Biggs, 1998; Kang, 2005; Lee, 2009; Liu, 2001; LoCastro, 1996), strict pedagogical and sociocultural norms (Littlewood, 2001; Liu & Littlewood, 1997; LoCastro, 1996), and psychological hindrance created by affective factors (Ellis, 1994; Krashen, 1987; Tsui, 1996). From a discourse analytic perspective, Nakane (2007) discussed "silence" as a face-saving activity to promote positive politeness, while a conversation analytic view related to projectability has also been suggested (Fox, Hayashi, & Jasperson, 1996; Hayashi, 2003; Tanaka, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2004, 2005). These studies have been able to deepen teacher knowledge and understanding in dealing with a diverse classroom community; however, no effective solutions to promote EASs' participation have yet been offered.

Purpose of the Study

Although it may be valuable to explore how the classroom environment, teacher instruction, and class activities can be altered to better suit EASs, it seems equally crucial to encourage EASs to take an agentive role and accommodate to the Western classroom culture. Moreover, previous studies have focused more on the EASs who do not participate in classrooms than on the ones who *do* participate. The question most past studies have explored has been “why” EASs do not participate, but there has not been enough investigation of “how” and “when” they participate. In order to uncover these “when” and “how” elements, the current study attempts to navigate towards a new direction: to document the turn-by-turn self-selection process of EASs in the American graduate classroom, using the conversation analytic approach. The study will also attempt to identify the NESSs’ participation pattern(s) and the gap between the EASs’ and NESSs’ pattern(s). By carefully examining video data of teacher-student interactions obtained in actual classrooms, the timing and the resources they employ at their self-selections and participations, both linguistically and multimodally, will be investigated.

Research Questions

1. What are East Asian students’ participation practices in the American graduate classroom?
2. What are L1 English-speaking students’ participation practices in the American graduate classroom?

3. What are the differences between East Asian students' participation practices and L1 English-speaking students' participation practices?

Definitions of Terms

The key terms are defined below: *Student self-selection*, *class participation*, *East Asian students* (EASs), *L1* and *L2*, and *American graduate classroom*.

Student self-selection. *Self-selection* in broad terms is “selection made by oneself” or “action for putting oneself forward for something” (Oxford English Dictionary). *Student self-selection* refers to the action of obtaining the turn to make an oral contribution by a student within the pedagogical environment, including classrooms, workshops, or any sessions where students and a teacher coexist. The term *self-selection* was originally coined by Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974) in their paper that examined the system of turn-taking. Later, drawing on this study and on Mehan's (1979) study on analytical techniques of classroom discourse, Allwright (1980) created a systematized microanalysis of turn-taking in the language classroom. This turn-taking system was categorized into two opposing sides: A, *turn-getting*; and B, *turn-giving*. While *turn-giving* entailed actions made by a turn-provider or turn-allocator (most likely the teacher), such as “make a general solicit” and “make a personal solicit,” etc., *turn-getting* was classified into eight subcategories listed below:

- (1) Accept: respond to a personal solicit.
- (2) Steal: respond to a personal solicit made to another person.

- (3) Take: respond to a general solicit (e.g. a question addressed to the whole class).
- (4) Take: take an unsolicited turn, when a turn is available—“discourse maintenance.”
- (5) Make: make an unsolicited turn, during the current speaker’s turn, without intent to gain the floor (e.g. comments that indicate one is paying attention).
- (6) Make: start a turn, during that of the current speaker’s, with intent to gain the floor (e.g. interrupt, make a takeover bid).
- (7) Make: take a wholly private turn, at any point in the discourse (e.g. a private rehearsal, for pronunciation practice, of a word spoken by the teacher).
- (8) Miss: fail to respond to a personal solicit within whatever time is allowed by the interlocutor(s).

Given my focus on voluntary student participation without any turn allocation from the teacher, for the purpose of the current study, I adopt the following categories from Allwright (1980): (2) Steal: respond to a personal solicit made to another person; (3) Take: respond to a general solicit; (4) Take: take an unsolicited turn, when a turn is available; (5) Make: make an unsolicited turn, during the current speaker’s turn, without intent to gain the floor; and (6) Make: start a turn, during that of the current speaker’s, with intent to gain the floor. Each of these categories, (2)-(6), will be regarded as an act of *student self-selection*. Moreover, each will include the accompaniment of handraising and teacher nomination as well.

Class participation. Although the term *student participation* shares similar connotations as *student self-selection* (e.g. “giving verbal contributions”), and it is frequently used to signify this action in the education environment, *class participation* is a less precise, broader action than *student self-selection*. For instance, *class participation* can include cases when students are engaged in class activities and listening to the teacher’s and others’ opinions (Wade, 1994). Isenberg (1991) adds that engaging in small-group discussions is also an act of *class participation*. With these definitions in mind, *class participation* seems to encompass larger actions than *student self-selection*, and it also seems to include passive engagement in the classroom experience. In the current study, however, while self-selection refers to the act of obtaining the floor itself, class participation includes the entire action of volunteering an oral contribution. Thus, both terms are used according to the meanings that are appropriate for each context.

East Asian student (EAS). Geographically, East Asia is the eastern sub-region of the Asian continent, which includes China (including Hong Kong and Macau), Mongolia, North Korea, South Korea, Japan, and Taiwan. However, the designation of what countries belong to East Asia appears to be more complicated than pure geography. For instance, according to the East Asian Institute at Columbia University (2009), another way of perceiving East Asia is by pan-ethno-cultural boundaries:

The East Asian cultural sphere evolves when Japan, Korea, and what is today Vietnam all share adapted elements of Chinese civilization of the Tang Dynasty Period (618-907 CE), in particular Buddhism, Confucian social and political values, and literary Chinese and its writing system. (Educators for Asia)

In line with this view, Biggs (1998) uses the boundary of the Confucian Heritage Culture (CHC) to discuss the similar education principles and practices shared within this group of countries. Nguyen, Terlouw, and Pilot (2006) note that the CHC is “dominant in China, and other countries strongly influenced by China in the region’s long history, including Vietnam, Japan, Korea, Singapore, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Malaysia” (p. 4). In this regard, Southeast Asian countries, such as Vietnam, Singapore, and Malaysia, should be also included in East Asia. Drawing on these two studies on the traditional pedagogical values attached to Confucianism, for the current study, I define *East Asian students* as the students who come from China (including Hong Kong and Macau), Japan, South Korea, North Korea, Taiwan, Mongolia, Singapore, Vietnam, and Malaysia. American-born students of these East Asian heritages are excluded from this study because of their linguistic ability and confidence as native-English-speaking students (NESSs), as well as their social, cultural, and pedagogical values that may have been immensely influenced by their upbringing in the United States.

L1 and L2. The term *L1* refers to a speaker’s first language (native language) and *L2* refers to his/her second language.

American graduate classroom. *American graduate classroom* in this study is defined as the classroom at a graduate level, situated in the United States. All students are enrolled in the master of arts, master of education, or doctor of education degree program. The classroom is typically moderate-sized with 15 to 25 students, and it is mainly in a teacher-fronted, lecture-type of format.

II - LITERATURE REVIEW

In order to provide relevant background information for the current study, this chapter reviews previous research that focuses on class participation; specifically, classroom turn-allocation, student self-selection practices, and Asian students' interactional pattern in the classroom. To provide a holistic picture of turn-allocation systems in classroom interactions, I first lay out some background and define what constitutes classroom turn-allocation in a general sense. I then discuss how student self-selection is performed, including cases addressing issues that arise from the constrained nature of classroom interaction, from both teacher and student perspectives. Finally, I review studies on Asian students' interactional style and participation in the classroom. With this literature review, I identify the gap in the literature and highlight specific areas that need further investigation.

Turn-Allocation in the Classroom

In ordinary conversation, participants typically speak one at a time, and gaps and overlaps are minimized (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974). According to Van Lier (1988), turn-taking is also governed by “competition” and “initiative” (p. 97); other participants can look for opportunities to take the next turn while the current speaker holds the floor and is about to reach his/her turn-completion point (TCU).

The classroom, however, is a context with unique dynamics and constraints.

Unlike ordinary conversations that largely feature symmetry, turn-taking in the classroom has been described as “an unequal power speech exchange system” (Markee & Kasper, 2004, p. 492). The characteristics of classroom interaction reflect the asymmetric nature of teacher-student relationships. Claiming that there is a “high degree of permutability” in this setting (p. 210), McHoul (1978) identifies the teacher as the sole manager of the students when it comes to how turn-taking should happen in the classroom. For instance, consider the following rules that McHoul listed:

- (1) If the teacher’s turn is constructed so as to involve the use of a “current speaker selects next” technique, then the selected student has both the right and obligation to speak.
- (2) If the turn is not so constructed, then the teacher must continue.
- (3) If the selected student’s turn involves the use of a “current speaker selects next” technique, then it is the teacher who has the right and obligation to speak.
- (4) If the turn is not so constructed, the teacher may self-select as next speaker.
- (5) If not, the student may continue, but need not, unless the teacher self-selects.

These rules dictate that, unlike in ordinary conversation, one person—the teacher—dominates turn-taking. Ellis (1992) agrees with McHoul in that the restrictive nature of the classroom frequently has “a rigid allocation of turns, and who speaks to whom at what time, about what topics is subject to strict control with the result that competition and individual learner initiative are discouraged” (p. 38). Thus, classroom interaction is a “heavily pre-allocated system” where the teacher maintains primary control, and in which

student participation rights are “limited to the choice between continuing or selecting the teacher as next speaker” (McHoul, 1978, p. 211).

I-R-F: Triadic Classroom Interaction

The teacher’s interactional control in the classroom is strongly reflected in a certain teacher-student sequential format, namely the “I-R-F” form. This was what Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) called a typical exchange structure in the classroom consisting of “an initiation (I) by the teacher, followed by a response (R) from the pupil, followed by feedback (F) to the pupil’s response from the teacher” (p. 21). This three-part interaction system is also known as initiation-reply-evaluation (Mehan, 1979), triadic dialogue or recitation script (Lemke, 1990), and question-answer-comment (McHoul, 1978). Mehan (1979) illustrates how classroom interaction is sequentially and hierarchically organized by this three-part pattern, which characterizes “the organization of directives and informatives as well as elicitations” (p.54). According to Mehan, 53% of all teacher-initiated sequences in his classroom data conform to this interactional pattern. Further deconstructing the three-part I-R-E structure, he explains that it contains two sets of adjacency pairs in the sequence as shown in the diagram below: The I-R is the first adjacency pair, and when it is completed, this pair becomes the first part of a second adjacency pair. The second part of this pair becomes the E, an act that evaluates the completion of the I-R pair.

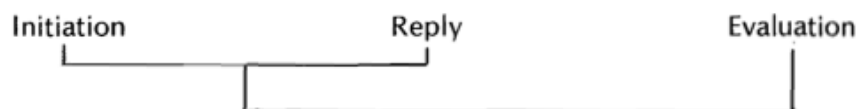


Figure 1: I-R-F Structure (Mehan, 1979, p. 54)

The IRF sequence does not necessarily consist of three turns (Hellermann, 2003; Koole, 2010). The sequence is often expanded to more turns, where the student's response is incorrect and the teacher's negative feedback prompts the student to produce the correct answer in his/her second response. This can be followed by the teacher's second feedback. The sequence may continue until the student's answer is correct and receives a positive feedback from the teacher. Hellermann (2005) further analyzes the I-R and R-F relations. He discusses the most common type of "I's" is the yes/no question, which embodies a "preference" for either a "yes" or a "no" answer. This feature of yes/no questions can be an educational resource in producing the first position of the IRF sequence (Koshik, 2002b). In terms of the relation between R and F, Hellermann claims that teachers frequently repeat what the student answers in the "F" turn. In the repetition of student answer, teachers tend to use a certain prosodic feature to convey that the answer is correct.

While benefits have been found with the use of the I-R-F format in the classroom, such as immediate verification of student comprehension and immediate teacher feedback (Candlin & Mercer, 2001), as well as enhanced student learning (Hall, 1997; Wells, 1993), this teacher-dominant allocation system has drawn criticism for limiting students' agentive roles in the sense that it does not allow students the freedom to negotiate turn-taking locally (Allington, 1980; Eder, 1982; Orletti, 1981; Cazden, 2001; van Lier, 2000). Indeed, it may be even considered a hindrance to deepening student learning. For instance, Waring (2008) shows that when engaging in the I-R-F interaction, the teacher's explicit positive feedback in "F" (the third turn) can bring the interaction to a dead end and limit opportunities for students to explore unresolved issues.

As Seedhouse (2004) points out, with IRF, there is a presumption that participants make only one move at a time, where each turn performs one action. This is clearly not true in every case. Analyzing data from different activities in an L2 classroom, the author illustrates that the variation of turn-taking increases from “procedural contexts, form and accuracy contexts to task-oriented contexts, and finally to meaning and fluency contexts” (Seedhouse, 2004, p. 101). For instance, student contributions may vary more on a contingent basis for a meaning-and-fluency activity, while they may be restricted to giving just short responses for a form-and-accuracy activity. For task-oriented contexts, student interaction may become constrained to a certain degree because its aim is to accomplish the tasks. This demonstrates that classroom interaction is deeply influenced by the pedagogical aims of the lesson, showing how turn-taking is organized differently depending on the context of the activity. Along the same line, Nassaji and Wells (2000) show that the same I-R-F structure can have a variety of forms and functions based on the goal of the task. They suggest, for example, that the teacher can choose the different roles at the beginning of each sequence and reciprocally assign to students the first part of the sequences. For this, they list three possibilities: “teacher as primary knower (and addressees as secondary knowers); a specific student as primary knower (and teacher and other students as secondary knowers); and no preselected knower, where all participants can offer contributions towards the co-construction of knowledge” (p. 401).

Nomination and Invitation

The design of teacher turn-allocation has been the analytical focus of many researchers (e.g., Lerner, 1995; Koschmann, Glenn, & Conlee, 2000; Koshik, 2002a;

2002b). According to Mehan (1979), teacher and students engage in what he terms “turn-allocation machinery” (p.84) in the classroom, which achieves the orderly progression of interaction in lesson. Mehan explains that in basic turn-allocation procedures of the “machinery,” students are selected in one of three ways that contribute to the lesson structure: by *individual nomination*, by *invitations to bid*, or by *invitations to reply*. *Individual nomination* is performed when the teacher nominates a particular next speaker by name. *Invitation to bid* refers to when the teacher asks students to raise their hands for a reply as part of an elicitation act directed at the whole class. *Invitations to reply* is a procedure that allows students to self-select and directly contribute their answer without nominating a particular respondent. The examples for *invitations to reply* shown by Mehan include the use of “designed as incomplete utterances” (DIUs), which is an elicitation technique that employs either grammatically incomplete sentences, phrases, or individual words to be continued or completed by the respondent (Koshik, 2002a). Mehan argues that most of the turn-allocation incidents observed in his data fit into these three categories. These procedures “constitute the basic turn-allocation apparatus of the classroom” and “help insure that academic instruction is conducted in an orderly manner” (p. 90).

From the students’ perspective, it is essential to be aware of what type of turn-allocation procedure is executed by the teacher. In order to participate in lessons, they must understand that different turn-allocation procedures specify different behavior for different occasions of interaction. For instance, when the *individual nomination* or *invitation to bid* procedure is performed, the students should understand that they must wait to be nominated by the teacher before responding one at a time. On the other hand,

when the *invitation to reply* procedure is in effect, the students should know that they can reply directly and in unison. Mehan emphasizes the importance of students' ability to "pick up the subtle cues that signal the applicability of a given procedure on a particular occasion of interaction" (p.125).

Teacher turn-allocation can be accomplished by embodied actions as well. One such study was conducted by Kääntä (2010), who analyzed the use of gaze, nods, and pointing gestures in teacher turn-allocation, terming this phenomenon "embodied allocation" (p.256). Mori and Hayashi (2006) investigate turn-completion marked by the use of embodied resource in a L2 classroom, and Behliah (2009) looks at the utterances, gaze, and body movements in turn-by-turn opening and closing sequences in an ESL tutoring session. Showing some counter-evidence in the data, Behliah's study indicates that interactional asymmetry in teacher-fronted classrooms is not necessarily true.

In sum, while it is true that the basic interactional rules such as the triadic format of I-R-F and the basic turn-allocation procedure are useful tools to manage classroom interaction, it does not necessarily account for a full range of actual classroom contexts where students are involved in different academic activities and showing greater initiatives. Given the importance of student agency and autonomy in the learning process, teachers are frequently faced with the dilemma of two competing demands: managing the orderly classroom, and respecting and enhancing student agency through their active participation (e.g., Allwright, 1980; Erickson, 1996; Nassaji & Wells, 2000; Waring, 2014).

Student Self-Selection in the Classroom

Based on criticism of the teacher-dominated turn-taking system as potentially preventing students' agentic roles in the classroom, the topic of student self-selection has been an important subject for researchers and educators. As noted in the previous chapter, student self-selection is a student's voluntary act of taking a speaking turn in class without the teacher designating the student as the next speaker first. It is challenging, however, for any student to execute self-selection within the frame of the I-R-F format; therefore, some strategic procedures may be required for the students to achieve it. Mehan (1979) states that in order to self-select and make a successful participation during teacher-directed activity, students will need to master three acts: (1) getting the floor; (2) holding the floor; and, (3) introducing news (p. 139-140). By achieving these three acts, they can effectively participate in the classroom, exhibiting their communicative competence and knowledge of "with whom, when, and where they can speak and act" (p. 133). The practical question is, then, how exactly would students be able to achieve this in such a "constrained" pedagogical interactional environment?

Student Initiative in Self-selection

While many researchers agree that teachers are the managers and administrators of turn allocation in the classroom (e.g., McHoul, 1978; Nassaji & Wells, 2000), others argue that students do take part in the process of turn allocation in some settings (e.g., Sahlström, 2002; Mortensen, 2008; Jacknick, 2011; Solem, 2016). Where it exists, this

student initiation adds more complexity to classroom interaction, which cannot be oversimplified and reduced to just one format (e.g., Erickson, 1996; Jakonen, 2016; Markee, 2000; Paoletti & Fele, 2004; Seedhouse, 2004). For instance, Markee (2000) notes that classroom interaction involves a high frequency of choral as well as elaborated learner turns. Waring (2009) shows how one student initiates a move away from the I-R-F structure, creating a new student-initiated participation structure that allows others to participate. Similarly, Jacknick (2011) describes how students initiated post-expansions in the second-language classroom. This, interestingly, showed that students could indeed upend the asymmetry of classroom interaction, “revealing students’ ability to control sequences of talk in the classroom” (Jacknick, 2011, p. 49).

In fact, classrooms can be “crowded environments in which many persons strive for attention” (Hansen, 1993, p. 656), with students who often speak out “overlappingly, blurring the boundaries between sequential turns at talk,” creating “interactional traffic jam in the classroom” (Erickson, 1996, p. 37-34). Paoletti and Fele (2004) look into the chaos-producing elements of “disorder, tensions, problems, discordant, and contradiction” and point out that undesirable occurrences, such as students’ calling out of answers, overlaps, and miscommunications, are ubiquitous in the classroom. The authors remind us that disruptive student self-selections and classroom interaction outside of the orderly I-R-F format are never unusual. Given these contingencies, classroom interaction can resemble everyday conversation after all (Jackson & Jacobs, 1980). Jackson and Jacobs (1980) claim that for arguments and debates to occur among the students, the speakers may naturally follow the ordinary conversation system until it is re-normalized by the teacher, signaling a return to the norms of classroom interaction. In some cases,

students who are unruly or violating the classroom code can be individually or collectively admonished by the teacher, even in the middle of teacher instruction.

Analyzing the data from an L2- (English) only classroom at a Finnish middle school, Jakonen (2016) shows how the teacher dealt with situations in which students broke the rules by speaking their first language. The analysis highlighted teacher reproaches of rule-breaking students with corrective re-direction “In English, please” or accusatory questions, such as, “Did I hear Finnish, or was it English?” (p. 19). This was entirely performed outside of the I-R-F structure.

Technique to Achieve Self-selection

According to Sacks et al. (1974), the technique for executing self-selection in ordinary conversation comes down to how early the next speaker can start at the transition-relevant point (TRP) of the current speaker. The main practices used in a casual conversation to secure the next speaking turn have been listed as the following (as cited in Wong & Waring, 2010): (1) overlap (Jefferson, 1983); (2) turn-entry devices employed at the early onset of a turn, such as *well, so, yeah, but, you know*, and so on (Sacks et al., 1974, p. 719); (3) recycled turn-beginning (Schegloff, 1987, p. 80), a repetition of the beginning of a turn that was absorbed in the overlap with the current speaker; and, (4) non-verbal start including gaze, body or head movement, facial expression, and throat clearing (Schegloff, 1996, p. 92-93). How applicable are these practices in a classroom context?

Orletti (1981) conducted one of the few early studies on how students self-select by beginning to talk (1) during a pause in the midst of a turn assigned to another student or (2) after another speaker has completed the previous turn. Richards and Nunan (1990)

also demonstrate that self-selection can be achieved by (1) using interjection to signal a request for a turn, such as “mm-hmm” or “yeah” with rising intonation; (2) using facial or other gestures to indicate a wish to take a turn; (3) accepting a turn offered by another speaker by responding to a question or by providing the second part of an adjacency pair; and, (4) completing or adding to something said by the current speaker (pp. 67-68). Once the turn is obtained, it can be maintained by using intonation or by using expressions to suggest continuity, such as “first,” “another thing is,” and “then.” In Spanish-speaking classes, Jordan (1990) focuses on the use of “*pero*” (“but”) at the beginning of turns. Her study emphasizes that devices like this are employed not only to establish a contrast to the prior speech, but also to express doubt as to the content of the preceding discussion and to give it a new direction.

Scholars also examine the specific actions student self-selections accomplish in certain sequential contexts. Waring (2011) shows that three types of self-selection under the term of “learner initiative” can push the “boundary of participation” (p. 208). They include Type A, in which a learner initiates a sequence to display knowledge and to seek or pursue understanding; Type B, in which a student self-selects to volunteer a response; and Type C, in which a learner seizes the opportunity of an assigned turn to proceed with his/her own agenda by either doing more than what is asked for, or doing something different altogether. Garton (2012) lists “confirmation checks, clarification requests, and information requests” as the three most common uses of learner initiative in a teacher-fronted ESL classroom. Focusing on teacher-fronted activity shifts, Jacknick (2011) highlights the students’ tactical ability to create “wiggle room” at activity transitions and to use additional interactional space provided by teacher’s approval of these turns. Solem

(2016) looks at students' initiating sequences with the use of interrogatives and demonstrates that such sequences contribute to both the topical and interactional development of whole-class interactions. These student-initiated interrogative sequences were found to perform different types of actions, from requests for clarifications to potential corrections.

Sometimes, student self-selection is executed in a rather aggressive manner, interrupting in the current speaker's mid-turn. Highlighting how precisely other students attempt to take away turns from the teacher-designated speaker, Erickson (1996) terms these students "turn sharks." His study depicts the ways in which some of his elementary-school-aged participants looked for and detected the opportunistic moments to "steal turns." Erickson uses the term "kairos" to describe such a moment—a time slot when conditions are right for the accomplishment of an action based on the certain rhythm, intonation, and embodied practices of the current interlocutors. When "kairos" is seen coming up, "turn sharks" make aggressive conversational moves, mainly overlapping with the current speaker as a strategy for taking away the floor.

Students can also self-select by engaging embodied resources. Sahlström (2002) studied the act of hand-raising in seventh- through ninth-grade classrooms in which the teacher did not pose any questions to the students. "Hand-raising," which according to Sahlström is an extremely useful device for classroom turn-allocation, is generally found to occur at the teacher's turn transition-relevant places, or TRPs (Sacks et al., 1974). The conventional self-selection process with hand-raising ordinarily involves an *invitation to bid* by the teacher, as a part of the basic turn-allocation procedure discussed earlier (Mehan, 1979). This is followed by student bidding with hand-raising for a nomination,

and the self-selector becoming ratified to speak after teacher nomination. Thus, hand-raising can be considered an important embodied resource used within the I-R-F interaction. Sahlström's study, however, claims that when TRPs of the previous speakers are projected, a willing next speaker engages in both hand-raising and self-selecting, even without teacher invitation. It also suggests that when there are multiple bidders, later bidders tend to be selected more frequently than the first bidders, who may raise their hands slightly prior to the teacher's early TRPs. Thus, teachers may reward the late hand raisers for sufficient listening (p. 53-54). Sahlström further adds that some handraises can be "designed for doing only the display of knowing the answer, while at the same time minimizing the risk/possibility of being selected as next speaker" (p. 54).

Mortensen (2009) conducted another study on students' embodied practices when exhibiting the willingness to self-select. He identified non-lexical pre-speech signals and embodied multimodal practices that students in the adult L2 classroom used, such as gaze and changes in body posture, as resources to establish reciprocity prior to the turn beginning. Mortensen claimed that students in general are able to project a relevant next action, and that teachers are likely to orient to students' display of willingness to be selected as a next speaker. These findings suggest that, when the teacher initiates the first pair-part, a student's gaze towards the teacher displays not only willingness to be selected as the next speaker, but also willingness to produce the specific second pair-part. Thus, both Sahlström (2002) and Mortensen (2008) illustrate how student participants can multimodally express interest in being selected as the next speaker.

In sum, students use a variety of devices and strategies to self-select in the classroom. Although Mehan's (1979) notion of self-selection (getting the floor; holding

the floor; introducing news) can sound extremely simple, its execution in actual classrooms requires the deployment of a complex array of verbal and nonverbal means. To truly achieve widely distributed student self-selections in classrooms is by no means an easy undertaking—one that will continue to be an important subject not only for classroom discourse researchers, but also for all students and educators.

Participation by Asian Students

This project aims to investigate East Asian students' participation in the American graduate classroom. The majority of studies on Asian students' class participation, however, have mainly focused on their learning style (e.g., Healey, 1999; Holec, 1981; Littlewood, 1999; Melton, 1990; Rao, 2002; Reid, 1987; Williams, 2017, among others) and the factors behind their silence and lack of oral contributions in the classroom (e.g., Biggs, 1998; Kang, 2005; Lee, 2006; Liu, 2001; LoCastro, 1996; Nakane, 2007; Tsui, 1996; among others). In this section, I review literature on the differences in interactional styles between Asian and Western students, followed by a limited number of studies on Asian students' participation pattern(s) in the classroom.

Interactional Differences Between EASs and NESSs

In general, how people interact with each other seems to differ depending on the speakers' first languages and home cultures. Speakers of Asian languages appear to exhibit different styles of talk or patterns of interaction from speakers of other languages as well. For instance, in categorizing interactional style by culture, Hall (1976) discussed two opposite styles of communication, referring to them as high context (HC) culture and

low context (LC) culture. In the HC culture, messages tend to be inferred from the physical context or shared background of the participants, rather than from the text in which “very little was coded, explicit and transmitted” (p. 79). Greater meaning is attached to the nonverbal aspects of communication than to verbal aspects. The recipients are expected to listen and be able to read “between the lines” to understand the unsaid. The speakers tend to take turns and seldom interrupt. Hall categorized Asian countries as belonging to this HC culture, placing Japan at the top of that list. In contrast, countries in North America and some European countries were classified as low context (LC) cultures. In the LC culture, the verbal text carries more meaning, and “the mass of information was vested in the explicit code” (p. 70). People from LC cultures value logic, facts, and directness; therefore, communicators are expected to use words more explicitly to convey meanings. As a result, conversations and discussions may involve more active verbal participation, and in some cases produce overlaps and interruptions.

In search of a way of teaching Chinese students effectively, Scollon (1999) referred to two contrasting classroom discourse styles: the Confucian style and the Socratic style. She explained that the Socratic style was derived from the Greek philosopher’s way of teaching his students through a line of questions. In contrast, Confucius used rhetorical questions, which most of the time he answered himself. According to Scollon, this method of asking a rhetorical question and then answering it is common in Chinese classrooms as well as Chinese textbooks. In order to teach Chinese students in English-speaking classrooms, she suggests combining the Confucian and Socratic styles of classroom discourse, catering to the different expectations of students from different cultures. For instance, she argues that rather than directly asking questions,

using the format of having students take time and prepare presentations in small groups will work well with Chinese students. Her study shows that students are frequently active in reporting to the entire class what they have discussed in groups. Scollon warns, too, that when Western teachers do not receive spontaneous responses from Asian students, it is all too common for them to “fall into a downward spiral of lowering their expectations, underestimating their abilities and simplifying their language” (p. 27).

Elements such as overlaps and interruptions in talk are also a main focus of the different interaction patterns between speakers from the East and West. Murata (2004) compared native speakers of Japanese talking in Japanese with native speakers of English talking in English. It was concluded that there were more pauses employed in Japanese conversation, and the pace of turn taking appeared to be relatively slower in Japanese than in English. In addition, there were very few interruptions in Japanese speakers’ conversations, while there were numerous overlaps and interruptions observed in English speakers’ conversations. This may hint at the idea that English speakers initiate their turns more often and earlier than the Japanese.

EASs’ Interactional Patterns in Classrooms

We now shift our focus onto the studies of EASs’ teacher-student interaction pattern(s) in actual classrooms. LoCastro (1996) conducted one such analysis after observing numerous class sessions in Japanese schools. As the theoretical background of her study, she used the framework of the I-R-F sequence (“initiation, response, and feedback”) detailed in studies from Sinclair and Coulthard (1975), Mehan (1979), and Lemke (1985). Using this pattern as a basis, LoCastro analyzed data collected from the Japanese classes she observed. In her observations, she reported that there were many

occasions on which teachers used what she would call “pseudo-interactive language” (p. 52). This pattern was composed of a four-part sequence, enacted by the teacher as follows:

1. The teacher asks a question, addressing it to students.
2. The teacher answers the question.
3. The teacher makes an assessment or comment on the answer.
4. The teacher provides an acknowledgement in the form of a common listener response such as “*Hai, so desu*” (“Yes, that is so”).

LoCastro simplified and reorganized this sequence into:

1. Solicitation
2. Response
3. Assessment
4. Acknowledgement

The teacher performed all of these, in effect; thus, so-called “pseudo-interaction” was executed. However, since LoCastro did not provide any transcript data to show this interaction, it is unclear whether there were gaps in student speech after the teacher’s solicitation, or whether the teacher went on to provide an answer to his own question because no students had responded to it.

LoCastro provided one interpretation of the teacher’s behavior. She explained that due to the hierarchical nature of Japanese society, student-teacher interactions were not expected to occur in classrooms in the first place. In her observations, she found a considerable amount of evidence to support this interpretation. For example, if a Japanese student has a question to ask, he or she commonly waits until after the class is over to talk

with the teacher. The teacher is expected to play the roles of “the commentator, the knower of all information, imparting that knowledge to learners, enlightening them, out of the belief that without that role being performed the learners would be unable to understand” (p. 53). This interactional pattern may create a significant mismatch with that in moderate-sized¹ English-speaking classrooms, which value teacher-student interaction much more. Students accustomed to a lack of interaction between teacher and student would certainly require some level of adjustment to the new environment in order to participate.

Sato (1990) compared the frequency of self-selection performed by Asian and non-Asian students in English speaking classrooms based on data collected at two universities’ ESL classrooms through videotaping, audio-taping, and observations of three 50-minute teacher-directed class discussions. By coding the data in terms of teacher-to-class solicitations, teacher-to-individual solicitations, responses, waiting time for responses, student-initiated participation, and teacher feedback for student-initiated participation, Sato found that Asian students took significantly fewer speaking turns compared to non-Asian students. Asian students appeared to always respond to individually directed teacher solicitations and rarely took the initiative in class discussions. In addition, Sato found that the teachers also nominated Asian students less often than they did non-Asian students. This may in part be due to their impression of the Asian students being “unresponsive” or even their negative perception of Asian students as “unwilling participants.” Finally, Sato found that despite receiving fewer nominations,

¹ Class participation in the U.S. classroom is sensitive to class size. The larger the class, the less interaction between teacher and students; thus, even for NESSs, a moderate-sized classroom would be desirable for active participation.

Asian students did indeed respond when nominated. From a teacher's viewpoint, this particular phenomenon may have significant implications for finding a way to promote more frequent verbal contributions from Asian students. Quite contrary to the teachers' negative perceptions documented in Sato's study, however, others have argued that Asian students in fact held positive attitudes toward classroom learning and were willing to become active participants in class (Littlewood, 1999, 2001; Murase, 2012).

Summary of the Literature Review

This chapter has reviewed studies on turn-allocation in the classroom, student self-selection practice, and Asian students' interactional pattern in the classroom. While teacher turn-allocation practices are mainly employed to maintain the orderliness of classroom interaction, practices of student self-selection exhibit a great deal of initiative as the learners frequently achieve self-selection outside the I-R-F format by skillfully utilizing a variety of strategies and devices. Such self-selection is shown to be particularly challenging for EASs, whose interactional styles differ immensely from those of NESSs. As LoCastro (1996) pointed out, a particular format of teacher-student interaction pattern in the Japanese classroom would not fit the English-speaking classroom well, creating a significant "mismatch." Thus, not only is self-selection a complex process, but there is also a large gap in overall participation behavior between EASs and NESSs. Notably, only two studies are addressed directly to EASs classroom interaction patterns in Japanese classrooms and U.S. ESL classrooms respectively, and using surveys, questionnaires, coding schemes or observations, neither was designed to

document EASs' detailed participation process in an actual classroom. It seems fair to say that no research so far has been conducted within the conversation analytic framework on EASs participation practices as compared to their NESSs counterparts, and none has investigated what such participation may look like in U.S. graduate school classrooms. The current study is designed to fill this gap.

III - METHODOLOGY

This chapter provides a description of the research site and participants, the data collection, and the data analysis procedures, along with some background on the analytical method to be used.

Research Site and Participants

The sites for this study are graduate-level classrooms at a major university in the United States. All of the participants are M.A., Ed.M., and doctoral students and their professors. I videotaped four courses in different subject areas for two to six weeks. These courses are titled Theories of Pragmatics; Sociolinguistics; Speaking Practicum; and Text and Textuality. Each class typically has 17 to 25 students, of whom roughly 80% are international students. The total number of the participants for this study is 87, of whom 70 are international students. 57 of these international students are EASs, with Chinese being the largest group. The rest of 13 international students are either non-EASs or Asian-Americans, categorized as “Others” in this study. Only 17 are NESSs. Some of the EASs have done their undergraduate studies in the U.S., while others have come to the U.S. from their home countries to attend this program.

Course titles	Number of EASs	Number of NESSs	Number of Others	Total number of participants
Pragmatic Theories	14	3	4	21
Sociolinguistics	18	4	3	25
Speaking Practicum	14	1	2	17
Text and Textuality	11	9	4	24
Total	57	17	13	87

Table 1: Participants make up

Each class ordinarily meets once a week for two hours; thus, the total number of hours videotaped is 38 hours (19 sessions). After the video recording completed, the irrelevant parts of the video footages, which did not involve any student participation activities, were identified and removed. These parts included the segments in which (1) the teacher provided a long lecture during which no students participated; (2) student presentations occurred; (3) students took a quiz or a test; (4) students engaged in group work or pair work; (5) students read their assignments where no feedback was provided by other students; (6) students quietly engaged in reading or solving questions.

Course titles	Number of sessions	Total hours	Total hours of usable data
Pragmatic Theories	6	12 hours	6.5 hours
Sociolinguistics	5	10 hours	5 hours
Speaking Practicum	6	12 hours	3.5 hours
Text and Textuality	2	4 hours	2 hours
Total	19	38 hours	17 hours

Table 2: Hours of data collected

The video-recorded four courses have different students and teachers, so as to increase the number of the participants and minimize the extraneous factors that may be affecting the findings. In other words, in seeking to determine EASs' participation patterns, for instance, one particular participant's repetitious participation habit should not be treated as representative of EAS participation phenomenon. In order to further control for other factors that may affect EASs' classroom behavior (e.g., EASs' affective filter (Krashen, 1987)) may lower if the teacher is also from East Asia), only classes taught by L1-English-speaking (NES), non-Asian teachers were selected.

With regards to the international students' English proficiency level, according to the admission policy of the graduate school where the data were collected, all of the eligible international applicants for this program must obtain a minimum score of 102 on the IBT Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL). TOEFL is a worldwide, standardized test for non-native English speakers to measure their English proficiency for the academic context, and most U.S. colleges and graduate schools require that international applicants submit their TOEFL scores. While the range of TOEFL scores required for admission to most U.S. colleges and graduate schools is roughly 80 to 100 (ETS, 2017), the international students at this school must have received scores of at least 102, which is considered highly proficient in English. The test includes sections that assess speaking, listening, structure, reading, and writing.

Data Collection

As the current study aims to uncover the student participation patterns in graduate classrooms, the data needed to capture the moments of (1) any pre-self-selection occurrences including teacher solicitation, students' perceivable reactions to such solicitation, and their preparation to speak; (2) execution of students' participation; and, (3) any occurrences during or after the student participation. All of these observations report both linguistic and embodied resources.

Each session was videotaped using two cameras to maximize the view of all participants in the room on any given day. The researcher on site used a third handheld camera throughout each class session to follow any "focal" participant at any given moment and zoom in as needed. The third camera could also pick up high-quality sound in large spaces to facilitate the production of precise transcripts.

Data Analysis

The analysis is conducted within the framework of conversation analysis (CA). So far, CA has been the analytic method of choice for countless researchers of classroom discourse (Garton, 2012; Jacknick, 2011; Jordan, 1990; Kreifgen, 1990; McHoul, 1978, 1985; Mori, 2004; Seedhouse, 2004; Thoms, 2012; Waring, 2009, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2016; Waring, Reddington & Tadic, 2016; among others).

Stemming from ethnomethodology (Garfinkel, 1967), CA was developed by Harvey Sacks, along with Schegloff and Jefferson (1974) as a method to study "the social

organization of conversation, or talk-in-interaction” (ten Have, 2007). Heritage and Clayman (2010) suggest that in developing CA, Sacks et al (1974) drew on the conceptual frameworks from both Goffman’s (1964) analysis of *the interaction order as a social institution* and Garfinkel’s (1967) *shared methods of practical reasoning*:

From Goffman, they took that ‘talk-in-interaction’ is a fundamental social domain that can be studied as an institutional entity in its own right. From Garfinkel (1967) came the notion that shared methods of reasoning are implicated in the production and recognition of contributions to interaction, and that these contributions advance the situation of interaction in an incremental, step-by-step fashion (p. 12).

Thus, the main interests of CA are to uncover (1) the underlying *machinery* (Sacks, 1992) that achieves interactional organization and order, and to document (2) how interlocutors analyze and interpret each other’s actions and “develop a shared understanding of the progress of the interaction” (Seedhouse, 2004).

Today, the technological availability of audio/video recordings has better enabled CA to pursue very subtle, detailed observations through the transcripts. Motivated by a fundamental question (“Why that now?”), researchers are able to examine how the next speaker orients to the prior speaker; and what, when, and how a variety of resources are deployed in pursuit of their interactional actions. My interest resides in when the participations occur and how the participations are performed, which require the detailing of the sequential environment and timing of utterances, any linguistic and non-linguistic features as well as pauses and embodied resources employed by the self-selectors. Such detailing is integral to the method of CA.

Turning our attention to the analytical procedure of the current study, the video data collected from the classrooms were transcribed based on Jefferson’s (1983)

transcription notation with some modifications to accommodate nonverbal conduct (see Appendix). All data that include teacher-student interactions were analyzed with particular attention to the segments of student participation and the sequential environments that surround them. When any students' names emerged within the transcript, pseudonyms were given by me to conceal the participants' identities.

During the time of conducting the analysis, data sessions were frequently held with other researchers, where the data were jointly examined. In these sessions, first, the transcriptions and the video segments were ensured to accurately match each other. Second, multiple researchers discussed their observations and analysis of the data until some sort of agreement was reached so that there would be no discrepancies on the analysis.

IV - PREPARING TO PARTICIPATE: STAGES OF SELF-SELECTION

Introduction

When I want to verbally participate in class, a certain idea must arrive in my mind in the first place. Then, I must develop the idea; to make it more concrete, and to organize my thoughts around it. This is followed by a process of carefully choosing the words - sometimes by writing them down on a textbook or piece of paper, constructing what exactly I intend to say, in an acceptable structure, which I hope would help me present myself as an educated person. Then, as soon as I am ready with the participation material, I am faced with the next hurdle - successfully obtaining the floor at a proper time. Sometimes, other students will have already self-selected while I'm still in the "preparing myself" stage. If that is the case, I must withhold self-selection until the completion of their utterances, if the trajectory of the talk between the teacher and other self-selectors has not shifted away by then.

I wonder if this is what many EASs experience when we attempt to participate in the American classroom. It is indeed an extremely long and complex process. Meanwhile, NESSs' participations seem to be prepared much faster, often improvised to a certain extent after it begins, with more talk generated after their first utterances. The question, then, is: what type of practices would EASs and NESSs engage in to accomplish self-selection? Would they go through the same stages of the process?

This chapter examines the self-selection practices undertaken by EASs and NESSs, asking one particular question: What do the would-be self-selectors do, exactly, to accomplish self-selection? More specifically, I analyze what stages the participants take and what resources are used during each stage. Many students, including NESSs, do not merely self-select impulsively or while unprepared; in fact, they begin preparing far in advance to launch their self-selection, mostly using embodied resources of various kinds, such as nods, gazes, postures, hand positions and handraising, etc. (e.g., Bezemar, 2008; Lauzon & Berger, 2015; Mortensen, 2008, 2009; Saltzström, 2002; Seo & Koshik, 2010).

All of the data come from all four courses; however, I present the example cases specifically from “Theories of Pragmatics” in this chapter. This is a two-hour weekly class where the students sit in five or six rows facing the teacher, who is standing in front of the class. The class is comprised of three NESSs and twelve EASs. The three NESSs in this class sit separately from their classmates. Two EASs (EAS-A and EAS-B), who usually actively participate, always sit in the front row next to each other. The rest of the EASs (EAS-C through EAS-L) are scattered around the rest of the classroom.

My analysis identified the following three stages of self-selection, which both EASs and NESSs undertake:

- Stage 1: Registering
- Stage 2: Gearing up
- Stage 3: Launching

Registering is the very first stage, during which students display that they have just come across an item for a possible answer/question/opinion, which would lead to their participation later. *Gearing up* is the second stage, when the would-be self-selectors

exhibit their readiness for self-selection. *Launching* is the third stage, in which the self-selectors attempt to take a speaking turn and execute self-selection. Certain types of embodied resources accompany each of these stages, except for *launching*, which may be also achieved linguistically and prosodically. Below, I illustrate how each of these three stages is carried out by the self-selectors in my data, followed by a discussion on the different ways that EASs and NESSs proceed through these stages: EASs thoroughly executing each stage while NESSs economizing their work in the process to reach self-selection with less efforts.

Three Stages of Self-selection

In this section, I demonstrate the three stages of self-selection: *registering*, *gearing up*, and *launching*¹.

Registering

When the students encounter material that inspires them to share their thoughts, which can be a particular idea, answer, opinion, or question, it is marked by a change of their demeanor and movements. I call this moment *registering*. This stage is realized by such embodied movements as sudden stopping of an on-going action, eyes open wider, head tilt, or head lowered to look into an item, to name but a few. The would-be self-selectors are, however, not yet ready for any participation action, and do not make themselves seem “available” (Lauzon & Berger, 2015) to the teacher at this stage.

¹ The researcher examined all self-selectors’ demeanors, gestures, and behaviors backwards as they prepared to self-select, and identified the three stages. The participants’ insights in each stage are determined entirely based on the findings of the previous literature on embodiment.

The following extract shows what occurs at the moment of *registering*. It begins with the teacher providing a new example of an utterance (“I order you to leave this place”), which the students are to analyze and describe the necessary conditions for it to appropriately take place.

(4.1) I order you to leave

01 T: One more case. ‘I order you to leave this place.’
 02 ‘I order you to leave (.) this (.) place.’
 03 EAS-A: ((looking down on the handout, picks up pen and starts spinning it))
 04 EAS-B: ((typing on computer))
 05 ((leans back)) hh. mg-mh ((clears throat))
 06 ((looks up at T and crosses arms))
 07 Both speakers have to be in that place,
 08 T: [((nods)]
 09 EAS-B: [that’s being] referred to? ((lightly nods))
 10 T: Both speakers have to be in that place. .hh
 11 You cannot do this on the telephone, you cannot do this if
 12 (1.0)
 13 one person is [inside and one person is outside? hh.]
 14 EAS-A: → [((looking down, opens eyes wider, stops spinning the pen))]
 15 ((hand behind head, scratching it))
 17 T: ’kay.

The focus of analysis in this extract is EAS-A, whose embodied changes I closely observe during her self-selection preparation. After the teacher poses the question in lines 01-02, EAS-A, who sits right in front of the teacher, looks down at the handout, picks up her pen, and starts spinning it (line 03). Seemingly, she is in deep thought over the question, attentively examining the utterance in question. Previous researchers have suggested that being engaged in some action with objects could be considered as embodied semiotic resources (Hazel, Mortensen, & Rasmussen, 2014). More specifically in this case, playing with a pen in class would indicate that a student has not understood the material (Lawes, 1987); thus, EAS-A has not yet made sense of the utterance example. In other words, this is still a “*classroom-default*” phase - where the teacher is

giving a lecture/instruction, and the students are listening to the teacher, taking notes, looking down at their handouts or textbooks, and attempting to search for an answer to the question.

In the meantime, EAS-B, who sits next to EAS-A, self-selects in lines 07 and 09, to which the teacher gives positive feedback by repeating her answer (line 10) (Hellermann, 2003) and adding an elaboration (lines 11 & 13). All this time, EAS-A continues looking at the handout, spinning the pen in her fingers, indicating that she is still pondering a potential response (Image 1). Then, in mid-TCU of the teacher's elaborative utterance in line 13, EAS-A opens her eyes wider (raising her eyebrows) (Image 2), stops spinning her pen, then tilts her head, puts her hand behind her head, and starts scratching it (lines 15-16) (Image 3).



Image 1: EAS-A is looking down, thinking, and spinning the pen



Image 2: EAS-A opens her eyes wide, raises eyebrows, and stops spinning the pen

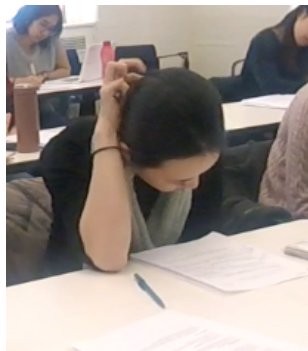


Image 3: EAS-A still looks down, tilts her head, and scratches her head

Seo and Koshik (2010) make a similar observation in their study - that an interlocutor's eyes would open wide, eyebrows are raised, and head tilted when encountering a trouble source for a repair. Head tilt often signifies the person's involvement and/or incomprehension (Seo & Koshik, 2010). Moreover, scratching the back of her head can also represent that the idea may be something that bothers her or is not understandable to her, for in a normal conversational circumstance, hand-behind-head and rubbing or scratching the back of the head can reflect negative thoughts, such as uncertainty, puzzlement, disagreement, or frustration (Nierenberg & Calero, 1971). Thus, a combination of gestures such as these may display the moment that EAS-A has come across an idea that seems incomprehensible or problematic to her, which she could share with class during her participation later. This registering of trouble is later evidenced in EAS-A's expression of her puzzlement over the utterance example during her participation (see extract 4.5 in *launching*).

Registering can also be evidenced in other types of nonverbal conduct. The next extract comes from a session in which the class is learning about what is called *implicature*—a contextually determined assessment of speaker meaning. Specifically, in this segment, the students are examining the following dialogue problem on the handout:

A: I haven't seen John for a long time. I'd like to go and see him this week.

B: I heard that his father is very sick.

The teacher asks the class what, exactly, B is indicating to A. He lists the possible answers for the class to consider at the beginning of the extract. The focal participant of this extract is NESS-C.

(4.2) John's father

- 01 T: What could A get out of B's utterance?
 02 (2.0)
 03 NESS-C: ((Looks down at the handout on the desk))
 04 T: Well, A could get out (.) John's father is very sick,
 05 Or B has said John's father is very sick,
 06 Or B's informing me that John's father is very sick,
 07 Or B's reminding me that John's father is very sick,
 08 NESS-C: [((looking down, rubbing her eyes))]
 09 T: [Or B's warning me that John's father is very sick,]
 10 Or B's advising me to visit John.
 11 Or B's advising me NOT to visit John.
 12 What about the examples like this?
 13 NESS-C: → ((holds the handout straight with both hands in front of chest,
 14 posture straightened, intensely gazes into the handout))
 15 (2.0)
 16 T: Does the exchange itself seem pretty natural?=
 17

NESS-C, the would-be self-selector in this extract, looks down at the handout on the desk while the teacher poses a question (line 01) and goes down the list of answer options (image 4) (lines 04-11). Halfway through his list, NESS-C is still looking down and rubbing her eyes. It seems that she is carefully examining these options, though still uncertain about what would be the best answer. Obviously, she is in the *classroom-default* phase at this point. Then, immediately after the teacher ends by listing the options and utters a question (line 12), NESS-C straightens her posture and holds up the handout with both hands in front of her chest, intensely staring at it (image 5). Changing her posture like this could generally mean that the student is preparing to self-select; however, doing so here is not indicative of being available (see Stage 2: *gearing up*, in

the next subsection), since (1) NESS-C is fully orienting to the handout by intensely looking at it; and (2) not looking at the teacher at all and avoiding any mutual gaze with him indicate that she is making herself “unavailable” (Lauzon & Berger, 2015). Thus, NESS-C is not yet attempting to convey her interest to self-select. Rather, we can see that some item on the handout may have caught her attention. Evidence that *registering* has occurred may also be reflected in the timing of NESS-C’s later participation (shown in extract 4.6). Thus, her gestural change in line 13 displays Stage 1: *registering*.



Image 4: NESS-C is looking down on the handout and thinking



Image 5: NESS-C straightens her posture, holds up the handout with both hands, and intensely gazes into the handout

These two instances show how the basic case of *registering* is achieved, in which the students embody the arrival of an idea that would develop into a contribution later. It is marked by a salient, sudden change of demeanor or stopping of an on-going

movement, such as eyes widened (raising eyebrows), pen-spinning stopped, head tilted (extract 4.1), posture shifted, handout lifted and straightened, and gaze intensified into a particular item of the material (extract 4.2).

Gearing up

After *registering*, the would-be self-selector begins to reveal his/her readiness for participation. This is Stage 2: *gearing up*. In this stage, the students visibly display their interest to self-select by employing, again, various embodied resources. This next extract shows the continuation of extract 4.1.

(4.3) I order you to leave 2

14 EAS-A: [((looking down, opens eyes wider, stops spinning the pen))]
 15 ((hand behind head, scratching it))
 17 T: 'k[ay.
 18 EAS-A: → [((looks up at T scratching head; tilts head))]
 19 → ((gazing at T))
 20 T: what [else.]

After EAS-A displays some gestural hints to achieve Stage 1: *registering*, such as stopping spinning her pen and opening her eyes wide (lines 14 & 15), as we have observed earlier, the teacher utters “’kay,” indicating that he is moving on to another answer from a student in line 17. EAS-A then seems to detect that the sequence is about to be closed, and that her self-selectable opportunity is coming up. She looks up at the teacher without changing the “puzzled” demeanor; she continues tilting and scratching her head (lines 18 & 19) (Image 6).



Image 6: EAS-A looks up at the teacher, scratching and tilting her head

Gazing has been claimed as a way of signaling a student's interest to participate in class (Lauzon & Berger, 2015; Matsumoto, 2018; Mortensen, 2008, 2009); thus, EAS-A is reaching Stage 2: *gearing up*, changing from a state of being “unavailable” to “available” (Lauzon & Berger, 2015). Indeed, EAS-A self-selects right after this (not shown).

The next extract shows another occurrence of *gearing up* – not only by gaze but also by nods to the teacher this time. The segment is a continuation of extract 4.2.

(4.4) John's father 2

- 13 NESS-C: ((holds handout straight with both hands in front, posture straightened))
 14 (2.0)
 15 T: Does [the exchange]itself seem pretty natural?=
 16 NESS-C: → [((glances at T))]
 17 → =((nods several few times))
 18 T: 'kay, could be the beginning of-eh (.) a ↑conversation.
 19 It doesn't have to be in[the middle, could be the ↑beginning],
 20 NESS-C: → [((glances at T and nods a few times))]
 21 T: So what is-eh, A supposed to get out of B's remark?
 22 (1.5)
 23 If you hear the sentence, what [would you say]what would you think?
 24 NESS-C: → [((glances at T))]

As we have seen, NESS-C's gestural change occurs in line 13, displaying Stage 1: *registering*. After a 2.0-second gap (line 14) and during the teacher's additional question (line 15), NESS-C glances at the teacher (line 16). She also subsequently nods at the

teacher's utterance completion, looks at him, and nods a few more times (lines 17, 20, and 24) (Image 7) while he is still giving a clue and repeating his question.

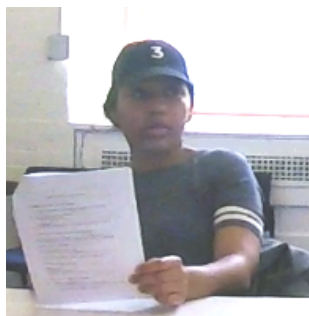


Image 7: NESS-C glances at the teacher and nods a few times

Frequently paired with gazing, nodding is deemed as a resource for displaying the student's comprehension and "alignment with the teacher" (Bezemer, 2008), showing his/her willingness to interact with the teacher. This constitutes Stage 2: *gearing up* for self-selection. It exhibits how NESS-C begins to show her availability with the consecutive gazes and nods to the teacher.

As can be seen, Stage 2: *gearing up* is mainly fulfilled with gazing at and nodding to the teacher, dispatching the messages of readiness to participate as the would-be self-selectors make an important shift from being unavailable to available (Lauzon & Berger, 2015) to the teacher.

Launching

Launching is the final stage of the self-selection process. Having taken Stage 1: *registering* and Stage 2: *gearing up*, the students proceed to acquire the floor. The most obvious, common strategy to self-select is handraising (Saltzström, 2002) although a wide range of linguistic, prosodic, and embodied resources are employed to execute self-

selection. This includes starting to speak at a transition relevant point (TRP), as illustrated in the following two instances.

This next extract is an end portion of EAS-A's self-selection, continued from extract 4.1 and 4.3, after she has undertaken Stage 1: *registering* by opening her eyes wider, tilting her head, and scratching the back of her head, and Stage 2: *gearing up* by gazing at the teacher.

(4.5) I order you to leave 3

- 18 EAS-A: [(looking up at T scratching head; tilts head)]
 19 ((gazing at T; moving her head straight up))
 20 T: what [else.]
 21 EAS-A: → [It's] very strange,
 22 cause usually you would say, you'd just say,
 23 ['leave' or 'go away.']
 24 [(moves both hands side to side, shrugging)]
 25 T: yeah?

After EAS-A achieves Stage 2: *gearing up*, where she is preparing herself to self-select by looking up and gazing at the teacher, the teacher asks the class “what else” (line 20). EAS-A immediately moves her head straight and self-selects (image 8) with the onset of her utterance, “It’s” (line 21), overlapped with the completion of the teacher’s utterance “- (what) else?” (line 20).



Image 8: EAS-A gazes at the teacher, moves her head straight, and says “It’s very strange.”

It seems that their overlap occurred at a TRP – a point where anyone can self-select. Thus, this overlap is a result of EAS-A and the teacher attempting to speak at the same time during the TRP, and we see the teacher yielding to EAS-A upon hearing the latter’s talk. The teacher’s TCU was very short here while EAS-A’s was longer and delivered slightly later, where she continues, “Very strange cause, usually you would say, you’d just say, ‘leave’ or ‘go away,’” moving both of her hands side to side, shrugging in lines 22-24. As I have shown earlier that she possibly encountered a problem source at Stage 1: *registering* (extract 4.1), her self-selection here is not an answer to the question; rather, it is an assessment of that utterance in question, expressing her puzzlement over it.

The next extract shows another case of Stage 3: *launching*, similar to the first one, executed by starting to speak at a TRP – after a gap during which no other students self-select. This extract is also an ending segment after extract 4.2 and 4.4, where NESS-C has achieved Stage 1: *registering* by lifting up and holding the handout straight with both hands in front, with an intense gaze into it, and Stage 2: *gearing up* by gazing at and nodding to the teacher multiple times.

(4.6) John’s father 3

- 18 T: 'kay, could be the beginning of-eh (.) a ↑conversation.
 19 It doesn't have to be in [the middle, could be the ↑beginning],
 20 NESS-C: [((glances at T and nods a few times))]
 21 T: So what is-eh, A supposed to get out of B's remark?
 22 (1.5)
 23 If you hear the sentence, what [would you say]what would you think?
 24 NESS-C: [((glances at T))]
 25 (2.0)
 26 → [((looks at the handout, circulating right hand circulating with a pen))
 27 [probably the- (.) one of the <last two>?
 28 But I think (.) the <last one>?
 29 Umm, becaus-ehhh,

Stage 2: *gearing up* is executed by NESS-C by glancing at and nodding to the teacher a few times (lines 20), while the teacher is still giving a clue and repeating his question (lines 18, 19, 21 & 23). Then, after a 2.0-second gap during which no other student self-selects, NESS-C grabs the floor with seemingly no competition in line 27, starting to provide her possible answer: “Probably the-,” looking back at the handout and circulating her right hand with a pen (line 26) (Image 9).

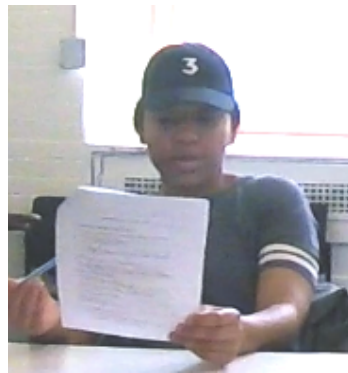


Image 9: NESS-C looks back at the handout and utters “probably the-” with her right hand circulating with a pen

Here, she has reached Stage 3: *launching* by taking the next turn at a TRP – an arrival of an opportunistic space to jump in and begin speaking. She also refers to “the last two” options as a possible answer to the question.

These two cases of launching self-selection appear to be very similar to each other in that (1) the self-selectors merely start speaking at a TRP; and (2) they are both in response to the teacher’s questions. They also resemble neither “contribution with handraising” – speaking while raising hand simultaneously, nor using “collaborative piling” – using supportive elements to prior talk, such as smiles, nods, and the positive response token “yeah,” in order to secure the floor (Takahashi, 2018). So far, I have

shown how the three stages: *registering*, *gearing up*, and *launching* are accomplished by both the EAS and NESS participants through a range of linguistic and nonlinguistic resources.

Differences between EASs and NESSs in Self-selection

Although both EAS and NESS go through the three stages of the self-selection, EASs tend to go through the stages at a slower pace by, for example, undertaking all three stages, and if necessary, doing extra work or repeating the same stages. In contrast, NESSs tend to economize the work by skipping a stage, completing two stages compactly close to each other, or minimizing the resources used throughout the stages. Just to show the larger picture of the findings of this study, there were a total number of 119 self-selections by EASs and 190 self-selections by NESSs across the data of this study, as seen in Table 3 below. Given the fact that there were 57 EASs and only 17 NESSs in all four courses, these self-selection numbers confirm that NESSs do participate much more frequently than EASs do (Bao, 2014; Kim, 2006; Nakane, 2007; Takahashi, 2019). Out of the 119 EAS self-selections, 54 cases (46%) as opposed to only 25 NESS self-selections (13%) involve all three stages along with doing extra work for the various stages.

	EAS	NESS
Full three stages	54 (46%)	25 (13%)
Skipping stage	23 (19%)	66 (35%)
Compact delivery	5 (4%)	27 (14%)
Minimized resources	0 (0%)	8 (4%)
Unknown	37 (31%)	64 (33%)
Total # of self-selections	119	190

Table 3: Stages of self-selection

The following sections demonstrate these differences that feature EAS maximizing and NESS economizing the process.

EAS: Maximizing the process

First, I present the examples of EAS self-selectors who do more work to fulfill each stage. As mentioned above, there were 54 such cases, of which two instances are presented below: doing extra work along the three stages (extract 4.7) and repeating the same stages when failing to accomplish the self-selection launch the first time (extract 4.8.1 & 4.8.2). This first extract focuses on an EAS self-selector, EAS-D, who does extra work through the process involving another nominated student. In this extract, the class has been contemplating the different implicated meanings of the adverbial phrases “you see” and “after all,” as in:

4-a: David is coming with us. You see, his sister is in town.

4-b: David is coming with us. After all, his sister is in town.

The extract begins when the teacher provides an example—incorporating one particular student (EAS-F) as a character in it—when none of the students has been able to answer the question correctly. In the extracts, the arrows are numbered “S1, S2, and S3” to indicate the occurrences of Stages 1, 2, and 3, respectively.

(4.7) “you see” and “after all”

01 T: um (1.8), when I visit-uh China, (0.5) I plan to go to: Beijing.
 02 And I’m talking to, um, Jenny ((looks at EAS-F)), say,
 03 [y’see, Beijing is the capital of China.]
 04 EAS-D: →S1 [((looks at T, turns to EAS-F))] ((looks down and nods))
 05 (1.0)
 06 T: Or I could say,
 07 I’m going to visit (.) Beijing.
 08 *After all*, (.) Beijing is the capital of China.
 09 How do you react to each one of those.
 10 [to after all versus y’see,]

11 EAS-F: [(moves head backwards; thinking)]
 12 (2.0)
 13 EAS-D: →S2 ((posture straightened))
 14 T: I think you should react [differently.]
 15 EAS-D: →S2 [(looks at T; nods to T)]
 16 →S2 ((glances at EAS-F, turns to T))
 17 →S3 °You would say[no wonder to *you see*,] °
 18 T: [(walks closer to EAS-D)]
 19 EAS-D: and you'd probably say oh well great to *after all*.
 20 T: ((leans head towards EAS-D)) And for *y'see* you respond,
 21 EAS-D: no wonder (inaudible)

After introducing an example statement of visiting Beijing, China, the teacher turns to a Chinese student, EAS-F (Jenny), who is sitting in the middle of the classroom looking at the teacher. He continues, “And I’m talking to, um, Jenny, say, *y'see*, Beijing is the capital of China” in lines 02-03. This inclusion of an actual student in class in an example is an interesting way of engaging the class in their analysis; specifically, because the “cast” student is spotlighted, and in a sense, she can be considered as the teacher’s invited nominee to answer his question. This can be also deemed an “alternative categorization” (Waring, 2014), where an individual or a group of participants with a particular background are given an exclusive right to participate.

Perhaps because of this categorization, as soon as the teacher utters “*Y'see*, Beijing is the capital of China” to EAS-F in his example question, EAS-D, another Chinese student, begins to display interest in the question. She looks at the teacher, turns to EAS-F, then looks down and nods in line 04. Being a member of the designated group could be a trigger for EAS-D, encouraging her to think and develop a floating idea, possibly indicating that Stage 1: *registering* is occurring. After the teacher asks the question “How do you react to each one of those; to ‘*after all*’ versus ‘*y'see*?’” to EAS-F in lines 09-10, EAS-F seems to be still pondering and does not yet respond in the 2.0 seconds of line 12. Here, knowing that EAS-F is not responding to the teacher’s question

during this 2.0-second gap may have helped EAS-D decide to self-select in the coming seconds; thus, in line 13, EAS-D's posture is straightened (Stage 2: *gearing up*). The teacher, however, follows up with a further prompt ("I think you should react differently") to EAS-F in line 14. At the teacher's TCU completion, EAS-D nods to him again, which may mark the second half of Stage 2: *gearing up*. During this time, EAS-F still does not provide any response. EAS-D briefly glances at EAS-F again, perhaps in order to make sure one last time that she's not about to take the next turn as a designated respondent before EAS-D self-selects. Then she turns to the teacher and starts speaking in line 17. It seems that EAS-D has taken "EAS-F's no response" as a TRP to secure the floor, achieving Stage 3: *launching*. I wonder if a NESS might do the same if another student is involved.

The next case presents another EAS self-selector engaging in more work – by making multiple attempts to complete the last stage. I show how the would-be self-selector returns from Stage 3 to Stage 2 in order to re-attempt to achieve Stage 3. In this session, the teacher is discussing the pragmatic term "implicature" with the following dialogue example in the handout:

A: Did I get invited to the conference?

B: Your paper was too long.

Then the class examines the handout listing "possible premises" accessed by A in comprehending B's response:

3-a. If someone's paper is too long for a conference, s/he won't be invited to it.

3-b. If someone's paper is too long for a conference, s/he will never be invited again.

The handout also lists "possible contextual implications":

4-a. I was not invited to this conference.

4-b. I will never be invited to this conference again.

The final question of this problem is: Why are the (a) premises and implications preferable to the (b) ones?

This extract begins after the teacher has posed this question and a NESS has participated and answered, and when the teacher is just about to respond to the NESS, which I present in a later extract. EAS-E, the focal self-selector of this extract, is sitting in the front row and listening to the teacher, with a lollipop in her mouth.

(4.8.1) your paper is too long 1

- 1 T: Y-↑yeah (.) okay so you're bringing background knowledge
 2 to bear on- on that- the content of 3-a- or 3-b,
 3 [and because of that you're not accessing 3-a]
 4 EAS-E: [((licking lollipop, looking down on the handout))]
 5 T: and [be- 3-b,
 6 EAS-E: →S1 [((leans back, holding up lollipop still in front of chest, looking down))
 7 T: and therefore you're not drawing the contextual implication 4(.) b.
 8 Um. (0.5) In terms of, eh, relevance theory, uh,
 9 what Sperber Wilson would say is something like this,
 10 that what's the point of processing that far.
 11 [you're already getting adequate contextual effects by accessing 3-a,
 12 EAS-E: [((leans forward and writes down, looking down))]
 13 T: and drawing the contextual implication 4-a,
 14 uh, why would you take it even further,

-A segment omitted-

- 62 T: And you can just imagine the amount of energy
 63 that's wasted in entertaining that kind of belief.=
 64 =So this too tells us about, ya know, the notion of processing time
 65 and processing energy. .hh
 66 You're getting an awful lot of outlay of energy and
 67 getting almost nothing in return.
 68 EAS-E: →S2 ((puts down lollipop from mouth quickly, looking down))
 69 (2.0)
 70 T: O-ka::y.=
 71 EAS-E: →S3 ==((raises hand, gazing at T, raises hand higher, leans forward))
 72 T: ((not looking at EAS-E)) Oka:y.
 73 EAS-E: [((lowers hand slowly, resumes licking lollipop))]
 74 T: [So: for uh (.)]

75 what we're gonna do-
76 what we're gonna do here, um, is,

While the teacher is responding to a NESS, EAS-E is licking her lollipop on and off, which she is holding in her left hand, and looking down at the handout in line 03. Then, she quickly leans back, holds up the lollipop to the front, not moving it for a while, still staring down at the handout. This posture and gesture change may indicate that some transition occurred; especially by suddenly stopping licking the lollipop and holding it still in front of her chest/neck level, perhaps EAS-E is demonstrating that she has just encountered an item of some sort in the handout (Stage 1: *registering*). This sudden “stop” of a moving action with an object seems very similar to EAS-A’s stopping spinning her pen in extract 4.1 in the previous section, when she comes across a trouble source. As the teacher continues his talk in lines 07-11, EAS-E leans forward and writes down something on the handout in line 12. During the next omitted part (lines 15-61), the teacher’s multi-unit talk continues, a student (NESS-A) self-selects, and the teacher responds to her with further elaboration.

After the teacher’s talk completes in line 67, EAS-E very quickly removes the lollipop from her mouth and puts it down. It seems that the removal of the lollipop is an attempt to display her readiness by making herself available to speak any minute. However, she does not look at the teacher; thus, she may not be visibly showing her availability to self-select to the teacher. Then, she looks down at the handout again, followed by a 2.0-second gap. This 2.0-second gap could be a TRP, during which no student takes the next turn. Now that NESS-A and the teacher seem to have ended their sequence, and with no floor competition with other students looming, EAS-E appears to consider self-selecting. She may be verifying what to contribute before self-selecting by

looking at the handout or her notes. Thus, this move can be deemed part of Stage 2: *gearing up*; although it can be slightly different from the *gearing up* I showed in the earlier extracts, which appears to feature making oneself visibly available.

Then, when the teacher utters the transition-making “O-ka::y” in line 70, EAS-E sees the self-selectable moment. Latching onto his utterance completion in line 70, she raises her hand while looking up at the teacher (line 71) (Takahashi, 2018); however, he does not seem to notice her. Then, she raises her hand higher, gazing over at the teacher and leaning forward. He still does not see her and attempts to move on, uttering another “Oka:y,” followed by “so, for, uh, what we’re gonna do-” (lines 72 & 74).

Simultaneously with “So, for, uh,” EAS-E abandons her self-selection for now by lowering her hand and resuming licking the lollipop. Thus, EAS-E’s first attempt for launching Stage 3 failed.

After this extract, another student (Other-B) self-selects and the teacher responds. He continues his talk while EAS-E seems to attempt her self-selection for the second time by going back to Stage 2: *gearing up*.

(4.8.2) your paper is too long 2

87 T: An implicature would [be, uh, all of the contextual assumptions]
 88 EAS-E: [((smiles at T, licking lollipop, looks down))]
 89 T: that you would have to supply in order to
 90 make something (.) [consistent with- with (.) relevance.]
 91 EAS-E: →S2 [((looks straight up at T))]
 92 T: So [uh, down in number 6, A’s paper is too long for the conference,
 93 EAS-E: [((looks down on the handout))
 94 T: that’s a given premise. And then we have to infer something
 95 from that.
 A segment omitted (the teacher’s long talk)

111 T: This is a lot different from, um,
 112 the way we have looked at implicature in the past.

- 113 EAS-E: →S3 ((raises hand and gazes at T, waves at T))
 114 T: [So start with, um-
 115 EAS-E: [((smiles while overly dropping upper body over the desk))]
 116 EAS-A: Dr. Williams, [((pointing to EAS-E))]
 117 T: Yes? [Oh.]=
 118 EAS-E: =Ya sorry- I'm just confused here.

In line 87, while the teacher is explaining implicature, EAS-E looks at the teacher, smiling. She also looks up and gazes at the teacher again in line 91, making herself available here (Stage 2: *gearing up*). It seems that she has not abandoned her interest to self-select; she has returned to Stage 2, displaying her reattempt to self-select. The teacher, however, does not appear to be aware of her efforts, and continues with a long, multi-unit talk (lines 92-112). Finally, in line 113, when the teacher has provided a summary of “the way implicature has been looked at” today and in the past, a sequence closure is expected. At his TCU completion, EAS-E raises her hand - her second attempt at launching self-selection. This time, again, however, the teacher is not looking at her; thus, EAS-E makes a bolder action—upgrading from handraising to waving at him. Even so, the unaware teacher attempts to move onto the next item: “So start with, um-.” in line 114. This repeated failure to obtain attention from the teacher despite her proximity and conspicuity (sitting in the front row and waving her hand at him) may appear almost comical to EAS-E herself, so she smiles and makes a drastic reaction, by throwing down her upper body over the desk. Finally, when EAS-A, who is sitting next to her, calls the teacher’s attention to EAS-E (line 116) and he notices her with “Oh” for the first time (line 117), the floor is given to EAS-E.

It should be noted that this type of practices does emerge, however, among the NESS as well (25 cases; 14%) although with less frequency, as reflected in the largest numbers of cases by EASs than NESSs.

NESS: Economizing the process

Thus far, I have shown two cases illustrating EASs' self-selections with various degrees of elaborations and complications, which included doing extra work considering another nominated student along the way to self-selection (extract 4.7) and repeating the last two stages after failing to launch self-selection the first time (extracts 4.8.1 & 4.8.2). Let us now move onto the self-selection cases of NESSs, whose work is economized by skipping stage, compacting the delivery of two stages, or minimizing the use of the resource for the process.

Out of the entire 190 NESS self-selections, there were 66 cases (35%) of NESSs skipping one of the three stages across the data, as opposed to 23 such cases by EASs (19%) out of their entire self-selections. The first extract demonstrates a case in which a NESS skips Stage 1 stage. The segment comes from the same session as extract 4.2 ("you see" and "after all") and is comprised of the omitted NESS part. Just to reintroduce the context of this session, the class is analyzing the different implicated meanings of the adverbial phrases "you see" and "after all," as written on their handout:

4-a: David is coming with us. You see, his sister is in town.

4-b: David is coming with us. After all, his sister is in town.

(4.9) We're having a picnic today

01	T:	Um, okay, figure it out. We're having a <u>picnic</u> today.
02	NESS-B	((looking at T; listening to T))
03	T:	you see: it's warm outside.
04		(1.0)
05		[Or, we're having a picnic today.
06	NESS-B:	→S2 [(leans back, posture straightened, gazes at T intensely)]
07	T:	After <u>all</u> it's warm outside.
08		How do you react to >each of them.<
10	NESS-B:	→S3 ((opens mouth; big in-breath))

11 ((looks down on the handout))
 12 →S3 With 14b, it seems inevitable that
 13 after (0.5) [after we mention the *after all* phrase,
 14 [((hand gesture begins))
 15 that David will be coming?

While the teacher provides a new example in lines 01-05, NESS-B gazes at the teacher and listens to him (line 02). This is still a “*classroom-default*” phase, where everyone is just listening to the teacher’s instruction. Halfway into the second part of his example, in line 06, she leans back and straightens her posture, intensely gazing at the teacher, which makes it seem like she is already displaying her readiness to contribute, as is typical of Stage 2: *gearing up*. Specifically, gazing at the teacher with a corrected posture can be a sign of sending the interest to self-select, by making an alignment with the teacher (Bezemer, 2008). After NESS-B hears the question, she opens her mouth and takes an in-breath, but closes her mouth. This probably shows a partially attempted Stage 3: *launching*, which is aborted for some reason—she perhaps needed to obtain the correct information from the handout before self-selecting, since (1) she turns her head downward, looking at the handout before speaking in line 10; and, (2) she starts speaking by mentioning the question number written on the handout (“with 14b”) in line 10, where Stage 3 is re-launched and completed successfully. Thus, this segment demonstrates a case of a NESS skipping Stage 1 or at least not visibly demonstrating any work of Stage 1: *registering*, and directly proceeding to Stages 2: *gearing up* and 3: *launching*.

The next extract shows a case of a NESS delivering two stages in a compact way – closely executing them next to each other and expediting the self-selection process. There were 27 such cases (14 %) out of the entire NESS self-selections, whereas merely 5 cases (4%) were identified among the EAS self-selections. This extract shows one of

them. It comes from the same session as extracts 4.8.1 and 4.8.2. Prior to the segment, the teacher has explained a problem in the handout; however, after he asks the class for an analysis, the entire room falls into silence for 18 seconds, with all of them just looking down at their handouts.

(4.10) Implicature

01 Class: (18.0)-((all students keep looking down at the handouts))
 02 T: Which would lead to the contextual implication 4-b.
 03 NESS-A: ((leaning forward; looking down))
 04 (1.0)
 05 T: [So 3-a leads to (.) 4-a, and 3-b leads to 4-b, why don't we, uh-]
 06 NESS-A: [((leans back, crosses arms, looking down))]
 07 T: [Why don't we] calculate
 08 NESS-A: [((glances at T))]
 09 T: as [far as 3-b and 4-b?]
 10 NESS-A: [((yawns, covers mouth, turning away, looks down))]
 11 (3.0)
 12 NESS-A: →S1 ((lifts and puts hand, curled, over her mouth; further lowering head down))
 13 (2.0)
 14 T: In [thinking about the relevance principle?]
 15 NESS-A: →S2&3 [((looking at T; then raises fist and opens it with two fingers up))]
 16 T: Yes?
 17 NESS-A: So I- I think our background knowledge about conferences is that
 18 you apply[every ↑ year (.)n so- and that (.) to:this person's knowledge
 19 [((hand gesture to the front

The long silence with no student self-selections at the beginning of this extract can indicate the students' incomprehension of the problem (Matsumoto, 2018) or unwillingness to participate (UTP) (Sert, 2015) due to their incomprehension. After the teacher's explanation, NESS-A leans forward, still looking down at the handout and showing no availability to self-select at this point (line 03). Another 1.0-second gap follows (line 04), during which no student still utters anything, and the teacher resumes his explanation as a hint, also posing another question in lines 05 and 07. Overlapping with the teacher's TCU in line 05, NESS-A leans back and crosses her arms, still looking

down at the handout in line 06. Crossed arms are often interpreted as a sign of “defensiveness” (Borg, 2010) or “seriousness in relation to the classroom context” (Neill, 1991, p.43); thus, NESS-A seems to be examining the problem and searching for an answer, but not yet making herself available. She then, however, glances at the teacher, and subsequently yawns, covering her mouth and turning her face away from the teacher to hide her yawn (line 08). This, probably, is an accidental occurrence, because NESS-A immediately resumes looking down on her handout. After a 3.0-second gap in line 12, she makes a notable shift in movement by placing her hand, curled, over her mouth and further lowering her head while looking down at the handout; it seems as if she is examining an item with a narrower focus on it. This can be indicative of Stage 1: *registering*, showing the arrival of some idea that would lead to her eventual self-selection. After a further 2.0-second gap in line 13, where no utterance is made, as soon as the teacher gives another clue referring to the Relevance Principle – a certain theory of pragmatics that the class has learned, NESS-A looks up at the teacher. This is immediately followed by handraising - her fist that has been on the chin is lifted, then opened with two fingers up around the side of the head. This series of gestures in line 15 could be deemed as Stage 2: *gearing up* and Stage 3: *launching* condensed tightly next to each other. The teacher nominates NESS-A in line 16, and she begins to speak in line 17; thus, she has a speedy success of launching Stage 3 here.

There are also 8 cases in my data set where the NESS minimizes the work by employing fewer resources, while none is found in the EAS data. In the following extract, the NESS uses a single expressive device, a *smile*, throughout the self-selection process. This even results in the self-selector being nominated by the teacher during Stage 2. In

this session, the class has been examining a case of strong implicature versus weak implicature. The teacher is explaining the following dialogue example from the handout:

A: Do you like this music?

B: I've never liked atonal music.

Strong implicature: Person B doesn't like this music.

Weak implicature: Person B may be very knowledgeable about music.

Person B may be trying to impress me...

(4.11) atonal music

- 01 T: So these would be <unconstrained> implicatures.
 02 (0.8)
 03 Unconstrained meaning that there's no point in even talking about it.=
 04 [=because it could be anything. .hh
 05 NESS-B: [(starts writing down))
 06 (1.0)
 07 T: On the other hand you've got cases like, um (.), number nine,
 08 where (.) somebody says, uh, you like this music,
 09 and somebody says
 10 I've never liked *atonal* [music,]
 11 NESS-B: →S1 [(smiles to herself while writing))]
 12 T: there's a strong implicature that (.) person A does not like this music.
 13 NESS-B: →S2 ((stops writing, hand on chin, leans back, gazing over at T, smiling))
 14 T: [There also could be weak implicatures]
 15 NESS-B: [(looks down to the right at Other-C's handout, starts swinging leg))]
 16 T: such as, person B may be very knowledgeable about music=
 17 NESS-B: →S2 =(looks down and up at T, smiling, continues swinging leg)
 18 (1.0)
 19 T: [Or person B may be trying to impress me=
 20 NESS-B: [(turns to a student on her left))
 21 T: =with his or her knowledge of music.=
 22 =(To NESS-B) Are you- [(.) anybody smiling?]=
 23 NESS-B: [(looks at T)]
- 24 =I'm smiling because (.) I: find myself thinking weak implicatures
 25 that I justify to myself, but I would have (0.5) hh done the last one
 26 because who uses the word *atonal*, in everyday speech.

While the teacher continues his explanations on implicature, NESS-B begins taking notes in line 05. Then, the teacher moves on to the problem in the handout (line

07), and as soon as he utters the word “atonal” from the model dialogue, NESS-B smiles to herself while writing in line 11. It appears that NESS-B is reacting to this particular word, “atonal,” and her smile could reflect the arrival of a humorous, amusing, or ironic thought (Aubum & Pollock, 2013), showing that Stage 1: *registering* has begun. She next stops writing and moves her hand over her chin, leaning back and gazing over at the teacher, still with a smile on her face (line 13), while the teacher continues his talk. This change in movement from “writing” to “stop writing” may represent a shift between two phases. Despite the hand over her chin, she is apparently not in deep thought, because her posture has changed toward the teacher, so that she could send her smiling gaze over to him. Here, she appears to be making herself available for teacher nomination, which is typical of Stage 2: *gearing up*. As the teacher still has not finished talking, NESS-B looks down at the handout she is sharing with the student sitting next to her (Other-C), perhaps briefly returning to the problem dialogue to retrieve the information as she prepares for her contribution (line 15). In line 18, NESS-B looks down again and returns to look up at the teacher, still smiling. Here, her dispatch of a smile to the teacher can be considered another attempt of making herself available, thus, she is still in Stage 2: *gearing up*. However, the teacher, who is obviously aware of her smiling at him, turns to NESS-B and utters, “Are you- anybody smiling?” in line 23. In other words, this is a teacher nomination of NESS-B in response to her display of availability. NESS-B’s response starts by latching in line 25, which shows that she has been ready and waiting to contribute at any second. Although her response starting with “I’m smiling because-“ in line 25 contains a repetition of the teacher question, as in “Are you- (anybody) smiling?” followed by “I’m smiling because,” this is not an answer to his question, since the

teacher's question is treated as a "nomination" and not a "question" by NESS-B. Thus, her smiling in line 18 is a way of conveying interest in self-selecting, to which the teacher responds by nominating her to be the next speaker.

Although this was only one such instance found across the data, it is a unique example of an economized process, in that the would-be self-selector uses the same device - *smiling* - to accomplish her self-selection. Despite the accompanying use of gazing and a posture shift in Stage 2, her smiling mainly persists visible from the registering moment through Stage 2, during which she is nominated by the teacher. In other words, her *gearing up* with smiles is so successfully conveyed to the teacher that she does not even have to move on to Stage 3: *launching*, before being selected by him.² By continuing to use the same device throughout the extract, NESS-B is possibly conserving her energy to execute the entire process to move more effortlessly.

Thus, although NESSs self-select by going through similar stages as EASs', they tend to economize the process by skipping a stage (extract 4.9), by compacting the delivery of two stages (extract 4.10), or by utilizing the same resource for multiple purposes (extract 4.11).

Discussion and Conclusion

This chapter has presented the three stages of self-selection taken by both EASs and NESSs, namely *registering*, *gearing up*, and *launching*. As shown, both EASs and

² I acknowledge that there can be some obscurity and a fine line between Stage 2 and Stage 3. As seen in the example of extract (4.11), *gearing up* (smiling at the teacher) can be also deemed as *launching* (similar to handraising) from the teacher's perspective, who then nominates the smiling participant.

NESSs utilize various types of embodied resources for Stage 1: *registering*, and Stage 2: *gearing up*, as well as embodied, linguistic, and prosodic resources for Stage 3: *launching*.

To summarize these resources into broader categories, each stage is executed with common types of body movements and gestures from EASs and NESSs. Overall, Stage 1: *registering* is typically marked by a sudden change in behavior/conduct or in the extent of intensity in the student's demeanor. This change occurs during the usual classroom phase, the *classroom-default* stage. When some idea or item arrives at a student, however, we can identify a visible "shift"—normally by an abrupt change in his/her demeanor. This includes a moment when some sort of reactional behavior occurs (e.g., opens her eyes wider, smiles to herself), when a movement stops (e.g., stops spinning her pen, holds up her lollipop and keeps it still), when someone's hand(s) move suddenly to mouth/jaw/chin (e.g., puts hand, curled, over her mouth), or when a student focuses on material with more intensity (e.g., holds up her handout while staring further into it, lowers her head to look at something).

Stage 2: *gearing up* is accomplished mainly by sending signals of readiness and interest to participate by the students to the teacher. This is commonly achieved by looking/gazing/nodding/smiling at the teacher, changing posture (e.g., straightening or leaning back), abruptly putting down the hand from the face. The use of gazing and nodding indicates the students' intention to participate (Lauzon & Berger, 2015; Mortensen, 2008) and alignment with the teacher (Bezemer, 2008). In particular, the shift in gaze from Stage 1 to Stage 2 clearly reflects the change from students' state of unavailability to availability for teacher nomination, as claimed by Lauzon and Berger

(2015): “While gaze plays a central role in displaying availability, its role is also central to display unavailability, which is done by withdrawing gaze so that eye contact cannot be established” (p .27). Teachers, too, are regularly oriented to these gestural signals from the students, which leads them to allocate the turns to them (Matsumoto, 2018; Mortensen, 2008, 2009).

The final stage, Stage 3: *launching*, involves actual actions for securing the next speaking turn. It is executed through explicit gestures like handraising, less explicit resources such as taking an in-breath, or simply starting to talk during. It is also interesting to observe examples of “last-minute prep” immediately prior to launching Stage 3 in my data, in which some of the self-selectors briefly glance down at their notes or handouts, in order to verify the content of the contribution they are about to make.

The three stages manifest different orientations from the student’s perspectives. While Stage 1 involves a self-oriented, personal, non-interactive, embodied activity, the partial orientation to the teacher in Stage 2 makes the activity semi-interactive and embodied, and the full orientation to the teacher in Stage 3 renders it an interactive and embodied/prosodic /linguistic activity. As discussed above, the more a student orients to the teacher and away from him/herself, the more alignment with the teacher occurs, and the more publicly available the student makes him/herself. In other words, self-selection is also a negotiation activity, entailing the students’ continuous displays of semiotic messages that move from non-orientation to orientation, and disalignment to alignment.

This chapter illuminates that most of the self-selection endeavors by students in the classroom are “essentially multimodal” (Bezemer, 2008) and “semiotic” (Goodwin, 2000). While the three stages and the resources employed in each stage appear to be

common between EAS and NESS self-selectors, the data clearly show that they reach Stage 3 in different ways: more work is performed by EASs, while less work is done by NESSs. It makes sense if this finding serves as one of the possible answers as to why I feel that NESSs secure the speaking turns more effortlessly than EASs do. These findings have significant implications for our understanding of how students negotiate their self-selections inside the classroom. In order to “become adept at interactional routines” (Erickson, 2004, p. 54), perhaps, new EASs can be explicitly trained to execute these three stages, utilizing the embodied resources to effectively fulfill each stage. Equally, teachers could attempt to look for signs of would-be-self-selection and manage student participation accordingly, thereby creating an active learning environment.

V - ANSWERING VS. EXPLORING: CONTRASTIVE RESPONDING STYLES

Introduction

Suppose the teacher poses a question to his or her whole class. A few students raise their hands, and one of them is nominated to answer the question. If the student answers the question correctly, the teacher responds that the answer is right. If the answer is incorrect or merely close to the correct answer, the teacher may provide an evaluation and advise the student (“Umm, OK, think harder”), and s/he may nominate another student until the correct answer is obtained. This type of simple, formal interaction is one that I remember occurring frequently in classrooms in the schools I attended in Japan. The assumption is that there is always only one correct answer to a question; nothing else exists (Littlewood, 2001; Liu & Littlewood, 1997; LoCastro, 1996). In the American graduate classroom, however, although there are similar exchanges between the teacher and individual students, I have noticed that more discussion-like interactions take place, frequently involving the teacher and multiple students. This was a new type of classroom interaction for me, and it seemed popular in the American classroom. Some NESSs do not even answer the question posed by the teacher at all; rather, they attempt to explore and contribute their views and opinions surrounding the topic. This has been one of the most fascinating phenomena I have observed in the American classroom. This chapter demonstrates two contrasting responding styles that distinguish between EASs and NESSs, which I call *answering* and *exploring* respectively.

When prompted by a teacher question¹ in my data, for instance, EASs normally strictly attempt to provide answers. Their aim seems to be answering the question as precisely and correctly as possible. I refer to this type of participation *answering*. In contrast, although NESSs, too, generally attempt to answer teacher questions, producing the answer does not seem to be the main priority. Instead, their talk frequently transcends the “question-and-answer” interactional boundary and proceeds in a rather broad, “exploratory” manner. I call this participation style *exploring*. It does not necessarily adhere strictly to the teacher’s question or the current topic; at times, the talk appears to shift to a different path altogether. The numbers of their participations in these two styles show the differences below:

	EAS	NESS
Answering	56 (66%)	29 (25%)
Exploring	5 (6%)	51 (43%)
Others	24 (29%)	38 (32%)
Total # of responses to teacher question	85	118

Table 4: Responding styles to teacher question

In what follows, I demonstrate some salient features of these two contrasting participation styles.

¹ This chapter examines student responses to particular teacher questions/prompts that have been given within the same, or the immediately prior sequence before the responses in the data. For instance, teacher invitations provided at the beginning of the class or teacher prompts given in a remotely prior sequence are not considered.

Participation as Answering by EASs

All extracts in this section come from the class “Theories of Pragmatics” again. We go back to the earlier class sessions I observed, where the teacher was lecturing on a type of utterance known as “performative” (e.g., request, complaint, claim). At the beginning of the class, the students were asked what conditions or conventional procedures would be necessary for a certain utterance to be considered a specific type of performative. The classroom was set up to be teacher-fronted, with students sitting facing the teacher in multiple rows. Three NESSs in this class sat separately. Two EASs (EAS-A and EAS-B), who usually actively participated, always sat in the front row next to each other. Other EASs (EAS-C through EAS-L) were scattered around the rest of the classroom.

Let us begin with the first segment that shows the basic form of *answering* typically deployed by EASs. In this particular segment, the teacher’s specific question is about what the necessary conditions would be for the utterance *I do take this man or woman to be my lawfully wedded wife or husband* to work appropriately as a speech act of vowing in a wedding ceremony. Prior to this extract, the teacher receives some answers to his questions, all of which sound somewhat satisfactory to him. We begin by first paying attention to how the EASs respond to the teacher’s question and how the teacher deals with them sequentially.

(5.1) I take this man or woman

01		um-hm (1.0) uhh, anything else?
02		(2.0)
03		>You people are leaving out the most important ↑ <u>things</u> .<
04	EAS-A: →	There has to[be the pair there.]

“necessary” conditions. This is executed without the student raising her hand, probably due to her front-row proximity to him. It is a very straight answer in three turn-construction units (TCUs), of which the second one is abandoned; EAS-A rephrases and clarifies that “both of them” means “the husband and wife” in a restart with a self-repair (line 06), so that her answer would gain more accuracy. What is interesting here is that the teacher repeats her utterance (“Both the future husband and the future wife have to be there”) in line 07, but this repetition appears to function in two ways: One is the teacher’s showing of general approval of the student’s answer, judging by the falling intonation at the utterance completion (Hellerman, 2003). The other is a minor repair made by *recasting* (Ellis & Sheen, 2006; Lyster, Saito & Sato, 2013) with the tiny changes he makes (“the *future* husband and the *future* wife”) instead of just (“the husband and wife”), which EAS-A utters. The teacher subtly adds more “exactness,” indicating that until the couple is pronounced husband and wife at the ceremony, they are not officially married yet.

After a 0.5-second gap following this utterance, another EAS (EAS-B) offers her answer (“The ceremony needs to happen”) along with some hand gestures to the front, smiling, in line 09. Her answer is conveyed in one short TCU. She also uses the phrase “needs to,” expressing requirement, which narrowly answers the teacher question asking what would be required for the context for a marriage vow, similar to the previous instance by EAS-A. The teacher again repeats her answer to acknowledge it in line 10, followed by a further hint: “But more than that, you do something- what about that.” This time EAS-C, who is sitting all the way in the back corner, raises her hand and is nominated. She answers in line 15: “There should be a sincere intention to get married.”

This is another very short utterance in one TCU, with the modal-phrasing “there should be-,” focusing on answering the question by offering a condition necessary for a legitimate marriage vow again. The teacher seems more satisfied with this answer; not only does he repeat what she said, but he also further elaborates on why this is a crucial condition for a marriage vow to work appropriately, in lines 16-21. Finally, when the teacher asks, “Anything else?,” EAS-D looks up at the teacher and self-selects (“They shouldn’t be (1.0) already (.) married to someone else”) in line 24. EAS-D also answers the question in one TCU, using the negative modal in “there shouldn’t be-” to respond to the teacher question. Treating her answer as a rather common-sense issue in the U.S. and in many other countries, the teacher also seems to like the reply and rephrases: “OK, neither of them may be (.) sin- neither of them may be already married.” He further notes that although there are some cultures that accept polygamy, there is a law that bans biandry and polygamy in the United States.

The EASs in this extract then perform a total of four self-selections:

- a) *“There has to be the pair there. Both of them have to be—, the husband and wife will have to be there”* (EAS-A, line 04-06);
- b) *“The ceremony needs to happen”* (EAS-B, line 09);
- c) *“There should be a sincere intention to get married”* (EASC, line 15); and,
- d) *“They shouldn’t be (1.0) already (.) married to someone else”* (EAS-D, line 24).

Certain features appear to be common among these four EAS self-selections: they are comprised of short utterances with one or two TCUs without elaboration; they offer direct answers to the teacher’s question of “what is required” by using modals to express requirement (“has to-” “needs to-” “should” “shouldn’t”); and they are subsequently

repeated by the teacher with or without further adjustments to indicate acknowledgment or positive evaluation. With these observations as a point of departure, I examine three more extracts that display some variations from this basic format.

The next extract shows how *answering* can be accomplished collaboratively by two EASs who have a similar background, who have been in the U.S. for at least six to seven years and have gotten married there; thus, they have some experiential knowledge in the particular cultural context being discussed, including the matrimonial process. The extract comes from the same class and the same lesson as the first extract. The teacher begins with the question about the necessary conditions for a “wedding vow” to be legitimate.

(5.2) bride/groom or husband/wife

- 01 T: ((looks at the handout))
 02 How about *I do take this man or woman to be my lawfully wedded*
 03 *wife or husband? Or husband or ↑wife?*
 04 hehehehehe[hehe]
 05 EAS-A: → [It has] to be uttered by [someone who’s getting married]
 06 [((move her hand to the front))]
 07 either the- bride or groom. ((looking at T))
 08 T: it has to be uttered by (.) someone who::
 09 what is, is getting married means.
 10 it has to ↑be-
 11 EAS-B: → husband [or wife.]
 12 EAS-A: → [husband or] wife.
 13 T: has to be uttered by either the-eh husband or the wife.
 14 EAS-B: → Bride or groom.
 15 T: The bride or the groom was what I- yeah.
 16 (2.0)
 17 A:nd what else?

The teacher provides the question in the first line, “How about *I do take this man or woman to be my lawfully wedded wife or husband? Or husband or wife?*” He follows with his own laughter. EAS-A self-selects, in overlap, with the teacher’s laughter in line

05, with “It has to be uttered by someone who’s getting married, either the - bride or groom.” She directly answers the teacher question with the phrasing “has to” – responding to what condition is required for a marriage vow. Then, she looks at the teacher, possibly looking for his feedback, in line 07, clearly treating her own response as one to be assessed as in an I-R-F sequence. As shown, the teacher repeats EAS-A’s answer to show his acceptance, only to un-finish his TCU halfway through: “It has to be uttered by someone who:.” Then, he adds a question, leaving the ending part blank in lines 09 and 10: “What is, is getting married means. (.) It has to ↑be-” Here, the teacher utilizes a technique called DIU (designedly incomplete utterance) (Koshik, 2002a) to elicit a specific answer - in this case, the appropriate word to fill the empty space in the sentence so that the whole thing would make sense. Immediately, EAS-B answers, “Husband or wife,” overlapped by EAS-A, who utters “Husband or wife” midway through EAS-B’s turn in line 12. The teacher’s response (“Has to be uttered by either the eh husband or the wife,” with a falling intonation) indicates that “the husband or the wife” is the correct answer. To this response, EAS-B corrects herself, saying, “Bride or groom” in line 14. The teacher then admits, “The bride or the groom was what I- yeah,” hinting that this is actually the precise answer that the teacher means to obtain, although EAS-A has already mentioned “bride or groom” earlier, in line 07.

As can be seen, this whole segment comes down to only one answer with two minor options: It has to be uttered by “husband/wife” or “bride/groom.” What the teacher seems to be doing in this extract is trying to elicit this one correct answer from these two EAS students who collaborated with each other. Sitting in the front row, self-selecting without raising their hands, both students are devoted to offering exactly what the teacher

wants based on their actual experiences, and both are quick to self-select and to contribute what seem to be the correct answers. Again, these appear to be typical EAS answers consisting of one TCU - the answer to the question “it has to be uttered by- (who)?” In this segment, however, the teacher makes a further effort to make the answer more precise: whether “husband or wife” or “bride and groom.” In addition, neither EAS-A nor EAS-B attempts to bring in any other perspectives or possibilities - they work with their “husband/wife” and “bride/groom” modifications, which fundamentally represent one concept, and do not explore any other views or ideas. This is consistent with the features of *answering* discussed for extract 5.1. The segment of extract 5.2 continues in the following extract, which shows another variation of *answering* - one that involves self-correction.

(5.3) “officiator?”

- 01 T: The bride or the groom was what I- yeah.
 02 (2.0)
 03 A:nd what else?
 04 (3.0)
 05 EAS-A: → You have to be- you have to say it in front of the offici-
 06 someone who, someone who officiates the- their marriage.
 07 NESS-A: ((raises hand, gazes at T, hand toward mouth))
 08 T: There must be ah- an official ↑present.
 09 EAS-A: °Um-hm°.
 10 T: Could be a religious ↑official (.) or it could a government ↑official,
 11 EAS-A: °Um-hm°.
 12 T: of a certain (.) branch of the ↑government.

After closing the prior the sequence in extract 5.2, the teacher continues to ask the class, “A:nd what else?” (line 03). EAS-A provides her answer after a three-second gap, “You have to be- you have to say it in front of the offici- someone who, someone who officiates the- their marriage” in lines 05 and 06, with phrasal modal “you have to-,”

responding directly to the teacher’s elicitation for the required condition for a marriage vow. As shown, she employs self-repairs as she replaces “be” with “say,” cuts off at “offici-” as she searches for the word “officiator, and repeats “someone who” while continuing the search.

Thus far, I have highlighted EASs’ participation style of *answering* in its most basic form (extract 5.1) and how it can be done in collaboration (extract 5.2) or feature self-repairs (extract 5.3). This next extract shows that *answering* can also be done with elaboration in multiple TCUs. This excerpt again comes from the same class but a different session. In discussing “the cooperative principle” (Grice, 1975) with the class, the teacher is explaining the pragmatic term “flouting” using the example of the advertising industry. He provides a past case of a certain popular car brand that for many years, despite not making any real changes to its existing vehicle, rolled out what they called a “new model” of the same car every year. The company advertised the vehicle as if they had made a great many changes to it and gave the false impression that the car had become even better in its new form. Then, the teacher asks the whole class: “What are they doing; they’re flouting, what are they doing?” at the beginning of this extract. With this question, more specifically, he is asking what exact maxims (i.e., quality, quantity, manner or relation) are being flouted, which has been the central concept the class has previously learned.

(5.4) flouting

01	T:	But- (0.5) what are they doing; they’re flouting, what are they doing.
02	EAS-B: →	<They’re not (.) saying that>
03		they really haven’t made any significant changes.=
04	T:	= right. ((nods))
05	EAS-B:	((nods lightly))
06		(1.0)
07	NESS-A:	Well, [is th-]

08 T: [th-th-] they're not saying that, that's true,
 09 [at the same time there's other things that you can get out of it],
 10 >YEAH<.

-A segment of NESS-A's utterances omitted-

11 EAS-E: → so: they're maybe flouting the maxim of quantity
 12 because people expect
 13 there are (.) uhh, any changes
 14 they expect a lot of information about the changing,
 15 But seems that (.) they are not providing as much as the information.
 16 ehh that is (.) greatly ↑expected,
 17 but it's actually (.) saying that that's the only change,
 18 we have information [inaudible]
 19 T: [yeah]
 20 that's what you are supposed to get from it ((hand gesture))
 21 because everything else is perfect,
 22 Why would we change it if it's already perfect.

After NESS-A's utterance, EAS-E, who always sits at the end of the front row, self-selects in line 11. First, she provides the answer to the teacher's question ("It is flouting the maxim of quantity), utilizing the present progressive form of what they are doing in terms of flouting, asked by the teacher back in line 01. This is followed by her explanation of why: 1) people expect a lot of information if any changes have been made to a car; 2) the company is not providing enough information; 3) the only information provided concerns the small changes to the car; therefore, 4) they are flouting the maxim of quantity. This seems to be the exact answer that the teacher has been looking for, judging from his response in lines 19-22: "Yeah, that's what you are supposed to get from it ((hand gesture)), because everything else is perfect (.) Why would we change it if it's already perfect?"

Of note, in the case of EAS-E's participation, a few conditions seem different from the cases of *answering* in extracts 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3. First, her answer contains

multiple TCUs because of the reasoning and elaboration that she has included. At the same time, she consistently sticks to the point that she is trying to make. Her answering exhibits a linear organization that includes a claim followed by a detailed account of rationales for that claim.

In sum, I observe from my data that EASs' participations tend to engage in *answering*, in which a speaker directly states an answer to the teacher's question. As shown in Table 3 above, out of the 85 EASs who responded to teacher question across the data, 56 (66%) employed the *answering* style. Other than in its simplest form, *answering* has some variations, including a collaborative form, a self-corrective form, and an elaborative form, all of which have been demonstrated in extracts 5.1-5.4.

Participation as Exploring by NESSs

In contrast to EASs' typical use of *answering*, which involves formulating one's talk as direct answers to the teacher's question either briefly or with elaboration, NESSs are found to frequently engage in a more complex style of participation that appears to prioritize exploring as opposed to answering.

A basic example of this *exploring* is demonstrated in the next extract, which is taken from the same session as extracts 5.1, 5.2, and 5.3, during which the class is discussing the contextual elements required for a legitimate marriage vow to take place: The teacher's specific question, again, is "what would be the necessary conditions to make the utterance *I do take this man or woman to be my lawful wedded husband or wife* to work appropriately as a speech act of vowing in the matrimonial ceremony?"

(5.5) objection to marriage

01 T: Anything else?
 02 (1.0)
 03 NESS-A: ((raises hand))
 04 T: yeah.
 05 NESS-A: → Umm, this type of statement would have to be completed, like,
 06 according to, like, a certain protocol, it has to be said this way,
 07 And can be, like, an interruption (.) umm (.) cause, umm,
 08 You know, what was that, does anyone (.) what do they say,
 09 {(shaking one hand)}- Does anyone}
 10 (0.5)
 11 Uhh {(spread palms to the sides)}-[OBJECT] or something like that.
 12 S: [object]
 13 Ss: [object]
 14 NESS-A: → so that the marriage is like, it has to be said,
 15 without objection to be (.) completed.
 16 T: Uh, I, I don't know if this is always done anymore but it was (.) done
 17 for a long time, there had to be a statement,
 18 does anybody here ↑object (.) to the marriage.
 19 then if anybody objected, then, I'm not sure what happened.
 20 NESS-A: → I don't know either.
 21 SS: ((laughter))

The focus of this extract is NESS-A's participation, starting in line 05. After the teacher asks if anyone else has an answer (line 01), she raises her hand (line 03) and is nominated by the teacher. As NESS-A begins her utterance, it develops into a large portion of talk involving multiple TCUs. Note that she actually begins with an answer using *would have to be* in response to the question, except that what follows is not a finished product, i.e., the actual statement. Here, she starts searching for it as opposed to delivering an already arrived at statement. She attempts to describe an old custom (objection to a marriage) that she has in mind; however, she cannot figure out the exact words of it, as evidenced by the use of phrases and expressions between lines 05 and 07, such as (“*This type of statement*,” “*Like a certain protocol*,” “It has to be said *this way*,” “*Like an interruption*”). In continuation of her search, in lines 08 and 09, her utterance

turns into consecutive question forms: “What was that,” “Does anyone,” “What do you say,” “Does anyone.” Here, she first asks a question to herself (“what was that?”), then she turns to her classmates and the teacher, uttering “Does anyone,” “What do you say,” “Does anyone.” This series of brief questions create a segment asking for help. It seems to be an example of what is called an “incidental sequence,” a spontaneously occurring embedment (Schegloff, 2007). In line 36, with both of her palms open and pointing up, NESS-A finally finds the right expression, stating it in a louder voice (“OBJECT”) and adding an increment (“Something like that”). She has been searching for the exact statement she is attempting to describe - someone stating during a marriage ceremony that he or she opposes the union for some reason - but NESS-A is still not entirely confident about her answer’s accuracy. Finally, she arrives at the point she wanted to make: “So that the marriage is, like, it has to be said, without objection to be completed” (lines 14-15). NESS-A seems to have taken quite a detour (Farrell, 2018) to arrive here. However, when the teacher responds by pointing out that it was an old custom, and that he does not even know what would happen if there was indeed an objection at a marriage ceremony, NESS-A replies, “I don’t know either” (line 20). Thus, she reveals that her contribution is not based on solid knowledge of such a scene.

NESS-A’s self-selection above is *exploratory* in the sense that she devotes most of her self-selected turn to searching for an item as part of her answer, in part by enlisting help from the class, that she attempts to articulate but is not yet able to. Her multi-unit turn features hesitations, rephrasing, false starts, and an incidental sequence, during which no one responds or interrupts. These traits are in stark contrast to those of *answering*, and this is why I call this participation style *exploring*.

The above extract represents the basic style of *exploring*. In what follows, I highlight two other cases of *exploring* to demonstrate its variations: one of providing a possible answers while voicing the reasoning process (extract 5.6); and the other of articulating a complex question with multiple attempts to explain in a “think-aloud” style (extract 5.7).

In the next extract, a NESS provides two possible answers and proceeds to voice her reasoning with two imagined scenarios. This extract is from the same class, “Theories of Pragmatics,” as the first five extracts. At the beginning of this segment, the teacher presents a new dialogue problem:

A: I haven’t seen John for a long time. I’d like to go and see him this week.

B: I heard that his father is very sick.

The teacher asks the class what exactly B is indicating to A. He lists the possible answers for the class to consider at the beginning of the extract.

(4.6) John’s father

01	T:	What could A get out of B’s utterance?
02		(2.0)
03		Well, A could get out (.) John’s father is very sick,
04		Or B has said John’s father is very sick,
05		Or B’s informing me that John’s father is very sick,
06		Or B’s reminding me that John’s father is very sick,
07		Or B’s warning me that John’s father is very sick,
08		Or B’s advising me to visit John.
09		Or B’s advising me NOT to visit John.
10		What about the examples like this?
11		(2.0)
12		Does the exchange itself seem pretty natural?
13	NESS-C:	((glances at T and nods a few times))
14	T:	So what is-eh A’s supposed to get out of B’s remark?
15		(1.5)
16		If you hear the sentence, what [would you say]what would you think?
17	NESS-C: →	[((glances at T))]
18		(2.0)

19 probably the- (.) one of the <last two>?
 20 But I think (.) the <last one>?
 21 Umm becaus-ehhh,
 22 but I see ho::w
 23 this could be seen as not advising someone to visit ↑John,
 24 but I think that by saying his father is very sick and that,
 25 he's been sick for a long time,
 26 that means that,
 27 he's probably busy tending to his father.
 28 Umm, I think that it would be the case that you would visit John,
 29 if his father passed away (0.5) cause I think
 30 while, at least in growing up here, that when someone passes away,
 31 you tend to visit the- (.) house.
 32 T: so the relevance you get out of it would be the final-
 33 NESS-C: yeah.
 34 T: one?

After the teacher provides a list of possible meanings that A could derive from B's utterance (lines 08-09), NESS-C glances at the teacher, nods, and looks at him again (line 13 and 17). She seems to be showing the intention to self-select (Mortensen, 2009) while still thinking about the answer options. After a 2.0-second silence, NESS-C self-selects in line 19, and gives some possible options: "Probably the- (.) one of the <last two>?." She utters "last two" very slowly, in a hesitant, rising tone. Then, she narrows her answer to "But I think (.) the <last one>?" with "last one" pronounced slowly, again showing some hesitation. These two utterances are made in an attempt to answer the teacher question, but not with absolute certainty. She tentatively takes the last option "B is advising NOT to visit John" and hypothesizes about the conditions where the option would be relevant. She publicly voices her reasoning process, beginning with the utterance "Umm becaus-ehhh" in line 21; we can see that she is still considering the proper reason from her "ehhh." However, then she restarts with "but" in lines 22-23: "But I see ho::w this could be seen as not advising someone to visit ↑John." The use of "but," while abandoning "because" from line 21 here is odd, since the sentence that follows

does not contradict her former idea. Rather, it seems to be used to indicate that she has just gathered the words to express her idea. This is followed by another “but” in line 24: “But I think that by saying his father is very sick and that, he’s been sick for a long time.” The use of “but” here is, again, not intended to express a contradictory idea to her previous statement, but rather to show where her logical thought process has led her. She continues to express the chain of her thoughts with “That means that” (line 26), exploring, connecting, and imagining a scenario as follows: “He’s probably busy tending to his father” (line 27); “Umm, I think that it would be the case that you would visit John, if his father passed away (0.5), cause I think” (lines 28-29). With this utterance, she advances a hypothesis with the general “you” and not “I” or “he,” drawing here on her own experience as an American who knows the proper customs: “While at least in growing up here that when someone passes away, you tend to visit the- (.) house” (lines 30-31). Thus, her conclusion may be that the last option – (“B is advising NOT to visit John”) would be relevant since the father is not dead and John must be very busy at the moment. What NESS-C demonstrates here is the kind of participation where a self-selector provides a possible, but not a definitive answer while making public her reasoning process.

As can be seen, NESS-C’s participation exhibits typical *exploring* features such as a restart, uncertainty, hesitations, spontaneous ideas, hypothetical statements, and additional related statements. Notably, throughout the think-aloud process, “but” is used to mark the arrival of a thought: “*But* I think” (line 20), “*But* I see how~” (line 22), “*But* I think” (line 24), where “but” is not used to contradict the speaker’s prior remarks or to serve as a *but-preface* (Choe & Reddington, 2018) to refocus on the true topic. Here,

arriving at a new thought is different from re-focusing since NESS-C has never gone off the focus on the same line of her argument; she has been strictly adhering to the point of the reasoning over her choice in this segment.

Exploring can be executed outside of a teacher question and become even longer, broader, and more complex than the example above. This next extract comes from the same session as extract 5.4, where the same teacher has been discussing “cooperative principle” (Grice, 1975). Prior to this segment, he has shared the story of a certain car company not making any real changes to its popular brand car every year, despite giving the public the impression that they had by advertising a “new model.” The teacher then asks the whole class about what the advertisement is flouting (i.e., quality, quantity, relation or manner). After some students answer the question, the teacher takes a turn and summarizes the case that he has been discussing.

(5.7) higher purpose

01 T: And then they go on (.) detail after detail about the mechanism
 02 and lock and all this kind of stuff.
 03 And-eh (.) you read it and,
 04 (0.5)
 05 You realize that after a minute that- This is a (.) great big (1.0) joke.
 06 It's a great big case of flouting. And (1.0) yeah they were successful.
 07 (1.0)
 08 [Actually] in- in the 1960s,
 09 NESS-B: [((raises a hand))]
 10 T: one out of every 10 cars on the road was a beetle.
 11 yeah.
 12 NESS-B: → I was wondering, uh-hh, was flouting always [or not always (.)]
 13 [((looking up; thinking))]
 14 So depending on the medium (.) of communication,
 15 couldn't you, like, I don't know, predict, like, uh-hh,
 16 if it were, uh-hh, like, a strategy text that you'd use for all of them,
 17 So for example, like, a sign or, uh-hh, a piece of informative, like,
 18 it's supposed to convey a message,
 19 not in[an artsy way uh-hh or persuasive way,]
 20 [((hand forward))]

21 [From, like, the first problem we saw the signs that would be like,]
 22 [((circles her hand; pulls down her hair with both hands))]
 23 clashes that we saw ((hand forward))
 24 Then there's this because of persuasive advertisement or
 25 what[you're saying with Volkswagen,]
 26 [((points at T, then wraps around he neck with both hands))]
 27 It would be flouting. ((starts rubbing her neck with both hands))
 28 (1.0)
 29 [>Just because it's, like, how do you determine whether or not]
 30 [((rubbing her neck with both hands))]
 31 how someone is trying to achieve a higher purpose<,
 32 [and it's like] I think a lot of times you have to consider
 33 [((smiles slightly))]
 34 the meaning of [the communication.]
 35 [((hand gesture))]
 36 T: and- can- are- can you correlate one medium
 37 with one particular strategy or=
 38 NESS-B: =we::ll

Extract 5.7 begins as the teacher reaches the climax of his narrative. In line 03, he asks the class what the result of his story would be, to which he receives no answer (line 04); thus, he provides what occurs in the end and closes the question and answer segment of the flouting case (lines 05-06). The 1.0-second gap in line 07 may be taken as the end of his turn; thus, NESS-B raises her hand, although this overlaps with what seems to be an additional piece of information from the teacher (lines 08 and 10). After being nominated, NESS-B begins with a question in line 12: "I was wondering, uhhhh, was flouting always or not always." However, she abandons this TCU halfway through and restarts in line 12. We cannot be sure if this is a reformulation or not, since we do not know what she meant to ask in the first question. She restarts with a somewhat broad question: "Couldn't you, like, I don't know, predict if it were, like, a strategy text you'd use for all of them (all mediums of communication)?" in lines 14-15. The first half of this utterance is interesting because the use of "like, I don't know" appears right before the verb "predict"; this part could be used as either a filler to formulate the rest of the

sentence or mitigate her difficult question. It is notable that NESS-B is not responding to any teacher question; rather, she is bringing up her issues with the concept of flouting itself and the teacher's example. NESS-B goes on to provide descriptions of what she is attempting to convey, using expressions like "artsy way" or "persuasive way" (line 19), but it may be in fact creating more complications. In lines 21-26, as a reason for asking her question, she brings up the "first problem"- the one they have discussed prior to this segment - and the case of a car ad that the teacher has been describing, of which she concludes, "It would be flouting" (line 27). Here, she begins rubbing her neck with her both hands during this utterance; It appears that NESS-B perhaps expects some type of response from the teacher. Note, however, that there are not any teacher responses during her utterances - not even any backchannel like "um-hm" or "uh-ha" - nor do any other classmates attempt to interrupt. After NESS-B's long, multi-unit chunk of talk through line 27, there is a 1.0-second gap (line 28). This could be taken as the completion of her self-selection; however, there is complete silence during the gap, and no turn transition occurs. Overall, given the whole sequence thus far, from "all medium of communication" to "the first problem" to "the current case," and given the complex way in which NESS-B expressed her questions and examples, the other students might find it difficult to comprehend her point.

Thus, after the 1.0-second silence, having received no responses from the teacher or any of her classmates, NESS-B self-selects again by providing a further reformulation of her question, as if to say "OK here's what I am asking": "Just because it's, like, how do you determine whether or not how someone is trying to achieve a higher purpose?" This is uttered very fast for a possible reason: Out of some frustration that the

teacher and her classmates did not seem to comprehend what she was aiming at prior to this utterance.

After she resumes her talk and reformulates her question, NESS-B continues rubbing her neck (probably still expecting a teacher response), and by using an abstract expression like “a higher purpose” (line 31), the meaning that she is attempting to convey to the class may remain still difficult. Finally, she states her opinion: “I think a lot of times you have to consider the meaning of communication” (lines 32-34). This entire contribution is done outside of the question-answer segment, where NESS-B brings a question to the teacher; thus, it differs from the last two *exploring* cases in extracts 5.5 and 5.6, where the exploring involves searching for answers.

When we analyze how NESS-B participates and how her talk unfolds throughout this segment, we see a good deal of drifting. The sequence certainly shows many key features of *exploring*. For example, NESS-B has a restart by rephrasing her question (line 14), along with another reformulation of her question in line 26. However, these three versions of questions do not appear to be reformulations of the same question; rather, they somewhat seem like different questions. They begin with (1) “Was flouting always or not always-” (line 12); (2) “Couldn’t you, like, I don’t know, predict like if it were a strategy -?”(line 15); and, (3) “How do you determine whether or not how someone is trying to achieve a higher purpose?” (line 31). As can be seen, NESS-B’s question is complex in the first place, which is then followed by a complicated elaboration. That is why the audience, including the teacher, may have an even more difficult time understanding her point, which can be reflected in the 1.0-second utterance silence despite that it is a transition relevant point (line 28). Thus, in this segment, she

asks different questions, and finishes with her own views and opinions. This is where the teacher comes in, asking her to clarify and illustrate with a concrete example of what she has been aiming to convey: “And- can- are- can you correlate one medium with one particular strategy or=” (lines 36-37). NESS-B responds with a latching “we::ll” in line 38; however, even after the end of the extract, she does not provide any examples, merely attempts to make her point, and further begins stating the reasoning of her question. Thus, what this extract demonstrates is that an *exploring* can be built with numerous intertwined TCUs, multiple restarts and reformulations, and some directional shifts.

In sum, NESSs tend to employ the *exploring* style in their participations, which involves (1) searching for an item as part of an answer (extract 5.5), (2) providing possible answers while voicing reasoning with imagined scenarios (extract 5.6), and (3) articulating a complex question with multiple attempts of explanation in a “think aloud” style (5.7). 51 (43%) of the entire NESSs who responded to teacher question (118 cases) utilized some sort of the *exploring* style. All of them seem to be constituted with similar resources and characteristics, which I further discuss in the next section.

Discussion and Conclusion

In this chapter, I have highlighted two different styles of classroom participation: *answering* and *exploring*, employed by EASs and NESSs, respectively. I have also demonstrated various ways in which the two participation styles can be performed. First, the participations by EASs A, B, C, D, and E in extracts 5.1-5.4 appear to show several of

the common features of *answering*. Below, I list the most salient ones from the five EASs' participations:

- 1) the contribution involves one or two TCUs without further elaborations or reasoning;
- 2) the contribution is narrowly focused in direct response to the question; and,
- 3) the contribution occurs within the I-R-F sequence.

In direct contrast to those of *answering*, my data (from extracts 5.5, 5.6, and 5.7) demonstrate these common features of NESSs' *exploring*:

- 1) the contribution entails multiple TCUs with elaborations and reasoning;
- 2) the contribution may go beyond answering or involve an initiation of a question; and,
- 3) the contribution tends to feature hesitation and uncertainty as the participants make their thinking public in searching for an answer or articulating an issue.

As discussed earlier in the review of literature (Chapter II), in the conventional Asian classroom, students are generally only expected to answer the teacher's question and to answer it as correctly as possible. In contrast to EASs' *answering*, NESSs' participations seem "contingency generated," as the speakers navigate their searches in public and arrive at their answers or ideas.

The juxtaposition of these two participation styles (*answering* vs. *exploring*) interestingly resembles that of the two classic types of pedagogical interaction in the classroom: *final draft talk* and *exploratory talk* (Barnes, 1976/1992). In *final draft talk*, as accuracy and clarity are the most crucial objectives, the speaker is primarily focused on delivering what seems to be the main point that has been pre-determined as the answer to

the question to be evaluated by the teacher in the I-R-F sequence (Lemke, 1990; McHoul, 1978; Mehan, 1979; Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975). By contrast, the second type of classroom talk, *exploratory talk*, does not prioritize accuracy but features searching, re-constructing, and re-organizing as multiple participants work together to develop their understandings. Therefore, *exploratory talk* promotes communal learning through in-class exchanges of ideas and perspectives. *Final draft talk*, however, tends to be a two-way, teacher-student conversation, during which the rest of the class mostly serves as an audience.

Similar to *final draft talk*, *answering* does seem to be effective in its own right—the students' focused, concise answers to the question can reveal the extent of their comprehension of the material and the accuracy of their knowledge, and the teacher can immediately provide a comment or an assessment, as well as possibly a correction or a further hint if they do not seem to understand the concept. *Exploring*, on the other hand, has the same benefits of *exploratory talk*, which helps students develop communicative strategies for participation (Dawes, 2011), as well as helping to advance students' explanatory skills (Topping & Trickey, 2014). Although *exploring* does not involve collaborations with other participants as *exploratory talk* does, a speaker's attempt to put his or her line of thinking into words can provide the whole class with opportunities to glimpse into diverse ideas or to develop different perspectives. This, after all, promotes “communal learning,” as *exploratory talk* does, for the entire classroom.

This type of contrastive styles in educational approach – focus on accuracy of basic knowledge vs. focus on freedom of thoughts and ideas - are not limited to the classroom interaction. According to Smith-Autard (2002), while the teachers in dance

education instruct the students to develop formal skills through routine work, they let them explore their subjective creativity through improvisation as well. In other words, Smith-Autard suggests, that one needs basic knowledge and required skills in order to effectively incorporate their imagination and creativity. After all, artistic exploration can only blossom with the solid technique foundations and both elements can be effectively complement and benefit from each other.

Thus, if applying this concept to *answering* vs. *exploring*, it would be rewarding for both EASs and NESSs to learn from each other's participation styles. While EASs may feel more confident in providing a short, concrete answer than a longer one, they can also endeavor to further add (1) reasoning and (2) elaboration to their participations. For instance, extract 5.4 provides a good example where the answers the teacher question and then immediately continues elaborating on why she considers the answer correct. Doing this can help EASs adjust gradually to the interactional routine of the American classroom. Moreover, EASs can also attempt to continue their answers by offering additional thoughts that might arise during the participation. By the same token, for NESSs who are accustomed to the *exploring* style, incorporating some of the traits from the *answering* style may be beneficial as well. Rather than thinking aloud and extending their talk with their ideas and opinions in a contingent manner, one can learn to focus on the most crucial point of the discussed material and to concisely convey it. After all, the classroom is not a "consensual community; nor it is a group of persons more or less socialized to the same patterns (Varenne & McDermott, 1999, p.214). Despite entailing almost the opposite features that my analysis showed in this chapter, *answering* and *exploring* can each offer effective platforms to foster student contributions, open their

minds to different perspectives, and deliver opportunities for both EASs and NESSs to mutually learn from contrasting types of class participation and become better self-selectors. The empirical findings in this chapter bring a new, deeper understanding of how students can construct themselves as meaningful contributors to the learning community.

VI – FACTUAL STANCE VS. AFFECTIVE STANCE: CONTRASTIVE CONTRIBUTING STYLES

Introduction

In American classrooms, students are expected to actively express their thoughts and share their real-world experiences to support their ideas. Class discussion is performed mostly outside of the I-R-F format (Mehan, 1979), and students play an active role in building these discussions. This may, however, be problematic for many EASs, because, as discussed in Chapter IV, they may require more time to organize their thoughts and to prepare to self-select than NESSs. Further, the nature of the class discussion would not fit EASs' expected format involving the "student[s] as knowledge recipients" (Liu, 2001; LoCastro, 1996; Rao, 2002, among others), as outlined in Chapter II. Providing opinions would require EASs to learn to be assertive, which they have not been actively taught to do in daily life in their home countries. In Chapter V, I described how EASs actively provided *answering*-styled responses in response to teacher questions; but when they are not answering questions, how do they volunteer contributions?

This chapter examines how EASs and NESSs volunteer contributions in whole-class discussions; specifically, I look at how their stances—*factual* and *affective*—are displayed as they produce affiliative or disaffiliative contributions in relation to prior talk. Typically, affiliative actions are considered "preferred" and supportive of social solidarity, while disaffiliative actions are dispreferred and can compromise social

solidarity (Heritage, 1984; Clayman, 2002). Affiliative and disaffiliative contributions are similar to, but broader than, *extension* and *disjunction* (Takahashi, 2018), which are limited to the utterances forwarding the prior speaker's point by piling, and discontinuation of the prior talk by the use of prefaces, respectively. For the purpose of this paper, I consider a speaker to be displaying a *factual stance* when he or she sticks to providing an account, an explanation, or a line of reasoning, without much display of emotive elements. In contrast, a speaker shows *affective stance*--also sometimes referred to as "interpersonal stance" (Lempert, 2008) - when he or she engages emotively with the point the prior speaker made (Couper-Kuhlen, 2012). Below, I show how EASs demonstrate *factual stance*, whereas NESSs display *affective stance*, in making affiliative and disaffiliative contributions.

The data come from sessions of all four of the courses that I videotaped: Theory of Pragmatics, Sociolinguistics, Speaking Practicum, and Text and Textuality. Overall, the data show that EASs make uninvited contributions much less frequently than NESSs, especially considering the number of participants in each group, shown in the table below:

	EAS (N=57)	NESS (N=17)
Affiliative contributions	9 (26%)	39 (54%)
<u>Disaffiliative</u> contributions	15 (44%)	18 (26%)
Others	10 (30%)	15 (20%)
Total contributions (without teacher prompt)	34	72
# of Contributions per Student	0.6	4.2

Table 5. Number of affiliative and disaffiliative contributions

Factual vs. Affective Stance in Affiliative Contributions

According to Stivers (2008), *affiliation* occurs when the hearer endorses the prior speaker's conveyed *stance* and provides verbal and physical tokens that align with the activity of the prior talk. Affiliative contribution, then, would be “maximally pro-social when they match the prior speaker's evaluative stance, display empathy, and/or cooperate with the preference of the prior action” (Stivers, Mondada, & Steensig, 2011, p. 21). Participants use a wide range of resources, including verbal, prosodic, and visible, to express affiliation (Couper-Kuhlen, 2012; Pomerantz, 1984). In this section, I highlight the cases of affiliative contributions in which EASs and NESSs endorse the prior talk, and examine how the two groups differently express *factual stance* and *affective stance*, respectively.

EASs' Factual Stance in Affiliative Contribution

The following two extracts demonstrate cases in which EAS self-selectors affiliate with another student's prior talk and display *factual stance* by providing evidential information, such as L1 linguistic knowledge (extract 6.1) and L1 cultural accounts (extract 6.2), to validate the prior talk. Both extracts come from sessions of the course Sociolinguistics. In the first segment below, the class is discussing the use of “modals” in conveying politeness in English. The teacher has brought up some cases in which Chinese students appeared impolite to their professors in the U.S. and has asked about the possible reasons behind this.

(6.1) pragmalinguistic failure

- 01 EAS-I: Because, um, I was thinking, speaking of the modal verb should um,
 02 like we learned last semester, um, in a Chinese class, not sure how
 03 friend who's also in our program, I'm not using (.) her name.
 04 But um- she told me she used should to a professor,
 05 saying you should finish this. But I think the problem is how
 06 she translated it, directly from Chinese.
 07 Because when you say the word should, translate that in Chinese
 08 it's not as fa- face-threatening as you say it in English.
 09 So the direct translation caused the problem.
 10 Because there is no direct translation.
- 11 T: It's pragmalinguistic failure. Right? It's pragmalinguistic failure.
 12 She wasn't trying to be overly aggressive [or] assertive or demanding,
- 13 EAS-I: [yeah]
- 14 T: but the (.) modal should took too much,
- 15 EAS-J: → ((turns to T)) Because in Chinese it sounds like a suggestion.
- 16 T: Yeah >yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah.< And even if you said something
 17 that sounded like more of a suggestion in English like-

In lines 01 through 10, EAS-I provides a narrative account of how the Chinese equivalent of the English modal “should” carries a lighter connotation of requirement in Chinese than in English, which could possibly explain why some Chinese students may sound impolite in certain situations. The teacher, in lines 11 through 14, summarizes EAS-I’s explanations by labeling such occurrences as cases of “pragmalinguistic failure.” She attempts to finish her TCU with, “But the (.) modal should took too much” (line 13), implying that the Chinese “should” that carries a lighter meaning could have sounded much stronger in English, which might have led to the “impolite” impression. Then, EAS-J, another Chinese student, looks at the teacher and offers an account that justifies the misuse of “should,” using his L1 knowledge of Chinese and thus contributing information presumably not available to the teacher: “Because in Chinese it sounds like a suggestion” (line 15). This utterance endorses EAS-I’s contribution by specifying what the former meant, with “should” not sounding as face-threatening in Chinese. This is how

EAS-J executes her affiliative contribution; by simply supplying her L1 linguistic knowledge without employing any emotive elements, she displays a *factual stance* toward the prior talk.

The next segment shows another EAS displaying a *factual stance* through validation of the prior talk, this time by providing a cultural account. Here the class is discussing the difficulty of eliciting participation from all students. Some of them share their experiences of being foreign students themselves in the U.S., and not being able to actively participate in class. These students list the reasons behind this phenomenon, one after another, and the teacher responds before inquiring about any possible cultural reasons for such participation difficulties.

(6.2) the nail that sticks out

- 01 T: Okay. So, so there's that. There's the lack of experience,
 02 Not knowing how the floor works exactly, Um. (.) online processing,
 03 and by the time you get it out and the:n- isn't there a cultural
 04 component as well? The nail that sticks out gets hammered down.
 05 (1.8)
- 06 T: Right. Probably a culture where you're not supposed to::,
 07 uh, not supposed to what?
- 08 EAS-G: ((raises hand))
- 09 T: Yeah.
- 10 EAS-G: The- the different kind of student-teacher relationship.
 11 Like, some culture teacher is a authority. You're not supposed to
 12 challenge, you're not supposed to, like, di- discuss an issue, just
 13 recei::ve, then, un in like, America we have a more <open and equal>
 14 relationship that we can discuss, we can share,
 15 we can (.) disagree with each other.
- 16 T: Yeah, yeah. That's very hard. Isn't it hard? If you're not used to that?
 17 It seems stra:nge, and maybe disrespectful.
 18 (1.0)
- 19 EAS-H: → ((looks at T, then EAS-G)) Yeah, in terms of the context,
 20 I think back in China, we are expect to (.) write and sound very smart
 21 when you ask a question, and we can ask questions,
 22 but we cannot really discuss with the teacher.
- 23 We ask and we listen to: the teacher.
- 24 T: Yeah, that seems like a really important thing to have shared.

In lines 01 through 04, the teacher summarizes the answers she has received from the students so far and proceeds to suggest, with an idiomatic expression (“The nail that sticks out gets hammered down”), that participation difficulties may be cultural. In lines 06-07, the teacher further provides a question in DIU (designedly incomplete utterance; Koshik, 2002): “You are not supposed to—what?” EAS-G raises his hand (line 08), is nominated (line 09), and gives an answer (“The different kind of student-teacher relationship”) to fill in the teacher’s incomplete utterance. He explains that in some cultures a strict hierarchical teacher-student relationship may hinder student participation. After the teacher’s response acknowledging EAS-G’s contribution, EAS-H, looking at the teacher and then at EAS-G, further provides an account of her own experience. By initiating with “In terms of context, I think back in China,” (lines 19-20), she specifically points to China as an example of a place where student-teacher relationships are unequal in terms of what students were allowed, and not allowed, to do in the classroom.

Note that EAS-G only mentions “some cultures,” and does not identify what particular culture he is referring to; thus, what EAS-H is doing here is offering a specific place and a more concrete example of what exactly the prior speaker was describing. Just like in extract 6.1, EAS-H simply provides her L1 experience as a foundation on which to endorse the prior talk. This is done factually, without much emotive display or overt alignment with the former speaker.

Thus far, I have provided a glimpse into EASs’ *factual stance* exhibited in affiliative contribution. These two extracts serve as representative examples of the seven similar cases in which a speaker expressed a *factual stance* in endorsing the prior talk, out of all nine of the EASs’ affiliative contributions found in the data.

NESSs' Affective Stance in Affiliative Contribution

As opposed to their EAS peers, whose *factual stances* are shown in affiliative contributions via linguistically or culturally specific evidential accounts, NESSs' affiliative contributions appear to be performed with “mood, attitude, feeling, and disposition,” all of which are elements that convey an *affective stance* (Ochs, 1996). The following examples highlight NESSs' *affective stances* conveyed through providing humorous illustration (extract 6.3) and displaying personal knowledge of the prior speaker (extract 6.4). The first extract shows a case in which the self-selector uses humor to express affiliation. The segment is from the Text and Textuality class, from a session during which students are learning to perform pragmatic analysis of mostly written texts in various contexts. It begins with the teacher explaining what the terms “alienable possession” and “unalienable possession” would mean.

(6.3) Terry's sister

01 T: Alienable possession means that uh- if I want to sell that book,
 02 I'm free to do that. And then it becomes Hannah's book.
 03 And then nobody can take it from Hannah. And if they do take it
 04 then Hannah can call the police. Right? Okay.
 05 >So we're talking about that kind of thing. It's alienable.
 06 I can get rid of it if I want to.
 07 Then there's something called unalienable possession,
 08 T: ((writes the term on the chalkboard)) which would be like,
 09 (0.5)
 10 NESS-L: → ((looks at T)) °°Terry's sister.°°
 11 T: ((to NESS-L)) What?
 12 NESS-L: → Terry's °sister.°
 13 T: Terry's?
 14 NESS-L: → Sister.
 15 T: <Terry's (.) sister,> (.) Yeah I think so, Uhh
 16 NESS-L: → °\$You can't get rid of me.\$°
 17 T: You can't get rid of her?
 18 Ss: ((laughter))
 19 T: Is that why you moved to [New York?
 20 Ss: [Hahahaha
 21 NESS-L: [\$°Maybe.\$°

22 T & Ss: [Hh, hh, hh.
 23 Yeah, I think that might be considered unalienable possession.

The teacher offers an explanation of what the term “alienable possession” signifies in lines 01 through 07. This is the first part of a contrastive illustration that would allow him to explicate afterwards what “unalienable possession”—the opposite concept of “alienable possession”—would mean. In his explanation, he incorporates “Hannah,” one of the students present in class, as a character in the example. He summarizes the illustration in line 05 (“So we’re talking about that kind of thing. It’s alienable”), followed by further explanation in line 06: “I can get rid of it if I want to.” Then, the teacher switches his discussion to what “unalienable possession” is, writing the term on the chalkboard (line 07). He utters, “Then there’s something called unalienable possession, which would be like,” followed by a 0.5-second pause. Taking this pause as a self-selectable moment, NESS-L (Terry) softly interjects, uttering, “Terry’s sister,” in line 10. After the teacher verifies and validates what she has said with, “Terry’s (.) sister, (.) Yeah I think so” (line 15), NESS-L playfully adds an animation of her own sister: “°\$You can’t get rid of me.\$°” with a smile (line 16). Here, she also performs the function of extending (Waring, 2002) in the midst of the teacher’s ongoing explanation, rather than waiting for it to end; thus, it is done collaboratively with the teacher.

In NESS-L’s collaborative affiliation, humor seems to be playing a major role. Humor is a “cooperative enterprise” (Raskin, 1985, p.104) that reinforces the interlocutors’ solidarity and cohesiveness (Martineau, 1972). Her humor here invites laughter from the entire class (lines 18 & 22) by clearly “marking her turn as laughable” (Glenn, 2003). First, she uses her own name, “Terry,” in the possessive “Terry’s sister,” as if referring to a third person from the class, exactly matching the format of the

teacher's example that included another student ("Hannah's book"). Second, "You can't get rid of me" also matches the teacher's structure of "I can get rid of it (if I want to)" in line 06. Third, by animating her own sister in a cheerful, lighthearted voice, she also indirectly and humorously portrays Terry's sister as an annoying, troublesome person whom Terry wants to get rid of. In response to her comical illustration, the entire class laughs (line 18); the teacher then responds by teasing NESS-L (line 19) with, "Is that why you moved to New York?" He addresses NESS-L as "you," and playfully turns the third person "Terry" back into the actual person, NESS-L. NESS-L smiles and acknowledges "\$maybe\$," and the teacher and the class laugh again. Thus, what NESS-L offers here is an instance of *extension by piling* (Takahashi, 2018)—collaboration with the teacher's prior talk by consecutively providing comical, affiliative utterances. In addition to the humor, NESS-L's smiles and laughter can express various emotional stances (Glenn & Holt, 2017), further elevating her display of *affective stance*.

The next extract shows another case of a NESS displaying an *affective stance* through revealing her personal knowledge of the prior speaker as she affiliates with the latter. The segment comes from a session of the Pragmatic Theories course, where the class is attempting to comprehend a dialogue example:

A: Do you like this music?

B: I never liked atonal music.

The teacher is asking the class for the definition of "atonal music," the key term in the dialogue example, to analyze what speaker B is trying to convey to A in his/her response.

(6.4) he lives on Broadway

01	T:	Mhm.
02		Do people know what atonal music is?= =Yeah. Music that- that, like, doesn't have like a major ke:y to it.
03	Other-A:	

04 NESS-B: → °He [lives on Broadway, though] so [you don't count.°]
 05 [((points to Other-A))] [((turns to Other-A))]
 06 Ss: hehehehe
 07 T: It's what?
 08 NESS-B: → [He lives- he goes to Broadway like every day]so:[\$you don't count\$]
 09 [((turns to Other-A then glances at T, smiling))] [((turns to Other-A))]
 10 Other-A: ((towards T)) I- I play music so,
 11 T: Do you play atonal music?
 12 Ss: ((laughter))
 13 Other-A: No, I play, like, tonal mu[sic.]
 14 T: [tonal music?]
 15 Ss: ((laughter))

In response to the teacher's question about what "atonal music" is in line 02, Other-A (a male Thai student) provides a definition ("Yeah. Music that- that, like, doesn't have like a major key to it") in line 03. Adding to his utterance, NESS-B offers personal information about Other-A's background ("He lives on Broadway, though"), pointing to him while looking at the teacher, and then turns to him, uttering: "\$so you don't count.°\$" In so doing, NESS-B performs affiliation that features an *affective stance*. First, NESS-B discloses, as a personal friend, that Other-A frequently goes to see Broadway shows, which would imply that he is very knowledgeable about music, and therefore is a credible person to give the correct definition of "atonal music." Second, with "\$so you don't count\$," she implies that Other-A is either a person with a very good sense of musical tone or a very good musician—a counterexample of the term "atonal music." Here, NESS-B expresses her "proximity" (Couper-Kuhlen, 2012) to him and simultaneously utilizes an ironic joke ("\$so you don't count\$") directed at him with a smile, which also makes the class laugh (line 06). These expressions display her *affective stance* as she strongly affiliates with Other-A's talk.

Thus, I have demonstrated that, in providing affiliative contribution to the prior talk, NESS self-selectors display *affective stances* through their collaboration with the

prior speakers with emotive devices such as humor (extract 6.3) and disclosing proximity (extract 6.4), along with devices like smiles and laughter. In my data, I identified 39 cases of affiliative contribution by NESSs, of which 37—a vast majority of them—showed some level of *affective stance*, and many of which included humor. On the other hand, as noted earlier, EASs in my data tended to display more of a *factual stance* by sharing accounts, such as L1 linguistic or cultural knowledge, with less display of emotive elements.

Factual vs. Affective Stance in Disaffiliative Contributions

On the opposite side from affiliative contribution is disaffiliative contribution, which occurs when the next speaker deviates from prior talk, mostly through disagreement or a shift in the topic or trajectory of the talk. Just like in affiliative contribution, *stance* plays a significant part in the production of disaffiliative contribution. Given its face-threatening nature to the prior speaker (Brown & Levinson, 1987), one would assume that the current speaker would frequently engage in mitigation actions to show a softer, considerate “attitude” (Ochs, 1996), which represents the speaker’s *affective stance*. A package of mitigation devices employed in these dispreferred acts constitutes the “dispreferred format,” which typically contains devices such as delay, prefaces, hesitations, repairs, and accounts (e.g., Levinson, 1983; Drew, 1984; Heritage, 1984; Lerner, 1996). In some cases, however, the speaker may execute a disaffiliative act without utilizing a full range of the features of the dispreferred format, thereby conveying a *factual stance*. In this section, I define the showing of *factual stance*

as making less use of the dispreferred format, while the showing of *affective stance* involves more use of the dispreferred format. Below, I illustrate how EASs mainly display their *factual stance*, and NESSs *affective stance*, in conveying disaffiliation with prior talk.

EASs' Factual Stance in Disaffiliative Contribution

The general consensus tends to be that speakers from EA countries are very polite; for example, frequently using various hedging actions and resources, along with honorifics. In other words, they maintain an *affective stance* in showing some consideration toward the prior speaker. This is perceived as true based on a sizable amount of literature on politeness (Gu, 1990; Hickey & Stewart, 2005; Ide, 1989; Matsumoto, 1988; Pizziconi, 2011, among others). On the other hand, there have been some studies that depict EASs engaging in direct, explicit disagreements with very few mitigations in expressing disaffiliation in English (Beebe & Takahashi, 1989; Murphy & Neu, 1996; Kadar & Pan, 2011). The following three extracts show that EASs in my data indeed tend to display mostly *factual stances* in their disaffiliative contributions in the classroom as they convey disagreement (extract 6.5); correct prior talk (extract 6.6); and reject criticism (extract 6.7).

This first extract shows an EAS disagreeing with the prior speaker's view simply and directly, through reasoning. The class is contemplating the following utterance and question:

“She put the new refrigerator into her car. Three weeks later the door fell off.”
Question: Which door fell off? (a) the refrigerator door, (b) the car door.

Prior to this segment, some students have answered that it must be the refrigerator door that fell off, simply because it would be difficult to imagine the car door falling off that easily, and because the adjective “new” used to describe the refrigerator was likely employed to highlight the unexpected outcome: despite being brand new, the refrigerator’s door fell off. This extract begins when NESS-I comes up with a scenario in which the car door could possibly fall off.

(6.5) refrigerator

- 01 NESS-I: The only reading I could get in which the car door falls off is
 02 if we kind of stretch the meaning of put.
 03 If that- if the act of putting the refrigerator- or
 04 a big refrigerator? into the car damaged the door in some way,
 05 Such that the car door fell off. Later.
 06 T: Mhm.
 07 EAS-H: → ((looks at T)) °But° [uhh]
 08 T: [Yeah?]
 09 EAS-H: → even if we replace ‘new’ with ‘second-hand’ or just put a value on it,
 10 it’s still for me gonna be the refrigerator.
 11 And, like, just this extra word that describes refrigerator?
 12 Like it demands us to process this information more than the car.
 13 So: it will make more sense for me the door of the refrigerator fell off.

In lines 01 to 05, NESS-I discusses the possibility of the car door falling off if the verb “put” were interpreted as more than a simple act of “putting.” Placing an emphasis on the verb, she explains that the car door could fall off later, but only if the refrigerator were actually dragged into the car with so much force that it damaged the car door in some way. In response to this argument, EAS-H looks at the teacher and softly utters “but,” followed by “uhh” (line 07). The soft voice used when saying “but” and the delay (“uhh”) seem to convey some mitigation here. However, this mitigation use is present only at the beginning of her turn; and EAS-H immediately initiates the core part of her argument with “even if” (line 09), which would foreshadow her point opposing NESS-I’s prior talk. EAS-H continues to make her argument that no matter what adjective(s) were used to

describe the refrigerator, it still comes down to the fact that it is a mere refrigerator (line 09-10), implying that the refrigerator, by nature, would be smaller and more fragile than the car. She explains her reasoning with what she describes as “process more information” (line 12)—that is, if an adjective like “new” is used to describe the refrigerator, it would invite the reader to consider the relevance of the “newness” of the car with regard to the likelihood of having its door fall off. Then, the reader’s focus would naturally be placed more on the refrigerator than on the car. This processing of extra information, EAS-H insists, makes the reader infer that it has to be the door of the refrigerator that fell off.

EAS-H provides this disaffiliating argument by showing a rather strong *factual stance* without much use of mitigation, as in part evidenced in the use of the simple-present form of the verb “demands” and the lack of the modal “would”—for instance, “it demands us to process” instead of “it would demand us to process” (line 12). Overall, with the minimal use of mitigation – her soft utterance of “but” and delay “uhh” - emerging only at the turn beginning, her *factual stance* in disagreement is firmly expressed.

The next extract features an EAS explicitly correcting the prior speaker by fully expressing a *factual stance*, with almost no use of the dispreferred format to alleviate the harshness. This segment is from a session of the Pragmatic Theories course, in which the class is learning cooperative principle in general. Prior to this segment, a student has asked about a linguistic phenomenon called “over-processing.” To explain, “processing” is what the hearer does with the given information in his/her mind after hearing the original utterance until he or she reaches the implication. “Over-processing” is what

happens when the hearer goes too far with the implication. For instance, consider a case of two college roommates, A and B. A does not think B is a particularly good student because he goes out too frequently. One day, B's mother shows up and asks A, "So, how is my son doing at school?" A simply replies: "Well, he just seems too busy." B's mother (1) may take A's utterance only literally and think, "Oh, OK, my son is busy," or (2) may detect A's intended meaning that he may be going out too much. However, it might also be possible for the mother to (3) stretch the implication of A's utterance beyond A's intended meaning and infer: "My son is too busy with his girlfriend all the time and is not studying at all. He may fail and drop out of school." The class, below, is discussing this third possibility, "over-processing," and what potential "good scenarios" might be that would yield a case like this—in other words, cases in which the hearer would only be provided with minimal information, but would possibly infer a lot more than just that given information.

(6.6) A good scenario

01 EAS-F: And I'm wondering if it's possible (.) where the contextual effect
02 is actually greater than the processing.
03 (0.5)
04 Like, can you be, like, overprocessing, but- I don't-
05 T: Well su:re. If you- uh, someone says something to you
06 that's very minimal and you- expects you to get minimal-
07 a minimal reward from it. And, just thinking more about
08 what that person says suddenly leads you to another conclusion,
09 which leads you to another conclusion, which solves a big puzzle
10 in your life? That you've been thinking about for (.) years. So,
11 (0.5)
12 you're getting a lot for your investment.
13 We just need a good scenario.
14 EAS-A: [Would the recommendation letter scenario work?
15 [((sits back looking at T))
16 T: .hh nm (.) do you- Do you get the job?
17 EAS-A: No, like you write their- You don't-
18 There really isn't much to say about this candidate
19 but you don't want to write anything terrible

20 [in the recommendation letter,] [so you-
 21 EAS-B: → [((looks down on the handout) [But wouldn't that be:
 22 with (.) [quantity?]
 23 [((looks at T))]
 24 'Cuz if you're, like, providing way too many pieces of information,
 25 ((continues))

The teacher responds to EAS-F's question about if the hearer could derive more meaning than is in the given information after processing it (lines 01-04), agreeing that one can obtain a lot of implication from limited information if the information is presented in a proper scenario (lines 05-13), like the roommate example. EAS-A's question ("Would the recommendation letter scenario work?" in line 14) asks if writing a recommendation letter with minimal information would count as a good scenario in which the hearer could derive more implication than what is written. However, it seems that the teacher does not understand EAS-A's question (line 16); thus, she explains what she meant with a concrete illustration. She first provides the background: "There really isn't much to say about this candidate, but you don't want to write anything terrible in the recommendation letter." The end of this utterance could be a possible grammatical completion point (PCP), but she clearly shows that her utterance is not complete here with her use of continuing intonation. Thus, EAS-A follows this with, "So you-" to go on to the main part of her illustration (line 20), at which point EAS-B cuts in and overlaps with EAS-A. Based on the context and the trajectory of EAS-A's argument, she likely meant something along the lines of, "So you write minimally in the letter and the person who reads it may conclude that this candidate must not be good." However, with her turn taken away by EAS-B, EAS-A then withdraws. Prior to cutting in, EAS-B has looked down at her handout, verifying some information. It seems that, from EAS-B's point of view, she has obtained the facts she needed from the handout, and then found an opening

space at the end of one of EAS-A's clauses (although with a continuing intonation), whereby she takes the floor and provides a correcting statement: "But wouldn't that be: with (.) quantity?" (line 21-22). This utterance from EAS-B points out that the recommendation letter example offered by EAS-A would not constitute a matter of over-processing, but rather the flouting of the quantity maxim.

This case again shows that EAS-B's disaffiliation begins with the minimal use of mitigation. Although she first utilizes a *but*-preface to convey disaffiliation with prior talk, it is immediately followed by a negative question form ("Wouldn't that be") to mitigate her correction utterance (line 21). This mitigated correction, however, is uttered by cutting in where the prior speaker has not yet concluded her description of the recommendation letter scenario. This shows that EAS-B may have projected EAS-A's meaning prematurely, and her interpretation may be incorrect. In addition, EAS-B maintains her floor, turning her disaffiliative contribution into a multi-unit turn and providing her own illustration to make her point, which continues after this extract. She never employs another mitigation in her turn; thus, EAS-B's correction is not performed with much use of the dispreferred format after her first TCU. The only two mitigating actions from EAS-B are the use of the negative question form ("Wouldn't that be") at the turn beginning, when she could have instead said, "No, that would be an example of flouting the maxim of quantity," and her placement of a micro-pause before articulating the correct conceptual term "quantity" at the end of the same TCU (line 22). Thus, this example shows a case in which, despite the long turn, an EAS employs very little use of the dispreferred format, showing a strong *factual stance* in her disaffiliative contribution.

This last EAS case below also demonstrates a display of *factual stance* in disaffiliation, when she attempts to reject criticism of her teaching. The segment is from a session of the course Speaking Practicum. EAS-M, the focus of the extract, has previously raised the issue that her ESL student's speaking skills are so limited that he is dependent on his fellow Spanish speakers to translate his responses into English. EAS-M has asked the class for some advice on how to deal with the situation before EAS-N provides her with a suggestion.

(6.7) better solution

01 EAS-N: ((looking at EAS-M))
 02 I think the better solution that I can think of i:s
 03 not (.) let them to (.) like, communicate in Spanish
 04 and then report back to you,
 05 because in that sense that weaker student who you cannot understand,
 06 he or she NEVER got the chance to practice
 07 and it's always the higher one.=
 08 EAS-M: → =>Yeah, but I would-< I would (.) um, say the sentence again
 09 and ask that student to repeat that sentence.

Presenting a possible solution to the problem of the Spanish-speaking ESL student reluctant to speak in English, EAS-N looks at EAS-M and suggests that she should not let those students communicate in Spanish, since the student in question would never have the opportunity to use English (lines 01-07). With his voice raised and the emphasis placed on the word “never,” EAS-N appears to highlight the negative result of EAS-M's way of handling the situation. EAS-M attempts to reject his claim and suggestion in lines 08-09, rather avidly by latching onto his utterance; however, she then uses some mitigation with a “concession→disagreement” beginning (“Yeah, but-”) (Couper-Kuhlen & Thompson, 2000; Pomerantz, 1984). These are followed by the cutoff of “I would” and the restart of the “I would,” along with a micro-pause and “um” (line 08), all of which

produce some softening effect, employed at the turn beginning and within the first TCU of her disaffiliative contribution. Although used in small quantities, these elements seem to constitute some use of the dispreferred format in her dispreferred action. Following this, though, EAS-M resumes making a rather clear rejection of EAS-N's prior talk. She uses the first-person subject "I" to make a strong claim, "I would" (line 08), which she articulates very fast, with the stress on "would," displaying her defensiveness. She further provides information about what she actually did with her student, emphasizing the verb "repeat." EAS-M's entire utterance highlights how EAS-N did not know what, in fact, she was doing, and rejects what he characterized as an undesirable outcome from her strategies. Thus, in defense of her own style of teaching, this segment demonstrates an EAS-M keeping *factual stance* with little use of the dispreferred format again.

In sum, I have presented how EASs display *factual stance* by minimally employing the dispreferred format in (1) conveying disagreement (extract 6.5); (2) correcting prior talk (extract 6.6.); and rejecting criticism (extract 6.7). Interestingly, all of these three cases represent EAS self-selectors utilizing the mitigation at the turn beginning or within the first TCU in their disaffiliative contributions, and they do not seem to return to the prior talk to use any further mitigation, once they have launched their main disaffiliative parts. Overall, out of the 20 cases of disaffiliative contribution executed by EASs found in my data, 16 cases were accompanied by minimal use of dispreferred format. This provides some evidence for EASs' tendency to maintain and display *factual stance*, executing somewhat blunt and direct disaffiliations.

NESSs' Affective Stance in Disaffiliative Contribution

Unlike EASs, who show more of a *factual stance* with less use of the dispreferred format, NESSs appear to fully express *affective stance* by packaging their disaffiliative contributions with greater use of the dispreferred format – employing various types of mitigation devices and strategies. Furthermore, it seems that NESSs deploy these mitigations not only at the turn beginning as EASs tend to do, but also at different locations over the course of their contributions. There were a total of 18 disaffiliative contributions from NESSs in the data examined for this study, and 17—almost all of them—were executed with elaborate mitigations, as can be seen in the following extracts. The cases presented below exhibit three such disaffiliative contributions that display *affective stance* in (1) correcting the prior speaker's definition; (2) disagreeing with prior talk; and, (3) providing a different interpretation, all of which are performed with skillful use of the dispreferred format.

This first extract exhibits a NESS correcting the prior speaker's definition of a certain word. Her turn beginning looks very much like what we have seen so far in the EAS data that suggests a fairly straightforward disagreement to come. Notably, however, she quickly abandons that trajectory and restarts her with greater use of the dispreferred format. The data come from a session of the Pragmatic Theories course, where the students and the teacher are discussing the following dialogue question:

A: I haven't seen John for a long time. I'd like to go and see him this week.

B: I heard that his father is very sick.

Question: What is B most likely indicating to A?

Answer choice:

(a) A could get out John's father is very sick;

- (b) Or B has said John's father is very sick;
- (c) Or B's informing me that John's father is very sick;
- (d) Or B's reminding me that John's father is very sick;
- (e) Or B's warning me that John's father is very sick;
- (f) Or B's advising me to visit John;
- (g) Or B's advising me NOT to visit John.

After a few answers from students, and halfway into the class discussion, Other-C shares what she thinks. NESS-A, the focus of this extract, disagrees with Other-C.

(6.9) He is warning me

- 01 Other-C: ((glance at T))
 02 I feel like this is a circumstance that some propositions are
 03 more basic than others like, um, all my, uh, first feeling, uhh
 04 the person who mentioned that I would rather (a) that
 05 John's father is very ↑sick and then, and then it goes on to (c)
 06 that "B" is informing ↑me about this information
 07 and that by informing ↑me, he is warning me,
 08 he is warning me not to visit him.
 09 T: so you are getting the warning out of it too?
 10 NESS-A: oh,
 11 Other-C: ((glances at NESS-A, looks down))
 12 T: Well,
 13 NESS-A: → [Well- I don-]
 14 [((turns to Other-C, then glances at T))]
 15 T: yeah?
 16 NESS-A: → what I'm doing is, I guess, I'm kind of not really sure
 17 what is meant by <warning?> cause I think
 18 warning is kind of (.) happens when there is, like,
 19 a contemplation of danger so I guess, well,
 20 the warning is then I'm warning you not to go because
 21 if you go, you will upset someone.
 22 T: or you might get sick too.

Other-C self-selects and shares her interpretation that person A in the dialogue is probably "warning" person B not to visit John, in lines 02-08. The teacher summarizes and verifies Other-C's answer, highlighting the term "warning" (line 09), to which NESS-A reacts with, "oh" (line 10). This "oh" seems to show the "warning" interpretation was new information (Heritage, 1984) that NESS-A has not even

considered. In line 13, NESS-A begins her disaffiliative contribution, “Well- I don-” with the dispreferred-response token “well” and the first-person negative structure “I don(’t).” She utters this with a glance at Other-C and then at the teacher, showing that she is about to directly disagree with what Other-C has claimed, rather explicitly at this point. However, she cuts off both “well-” and “I don-” and aborts the utterance at mid-TCU of “I don(’t).” This is followed by a restart with “What I’m doing is,” with which NESS-A attempts to undo her explicit disagreement initiation and starts over by possibly clarifying “what action” she is about to perform with her contribution here. This clarification attempt may hint at her inclination to minimize the dispreferred action; perhaps conveying that she is not going to disagree, per se, but that she is doing something else.

In her restart, NESS-A produces a more mitigated version of her disaffiliative action (lines 16-17): For instance, she uses “I guess,” “kind of,” and the expression of uncertainty - “I’m not really sure.” This is followed by a non-agentive structure (“What is meant by warning?” instead of “What do you [Other-C] mean by warning?”), possibly to avoid direct conflict with the prior speaker. In lines 18 through 21, NESS-A then proceeds to her correction of what “warning” should signify and in what context it would make sense, again using some mitigation devices, such as “I guess,” “kind of,” and “well.” These linguistic choices contribute to conveying her *affective stance* that mitigate the face-threat towards the prior speaker. What this extract demonstrates is NESS-A’s use of the dispreferred format by abandoning the unmitigated beginning, restarting with a mitigated version, and distributing the mitigation devices at different locations throughout the performance of her dispreferred action.

This second extract below focuses on a NESS who exhibits *affective stance* by first making a concession to the prior talk, which mitigates her disagreement to follow. The segment comes from the course Text and Textuality, where the students are dealing with an article written by the linguist Giora (1997) that the whole class has read as an assignment. Prior to this extract, EAS-J, Lynn, has just given a presentation to the class on this article. NESS-I, below, discusses a certain portion of the article's text that seems incoherent, arguing that it could actually make sense if we see it from a broader perspective.

(6.8) Jack Kerouac literature

- 01 NESS-I: I mean- if you- because this passage seemed to be incoherent
02 but if we try to apply an ultimate discourse topic we can do it actually
03 like seeing from a global level if we want to. That's what I'm arguing.
04 T: She's- Lynn is bringing up a topic that Giora made.=
05 EAS-J: =Ye[ah,
06 T: [about literature.
07 NESS-I: Right. Because she said- if- like, the example she gave in her paper
08 is, like, if we look at, like, some text, like, um (.) maybe
09 a Jack Kerouac literature we'd see that it doesn't make any sense,
10 but if we see from a higher level we probably will find a topic there.
11 NESS-J ((raises hand))
12 NESS-I: Especially the literature genre.
13 T: ((turning to NESS-J)) Was your hand up, Mira?
14 NESS-J: → °Yes (.) um I agree on that. but I think in this particular context
15 I think it'd be very difficult to find relevance even in the storyline.
16 → Um, so (.) my whole thing was that, um° you can argue coherence
17 → in this, you really can. Right? Like one thing leads into another,
18 it spills over. But I don't think that it fits into Giora's actual idea of
19 relevance. I think that you really have to spin it to say that
20 it's coherent and relevant.

In lines 01 through 03, NESS-I unfolds his opinion: that what appears to be an incoherent passage can be understood if supplied with a broader discourse topic. Then, the teacher responds by bringing in the literary context EAS-J has referred to in her presentation (line 04). NESS-I follows this, using Jack Kerouac—the author famous for the “spontaneous

prose” style—as an example to make his point. NESS-J raises her hand (line 11) and is nominated by the teacher (line 13). She initiates with, “°Yes. (.) um, I agree on that,” using the explicitly affiliative “yes + I agree” format (line 14), although showing a bit of hesitation by the use of a soft voice for “yes,” and a micro-pause and “um” between “yes” and “I agree.” This is followed by, “But I think,” which would preface her disaffiliative opinion. The use of an agreement preface such as “Yes, I agree” before disagreeing creates a more agreeable way of devising argumentation (Billig, 1991), seemingly making a concession and displaying *affective stance* toward the prior speaker first. The completion of the utterance (“Yes, I agree”) comes with a falling pitch, creating the impression that she endorses the prior talk. After “But I think,” she continues with, “In this particular context” (line 14), to make this context independent from NESS-I’s argument, and utters, “I think,” again to move on to her disaffiliative part: “It would be very difficult to find relevance even in the storyline” (line 15). She then provides an explanation returning to NESS-I’s former talk for acknowledging it again: “You can argue coherence in this, you really can. Right?” (lines 16-17), but then goes back with “But I think” (line 18), expressing her disagreement with the specific case of Giora’s example. Ultimately, she concludes with her point: “I think that you really have to spin it to say that it’s coherent and relevant” (lines 19-20).

This extract shows how NESS-J makes her disaffiliation seem partial by first noting a certain element of the prior talk as something that she agrees with and revealing her disagreement. This can be a larger version of “concession→disagreement” (Couper-Kuhlen & Thompson, 2000); the routine NESS-J utilizes twice in her contribution (lines 14 & 16). In short, NESS-J skillfully utilizes the dispreferred format - deploying a

seemingly affiliation-like utterance to strategically display her *affective stance* that mitigates her ultimate disaffiliation.

The last example involves presenting all different types of mitigations in the dispreferred format to show *affective stance* - throughout a NESS's multi-unit turn to make a disaffiliative contribution. The extract comes from a session of the Text and Textuality course, in which the students had been analyzing the controversy over "coherence" between the linguists Giora (1997) and Wilson's (1998) arguments. The focus of this segment is NESS-H, who disagrees with NESS-G's claim that Giora and Wilson are basically arguing about the same thing but just with different paths of explication.

(6.9) They're getting their wires crossed

- 01 NESS-G: it doesn't seem like when Wilson responds,
 02 by dismissing Giora's own theory that she also addresses
 03 what Giora said about (.), uh
 04 how contextual effects are really having a bearing here,
 05 in a different potential cost (.) so it just seems like
 06 they're getting their wires crossed.
 07 T: They're getting their wires crossed?
 08 NESS-G: Well, they're deliberately not addressing each other??
 09 T: They're not addressing each other?
 10 NESS-G: Yeah.
 11 NESS-H: ((raises hand))
 12 T: Yeah.
 13 NESS-H: → I ↑THOUGHT (.) um, I mean I thought Wilson kind of explained
 14 that- uh, discourse topic as (.) having purposes (.) that advanced
 15 relevancy. so like, by stating discourse topic, you can, uh,
 16 give people access to, like, right context?
 17 [or: uh she basically says that]
 18 [((turning the article pages; looking through them))]
 19 Or that you can even confirm the explications.
 20 ((looks up)) remember how we talked about relevance theory?
 21 How like, uh there're different types of assumptions that we can
 22 make, and one of the others confirms what you already thought,
 23 you're stating the discourse topic you are able to do that,
 24 so I mean, I think that they, maybe they talk past each other
 25 but I think that a big point that [Wilson makes is that,]
 26 [((looks down at the article))]

27 a lot of the claims Giora makes can be better explained
 28 in terms of relevance [theory.
 29 T: [Relevance theo[ry.
 30 NESS-H: [Like they're deeper things.

In lines 01 through 06, NESS-G states her interpretation of the arguments that Wilson and Giora made, asserting that although they may seem to be claiming different things, they fundamentally refer to the same concept; thus, she concludes that “they’re getting their wires crossed” (line 06). The teacher acknowledges her point by repeating, “They’re getting their wires crossed?” (line 07). NESS-G provides her additional impression (“They are deliberately not addressing each other”), which the teacher acknowledges again. Then, NESS-H is nominated after raising her hand (line 11-12). She begins her utterance with, “I ↑THOUGHT” (line 13), using the past tense of “think,” which can serve to soften her upcoming disaffiliation. This is also uttered with a louder, high-pitched voice, possibly to display some level of doubt of the prior talk. This type of “unmatched prosody” can indicate that the speaker is not affiliating with the prior talk (Couper-Kuhlen, 2012), and it seems to apply to a disaffiliation in this case. This is followed by a micro-pause and “um,” which show NESS-H’s slight hesitation. She goes on: “I mean, I thought Wilson kind of explained that-” (line 13). The use of “I mean,” the repetition of “I thought,” and the use of “kind of” here all comprise parts of the dispreferred format that combine to mitigate the one’s presentation of a different view from the prior speaker’s.

NESS-H’s disaffiliative contribution here is made up with a long multi-unit turn. After her attempt to point to what exactly Wilson claimed by returning to the article, she finds a new item, uttering “Or she basically says that-” (line 17) and offers a new direction with “relevant theory” (line 20). Then, she returns to and acknowledges the

prior speaker's point: "So I mean, I think that they, maybe they talk past each other" (line 24), creating a partial affiliation with the prior talk here to show some *affective stance*. This is followed by, "But I think" (line 25), moving toward her disaffiliative point. This is similar to what we saw in extract 6.8, in which the speaker first used partial agreement as part of the dispreferred format to downgrade the main disaffiliation. This "concession→disagreement" (Couper-Kuhlen & Thompson, 2000) is used before NESS-H reaches the highlight of her disaffiliation by stating, "A big point that Wilson makes is that," concluding her contribution by explaining what Wilson's main point was in the article. Thus, this case highlights that in a long multi-unit disaffiliative contribution, *affective stance* too is conveyed throughout, especially, immediately prior to articulating the speaker's disagreeing point.

In sum, this section has shown the differences in how EASs and NESSs display their *factual* and *affective stances* in disaffiliative contributions with prior speakers. Quite contrary to the common impression that EASs would overly sugarcoat their disaffiliation, in my data, they in fact maintain their *factual stance* and utilize the dispreferred format much less than NESSs., who display their *affective stance* more by skillfully crafting the dispreferred format with a variety of mitigation devices to mark their disaffiliative contributions less confrontational. Further, the data show that EASs merely utilize the mitigations at the turn beginning or within the first TCU, while NESSs appear to flexibly apply them at different locations and multiple times throughout their longer disaffiliative contributions.

Discussion and Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated EASs' and NESSs' respective tendencies to display *factual stance* and *affective stance* in their affiliative and disaffiliative contributions with the prior talk in class discussions. The data have shown that EASs mainly exhibit their *factual stance* in both affiliation and disaffiliation with the prior talk. In contrast, NESSs tend to upgrade their affiliations by conveying *affective stance* with the frequent use of devices including humor, irony, smiles, and laughter. Equally, they downgrade their disaffiliations with an *affective stance* by utilizing the dispreferred format more frequently.

The contrastive findings of this chapter can provide us with a few useful perspectives. First, although EASs do not make uninvited contributions as frequently as NESSs do, they *do* contribute by sharing what they know well or what they have experienced in real life—for instance, their L1 cultural or linguistic accounts and personal experience. As a plausible implication, teachers who have EASs in their classrooms could perhaps introduce these types of topics or activities in class discussions in order to elicit EAS contributions.

Second, in executing disaffiliative contributions, EASs seem to use the dispreferred format rather only locally, while NESSs are seen to use it at various locations over the stretch of their talk. For instance, all of the three EAS cases of disaffiliation (extracts 6.5, 6.6, and 6.7) show that the EAS self-selectors deploy mitigations at the beginning of their turns. This is followed by the main portion of their disagreement utterances, without acknowledging prior talk for further mitigation. In

contrast, NESSs' cases of disaffiliation demonstrate that the dispreferred format is used at various locations – in a restart (extract 6.7), in repetitive use at the beginning or in the middle of the turn (extract 6.8); and throughout the long multi-unit turn (extract 6.9).

Third, the findings have highlighted the particular practices that NESSs tend to utilize in their affiliative and disaffiliative contributions— but which EASs do not use, despite their high levels of linguistic fluency in academic contexts. Although EASs may find it less challenging to contribute when showing less *affective stance* both in affiliation and disaffiliation, their contributions might seem more agreeable if they made collaborative efforts with the prior speaker's point or sought to mitigate the differences from the prior talk. NESSs, on the other hand, seem to go the extra mile to do a lot more than just stating their views and opinions. EASs can learn to use these devices in their uninvited contributions to convey their intended meanings in the most optimal way.

Humor, in particular, appears to be a rather common device with which NESSs skillfully upgrade their affiliation with the prior speakers, as demonstrated in extracts 6.3 and 6.4. When humor elicits laughter among the interlocutors, the speaker's endorsement of the prior talk becomes a highly collaborative activity. By contrast, humor could not be observed at all in EASs' affiliative contributions, at least in my data. Humor is an element strongly influenced by cultural attitude (Martin & Ford, 2018), and what constitutes humor and its usage between the East and the West, in particular, appears profoundly different (Kazarian & Martin, 2004; Chen & Martin, 2007; Hiranandani & Yue, 2014). Thus, many EASs may perceive that the classroom discussion is not the proper context in which humor should be utilized; however, EASs should know that it

would be perfectly acceptable to bring humor into their contributions in the American classroom.

Another practice EASs can learn to utilize is the “concession→disagreement” seen in extract 6.8 and 6.9, and in some other similar NESS cases in my data. Through this routine, NESSs appear to highlight the portion of the prior talk they acknowledge or agree on first, before moving on to the main part of the disaffiliative contribution to make it seem like a partial disagreement. This indeed resembles the technique of *cardinal concessives*, suggested by Couper-Kuhlen and Thompson (2000). In the *cardinal concessives* format, the current speaker’s concession to the prior speaker’s original proposition is a version of the prior speaker’s original point, which nevertheless allows the current speaker to uphold his/her contrasting proposition. It can be a very helpful practice through which to convey the dispreferred format in mitigating disaffiliative contribution. By contrast, except for the use of “yeah, but-” at the turn-beginning (extract 6.7), there is not a single example of EASs using this “concession→disagreement” in making disaffiliative contributions in my data. Explicit teaching of this formula to EASs in ESL courses would be extremely beneficial, and perhaps necessary to avoid overdirectness in disagreement.

All of the above being said, *stances* do not come with mutual exclusivity. One can, for example, display more than one *stance* multiple times and at different locations in his or her contribution, as we have seen in NESS disaffiliation cases. After all, *stances* depict “a complex picture” and are perhaps something “encompassing multiple facets” (De Bois, 2007, p.145). Hence, this chapter has shown rich resources that EASs could be potentially taught to utilize, so that they could skillfully dress up their *factual stance* with

more *affective stance*, improving the quality of both their affiliative and disaffiliative contributions.

VII – DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Introduction

After years of being an EAS in the United States, and years of being a teacher in classrooms with EASs, I had sensed that there was something more than “shyness” and “cultural differences” that could explain EASs’ reticence and passive behavior in the American classroom. I just did not know what it was, and my motivation to pursue this dissertation project stemmed from my desire to answer this question. The more I thought about it, the more questions arose as to why, for example, NESSs seemed to self-select faster than their EAS counterparts, and why it seemed to be so difficult for EASs to obtain the floor and speak out even when they attempted to. These questions evolved into a larger inquiry driving this project: find the differences between EASs’ and NESSs’ participation practices in the American classroom.

The project enabled me, for the first time, to distance myself from the roles of both teacher and EAS, and to objectively contemplate what was truly transpiring when EASs participated in the classroom. Along the way, I gained an important insight: EASs and NESSs are indeed different, and these differences help to shape a very unique dynamic when the two groups come together in the American graduate classroom. For instance, first, quite contrary to the common perception that EASs rarely participate in class, they *do*, in fact, contribute; however, they do so in their own style, which is immensely different from that of NESSs—a style that L1 English speakers have yet to recognize. Second, EAS’ and NESS’ participation styles are almost in direct contrast to

each other—as in yin and yang, and discovering this was an eye-opening moment. I was in awe as I found myself observing such otherwise-invisible elements as the subtle processes involved in self-selection, the different styles of responding to teacher questions, and the different ways of displaying stances in uninvited contributions.

These various aspects constituted the answers I sought to the research questions of this project: (1) What are East Asian students' participation practices in the American graduate classroom? (2) What are L1 English-speaking students' participation practices in the American graduate classroom? (3) What are the differences between East Asian students' and L1 English-speaking students' participation practices? In this closing chapter, I first summarize my major findings from each of the analytical chapters. I then discuss how the findings are profoundly and complexly interconnected with each other by outlining the salient features of EASs' and NESSs' participation practices. This is followed by a discussion of the theoretical implications of the findings. Finally, I conclude with a discussion of pedagogical implications, suggesting specific ways in which the findings of this project could be beneficial if implemented in American pedagogical contexts.

Summary of Major Findings

The three analytical chapters of this project have distinctly shown how EASs and NESSs participate in the American graduate classroom with a focus on how students engage in the process of self-selection, respond to teacher questions, and make uninvited contributions that show their stances in classroom discussions.

With careful attention paid to the students' embodied changes through their preparation process before self-selection, Chapter IV identified how both EASs and NESSs undertake the three stages of self-selection: *registering*, *gearing up*, and *launching*. Stage 1, *registering*, displays an arrival of an idea or an item, which the self-selector would later use as his/her contribution. Stage 2, *gearing up*, mainly entails the would-be self-selector dispatching signals of readiness and interest to participate to the teacher. The final stage of self-selection—stage 3, *launching*—involves the action of acquiring the speaking turn, whereby the self-selector takes the floor and provides a contribution. All of these stages are accomplished through the self-selectors' multimodal, semiotic efforts. While many EASs tended to faithfully complete each of the three full stages, NESSs were frequently found to either (1) skip a stage; (2) compact the delivery of two stages; or (3) utilize the same resource for multiple purposes. These features seemed to help NESSs economize the work involved in pre-self-selection, enabling them to reach the self-selection stage faster than EASs.

Chapter V highlighted EASs and NESSs' contrastive styles of responding to teacher questions: *answering* vs. *exploring*. The *answering* style of participation bears these features: (1) the contribution involves one or two TCUs without further elaborations or reasoning; (2) the contribution is narrowly focused as a direct response to the question; and, (3) the contribution occurs within the I-R-F sequence (Lemke, 1990; McHoul, 1978; Mehan, 1979; Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975). With this *answering* style, EASs seek to provide the precise answer to the teacher question, directly, concisely, and clearly, and do so within the teacher-student I-R-F format. In contrast to EASs' *answering* style, NESSs exhibited the style of *exploring*. The salient features of the *exploring* style include: (1) the

contribution entails multiple TCUs with elaborations and reasoning; (2) the contribution may go beyond answering or involve an initiation of a question; and, (3) the contribution tends to feature hesitation and uncertainty, as the participants make their thinking public in searching for an answer or articulating an issue. Thus, NESSs' participation is not confined within the typical I-R-F format, as they do not limit themselves to the "recipient" role. Their contributions seem "contingency generated" rather than pre-conceived and prepared, as the speakers navigate their searches in public and arrive at their answers or ideas through their multi-unit turns.

While Chapter V focused on the sequential context of responding to teacher questions, Chapter VI examined the participants' uninvited contributions—that is, how they volunteer their contributions in response to the prior talk in class discussions, when not prompted by the teacher. While making affiliative and disaffiliative contributions, EASs mainly display a *factual stance*, while NESSs seem to emphasize an *affective stance*. For instance, in relation to prior talk, EASs make few collaborative efforts in affiliative contributions and make less use of the dispreferred format to mitigate the deviation in disaffiliative contributions, which may lead to an impression of being direct and blunt. In contrast, NESSs express their *affective stance* by employing emotive devices such as humor, irony, smiles, and laughter to upgrade their affiliation in endorsing prior talk; and by utilizing the dispreferred format to downgrade their disaffiliative contributions, making use of various mitigation practices that would save the prior speaker's face.

The findings from all three chapters indicate clear answers to the research questions of this study. In terms of participation practices, EASs tend to (1) undertake

the three full stages of the self-selection process: *registering*, *gearing up*, and *launching* in order to prepare for self-selection, (2) employ the *answering* style of responding to teacher questions, directly answering the question in a short, narrowly focused manner, and (3) display *factual stance* in providing uninvited contributions either affiliatively or disaffiliatively. By contrast, NESSs would (1) would frequently skip a stage, exercise compact delivery of two stages, or utilize the same resource for multiple purposes to economize their work of self-selection, (2) employ the *exploring* style of response to teacher questions, which is typically comprised of multiple TCUs, through which the speaker would examine some ideas and develop a point out loud, and (3) display an *affective stance* in providing uninvited contributions either affiliatively or disaffiliatively.

These findings are interconnected to some extent. First, the findings of how the two groups proceed through the three stages of self-selection can help explain the contrastive participation styles of *answering* vs. *exploring*: Because EASs work to develop their answers by fully working through the three stages, when it is time to participate, they provide seemingly pre-planned, short, and clear answers. Conversely, NESSs economize their work by skipping stages here and there, and reach self-selection faster; thus, they must work more to develop their contributions once they take the floor. The ability to contingently respond to either teacher question (Chapter V) or prior talk (Chapter VI) seems to differ substantially between EASs and NESSs, perhaps in part because of the differences in the amount of work required to arrive at self-selection. This, again, points to the phenomenon of EASs not making uninvited contributions as frequently as NESSs do, shown in Chapter VI, which may be due to the lack of time

available for their preparation prior to self-selection, while a NESS can take the floor faster.

Another observation is EASs' preference for the I-R-F format. This is evident in their *answering* style when prompted by the teacher. With a teacher question, EASs orient themselves toward a very specific action in which they can engage: Just find the answer to the question. Overall, it appears to be easier for EASs to participate when they have I-R-F to guide them, and it makes sense that they would feel more comfortable that way, as sticking to the format or rule is always one of the elements that is most heavily emphasized in EA classrooms (e.g., Biggs, 1996; Cortazzi & Jin, 1996; Seo & Koro-Ljungberg, 2005). On the other hand, it also explains their difficulty making uninvited contributions outside of the I-R-F format, where there is no such orientation available for them. In contrast, NESSs provide responses to teacher questions that are less confined to the I-R-F. They often, for example, do not offer direct answers to the question, and instead choose to explore ideas and possibilities. At times, they do not even provide answers to the original question; instead, they might make a shift or initiate a new question, departing from the I-R-F format. Thus, flexibility, versatility, and contingency are additional salient features of NESSs' participations. This is perhaps why NESSs are actively involved in making uninvited contributions.

My third observation suggests a potential problem. The differences between EASs and NESSs in their use of emotive elements when making uninvited contributions were clearly depicted in the study, described as the contrasting displays of *factual stance* vs. *affective stance*. One possible reason why EASs fail to use many emotive elements in their uninvited contributions may be a simple lack of pragmatic skills as non-native

English speakers. Especially when making disaffiliative contributions, EASs' insufficient use of the dispreferred format is consistent with some past studies (e.g., Beebe & Takahashi, 1989; Murphy & Neu, 1996), possibly leading to undesirable or unintended consequences, particularly when executing face-threatening acts (Brown & Levinson, 1978). When using merely a few mitigation devices only at their turn beginnings, EASs may sound rather blunt or unsubtle, which may end up creating unpleasant feelings between the speakers in an American context (Chen, 1996). Considering that this can be problematic, ways in which EASs could effectively add *affective stance* will be discussed in the section below on pedagogical implications.

All these observations make me wonder what, exactly, EASs and NESSs are attempting to ultimately achieve with these actions collectively called “class participation.” With a singular focus on answering the teacher question precisely, EASs may be striving to play the role of “good students,” following their own cultural values. NESSs' objective, on the other hand, seems to be to *do participation* itself, with less of a focus on the correctness or concreteness of their contributions, thereby treating participating and presenting their opinions as the most valuable class activity. Therefore, even if they have not yet fully developed a point, in order to *do participation*, they attempt to first take a speaking turn, and then to develop the content of the contribution once they acquire that turn. In general, *participating* itself is considered a desirable student action in the American classroom (Crone, 1997; Frymier & House, 2016; Garside, 1996; Junn, 1994; Weaver & Qi, 2005, among others). In other words, both EASs and NESSs may ultimately be seeking to adhere to the image of the “ideal student” in their own cultures.

Theoretical Implications

Theoretically, the findings of this project contribute to the body of literature on classroom interaction with a focus on student participation, and in particular, East Asian students' participation in the American classroom compared to their L1 speaking counterparts. Previous research on class participation has tended to focus on what teachers do, e.g., how teachers can elicit more student participation and manage student class participation overall. The current study, on the other hand, is focused on what students do: how do students self-select, how do they respond to teacher questions, and how do they make contributions when there is no teacher question? In particular, this study highlights EASs who participate, and not those who don't, on whom most of the past EAS-centric studies have focused. Indeed, a sizable amount of research has pointed to the possible factors behind their reticence and passivity in the American classroom, as discussed in Chapter II. However, by focusing on the EASs who do participate, along with NESSs in the same class, the current project has shown how EASs distinctly prepare for their self-selection and execute their participations in real time.

More importantly, perhaps, this study is the first attempt to examine EASs' participation practices in the English-speaking classroom in higher education through the lens of conversation analysis (CA). Past studies in this area were mainly conducted with surveys, questionnaires, or ethnographic methods, with the goal of offering insights into what EASs were experiencing from their perspectives. By contrast, the current study looks at how and when EASs actually participate *in situ*, thereby generating previously

undocumented findings. For instance, although previous CA work outside the higher education setting has demonstrated the ways in which students display their interest in participating in class through gaze, posture, handraising, and other multimodal resources (Lauzon & Berger, 2015; Mortensen, 2008; Sahlström, 2002), no study, to my knowledge, has investigated the full process of self-selection as it is performed, from demonstrating arrival at an idea to taking the floor, and how EASs and NESSs navigated the process differently (Chapter VI).

In addition, the two contrastive styles of responding to teacher questions by EASs and NESSs (Chapter V)—*answering* vs. *exploring*—interestingly resembled the classroom interactional styles of *final draft talk* vs. *exploratory talk* (Barnes, 1976/1992; 2008). In *final draft talk*, the interaction primarily focuses on presenting the correct main point that has been pre-determined as the answer to the question. The teacher evaluates the response in the I-R-F sequence—a practice that seems to be extremely similar to EASs' *answering* style. *Exploratory talk*, on the other hand, features no pre-determined answer, but searching, re-constructing, and re-organizing are the main parts of the teacher-student interaction process, as they work together to further their understandings, which constitute many of the features of NESSs' *exploring* style. Thus, the current study further specifies and extends Barnes' (1976/1992; 2008) work into the American higher education setting and demonstrates how the distinction between *final draft* and *exploratory* may also be useful to characterize participation styles of different culture backgrounds.

Finally, this study can also add to the literature on stance-marking in class interaction. There has been a large amount of prior work on stance-marking in the

classroom. Among these studies, for instance, Tainio (2012) finds prosodic imitation performed between the teacher and students displays critical stance toward each other's talk in a Finnish classroom, while Waring (2012) demonstrates that the teacher's use of yes-no question conveys critical stance, with which the students align or disalign in ESL classrooms. Kirkham (2011) focuses on the use of the epistemic phrases "I don't know" and "I think," showing how students position their personal stances toward academic knowledge in American higher education. Using the term "emotion work" – which may accompany positive or negative affective stance, Tainio and Laine (2015) highlight the teacher's responses to students' incorrect answers in the I-R-F in a math classroom at a Finnish middle school. This was conducted in search of a way to "prevail negative affective stance by pupils" (p. 67) toward math instruction. Thus, prior research on stance-marking has been conducted indeed in various pedagogical contexts. The current study, however, specifically demonstrates that two groups of students from different backgrounds in the same class —EASs and NESSs— display different types of stances within the same sequential environments, which is, to my knowledge, the first attempt to investigate stance through the scope of CA with this particular focus.

Pedagogical Implications

Pedagogically, the findings of the current study can benefit both teachers and students in higher education. The most relevant contribution this study can offer would be to teach incoming EASs about how academic oral discourse patterns operate in the American classroom (Ballard, 1996)—specifically, how they might go about their own

participation. In such educational programs, EASs can be trained on how to engage in large-group discussions, how to raise questions, when to interrupt others to express opinions, or even how to effectively use non-verbal communication in English-speaking classes (Murphy, 2005). The findings of this study can also provide concrete materials for curriculum development. More specifically, EASs may be taught, not necessarily to emulate the way NESSs participate, but to modify their own styles to achieve greater efficiency. I suggest the following two steps.

Step 1: Informing Students about What American Class Participation Entails

The first step would be to raise EASs' "metacognitive awareness" (Takahashi, 2019, p. 231) by informing them of what to realistically expect—namely, that participation in the American classroom involves making verbal contributions, unlike in the EA classroom, where students can "silently" participate. They must then be provided with details on how fast NESSs take the floor, how they use their participation time to develop their ideas in multi-unit turns, and how they show *affective stances* in making affiliative and disaffiliative contributions. Such information could potentially, at first, prove overwhelming for EASs. However, this type of realistic background knowledge can help them understand a participation style that is in direct contrast to their own—an understanding that can constitute the basis for modifying their own styles to better suit the American participation culture.

Step 2: Making Modifications

Because they have internalized the foundations of their own classroom culture over the years, EASs should not stress themselves out attempting to do what NESSs do—

something that would make them feel uncomfortable. Instead, the focus should be on both maintaining their own style and on how that style could be incorporated into and adjusted for the American culture of class participation.

In regards to the process of self-selection, EASs could perhaps modify their behavior in *launching* a bit. Typically, EASs seem to prefer handraising (Takahashi, 2019) as a launch method, but another student could take the floor faster by simply jumping in. Although latching to or overlapping with the prior speaker's ending utterance, or beginning speaking simultaneously with raising one's hand (Takahashi, 2018), may be deemed by EASs a "brazen" act, these are the most effective ways to obtain the floor. Hence, it is perhaps necessary for EASs to train and learn to employ them if they intend to participate in the American classroom.

In relation to EASs' *answering* style, while they could remain inside the I-R-F format and provide *answers* in response to teacher questions, they could also attempt to make their brief answers a bit longer. Their *answering* could then be followed by additional utterances, such as (1) reasoning; (2) some elaboration; or, (3) any further thoughts, as suggested for EASs in Chapter V. By doing this, they can share more of the information behind the answer. This type of response (answer + reasoning / elaboration / thoughts) can serve to flesh out their answers.

In terms of making uninvited contributions, EASs can learn to add a small gesture like a smile to make their affiliative contributions more "affiliative." With disaffiliative contributions, EASs can learn to add a little more of an affective touch to their utterance by, for example, mentioning something positive about the prior talk, incorporating the sequence of "concession→disagreement" (Couper-Kuhlen & Thompson, 2000) and

using these practices not only at the turn beginning, but also mid-utterance throughout the contribution.

In sum, the micro-findings of this project have provided some useful resources for teachers to become more “transparent about participation expectations” (Takahashi, 2019, p. 231) and for EASs to develop greater agency in participating in the American classroom. Far from being the end of the inquiries into EASs’ participation practices, it is hoped that this project constitutes the beginning of further investigations.

In closing, I would like to share a memory. “Do not even raise your hand if you can’t give the correct answer,” said my teacher when I was in the first grade in Japan. These words have resonated in my mind and shaped me as a student for decades. This project has finally released me from those words.

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Appendix A

Transcription Conventions
(Adapted from Jefferson, 2004)

(.)	untimed perceptible pause within a turn
(1.0)	pause (the numbers refer to the length of the pause in seconds, to one decimal place.)
<u>underline</u>	stress
CAPS	very emphatic stress
↑	high pitch on word
↓	low pitch on word
.	sentence-final falling intonation
?	yes/no question rising intonation
,	phrase-final intonation (more to come)
-	a glottal stop, or abrupt cutting off of sound
:	lengthened vowel sound (extra colons indicate greater lengthening)
=	latch (direct onset or no space between two unites)
→	highlights point of analysis
[]	overlapped talk; in order to reflect the simultaneous beginning and ending of the overlapped talk, sometimes extra spacing is used to spread out the utterance
°soft°	spoken softly/decreased volume
> <	increased speed
< >	decreased speed
()	(empty parentheses) transcription impossible
(words)	uncertain transcription
(word/word)	alternate possibilities for an uncertain transcription
.hhh	inbreath
hhh.	exhalation
\$words\$	spoken in a smiley voice
(())	comments on background, skipped talk or nonverbal behavior
{{() words.}}	{ }marks the beginning and ending of the simultaneous occurrence of the verbal/silence and nonverbal; absence of { } means that the simultaneous occurrence applies to the entire turn.

Appendix B

Consent Forms

Teachers College, Columbia University
 525 West 120th Street
 New York NY 10027
 212 678 3000

INFORMED CONSENT: Teacher Participants

Protocol Title: East Asian Students' Self-selection Practices in the American Graduate Classroom: A Conversation Analytic Study

Principal Investigator: Junko Takahashi, Teachers College, Columbia University

INTRODUCTION

You are invited to participate in this research study called “**East Asian Students’ Self-selection Patterns in the American Graduate Classroom: A Conversation Analytic Study.**” You may qualify to take part in this study because you are teaching a graduate class at a university in the United States. About 60-75 students and instructors will participate in this study during their regular class meeting times.

WHY IS THIS STUDY BEING DONE?

This study is being done to uncover the self-selection patterns by East-Asian students (EASs) and to help them improve classroom participation skills.

WHAT WILL I BE ASKED TO DO IF I AGREE TO TAKE PART IN THIS STUDY?

If you decide to participate, you will be asked to give permission to be audio-recorded and/or video-recorded during your class this semester. Approximately eight class meetings (two months) will be recorded. The recordings will be used to make written transcripts for analysis. You will be given a pseudonym (fake name); your real name will not be written in the transcripts. If you want to participate in the study, but you do not want to be seen in the video, you can sit “off-camera,” in a part of the classroom that the cameras can’t see. Only classes where all participants agree to be audio-recorded will be included in the study.

WHAT POSSIBLE RISKS OR DISCOMFORTS CAN I EXPECT FROM TAKING PART IN THIS STUDY?

The research has the same amount of risk as participating in a regular class. The researcher is taking precautions to keep your information confidential and prevent anyone from discovering your identity, including using a pseudonym instead of your real name and keeping all information on a password-protected computer and locked in a file drawer.

WHAT POSSIBLE BENEFITS CAN I EXPECT FROM TAKING PART IN THIS STUDY?

There is no direct benefit to you for participating in this study. As someone who is involved in the field of education, you may indirectly benefit from this research because it may provide a better understanding of how class interaction and participation occur.

WILL I BE PAID FOR BEING IN THIS STUDY?

You will not be paid to participate. There are no costs to you for taking part in this study.

WHEN IS THE STUDY OVER? CAN I LEAVE THE STUDY BEFORE IT ENDS?

The study is over when your course has ended for the semester. However, you can leave the study at any time even if it hasn't finished. If you decide to leave the study, any recordings of your class will be destroyed.

PROTECTION OF YOUR CONFIDENTIALITY

The researcher will keep the video files and transcripts on a password-protected computer. Written materials will be kept in a locked file cabinet in the researcher's home. Your real name will not be used in transcripts, and there will be no record matching your real name with your pseudonym. If parts of a video-recording are shown in an educational setting outside this research, such as a conference, faces will be blurred and names will be deleted from the audio track. Regulations require that research data be kept for at least three years.

HOW WILL THE RESULTS BE USED?

The results of this study will be published in journals and presented at academic conferences. Your name or any identifying information about you will not be published. This study is being conducted as part of the researcher's doctoral dissertation.

CONSENT FOR AUDIO- AND/OR VIDEO-RECORDING

Audio-recording is part of this research study. You can choose whether to give permission to be recorded. If you decide that you don't want to be recorded, you will NOT be able to participate in this study.

_____ I give my consent to be **audio-recorded**.

_____ Signature

_____ I do not consent to be **audio-recorded**.

_____ Signature

Video-recording is part of this research study. You can choose whether to give permission to be recorded. If you decide that you don't want to be recorded, you will still be able to participate in this study.

_____ I give my consent to be **video-recorded**.

_____ Signature

_____ I do not consent to be **video-recorded**.

_____ Signature

WHO MAY VIEW MY PARTICIPATION IN THIS STUDY

___ I consent to allow written, audio-recorded, and/or video-recorded materials to be viewed in an educational setting or at a conference outside of Teachers College. Faces will be blurred in video-recordings.

_____ Signature

___ I do not consent to allow written, audio-recorded, and/or video-recorded materials to be viewed in an educational setting or at a conference outside of Teachers College.

_____ Signature

WHO CAN ANSWER MY QUESTIONS ABOUT THIS STUDY?

If you have any questions about taking part in this research study, you should contact the principal investigator, Junko Takahashi, at 917-923-4651 or at jt2246@tc.columbia.edu. You can also contact the faculty advisor, Dr. Hansun Waring, at 212-678-8128.

If you have questions or concerns about your rights as a research subject, you should contact the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at 212-678-4105 or email IRB@tc.edu. Or you can write to the IRB at Teachers College, Columbia University, 525 W. 120th Street, New York, NY 10027. The IRB is the committee that oversees human research protection for Teachers College, Columbia University.

PARTICIPANT'S RIGHTS

- I have read and discussed the informed consent with the researcher. I have had ample opportunity to ask questions about the purposes, procedures, risks, and benefits regarding this research study.
- I understand that my participation is voluntary. I may refuse to participate or withdraw participation at any time without penalty to future student status or grades.
- The researcher may withdraw me from the research at his or her professional discretion.
- If, during the course of the study, significant new information that has been developed becomes available which may relate to my willingness to continue my participation, the investigator will provide this information to me.
- Any information derived from the research study that personally identifies me will not be voluntarily released or disclosed without my separate consent, except as specifically required by law.
- I should receive a copy of the Informed Consent document.

My signature means that I agree to participate in this study.

Print name: _____

Date: _____.

Signature: _____

Teachers College, Columbia University
525 West 120th Street
New York NY 10027
212 678 3000

INFORMED CONSENT: Student Participants

Protocol Title: East-Asian Students' Self-selection Patterns in the American Graduate Classroom: A Conversation Analytic Study

Principal Investigator: Junko Takahashi, Teachers College, Columbia University

INTRODUCTION

You are invited to participate in this research study called “**East-Asian Students' Self-selection Patterns in the American Graduate Classroom: A Conversation Analytic Study.**” You may qualify to take part in this study because you are enrolled in a graduate class at a university in the United States. About 60-75 students and instructors will participate in this study during their regular class meeting times.

WHY IS THIS STUDY BEING DONE?

This study is being done to uncover the self-selection patterns by East-Asian students (EASs) and to help them improve classroom participation skills.

WHAT WILL I BE ASKED TO DO IF I AGREE TO TAKE PART IN THIS STUDY?

If you decide to participate, you will be asked to give permission to be audio-recorded and/or video-recorded during your class this semester. Approximately eight class meetings (two months) will be recorded. The recordings will be used to make written transcripts for analysis. You will be given a pseudonym (fake name); your real name will not be written in the transcripts. If you want to participate in the study, but you do not want to be seen in the video, you can sit “off-camera,” in a part of the classroom that the cameras can't see. Only classes where all students agree to be audio-recorded will be included in the study.

WHAT POSSIBLE RISKS OR DISCOMFORTS CAN I EXPECT FROM TAKING PART IN THIS STUDY?

The research has the same amount of risk as participating in a regular class. The researcher is taking precautions to keep your information confidential and prevent anyone from discovering your identity, including using a pseudonym instead of your real name and keeping all information on a password-protected computer and locked in a file drawer.

WHAT POSSIBLE BENEFITS CAN I EXPECT FROM TAKING PART IN THIS STUDY?

There is no direct benefit to you for participating in this study. As someone who is involved in the field of education, you may indirectly benefit from this research because it may provide a better understanding of how class interaction and participation occur.

WILL I BE PAID FOR BEING IN THIS STUDY?

You will not be paid to participate. There are no costs to you for taking part in this study.

WHEN IS THE STUDY OVER? CAN I LEAVE THE STUDY BEFORE IT ENDS?

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HOW WILL THE RESULTS BE USED?

The results of this study will be published in journals and presented at academic conferences. Your name or any identifying information about you will not be published. This study is being conducted as part of the researcher's doctoral dissertation.

CONSENT FOR AUDIO- AND/OR VIDEO-RECORDING

Audio-recording is part of this research study. You can choose whether to give permission to be recorded. If you decide that you don't want to be recorded, you will NOT be able to participate in this study.

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_____ Signature

_____ I do not consent to be **audio-recorded**.

_____ Signature

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Signature

WHO MAY VIEW MY PARTICIPATION IN THIS STUDY

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Signature

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- I have read and discussed the informed consent with the researcher. I have had ample opportunity to ask questions about the purposes, procedures, risks, and benefits regarding this research study.
- I understand that my participation is voluntary. I may refuse to participate or withdraw participation at any time without penalty to future student status or grades.
- The researcher may withdraw me from the research at his or her professional discretion.
- If, during the course of the study, significant new information that has been developed becomes available which may relate to my willingness to continue my participation, the investigator will provide this information to me.
- Any information derived from the research study that personally identifies me will not be voluntarily released or disclosed without my separate consent, except as specifically required by law.
- I should receive a copy of the Informed Consent document.

My signature means that I agree to participate in this study.

Print name: _____

Date: _____.

Signature: _____